

PART I.

ON THE LANGUAGES,* LITERATURE, AND RELIGION OF NEPAUL AND TIBET.

WITHIN the mountainous parts of the limits of the modern kingdom of Nepaul, there are thirteen distinct and strongly-marked dialects spoken. These are the Khas or Parbattia, the Magar, the Gurung, the Sunwar, the Kachari, the Haiyu, the Chepang, the Kasunda, the Mürmi, the Newari, the Kiranti, the Limbuan, and the Lapachan. 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 (and the Lapcha, which with the Limbu belongs now to Sikkim), 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 craftful 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 Prakrit, brought into them by colonies from below (twelfth to

* For these languages, see on to the Paper at p. 29 of Part II., "On the Aborigines of the Himalaya," with its annexed "Comparative Vocabulary."

fifteenth 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 Ganga, 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 Hindoe. 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 Menzies calls them, viz., barbarous mountaineers of a race essentially the same with the several other races of Nepaulese Highlanders. Few persons except Brahmans and professional scribes or Khaddars are regularly taught the Parbattia language; but most gentlemen speak, and many 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 Devanagari characters, and, as a language of business, is extremely concise and clear.

The Gorkhalis speak the Parbattia Bhasha, and to their ascendancy is its prevalence, in later times, to be mainly ascribed.

Considering that Nepal Proper, or the country of the Newars, has long been the metropolis of Gorkhali 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 immigrants, 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 immigration into these regions from the South set chiefly on the provinces west of the Trisul Ganga. There too, to this day, Brahmanical Hindûism principally flourishes, its great supporters being the Khas, and, next to them, the Magars and Gurungs. Those southern immigrants 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 Nepal Proper prevented these Brahmanical southerners from penetrating there, where, however, ages before, some southerners had found a refuge. These latter were Buddhists, fleeing from Brahmanical bigotry. They came to Nepal Proper about two centuries after Christ. Buddhism had previously been established therein, and these immigrants were too few to make a sensible impression on the speech or physiognomy of the prior settlers, already a dense and cultivated population. It is difficult to chronologize these events. But apparently the Sakavans came into Nepal when Kapila was destroyed by the King of Kosala.

For the rest, the population of the kingdom of Nepaul is principally Bauddha; preferring for the most part the Tibetan model of that faith: the Newars are the chief exception, and the vast majority of them are Buddhists, but not Lamaites. 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; 2nd. 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 Nepaulese is sadly vexed 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 Sanskrit, whilst the early adoption of Sanskrit as the sole language of literature has facilitated this infusion. The following is a comparison of a few terms:—

<i>English.</i>	<i>Newari.</i>	<i>Bhotiya.</i>
The World.	* (S) Sansar.	Jambu Ling.
God.	(S) Bhagawan.	Lhá.
Man.	(S) Manno, or Mijan.	Khiyoga.
Woman.	Misá. †	Pemi, Kemi.
Quadruped.	(S) Pasu, Pepanchu.	Tendú.
Bird.	Jhongo.	Djia and Chabi, Byu pron. Chu.
Insect.	(S) Kicha.	Bí.
A Worm.	Dalambi.	Dalabí.
Fire.	Mih.	Mha and Mih.
Air.	(S) Phoy.	Lha-phú and Lhawa.
Earth.	Chá.	Sha.
Water.	P. Lo. C. Luk. B. Gná.	Chú.
The Sun.	(S) Suraj.	Nima.
The Moon.	(S) Chandrama.	Dawa.
The Stars.	(S) Nagú.	Kema.
A Mountain.	(S) Parba.	Rajhi and Lumba.
A River.	Khussi.	Changbo
Father	Boba and Opju	Ava and Aba
Mother	Má	Anma

* The (S) indicates a Sanskrit origin.

† *Mi-sa* woman, *mi-jan* man, from the Tibetan root *mi* 'man.'

<i>English.</i>	<i>Newari.</i>	<i>Bhotiya.</i>
Grandfather	Adjhu	Adjhu
Grandmother	Adjhama	Adzhi
A Child	Mocha	Namú ? Piza. Bú
A Boy	Kay Mocha and Bhajú	Phú
A Girl	Miah Mochu and Mejú	Pamú
Uncle	Kakka	Aghu
Aunt	Mamma	Ibi, Asa
Summer	(S) Tápullá	Chapaha
Winter	Chilla	Gun ? Khyabu
Grain	(S) Am	Soh ? Du
Rice	Jaki, Wá	Brá
Wheat	Cho	Thé
Barley	Tacho	
Marriage	(S) Biah	Páma
Birth.	Macha-Bullo.	Kesin.
Death.	Sito.	Lhesin.
A House.	Chén.	Khim.
A Stone.	Lohu.	Ghara ? To. Do.
A Brick.	Appa.	Arpa.
Temple.	(S) Dewa.	Lha-Kang.
An Image.	Kata Malli, Patima.	Toto, Thu.
A Bridge.	Ta and Taphu.	Sambá.
A Tree.	Sima.	Stou-bba or Tongbá.
A Leaf.	Sihau and ¹ Hau.	Loma or Lapti.
A Flower.	Swang.	Meto, or Mendo.
A Fruit.	Si.	Brebú.
A Horse.	Sallo.	Tapu or Tábá.
A Bull.	Doho.	Sandhí.
A Cow.	Mása and Sá	Pago.
A Buffalo.	Mia.	Mye.
A Dog.	Khicha.	Khigo or Khibo.
A Cat.	Bhow.	Guró.
A Jackal.	Dhong.	Kipchang.
A Sister.	Kihin.	Chamu ? Namu.
A Brother.	Kinja.	Chou ? Gnú.
Own Family.	Thajho and Tha Mannu.	Pin.
Kinsfolk.	Phuki.	Phebin.
Strangefolk.	Kato & Miah-Ping.	Chomi.
The Head.	Chong.	Wa or Go.
The Hair.	Song.	Tar or Ta.
The Face.	Qua.	Tongba.
The Eye.	Mikha.	Mhi.
The Nose.	Gniá.	Gná.
The Mouth.	Mhutu.	Kha.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Newari.</i>	<i>Bhotiya.</i>
The Chin.	Mano.	Koma.
The Ear.	Nhiapo.	Nhamjo.
The Forehead.	Kopa.	Prāla.
The Body.	Mho.	Zhūbā.
The Arm.	Laha, Lappa.*	Lakpa, Lā-g-pa.
The Leg.	Tūti.	Kangba.
Right.	Jou.	Ycha.
Left.	Khou.	Ycni.
A Month.	Lā.	Lā-wa.
A Year.	Dat'chi.	Lochik.
Day.	Gni or Nhi.	Nain, Nyi-n-mo.
Night.	Chā.	Chan.

With regard to the Newari words, I can venture to say they may be relied on, though they differ somewhat from Kirkpatrick's, whose vocabulary, made in a hurry, exhibits some errors, especially that of giving Sanskrit 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 a stranger, a Sanskrit, instead of their own Newari, name for any object to which their attention is called for the purpose of naming it. 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 Sanskrit 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 Sanskrit, 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 foregoing 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 Lhasa 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*

*Lappa, (almost identical with the Bhotiya Lakpa) means the true arm, or upper half of the limb. Laha means the whole.

sides of the snows; and some of the inferior Tibetan dialects may, very probably, come nearer to Newari than the best, or that of Lhassa.

The twelfth word in the Newari column, Water, is given according to the sub-dialects of the Valley. Water is Lo at Patan, Luk at Katmandu, and Gnā 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.

NUMERALS.

<i>Bhotiya.</i>	<i>Newari.</i>
1. Chi.	Chi.
2. Gni.	Na Shi.
3. Sum.	Swong.
4. Zhi.	Pih.
5. Gnah.	Gniah.
6. Tukh.	Khu.
7. Tun.	Nha or Nhasso.
8. Ghiah.	Chiah.
9. Gun.	Gūn.
10. Chu (Thampa, an expletive merely.)	Sānho.
11. Chū-chi.	Saran-chi.
12. Chū-gni.	Saran Nassi.
13. Chu (P.) sūm, (the letter (P) written but scarcely audibly uttered.)	
14. Chu (P.) Zhi.	Saran Pih.
15. Cheānga.	Saran Gniah.
16. Churu.	Saran Khu.
17. Chuptin.	Saran Nha.
18. Chopkia.	Saran Chiah.
19. Churko.	Saran Gun.
20. Né shu (thampa.)	Saran Sanho.
21. " "	Ni Chi.
22. " "	Ni Nassi.
23. " "	Ni Swong.
24. " "	Ni Pih.
25. " "	Ni Gniah.
26. " "	Ni Khu.
27. " "	Ni Nhi.
28. " "	Ni Chiah.
29. " "	Ni Gun.
30. Sum chu (thaupa.)	Ni Shao.
31. " "	Swi Chi.
32. " "	Swi Nassi.
33. " "	Swi Swong.
34. " "	Swi Pih.

<i>Bhotiya.</i>	<i>Newari.</i>
35. Sum chu (thampa.)	Swi Gniah.
36. " "	Swi Khu.
37. " "	Swi Nha.
38. " "	Swi Chiah.
39. " "	Swi Gun.
40. Zhe-chu (thampa.)	Swi Sánho.
41. " "	Pi Chi.
42. " "	Pi Nassi.
43. " "	Pi Swong.
50. Gna-chu (thampa.)	Gniayfi or Pi-Sanho, or merely by pausing on the last letter of Gniah or :5 and thus also 60, 70, &c. are formed out of 6, 7, &c.
60. Tukh-chu (thampa.)	Qni.
70. Tun "	Nhaiyu.
80. Ghcah "	Chaiye.
90. Gu (P.) "	Guye.
100. Gheah "	Sachó.
1,000. Tong-tha-che.	Do-ché.
10,000. Thea.	Zhí-dot.
100,000. Bum.	Lak-chi.

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.

	<i>Newari.</i>	<i>Bhotiya.</i>
February.	— — —	Dagava (or Láwa) Tangbu.
March.	Chongchola or Chilla.	(Láwa) Gnipa.
April.	Bachola or Néla.	" " Sumba.
May.	Túchola " Swola.	" " Zhibá.
June.	Dil'la " Péla.	" " Gnappa.
July.	Gung'la " Gniāla.	" " Tuakpu.
August.	Yung'la " Khola.	" " Tumba.
September.	Koula " Nhúla.	" " Gnappa.
October.	Kozla " Chála.	" " Guabba.
November.	Thingla " Gungla.	" " Chuba.
December.	Puéla " Séla.	" " Chu-chikpa.
January.	Sel'la " Zhin'chala.	" " Chu-gnipa.
February.	Chil'la " Zhin'nala.	— — —

The second set of Newari names is formed merely by compounding the word *La*, a month, with the names of the cardinals, one, two, etc. 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, etc., month. *Dawa* 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 *Tangbu* means, I know not, unless it be the same with *Thampa*, the word that always closes the series of numbers, 10, 20, 30, etc. The names of all the others are easily explained, they being compounds of the numbers 2, 3, etc., with the syllable *pá* or *bá*—evidently the *Lá* of the *Newars*—postfixed.

<i>Newari names of the seven days of the week.</i>			<i>Bhotiya names of the seven days.</i>	
Sunday,	(S)	Adhwina,	or	Chanhu, Nima.
Monday,	(S)	Swomwa,	„	Nenhu, Dawa.
Tuesday,	(S)	Ongwa,	„	Swonhu, Mimer.
Wednesday,	(S)	Budhwa,	„	Penhu, Lhákpa.
Thursday,	(S)	Bussowa,	„	Guianhu, Phóorboo.
Friday,	(S)	Sukrawa,	„	Khonhu, Pasang.
Saturday,	(S)	Sonchowa,	„	Nhainhu, Pemba.

The first of the *Newari* series are wholly corrupt Sanskrit, 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 cannot say; but old *Bauddha** 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 *Devanágari*, oftener the *Newari*. If the *Siva Márgi 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 *Nágari*; 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

* For *Buddha* read *Bauddha*, et sic passim, where the word is used adjectively.

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 Devanāgarī 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 Devanāgarī arrangement, nor should I hesitate to assign them all a Devanāgarī 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 extinct: 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 to the Nepaulese Ranja. There is also a character in use in and near Tibet which is ascribed to the Sokpa, who, with the Hor or Horpa, constitute the nomad population of Tibet, of Türki, and Mongol etymon respectively.

LITERATURE OF BHOT OR TIBET.

The term Bhot is the Sanskrit, Tibet the Persian name, Bod the native one, but probably only a corruption of the first term, and, if so, the Tibetans had not any general name for themselves (Bod-pa) or their country when their Indian teachers first came among them in the 7th century, A.D.

The great bulk of the literature of Bhot (as of Nepaul) relates to the Bauddha 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 desti-

tute 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 vitæ*, 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 poorest individual who visits this valley from the north is seldom without 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 familiar 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 sufficient opportunities of satisfying myself of its truth among the annual sojourners in Nepal who come here in hundreds to pay their devotions at the temple of the self-existent Supreme Buddha [Swayambhut 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 penmanship, 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 education, which I have just noticed as characterising Bhot, may be found also in India; but more, I fear, in the theory of its institutions 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 Hindoostan 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 waking one of those many sublime energies, the full developement 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 graven: 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.

SANSKRIT BAUDDHA LITERATURE OF NEPAUL.

With respect to the authorities of the Buddhist religion or their sacred scriptures, the universal tradition of the followers of this creed (supported by sundry notices in their existing works) asserts, that the original body of their scriptures amounted, when complete, to eighty-four thousand volumes—probably sūtras or aphorisms, and not volumes in our sense.

The most authoritative of the books of the Buddhists now extant in Nepaul in the sacred language of India, as subsequently to be enumerated, are known collectively, and individually, by the names of Sūtra and Dharma.

In a work called the Pūjā Khand there is the following passage:—

“All that the Buddhas have said, as contained in the Mahā 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 gave definite form and systematic force to these words, if indeed he did not wholly originate them; and, in this important respect Sākya is to Buddhism what Vyāsa is to Brahmanism.

The old books of these religionists universally assert this; the modern Baudhdhas admit it in the face of that host of ascetics whom the easiness of latter superstition has exalted to the rank of an inspired teacher. The sacred chronology of the sect is content with assigning Sākya to the Kali Yuga, and profane chronology is a science which the Buddhists seem never to have cultivated. But the best opinion seems to be that Sākya died about four and a half centuries before our era. In the subsequent enumeration of the chief Sanskrit authorities of the Buddhists 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 was substantially the originator of this creed, such as it has come down to our times, is thus I think demonstrable from the uniform tenour of the language of the great scriptural authorities of the sect, wherein, either before or after the enunciation of every cardinal text, stand the words, 'thus said Sākya Sinha,' or, 'so commanded Sākya Sinha.' Sākya Sinha therefore must be concluded to be the founder of this creed, which took its existing written form from the hands of his earliest disciples, or Kāsyapa, Ananda, and Upāli.

Adverting now to the technical arrangement, or classification of these works, I may observe that they are primarily divided into Esoteric and Exoteric, and that these classes are ordinarily termed Tantras and Purāṇas by the Buddhists as well as by the Brahmanists, though the former would likewise seem to convey this distinction by the words Upadesa and Vyākaraṇa. Vyākaraṇa is also employed in the sense of narration as opposed to speculation. Gāthā, Jātaka, Avadāna, etc., seem to be subdivisions.

The word Sūtra as explained, "Mūla Grantha," "Buddha Vachana," (chief book, words of Buddha,) has been held to be equivalent to the Sruti of the Brahmans, as has their Smṛiti to the Bauddha Vyākaraṇa. But, apt as Buddhism is to forget the distinction of divine and human nature, this analogy must be allowed to be somewhat defective; and, in fact, the Sūtra of the Buddhists often comprehends not only their own proper "Buddha Vachana," but also "Bodhisatwa and Bhikshu Vachana," (words of Bodhisatwa and of Bhikshu); which latter the Brahmans would denominate "Rishi Vachana," and of course, assign to the Smṛiti, 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 Achārya; and 'the incomparable Sankara' of Sir W. Jones, is execrated by the Nepaulese Bauddhas as a blood-stained bigot.

Of the existing Bauddha writings of Nepaul (originally of Indian growth and still found unchanged in the Sanskrit language) by far the most important, of the *speculative* kind, are the five Khandas or parts of the Prajñā Pāramitā or Rakṣhā Bhāgavatī, 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 Sāhasrika Prajñā Pāramitā. It is a valuable summary of the great work first mentioned, to which, therefore, rather than to the *narrative* class, the Ashta Sāhasrika bears essential affinity. In the sequel will be found a list of all the Sanskrit Bauddha works known to me by name.†

* Sankara is placed in the ninth century of Christ (1,000 years ago), and Sākya, the founder of Buddhism, (for we have nothing authentic before him) certainly was not born sooner than about the middle of the sixth century, B.C. The interval of fifteen centuries may vaguely indicate the period during which Buddhism most flourished in India. The decline of this creed in the plains we must date from Sankara's era, but not its fall, for it is now certain that the expulsion was not complete till the fourteenth or fifteenth century of our era. From the ninth century onwards is comprised the worst period of the persecution.

† See the next paper for this list.

The five Rakshás or Páramitás * 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. Sákya appears surrounded by his disciples, by whom the arguments on each topic are chiefly maintained, Sákya 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 Swábhávika 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 Sáhasrika. 2. Ganda Vyúha. 3. Dasa Bhúneswara. 4. Samádhi Rája. 5. Lankávatára. 6. Sad Dharma Pundarika. 7. Tathágata Guhyaka. 8. Lalita Vistara. 9. Suvarna Prabhása.

Divine worship is constantly offered to these nine works, as the 'Nava Dharma,' by the Bauddhas of Nepaul. 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, 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 Sákya 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 Puránas, and of the Bhágavat. Buddhism prevailed in India sixteen to seventeen centuries, and, as its genius was free, so it had even before its founder's death many sects. And soon after his death, schisms multiplied infinitely despite the three great convocations called to stay them. These councils took place respectively, B.C. 465, B.C. 365, B.C. 231. Let it not be supposed, because these works I have cited were procured in Nepaul, that they are therefore of a local character or mountain origin. •

* On the Prajná Páramitá see Wassiljew's "*Der Buddhismus*," p. 157.

† See the sequel at "Religion of Nepaul and Bhot."

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 Nepaul, most assuredly was *never* cultivated there with a zeal or ability such as the composition of these works must have demanded.

These works were composed by the Sages of Magadha,* Kosala,† and Rājagriha,‡ whence they were transferred to Nepaul by Bauddha Missionaries soon after they had assumed their existing shape.

The Sámmbhu Purána 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 reasonably be suspected, both as to number of books then extant and destroyed.

The Bauddhas 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 Gorkhali conquest. Sankara (or some other famous Brahmanical controversialist) 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* Bauddha 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 Rakshá Bhágavatí or Prajná Páramitá 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 khands or sections of it, as heir-looms, were content to offer to sealed volumes the silent homage of their pújá (worship). Time and growing ignorance have been the chief enemies of Sanskrit Bauddha literature in Nepaul.

The Bauddha Scriptures are with reference chiefly to their form and style, frequently stated to be of twelve kinds, * known by the following twelve names; 1. Sútras; 2. Geya; 3. Vyákarana; 4. Gáthá; 5. Udána; 6. Nidána; 7. Ityukta:

The modern Bihar.

† Berar.

‡ Rajgir.

|| We should doubtless read aphorism or text (Sútra or bana), 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 Sútra [aphorism, or thread of discourse,] implies that Sákya taught verbally; and if this be so, Sútra only took its present sense of principal scripture after his death. These sayings of Sákya may still be found all over the sacred works of the sect in their original aphoristic form. The destruction of Bauddha 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.

§ These I sent to the Library of the College of Fort William A D. 1825.

** Twelve kinds of Scriptures, see Wassiljew, p. 118.

8. *Jātaka*; 9. *Vaipulya*; 10. *Adbhuta Dharma*; 11. *Avadāna*; 12. *Upadesa*.

Sūtras are the principal scriptures, (*Mūla Grantha*) as the *Rakshā Bhāgavatī* or *Prajñā Pāramitā*; they are equivalent to the Vedas of the Brahmanists. The aphorisms of Sākya are the basis of them, hence the name.

Geyas are works of praise, thanksgiving and pious fervour, in modulated language. The *Gīta Govinda* of the Brahmanists is equivalent to the Buddhist *Gīta Pustaka*, which belongs to the *Geya*.

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

Gāthās are narrative works, in verse and prose, containing moral and religious tales, (*Aneka Dharmakathā*) relative to the Buddhas, or elucidative of the discipline and doctrine of the sect. The *Lalita Vistara* is a *Vyākaraṇa* of the sort called *Gāthā*.

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

Nīdāna 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 *Dāna*, and other *Pāramitās*

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.

Avadāna, of the fruits of actions or moral law of Mundane existence.

Upadesa treat of the esoteric doctrines, and are 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 *Upadesa*, the Buddhas are styled *Yogāmbara* and *Digāmbara*. *Tāntrika* works are very numerous. They are in general disgraced by obscenity and by all sorts of magic and dæmonology. But they are frequently redeemed by unusually explicit assertions of a supreme Godhead. *Najra Satwa Buddha* is the *magnus Apollo* of the *Tāntrikas*.

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

* *Pāramitā* here means virtue, the moral merit by which our escape (passage) from mortality is obtained. *Dāna*, or charity, is the first of the ten cardinal virtues of the Buddhas; "and other" refers to the remaining nine. Appendix A. of paper III. *Pāram* beyond and *itā* gone.

First khand, or section, of the Rakshá Bhágavatí or Prajná Páramitá. It is a Mahá Yána Súra Sástra. It begins with a relation (by himself) of how Sákya became Bhagaván (deified); and how he exhorted his disciples to study and meditate his principles; and how he explained the doctrine of Avidyá, that is, as long as Avidyá* lasts, the world lasts, when Avidyá 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 Súnyatá and Mahá Súnyatá.* Sákya is the speaker, the hearers are Subhúti, and other Bhikshukas: the style is prose (Gadya).

Second and third khands of the Rakshá Bhágavatí. Contents the same as above.

The fourth khand of the Rakshá Bhágavatí relates how any one becomes Sarva-karmajña, 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 Rakshá Bhágavatí. It is a sort of abstract of the other four which form one work. Besides Avidyá, Súnyatá, 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, Vinsati, Sásasrika, Prajná Páramitá; the three first words indicating the extent of each division, and the two last, the nature of the subject or transcendental wisdom. Satá Sásasrika is a collective name of the four first khands, to which the fifth is not necessarily adjunct; and indeed it is one of several abstracts of the Sata Sásasrika, as already stated. Arya Bhágavatí and Rakshá Bhágavatí, or holy Goddess and Goddess of Deliverance, are used, indifferently with Prajná Páramitá, as titles of each or all of these five khands. The five khands are all in prose, and comprise the philosophy of Buddhism.

Ashtasásasrika Prajná Páramitá, a Mahá Yána Súra. Another and smaller epitome of the transcendental topics discoursed of at large in the Sata Sásasrika. It is prose. Sákya is the speaker; and Subhúti and other Bhikshukas,† the hearers.

ASHTA SASHASRIKA VYAKHYA.

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

Ganda Vyúha, a Vyákarana Sástra, contains forms of supplication and of thanksgiving, also how to obtain Bodhijnána, or the wisdom of Buddhism. Prose: speaker, Sákya; hearer, Sudhana Kumára. The Ganda Vyúha is a treatise on transcendentalism by Arya Sanga the teacher of the Yogichárya.

Dasa Bhúmeswara, a Vyákarana, containing an account of the ten Bhúmis.‡ Prose: speaker, Sákya; hearer, Ananda Bhikshuka.

* See the explanation of these terms in the sequel. They form the basis of the philosophy of Buddhism.

† Bhikshu, name of a Buddhist mendicant. See on to section on Religion.

‡ Ten heavens, or ten stages of perfectibility: sometimes thirteen are enumerated and the thirteen grades of the spire of the Chaitya are typical of them. See Laidlay's *Fahian*, p. 91, and *J.R.A.S.* xi, 1, 21.

Samádhi Rāja, a Vyākaranā; an account of the actions by which the wisdom of Buddhism is acquired, and of the duties of Bodhisatwas. Prose: speaker, Śākya; hearers, Rāvana and others.

Sad Dharma Pundarika, a Vyākaranā, an account of the Mahā and other Dīpa Dānas, or of the lights to be maintained in honour of the Buddhas, and Bodhisatwas; with narrations of the lives of several former Buddhas by Śākya, as well as prophetic indications of the future eminence of some of his disciples. Speakers and hearers, Śākya, Maitreya, Manjusri, etc.

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

Guhya Samagha, otherwise called Tathāgata Guhyaka; an Upadēsa or Tantra; contains numerous mantras, with explanations of the manner of performing esoteric rites. Prose and verse: speaker, Bhagavān (i.e. Śākya); hearers, Vajra Pāni* Bodhisatwa and others.

Sucarna Prabhasa, a Vyākaranā Śāstra; discourses by Śākya for the benefit of Lakshmi, Sarasvatī and others; also an account of the Bhāgavata Dhātu, or mansions of the deities. Prose and verse: speaker, Śākya; hearers, Litsavi† Kumāra, the above named Goddesses and others.

Swayambhu Purāna, the greater; a Vyākaranā of the sort called Gāthā: an account of the manifestation of Swayambhu or Adī Buddha‡ in Nepaul, and the early history of Nepaul. Verse: speaker, Śākya; hearer, Ananda Bhikshuka.

Swayambhu Purāna, the less, a Gāthā, summary of the above; an account of Swayambhu Chaitya, (or temple). Verse and prose: speaker and hearer, as above.

Karanda Vyāha, an account of Lokeshwara Padma Pāni. Prose: speaker and hearer, as above.

Gana Karanda Vyāha, a Gāthā; an amplification of the above in verse. Speaker and hearer, as above.

Mahāvastu, an Avadāna Śāstra; an account of the fruits of actions, like the Karma Vipāka of the Brahmins. Prose: speaker and hearer, as before.

Asoka Avadāna; 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 Rāja.§

Bhadra Kalpika, an Avadāna Śāstra; a detailed account of the Buddhas of this Kalpa.** Verse and prose: speaker, Śākya; hearers, Upagupta Bhikshuka, with a host of immortals and mortals.

Jātaka Mālā; an account of the meritorious actions of Śākya in his 565 births,

* Vajra Pāni is the æon of Vajra Satwa Buddha, already alluded to as the magnus Apollo of the Tāntrikas. See Fabian, p. 135.

† Litsavis are the so called Scythians. Litsabyis in Tibetan. For Sakas, see J.R.A.S. xii. 2. 460.

‡ Swayambhu means self-existent. Adī, first, and Buddha, wise.

§ This is the celebrated friend of Antiochus and builder of the Lāts.

** It is styled the Golden because four Buddhas belong to it, viz., Karkut, Kanaka, Kāsyapa, and Śākya.

prior to his becoming a *Tathāgata*. Verse and prose : speaker, Śākya ; hearer, Ananda Bhikshu.

Manichura, an Avadāna ; an account of Manichur Rājā, also of the first birth of Śākya, and of the fruits of his actions. Prose : speaker and hearer as above.

Dvācīnsatī Avadāna, an Avadāna Śāstra ; an account of the fruits of building, worshipping and circumambulating* Chaityas. Verse and prose : speaker, Śākya ; hearer, Maitreya.

Nandī Mukha Śvaghoshā, an Avadāna ; an account of the great fast called Vasundharā, and of the fruit of observing it. Prose : speaker, Śākya ; hearer, Ananda.

Bodhi-charyā, an Avadāna Śāstra, of the sort called Kāvya ; contains a highly laudatory account of the virtue of charity and of the Bodhi-Charyā, or Buddhist duties. Verse : speaker, Maitreya ; hearer, Sudhana Kumāra.

Karuna Pundarikā, an Avadāna ; an account of Arinemi Rājā ; of Samudra Renu, Purohita ; of Ratna Garbha, Tathāgata ; and of Avalokiteswara, (i. e., Padma Pāni Bodhisatwa) interspersed with sundry philo-sophical topics which are discussed by Śākya in a broken manner. Śākya, then, in anticipation of his demise, gives directions as to the mode in which his system is to be taught. Prose : speaker, Śākya ; hearers, Maitreya, &c.

Chandomvita Mālā, a treatise of prosody ; the measures illustrated by verses laudatory of Śākya Sinha. Verse and prose : the author Ananta Bhikshu.

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

Saraka Dhārā, with a comment ; a Kāvya in praise of Arya Tārā, Buddha Sakti. Verse : author, Sarvajña Mitrapāda Bhikshu.

Aparāmita Dhāraṇī, an Upadesa;† contains many Dhāraṇīs addressed to the Buddhas, who are immortal (Aparāmitāyusha Tathāgata). Prose : speaker, Śākya ; hearer, Ananda Bhikshu.

Dhāraṇī Sangraha, a collection of Dhāraṇīs, as Mahā Vairocana's D. Mahā Manjusrī's D. and those of many other Buddhas and Bodhisatwas. Verse : speaker, Śākya ; hearer, Vajra Pāni.

Pancha Rakshā, an Upadesa Dhāraṇī ; an account of the five Buddha Saktis, called Pratisārā, &c † Prose : speaker, Śākya ; hearer, Ananda.§

Pratyangirā Dhāraṇī, an Upadesa Dhāraṇī ; an account of Pratyangirā Buddha Sakti. Prose : speaker, Śākya ; hearer, Ananda 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. This cylinder is called Mani ; some leaves of the sacred books are usually enclosed in it. Its use is more common to Tibetans than to Nepalese. Both people use beads to count their repetitions of holy words.

† Dhāraṇīs, though derived from the Upadesa, are exoteric. They are short significant forms of prayer, similar to the Panchāṅga of the Brahmans. Whoever constantly repeats or wears [made up in little lockets] a dhāraṇī, possesses a charmed life.

‡ See classified enumeration of the principal objects of Buddhist worship. But Pratisārā is not therein named. These are Tāntrika goddesses.

§ The Pancha Rakshā is now used in Courts of Justice to swear Buddhists upon.

Tará Satnāma, an Upadesa Dhāraṇī, contains an account of Arya Tārā, of her hundred names, her Vīja mantras, &c. Verse : speaker, Padma Pāni; hearer, Vajra Pāni.

Sugatāradāna, an Avadāna Śāstra, contains an account of the feast kept in honour of Sanghas or Bodhisatvas. Verse : speaker, Vasundharā Bodhisatva; hearer, Pushpaketu Rājakumāra.

Sukharatī Loka, account of the so called heaven of Amitābha Buddha.** Verse : speaker, Sākya; hearers, Ananda and others.

Saptarara Dhāraṇī, an Upadesa of the sort termed Dhāraṇī; an account of the seven Devīs (Buddha Saktis) called Vasundharā, Vajra Vīdarinī, Ganapati Hridayā, Ushnisha Vijayā, Parna Savarī, Marīchi, Graha Mātrikā, together with their Vīja mantras. Prose : speaker, Sākya; hearers, Ananda and others.

Kriyā Sangraha, an Upadeśa; an account of the Tāntrika ritual. Prose : speaker, Sākya; hearers, Vajra Pāni, &c., resembles the Mahodadhī of the Brahmins.

Samaghāradāna, an Avadāna Śāstra; on account of the heaven (Bhuvana) of the Bhikshukas; near the close is a story of the merchant Sunagha and his wife, whence the name of the work. Prose : speaker, Sākya; hearer, Ananda.

Chaitya Pangava, an Avadāna on the worship of the Chaityas. Prose : speaker, Sākya; hearer, Suchetana Bhikshuka.

Kathināradāna, an Avadāna Śāstra; containing an account of the merit and reward of giving the Pindapātra,* Khikshari, Chivara and Nivāsa to Bhikshukas. Prose : speaker, Sākya; hearer, Kāsyapa Bhikshu.

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

Dhwajāgra Keyurī, an Upadesa, or Tāntrika Dhāraṇī; an account of Dhwajāgra Keyurī, Buddha Sakti. Prose : speaker, Sākya; hearer, Indra Deva (the god)

Graha Mātrika, a Tāntrika Dhāraṇī; account of Graha Mātrikā, Buddha Sakti. Speaker, Sākya; hearer, Ananda Bhikshu.

Nāgapūjā, a manual of worship to the Nāgas for rain. It is extracted from the Sādhanā Mālā. It is of the same character as the Vrata Paddhati of the Brahmins.†

Mahākāla Tantra, an Upadesa; account of the worship to be paid to Mahākāla. Prose : Vajra Satwa Bhagavān (i. e. Buddha); speaker and hearer, his Sakti, named Vajra Sattvātmanī.

Abhidhānottarottara, an Upadesa; account of the esoteric rites. Prose : speaker, Vajra Satwa Bhagavān; hearer, Vajra Pāni. The rites prescribed by this book

** Dasabhuvana affords no place for Adī Buddha, or the five Dhyānis.

* The begging platter, staff, and slender habiliments of the Bauddha mendicant are called by the names in the text. The Chivara is the upper, the Nivāsa the lower garb; see on to No. 15 for dress and discipline of all the four orders. They require also for dress a pair of wooden sandals, an umbrella, and a gandhas or ewer for holding water.

† The high honour paid to the Nāgas and Indra in Nepaul carries us beyond the Pauranic era to that older time represented in India by the Vedic gods and ritual.

resemble in character the Tātrika ritual of Brahmanism, and differ from it only in being addressed to different objects.

Vinaya Sūtra, Treatise on Discipline. Author, Chandra Kīrti Achārya. It is equivalent to the Vyāsa Sūtra of the Brahmins.

Kalpalatāvadāna, an Avadāna, a highly ornate account of the first birth of Sākya, and of the fruits of his actions in that birth. Verse: author, Kshemendra Bhikshu.

Gītā Pustaka, a Geya; a collection of songs on Tātrika topics, by various hands.

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

Dīrghāvadāna, an Avadāna Śāstra, containing various legends of the first birth of Sākya. Verse and prose: speaker, Sākya, hearers, Ananda Bhikshu and others.†

BHOT LITERATURE IN THE LANGUAGE OF TIBET.

The following list of a more miscellaneous description.||

BHOTIYA WORKS.

Sumāchik; by Thula Lama, written at Khanam in Bhot, on Jurisprudence.

Chama Dam; by Aguchu Lama, at Tija Nowa; subject similar to the Sagun Pothi of the Hindus.

Charūg; by Thiya Lama, at Gejakethā, on the Jnāna Pothi of the Hindus, or divine wisdom.

Chūrūge Chapah; by Yepah Regreh Maha Lama, at Pargrēh āh chu, on cure of all diseases.

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

Mani Pothi; by Chudolama; at Gunewan; on the use and virtue of the mani or praying cylinder.

Chī Dam; by Gevighup Lama, at Yeparkas, on medicine.

Napache Pothi; by Aberak Lama, at Jatu Lam, on physical science, or the winds, rain, weather.

Kichak; by Kibiah Lama, at Botchi, on witchcraft, demonology, &c.

Tūi takh lu; by Rakachandah Lama, at Kubakh, on science of war.

Dutakh-a-si; by Bajachik Lama, at Gnana, read by survivors on the death of a relation, that they may not be haunted by his ghost.

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

Sata-tu-mah; by Yisabsekar Lama, at Sebhala, read previous to sitting on a pūchaet for a prosperous issue thereof.

Kerikh; by Amadatakha Lama, at Asi; to be read for increase of temporal goods.

‡ Since the above was composed, I have added greatly to my stock of Sanskrit works. For their names, see the list appended to next paper—Note of 1837.

|| This list represents merely the odds and ends first got at. Soon after I procured the catalogue of the Kalgyur and ascertained that the great Tibetan Cyclopædia consisted of translations from those Sanskrit originals whereof a part only had been preserved in Nepal. I learnt this, and sent the catalogue to Calcutta before *De Kōros' appearance there*.

Numbek; by Titakh Lama; at Bere-ga-hakh; to be read at times of gathering flowers for worship.

Dekmujah; by Múntake-tan Lama, at Múnká; to be read previous to laying the foundation of a house.

Thaka-pah; by Gagamatakh Lama, at Ma-chaclekoh; to be read whilst feeding the sacred fishes at the temple; a very holy act.

Kusa; by Nemachala Lama, at Yeparenesah; to be read at the time of bathing.

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

Chandapu; by Grahah Lama, at Jubu-nasah; to be read previous to making purchases.

Sachah; by Urjanb Lama, at Jadún; to be repeated whilst exonerating themselves, that no evil spirit may come up.

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

Kajaw; by Olachavah Lama, at Káráh; to be read by a dead man's relatives to free his soul from purgatory.

Yidaram; by Machal Lama, at Saduri; to facilitate interviews, and make them happy in their issues.

Ditakh; by Chopallah Lama, at Urasikh; to interpret the ominous croaking of crows, and other inauspicious birds.

Káráchakh; by Khuchak Lama, at Pheragiah.

Chala; by Gidu Lama, at Bídakh; to be read at the time of drinking, that no ill may come of the draught.

Kerú; by Tupathwo Lama, at Kabajeh; for increase of years, and a long life.

Chabek; by Akabek Lama, at Ari Kalaguh; to be read for removing the inclemencies of the season.

Kaghatukh; by Sugnah Lama, at Bole Káchar; to be read by horsemen, at seasons of journeys that they may come to no harm.

Lúchú; by Nowlah Lama, at Chagúra Kahah; to be read for increase of eloquence and knowledge of languages.

Ghikatenah; by Sujannah Lama, at Seakulah; to be read by archers for success of their craft.

Baudh Poti; or history of the founding of the Temple of Kasachit in Nepaul, with other matters appertaining to Buddhism in Nepaul.*

Siri Poti; by Bistakow Lama; at 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 Bauddha Missionaries, and Refugees from Hindustan. These individuals carried with them,

* The temples of Kasachit and of Swayambhu Nátha though situated in the Valley of Nepaul, are almost exclusively in the keeping of the Tibetans, and Lamas are the permanent ministering functionaries.

and subsequently procured from India, many of the sacred and profane works of their sect, and, as was their wont, they immediately began to instruct the people of Bhot in their own, that is, in the Sanskrit, 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 Sanskrit, and the succession of Native teachers to the chairs of the original Indian emigrants, led to the preference of the Bhotiya language, and, consequently, to a translation of all the Sanskrit 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 Sanskrit, and the entire supersession of original Sanskrit versions by translations into Tibetan. The Bhotiyas,* however, although they thus soon lost the Sanskrit language, retained the Devanagari letters. The result of the whole is, that the body of Bhotiya literature now is, and long has been, a mass of translations from Sanskrit; 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 Sanskrit; and that, although the Newars have a good language of their own, they have no letters, but such as are clearly of Devanagari 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 applied, of course, to the classics of Bhot, for, in regard to works of less esteem there, I believe such to be not translations, but originals; chiefly legends of the Lamas, and in the vernacular tongue, (the best dialect of which is that spoken about Lassa and Digarchi,) but still, like the translated classics, written in letters essentially Indian.

THE RELIGION OF NEPAUL AND OF BHOT.

An accurate and complete view of the Bauddha system of belief would involve the severe study of a number of the voluminous Sanskrit works above specified,

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

† Note of 1837. It is needless now to say, how fully these views have been confirmed by the researches of De Koros. It is but justice to myself to add that the real nature of the Kabgyur and Stangyur was expressly stated and proved by me to the Secretary of the Asiatic Society some time before Mr. De Koros' ample revelations were made. Complete copies of both collections have been presented by me to the Hon. East India Company, and others procured for the Asiatic Society, Calcutta; upon the latter Mr. De Koros worked.

and would demand more time than could be bestowed upon the task by any person, not otherwise 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 Sanskrit literature which it has been my fortune to discover in Nepal.

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 diagnostic tenet of each, Swābhāvika, Aiswarika, Yātuika, 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 contradictory, in the original system.

The Swābhāvikas deny the existence of immateriality; they assert that matter is the sole substance, and they give it two modes, called Pravritti, and Nirvritti, or action and rest, concretion and abstraction. Matter itself, they say, is eternal, (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 everything 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 Swābhāvikas 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

† My Bauddha pundit assigned these titles to the Extract made from his Sāstras, and always used them in his discussions with me. Hence I erroneously presumed them to be derived from the Sāstras, and preferable to Māyānka, &c., which he did not use, and which, though the scriptural denominations, were postponed to those here used on his authority as being less diagnostic. In making the extracts we ought to reach the leading doctrines, and therein I think we succeeded.

‡ Pra, an intensive prefix; and Vritti, action, avocation, from *vrit* to turn, move, exist. See on these terms Burnouf, introduction, p.p. 441, 515.

|| Nir, a privitive prefix, and Vritti as before.

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, I believe of the eternal bliss* of the rest of Nirvritti, as of the ceaseless pain of the activity of Pravritti. But those 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 judgment are not admitted by the Swābhāvikas 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, and all respecting which some of the Swābhāvikas have expressed much doubt, while others of them have insisted that it is eternal repose, and not eternal annihilation§ (Sūnyatā); though, adds this more dogmatical school, were it even Sūnyatā, 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 Swābhāvikas 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 Dhyāna; by the former of which terms, the Swābhāvikas understand, not penance, or self-inflicted bodily pain, but a perfect rejection of all outward (Prāvrittika) things; and, by the latter, pure mental abstraction. In regard to physics, the Swābhāvikas 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

* The doctrine is, that they are; some doctors however, say no; the question turns on the prior acceptance of Sūnyatā, for which see on.

§ This interpretation of the Swābhāvika Sūnyatā 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. Plotinus contended that the most perfect worship of the Deity consisted in a certain mysterious self-annihilation or total extinction of all our faculties. See M. Laurier's account of Newton's discoveries p. 387. This explains the Sangata doctrine of Dhyāna, and partially that of Sūnyatā also.

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 Swabháva. I believe the Swabhávika to be the oldest school of Buddhist philosophy; but that school has, from the earliest times, been divided into two parties, one called the Swabhávikas simply, whose tenets I have endeavoured to state above, the other termed the Práñjika Swabhávikas, from Práñjá,|| the supreme wisdom; viz. of nature.

The Práñjikas* agree with the Swabhávikas, 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 Práñjikas incline to unitize the powers of matter in the state of Nirvritti; to make that unit, deity; and to consider man's *sumana loutam*, not as a vague and doubtful association to the state of Nirvritti; but as a specific and certain absorption into Práñjá, the *sum* of all the powers, active and intellectual, of the universe. The Aiswarikas 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 proceed from the joint operation of these *two* principles. The Aiswarikas accept the two modes of the Swabhávikas and Práñjikas, or Pravritti and Nirvritti. But, though the Aiswarikas admit immaterial essence, and 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 Dhyána, 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-learned 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 Buddhas agree in referring the use and value of meditation, (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 condemn; 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 Karma, by which I understand 'conscious moral agency,' and Yatna, which I interpret

|| Práñjá, from pra, an intensive prefix, and Jnyaná, wisdom, or perhaps, the simplest.

* See the sequel for a good summary glance at the philosophy of the Práñjikas.

'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 sentiment of the Kármikas, or, by the just conduct of his understanding, a conclusion which the Yátnikas preferred: and this, I believe to be the ground of distinction between these two schools as compared with one another. As compared with their predecessors, they held a closer affinity with the Aiswarikas than with the other schools, inclined to admit the existence of immaterial entities, and endeavoured to correct the absolute impersonality and quiescence of the Cau-a Causarum, (whether material or immaterial,) by feigning Karma or Yátna, conscious moral, or conscious intellectual, agency, to have been with causation from the beginning. The Kármika texts often hold such a language as this, "Sákya Sinha, who, according to some (the Swabhávikas), sprang from Swabháva, and, according to others, (the Aiswárikas,) from Adi Buddha, performed such and such Karmas, and reaped such and such fruits from them."

In regard to the destiny of the soul, I can find no essential difference of opinion between the Bauddha and the Brahmanical sages. By all, metempsychosis and absorption are accepted. But absorbed into what? into Brahma, say the Brahmans, into Súnyatá, or Swabháva, or Prajñá, or Adi Buddha, say the various sects of the Buddhists. And I should add, that by their doubtful Súnyatá, I do not, in general, understand, annihilation, nothingness, but rather that extreme and almost infinite attenuation which they ascribe to their material powers or forces in the state of Nirvritti, or of abstraction from all particular palpable forms, such as compose the sensible world of Pravritti. By tracing the connexion of Súnyatá with Akáśa, and through it, with the palpable elements, in the evolution and revolution of Pravritti,† it may be plainly seen, that Súnyatá is the *ubi* and the *modus* of primal entity in the last and highest state of abstraction from all articular modifications such as our senses and understanding are cognizant of.

How far, and in what exact sense, the followers of these diverse and opposite systems of speculation adopted the innumerable 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

* Notwithstanding these sentiments, which are principally referable to the state of Pravritti, the Kármikas and Yátnikas still held preferentially to the Tapas and Dhyána, the severe meditative asceticism of the older schools.

† See the Dasákára or ten forms, where the evolution and revolution of each element constitutes a phrase of divine energy.

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 religion (Śākyā), 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 established 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 most notorious of the former of these are seventy who are all characterized as "Mānushi" or human; of the latter are five or six who are contradistinguished as "Anurūpāḍaka," without parents, and also as "Dhīyāni," or divine.

This second appellation of the Celestial Buddhas is derived from the Sanskrit 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 Dhīyāni Buddhas, with Adi Buddha, their chief, are usually and justly referred to the Theistic school.

The epithet Dhīyāni, however, as applied to a class of Buddhas, is obviously *capable* of an atheistic interpretation. It is nevertheless certain, that, in whatever sense other schools may adopt this term, or the class of divinites which it characterizes, the Aiswarīkas (beyond the bounds of Nepal too) ascribe this creative Dhīyāna 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 "Pāñcājnāna Atmika;" and it was by virtue of these five sorts of wisdom, that he, by five successive acts of Dhīyāna, created, from the beginning and for the duration of the present system of worlds, the "Pancha Buddha Dhīyāni."

The names and graduation of these Jñānas, Dhīyānas, and Buddhas are thus:—

<i>Jñānas.</i>	<i>Buddhas.</i>
1. Suvisuddha Dharma Dhātu.	1. Vairochana.
2. Adarsana.	2. Akshobhya.
3. Prativēkshana.	3. Ratnavambhava.
4. Sānta.	4. Amitābha.†
5. Krityānushthāna.	5. Amoghasiddha.

* See further on for a goodly array.

† Called Vipasyi, Sikhi, Visvabhu, Rakutsanda, Kanakamuni, Kasyapa, and Śākyā Sinha. Two others are frequently associated with these to form a series of nine mortal Buddhas, the extra two being Dipankara and Ratnagarbha. But they are much less notorious than the seven, and even of them I find nothing distinct recorded, with the single exception of Śākyā, whom I am therefore inclined to regard as the founder of this creed, such at least as it has come down to us in the existing books and existing practised religion of the Buddhists.

‡ For example, in the Ratna Kūta Amitābha and Akshobhya are spoken of, and in the Sarva dharma Mahāsānti as well as in the Swayambhū purāna and Guṇa

Dhyānas.—The Dhyāna of creation is called by one generic name *Loka-Sansarjana*; and by five repetitions of this, the five Buddhas were created.

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 acons are relieved from the degradation of action. Each of them receives, together with his existence, the virtues of that Jñāna and Dhyāna, to the exertion of which, by Adi Buddha, he owed his existence; and by a similar exertion of both, he again produces a Dhyāni Bodhisatwa. The Dhyāni Bodhisatwas are, one by one, in succession, the tertiary and active authors of creation. These creations are but perihable; and, 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 acontin, and his worshippers in Nepaul are wont to invest him with all the powers of a supreme and sole God, the “*Præsens 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 Dhyāni Bodhisatwas are as follows:—

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Vairochana. | 1. Samantabhadra. |
| 2. Akshobhya. | 2. Vajra Pāni. |
| 3. Ratnasambhava. | 3. Ratna Pāni. |
| 4. Amitābha. | 4. Padma Pāni. |
| 5. Amoghasiddha. | 5. Viswa Pāni. |

The Dhyāni Buddhas and Bodhisatwas are considered to stand in the relation of fathers and sons to each other; and as there are Dhyāni Bodhisatwas, so are there Mānushi Bodhisatwas,§ who again bear to their respective Mānushi 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 Nir-

Karanda Vyūha, all Puranic or exoteric works, of which the first is not even obtainable in Nepaul, nor is there any evidence that any of the other works were composed there. See Cosma de Koros in *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal*.

† Original of the Chinese O-mi-to, a word as utterly without meaning as their Bonze, of which latter the Sanskrit Bandya is the real and significant form. Amitābha 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. See Crawford's *Archipelago* for a fine representation of Akshobhya, the second Dhyāni Buddha. All the five are represented in the Cave at Bāg.

‡ Hence the celebrity and popularity of his mantra or invocation (Om mani padmē hum), while those of the two other members of that triad to which Padmapāni is thus associated as the Sangha, are hardly ever heard of. There is a fine image of Padma Pāni at Karnagarh on the Ganges, the old capital of Champa, now Bhagalpur.

§ The nine mortal Bodhisatwas are variously and vaguely set down; see further on. Ananda, Manju Ghosha, and Avalokiteswara, are the only ones of whom anything is known.

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

vritti. In the above remarks I have inserted only the quinary series of Dhyáni Buddhas and Bodhisatwas. But there is, also, a series of six, the Buddha Vajra Satwa, and the Bodhisatwa Vajra Páni, 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) seats of sense,³ are referred to the series of five Buddhas, so intellect,⁴ with apprehension⁵ and the objects of such apprehension, or the whole phenomena of the universe,^{6*} 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 prateria 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 Dhyáni. 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. It must at the same time be admitted that the ritualists appear to have multiplied these Deities upon very frail and shadowy grounds; and in this way I find the series of six Celestial Buddhas (which as identified with the elements, senses, and mind, I consider valid) augmented to nine by the addition of Vajrakāya, Vajradharma, and Vajrakarma. The next material distinction of persons or divinities in this religion is into Exoteric or Paurāṇika Buddhas and Esoteric or Tāntrika. The first are those ordinarily so called and alone heretofore known to us. The second are more specially styled Yogāmbhara 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 Tāntrika ritual. It is a strange and unintelligible adjunct of Buddhism, though vouched by numerous scriptural authorities.

The images of the 5 Dhyáni Buddhas, which were sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, occupy (and exclusively so of all lower Buddhas) the base of every Mahā chaitya,§ or highest order of temples in Nepal; and those images are invariably distinguished by the respective differences exhibited in the specimens transmitted, viz., the position of the hands; the nature of the supporters and the particular

- (1) Five Bhūtas. (2) Five Indriyas. (3) Five Ayatanas. (4) Manas.
(5) Dhāraṇa. (6) Dharma.

* The senses are assumed to be inert without Manas; not even sensation, far less perception, or mental realization of sensation, can exist without Manas.

† Vajra Satwa, or the sixth Dhyáni with his appendages, belongs to the Vāmāchāryas, whose doctrine as to things in general, or the origin, nature, and connexion of material and immaterial phenomena, can hardly be reconciled with the views of the older Dakṣināchāryas on these topics.

‡ E.g. the Sarva Dharma Mahāsānti, said by Mr. Csoma 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, 1837.

§ Temple and monastery are the respective equivalents of Chaitya and of Vihāra.

cognizance of each, which is placed between the supporters. Vairochana 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: Akshobhya to the east, Ratna Samblava to the south, Amitábha to the west, and Amogha Siddha to the north. Vajra Satwa is seldom represented in statuary form, and never placed in the Chaityas. But pictorial representations of him are frequent in the illuminated Sástras, and I have met with his image or sculptured figure in Viháras.

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 which (the cone or pyramid) are thirteen, and are typical of the thirteen Bodhisatwa heavens of Buddhist cosmography. The cone or pyramid terminates in a *patis* very like a *lingam*, and which is usually surmounted by an umbrella. This part of the structure represents Akanishtha Bhuvana, or the highest heaven, or that of Adi Buddha. The five spokes of the umbrella represent the abodes of the five Dharma Buddhas. Between the hemisphere and the cone or pyramid is a short square neck for the latter, upon each of the four sides of which a pair of eyes is graven which typify omniscience. The hemisphere is called the garbha; the neck, gala; and the cone or pyramid, chúrámáni. The Nepaulese are sufficiently familiar with Chaityas in the sense of tomb temples, or mausolea, or covers of relics (Dagobas): but all their *principal* edifices of this nature are dedicated to the self-existent, first, supreme Buddha, and to his five celestial sons. 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 Ashrama and Vairági or Samnyási Ashrama of the Hindoos—but *not* equivalent to Laics and Clerics. The regulars are all monastic, as solitaries or as cenobites, living in deserts or in monasteries (Viháras). Their collective name is Bandya (person entitled to reverence); and they are divided into four orders, called Bhikshu or ‘mendicants,’ Srávaka or readers, Chailaka or ‘the scantily robed,’ and Arhata or Arhanta or ‘Adepts.’ They are all monks, 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 monasteries or conventual dwellings of the regular Buddhists are called Vihára in Sanskrit, Bahi and Bihál in Newari. They are usually large open quadrangles of a regular form, but sometimes irregular, and built round a Chaitya, or a Kútágár temple, (the latter sacred to Mánushi, the former to Dhyaní Buddhas). Every great church was formerly conventual, and

the four orders had each their separate Viháras, of which there are still fifteen in the city of Patan alone, though the Nepalese have long since abandoned the monastic institutes of their creed, and hence these monasteries are now secularized, but still exclusively appropriated to the Bandya or tonsured Buddhists. The head of a Vihára is called Náyaka, but his power appears to have been much more limited than that of the Abbots and Priors of European monachism, and since this decay of the monastic institutes in Nepaul it has become at all events strikingly so. Still, however, it is the Náyakas alone who confer the rank and character of Bandya, and every Bandya is ostensibly attached to some convent or other, even though he do not dwell in any, as many now do not. Any person may become a Bandya by submitting to tonsure and taking the usual vows of celibacy, poverty, and humility, and all these monks are alike distinguished by a peculiar dress and equipment, which as well as the ceremony of induction will be found described in the sequel.

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 Bauddha of Nepaul, 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 131, and not to 145, 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, attained Nirvána and become 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 Samādhi Rāja,* Sarvārtha Siddha (Sākya before he became a Buddha,) is asked by Maitreya and Vajra Pāni, how he acquired Samādhī Jñāna. In reply, he begins by naming 120 Tathāgatas, who instructed him therein in his former births; and at the conclusion of his enumeration of Buddhas, Sarvārtha Siddha observes, 'he has given so many names *exempli gratiā*, but that his instructors were really no less in number than eighty crores!

There is a verse in the Aparimitā Dhāraṇī (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 Akāsa, 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 Pratyēka Buddha, that of the Srāvaka Buddha, and that of the Māhāyānika 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 Māhāyānika Buddhas, such as Sākya and his six great predecessors. We have, however, multitudes even of this highest degree; and, besides, the title belongs not only to the supreme Mānushi Tathāgatas, but also to all the Pityānis 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 Sākya is the *seventh*, and *last* of the Buddhas. Why seven have been selected for such especial honour it seems impossible to explain on historical grounds. Four of them belong to the present cycle of ages thence called the golden *āra* or Bhadra Kalpa; the three first to the precedent Kalpa. A Kalpa is an indefinite period, and I think it may be safely asserted that all of the so-called mortal Buddhas save the last are mythological shadows. At all events it has frequently occurred to me to doubt the historical existence of Sākya's six predecessors; for I have not failed to remark that while the Buddhist writings make ample mention of Sākya's births (505), 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. In the forthcoming scriptures the form perpetually occurs 'so said Sākya,' and this is the reason why the works are ascribed to him, though they took their written shape from his favourite disciples Kāśyapa, Ananda, and Upāli.

*I have this list before me extracted from the Samādhi Rāja; but I do not think it worth while to add it to the lists already given.

LIST OF TATHAGATAS, COMPILED FROM THE LALITA VISTARA, KRIYA SANGRAHA
AND RAKSHA BHAGAVATI.

LALITA VISTARA, 1ST SECTION.

1 Padmottara.	29 Satyadharmavipulakīrtī.
2 Dharmaketu.	30 Tishya.
3 Dīpankara.	31 Pushya.
4 Gunaketu.	32 Lokasundara.
5 Mahākara.	33 Vistārabheda.
6 Rishideva.	34 Ratnakīrtī.
7 Sūtejas.	35 Ugratejas.
8 Satyaketu.	36 Brahmatejas.
9 Vajrasanhata.	37 Sughoshā.
10 Sarvābhībhū.	38 Supushpa.
11 Hemavarṇa.	39 Sumanojnaghoshā.
12 Atyuchchagāmī.	40 Sucheshtārūpa.
13 Pravaraśāgara.	41 Prahasitanetra.
14 Pushpaketu.	42 Gunarāsī.
15 Vararūpa.	43 Meghaswara.
16 Sulochana.	44 Sundaravarna.
17 Rishigupta.	45 Ayustejas.
18 Jinavaktra.	46 Sālagajagāmī.
19 Ummata.	47 Lokābhilāshita.
20 Pushpita.	48 Jitasatru.
21 Urnatejas.	49 Sampūjita.
22 Pushkala.	50 Vipasyī.*
23 Surasmit.	51 Sikkhī.*
24 Mangala.	52 Visvabhū.
25 Sudarsana.	53 Krakutsanda.
26 Mahāsīnhatējas.	54 Kanakamuni.
27 Sthitabuddhidatta.	55 Kāsyapa.
28 Vasantagandhī.	56 Sākyamuni.

LALITA VISTARA, 13TH SECTION.

57— 1 Amoghadarsī.	66—10 Padmayoni.
58— 2 Vairocana.	67—11 Sarvābhībhū. (See No. 10.)
59— 3 Dundubhīswara.	68—12 Śāgara.
60— 4 Dharmeswara.	69—13 Padmāgarbha.
61— 5 Samantadarsī.	70—14 Sālandrarāja.
62— 6 Mahārchiskandhī.	71—15 Pushpita. (See No. 20.)
63— 7 Dharmadhwaṇa.	72—16 Yasodatta.
64— 8 Jñānaketu.	73—17 Jñānameru.
65— 9 Ratnasikkhī.	74—18 Satyadarsī.

* The seven famous mortal Buddhas.

75—19 Nāgadatta.	85—29 Sinhaketu.
76—20 Atyuchchagāmi. (See No. 12)	86—30 Guṇāgradhāri.
77—21 Mahāvyyūha.	87—31 Kasyapa. (See No. 55.)
78—22 Rasmirāj.	88—32 Archihketu.
79—23 Sākyamuni. (See No. 56.)	89—33 Akshobhyarāj.
80—24 Indraketu.	90—34 Tagarasikha.
81—25 Sūryānana.	91—35 Sarvagandhi.
82—26 Sumati.	92—36 Mahāpradīpa.
83—27 Nāgābhībhū.	93—37 Padmottara (See No. 1.)
84—28 Bhāishajyarāj.	94—38 Dharmaketu. (See No. 2.)

LALITA VISTARA, 20TH SECTION.

95— 1 Vimalaprabhāsa.
96— 2 Ratnārechih.
97— 3 Pushpāvalīvanarājīkusumitābhījna.
98— 4 Chandrasūryavajrīnīkaraprabha.
99— 5 Guṇarajaprabhāsa.
100— 6 Ratnayashī.
101— 7 Meghakūtābhīgarajitaswara.
102— 8 Ratnachhatrābhīyudgatāvabhāsa.
103— 9 Samantadarsi.
104—10 Gaṇendra.

KRIYA SANGRAHA.

105— 1 Vairochana.*†. (See No. 58.)	119—15 Ratna-sambhava.
106— 2 Mahošnīsha.	120—16 Vajraratna.
107— 3 Sītātapatroshnīsha.	121—17 Vajrasūrya.
108— 4 Tejorāsi.	122—18 Vajraketu.
109— 5 Vijayoshnīsha.	123—19 Vajrahāsa.
110— 6 Vikīramoshnīsha.	124—20 Amitābha.†
111— 7 Udgatośnīsha.	125—21 Vajradharma.
112— 8 Mādhogatośnīsha.	126—22 Vajratīkshna.
113— 9 Vijayoshnīsha. (See No. 163.)	127—23 Vajraketu.
114—10 Akshobhya. (See No. 85.)	128—24 Vajrabhāsha.
115—11 Vajrasatwa.†	129—25 Amoghasiddha.†
116—12 Vajrarāja.	130—26 Vajrakarma.
117—13 Vajrarāja.	131—27 Vajraraksha.
118—14 Vajrasīdhu.	132—28 Vajrayaksha.

133—29 Vajrasandhi.

* This name, although a repetition, is numbered; because the personage here indicated by the name *Vairochana*, is really *Vairochana Avatāra, Manjusri*. The six celestial *Buddhas of Nepal* will be recognised in this list; but commenting were endless. The six are those marked thus †, Vairochana being assumed to be V. proper, and not Manjusri.

RAKSHA BHAGAVATI.

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|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 134—1 Ratnākara. | 139— 6 Sūryamandalaprabhāsottama. |
| 135—2 Asokasrī. | 140— 7 Ekachhatra. |
| 136—3 Ratnārchih. (See No. 90.) | 141— 8 Samādhihastyuttarasrī. |
| 137—4 Jayendra. | 142— 9 Padmasrī. |
| 138—5 Padmottarasrī. (See No. 1.) | 143—10 Nandasrī. |

II. SKETCH OF BUDDHISM.

From Bauddha writings of Nepaul.

Soon after my arrival in Nepaul (1821), 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. When we became 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 1823) 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 this paper. 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

* Nearly all were eventually procured, chiefly, and in the first place solely, for Calcutta. They were deposited first with the Librarian of the College of Fort William, then with the Asiatic Society, but were for years utterly neglected, and still are so I fancy; so also the copies sent to London and Oxford. Those sent to France met with a far different reception; see Burnouf.

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 Rémusat; 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.

I add here a very considerable list of the *Buddha* scriptures in general, extracted for me from those still existing in Nepaul, without further observation on it than that its accuracy may be relied on, and that its contents are so far from being local 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.

- 1 Satasāhasrika Prajñā Pāramitā.
- 2 Pancha Vinsati Sāhasrika Prajñā Pāramitā.
- 3 Ashtādasa Sāhasrika Prajñā Pāramitā.
- 4 Ashta Sāhasrika Prajñā Pāramitā.
- 5 Sapta Sati Prajñā Pāramitā.
- 6 Prajñā Pāramitā Vyākhyā.
- 7 Ganda Vyūha.* Bhadrāchārī.
- 8 Dasa Bhūmeswara.
- 9 Samādhi Rāja.†
- 10 Lankāvatāra.
- 11 Saddharma Pundarika. Bhadrāchārī.
- 12 Lalita Vistara.
- 13 Tathāgata Guhyaka, or Guhya Samādhi (Tantra).
- 14 Suvarna Prabhāsa.

*Ascribed to Arya Sanga, and teaches the Yogāchārya branch of the Mahāyāna.

†This book and the Buddhāvatamsaka and the Ratnakūta are works ascribed to Nāgārjuna, a transcendentalist after whom the western barrier mountain of the Valley of Nepaul is named.

- 15 Mahāvastuavadāna. Samajātaka. Kinnarījātaka
Dīpankaravastu. Birkūsāvadāna.
16 Divyāvadāna. Sārdūlakarnāvadāna.
17 Satakāvadāna. Opakhādāvadāna.
Barikāvadāna.
Rāshtra Pālāvadāna.
18 Bhadrakalpāvadāna. Birkūsāvadāna.
Kinnarījātaka.
19 Asokāvadāna. Bodhi Charyāvatāra.
Sapta Kumārikāvadāna.
Durgati Parishodhana.
Ahorātri vrata.
Kārtika Māhātmya.
Chaitya Pungava.
20 Vichitra Karnikāvadāna.
21 Dwāvinsatyavadāna.
22 Ratnamālāvadāna, or Ratnāvadāna. Suchandrāvadāna.
23 Avadāna Kalpalatā.
24 Sugatāvadāna.
25 Dharma Kosha.
26 Dharma Sangraha.
27 Vinaya Sūtra.†
28 Mahāyāna Sūtra.
29 Mahāyāna Sūtrāṅkārā.
30 Gosringa Vyākhyāna.
31 Sālāchakravādāna.
32 Jātakāvadāna.
33 Jātaka Mālā. Vjswāntarajātaka.
34 Mahā Jātaka Mālā.
35 Swayambhū Purāna Kalpa.
36 Swayambhū Purāna Mahatā.
37 Swayambhū Purāna Madhyama.
38 Swayambhū Purāna. Manichūrāvadāna.
39 Karanda Vyūha.
40 Gunakaranda Vyūha.
41 Sukhāvati Vyūha.
42 Karunā Pundarika.
43 Lalita Vistara, or Tathāgata Janmāvadāna.
44 Laukika Lankāvatāra.
45 Chaitya Māhātmya.
46 Kalpadrumāvadāna Kavikumārāvadāna.

† Only trace of Vinaya *eo nomine*, though this be one grand division of the books of the Ceylonese and Tibetans. But Burnouf I think observes that the Vinaya class of books in those places is represented by the Avadāna, its equivalent in Nepal.

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|---|---------------------------------------|
| 78 Vārāhī Tantra, or Vārāhī Kalpa. | 115 Trilokyavijaya Tantra. |
| 79 Yogāmbara Tantra. | 116 Sampūta Tantra. |
| 80 Dākini Jāla Tantra. | 117 Marina Kālika Tantra. |
| 81 Sukla Yamāri Tantra. | 118 Kuru Kula Tantra. |
| 82 Krishna Yamāri Tantra. | 119 Bhūta Dānura. |
| 83 Pīta Yamāri Tantra. | 120 Kāla Chakra Tantra. |
| 84 Rakta Yamāri Tantra. | 121 Yogini Tantra. |
| 85 Syāma Yamāri Tantra. | 122 Yogini Saṅghāta Tantra. |
| 86 Kriyā Sangraha Tantra. | 123 Yogini Jāla Tantra. |
| 87 Kriyā Kanda Tantra. | 124 Yogāmbarepītha Tantra. |
| 88 Kriyā Sāgara Tantra. | 125 Uddāmana Tantra. |
| 89 Kriyā Kalpa Druma Tantra. | 126 Vasundharā Sādhana Tantra. |
| 90 Kriyārāja Tantra. | 127 Nairātana Tantra. |
| 91 Abhikānottara Tantra. | 128 Dākārāja Tantra. |
| 92 Kriyā Samucchaya Tantra. | 129 Kriyā Sāra Tantra. |
| 93 Sādhana Mālā Tantra. | 130 Yamāntaka Tantra. |
| 94 Sādhana Samucchaya Tantra. | 131 Manjū Śrī Kūṣa Tantra. |
| 95 Sādhana Sangraha Tantra. | 132 Tantra Samucchaya Tantra. |
| 96 Sādhana Ratna Tantra. | 133 Kriyā Vatansa Tantra. |
| 97 Sādhana Parikshā Tantra. | 134 Tantra Śloka Sangraha. |
| 98 Sādhana Kalpalatā Tantra. | 135 Hayagrīva Tantra. |
| 99 Tatva Jñāna Siddhi Tantra. | 136 Saṅkīrṇa Tantra. |
| 100 Jñāna Siddhi Tantra. | 137 Namasangīti Vyākhyā Tantra. |
| 101 Gūhya Siddhi Tantra. | 138 Amṛita Karmika nāma Sangīti Tikā. |
| 102 Udyāna Tantra. | 139 Gūḥyotpādī nāma Sangīti Tikā. |
| 103 Nāgārjuna Tantra. | 140 Mīyā jāla Tantra. |
| 104 Yogapītha Tantra. | 141 Jñānodaya Tantra. |
| 105 Pīthavatāra Tantra. | 142 Vasanta Tilaka Tantra. |
| 106 Kālavira Tantra, or Chanda Roshana. | 143 Nispanna Yogāmbara Tantra. |
| 107 Mahā Kāla Tantra. | 144 Dhāraṇī Sangraha. |

Pancha Buddha Dhāraṇī
 { — Pratyangira Dhāraṇī,
 { Saptavara Dhāraṇī, 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 noted. This list has been corrected since the paper to which it was originally attached was written.

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 were sent to prove that this notion was false. The *Bauddha* images are called *Digam-*

bara,* 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 Acharya* friend only recently gave me a peep at the esoteric dogmas; and my *Chitrakāra*, (*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 *Bhōtiya* 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.

Every part of each image is significant; the differences between the five are marked, first, by the different position of the hands (which is called the *mudrā*); secondly, by the variety of the supporters, called *vāhanas*; thirdly, by the variety of the cognizances or *chīnas* placed between the supporters; and fourthly (where painting and colours are used), by difference of colour. *Vairochana's* appropriate colour is white; *Akshobhya's*, blue; *Ratna-Sambhava's*, yellow, or golden; *Amitābha's*, red; and *Amogha-Siddha's*, green.‡

There are a few matters connected with the following sketch of Buddhism which it may be advisable to state here; 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: '*Bodhanātmaka itī Buddha; Dhāranātmaka itī Dharma.*' About the former of these definitions there can be no difficulty; there may concerning the latter. To the word *Dhāraṇa*, 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 *prāvr̥ttika* personification of this principle, is often styled, in the most authentic books, *Prākṛiteswari*, 'the material goddess,' or 'goddess of matter;' and thirdly, because this goddess is, (under the names DHARMA, PRAJNA, ARYA TARA, etc.) 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 *Saṅgata* faith.

* See J.R.A.S. ii. 1, 140.

† See Digambar and Yogāmbar.

‡ For the positions of these Buddhas in Chaitya temples see further on; Akshobhya is enshrined on the east side, Ratna Sambhava on the south, Amitābha on the west, and Amogha Siddha on the north. Vairochana is seldom found, but if he be, his station is immediately to the right of Akshobhya. Amogha Siddha has always a canopy of snakes. For Nāgapūja in Nepaul see further on.

Sangha, the third member of the Triad, belongs not to the exalted state of *nirvṛtti*, in which no sect of *Bauddhas* admits more than two principles of all things, or mind and matter, *Buddha* and *Dharma*. *Sangha* is defined *Samudāyi ātmaka iti Sangha*, '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 *nirvṛtti*, or 'abstraction.'

In note 31, I have distinctly rejected the fifth order of *Bandyas*,* or *Vajra Achāryas*, in opposition to my old *Bauddha* 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 *Chatur 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 Nepaul, sundry local books have been composed here by *Vajra Achāryas*, in which they have made their own modern order coequal with the four ancient orders; and my old friend would hold these modern Nepaul 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 Nepaul) and Buddhism *as it ought to be*, *quoad* this point of classification. If you look into Kirkpatrick's and Buchanan's works on Nepaul, 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 *Yātṇikas* 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 *Kārmikas* and *Yātṇikas* 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 *Kārmikas* and *Yātṇikas* 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 *Swābhāvika* philosophy. But in the result, the *Kārmikas* and *Yātṇikas* seem to have adhered to free-will, though perhaps in the qualified sense above mentioned.

QUESTION I.

How and when was the world created?

* *Bandya* is the original and correct form of the Chinese Bonze and Mongolian *Baudida*, as *Arhata* or *Arhanta* is of the Indo-Chinese *Rahatun*.

ANSWER.

According to the *Saṃbhu Purāṇa*, in the beginning all was void (*sūnya*). The first light that was manifest was the word *Aum*; and from this *Aum* the alphabet was produced—called *Mahā Varna*, the letters of which are the seeds of the universe. (See note 1.) In the *Guna Kāraṇḍa Upaniṣa* it is written, when nothing else was, SAMBHU was; that is the self-existent (*Śvayambhū*); and as he was before all, he is also called ADI-BUDDHA. He wished from one to become many, which desire is denominated *Trajanā*. PRAJĀ and PRAJNA united became PRAJNA UPAYĀ, as SIVA SARTI, 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 him self, by means of *Dhyāna*, another being called his *Bodhi-Satava*, or son. VAIROCHANA produced SAMANTA-BHADRĀ; AKSHOBHYA, VAJRA-PANI; RATNA-SAMBHAVA, RATNA-PANI; AMITABHA, PADMA-PANI; and AMOGHA-SIDDHA, VIŚVA-PANI.

Of these five *Bodhi-Satavas*, four are engrossed with the worship of Saṃbhu (*Śvayambhū*), and nothing more is known of them than their names; the fifth, Padma-Pāṇi, was engaged by Saṃbhu's command, in creation (see note 1); and having by the efficacy of Saṃbhu's *Dhyāna*, attained the virtues of the three *Gunas*, he created Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Mahāśa, and delegated to them respectively, creation, preservation, and destruction. Accordingly, by Padma-Pāṇi's commands, Brahmā set about creating all things, and the *Chatur-yoni* (or oviparous, viviparous, etc.) came into existence by Brahmā. The creation of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Mahāśa, by Padma-Pāṇi, is confirmed by the *śloka* (see note 5), the meaning of which is, Karmāṇi (Padma-Pāṇi) produced Brahmā for creating, Viṣṇu for preserving, and Mahāśa for destroying. And the creation of Brahmā is six-sorted, *viz.*, *Āra*, *Dārga*, *Mānśa*, etc.; and, for the *Devas*, Brahmā made heaven; and for the *Dāitgas*, *Pātāla*; 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 *Agnishtha Bhuvana*; and this is the abode of Adī-Buddha. And below it, according to some accounts, there are ten; and according to others, thirteen *Bhuvanas* (see note 6); named, *Pramōḍita*, *Vimalā*, *Prabhākārī*, *Archishmatī*, *Sudhāyagā*, *Abhinakṣī*, *Dūraṅgamā*, *Achalā*, *Sādhanmatī*, *Dharma-megha* (x), *Samanta-prabha*, *Nirūpamā*, *Jayāvaratī* (xiii).† These thirteen *Bhuvanas* are the work of Adī-Buddha; they are the *Bodhi-Satava Bhuvanas*; and whoever is a faithful follower of Buddha will be translated to one of these mansions after death.

* By et cetera always understand more *Brahmanorum*.

† Agnishtha or Agni-shtha is not named in the Dasa Bhuvana, and neither therein nor here is any mention made of the abodes of the five Dhyani Buddhas; and not Achala but Samanta Bhadra is the tenth Bhuvana. Nirupama, Achala, and Jayamavati are the three extra Bhuvanas.

Below the thirteen *Bódhi-Satwa Bhuvanas* are eighteen *Bhuvanas*, called collectively *Rūpyavachara*. These are subject to Brahmá, and are named individually : Brahma-kāyiká, Brahma-púróhita, Brahma-prashádyá, Mahá Brahmaná, Paritábhá, Apramānābhá, Abhásvará, Parita-subhá, Subhakishiní, Anabhraká, Púnya-prasavá, Vrihat-phúlá, Arangi-satwá, Avrihá, Apáyá, Sudri-há, Sudar-aná, and Sumúkhá. Pious worshippers of Brahmá shall go to one of these eighteen *Bhuvanas* after death.

And below the eighteen mansions of Brahmá, are six others subject to Vishnu, called collectively *Kāmāvacará*, and separately as follows : *Chatúr-Mahá-rípa-Kāyiká*, *Trayastríasá*, *Táshita*, *Yamá*, *Nirmānvalí*, *Paranrmítá-Vasavartí*. 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 Mahadeva, called generally *Arūpyavachará*, and particularly as follows : *Abhaya-Nitya-gatáropagá*, *Vyngá-gatáropagá*, *Alanchaya-gatáropagá*, and these are the heavens designed for pious *Súta-Mārgís*. Below the mansions enumerated, are Indra Bhuvana, Yama Bhuvana, Sūrya Bhuvana, and Chandra Bhuvana ; together with the mansions of the fixed stars, of the planets, and various others which occupy the places down to the *Agni Bhuvana*, also called *Agni-kūda*. And below *Agni-kūda* is *Vayu-kūda* ; and below *Vayu-kūda* is *Prithví*, or the earth ; and on the earth are seven *Duipas*, *Jamba Duipa*, etc. ; and seven *Sāgaras* or seas, and eight *Parvatas* or mountains (see note 7), *Suméru Parvata*, etc. And below *Prithví* is *Jala-kūda*, or the world of waters ; and the earth is on the waters as a boat. And below the *Jala-kūda* are seven *Pátalas*, as *Dharaní*, etc. ; six of them are the abodes of the *Dātyas* ; and the seventh is *Naraka*, consisting of eight separate abodes : and these eight compose the hell of sinners ; and from the eighteen *Bhuvanas* of Brahmá down to the eight chambers of *Naraka*, all is the work of Mañjusrí. Mañjusrí is by the Buddhás esteemed the great architect, who constructs the mansions of the world by Adí-Buddha's command, as Padma-Pāni, by his command, creates all animate things.

Thus Mañjusrí (see note 8) is the Visva-karmá of the *Buddhas* ; and is also the author of the sixty-four *Vádyás*.

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 *Abhásvará Bhuvana* (which is one of the *Bhuvanas* of Brahmá) 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, Adí-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 *Abhāsvarā*, Mahā Samvata was their leader, and he was the first king of the whole earth.

In another *Tantra* it is written that Adi-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 ours 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 Adi-Buddha alone remain: and this period of four *yugas* is a *Pralaya*. Adi-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 *Mahā 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 *Deha*, was produced from the five elements; and soul, which is called *prāna* and *jīva*, is a particle of the essence of Adi-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, etc.; 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 *sloka*, of which the meaning is this: “*Deha* is derived from the five *Bhūtas*, and *Jīva* from the *Angas* of *Svayambhū*.” (See note 11.)

QUESTION IV.

Is matter an independent existence, or derived from God?

ANSWER.

Body, according to some, depends upon the inhaling and exhaling 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

* See Turnour's and Csoma de Koros versions of this legend, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

others (see note 12), is inherent in itself: there is much diversity of opinion on this subject. Some of the *Buddha-mārgis* contend that *deha* (the body) is *Swābhāvaka*; i. e., from the copulation of males and females, new bodies proceed; and they ask who makes the eyes, the flesh, the limbs, etc. of the foetus in the mother's womb? *Swābhāva!* And the thorns of the desert, who points them? *Swābhāva!* And the timidity of the deer kind, and the fury of the ravenous beasts, whence are they? from *Swābhāva!*

And this is a specimen of their reasoning and proofs, according to a *sloka* of the Buddha-Charita-Kāvya. (See note 13.) Some again say, that *deha* and *samsāra* are *Aiswarika* (see note 14), i. e., produced by *Iswara*, or *Adi-Buddha*, according to another *sloka*.

Some again call the world and the human body *Kārmika*, i. e., that *Karma* is the cause of this existence of *deha* and *samsāra*; and they liken the first *deha* to a field (*kshetra*), and works, to a seed. And they relate, that the first body which man received was created solely by *Adi-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 *Mukti* and *Moksha*; 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-kāvya it is written, that with respect to these points, *Sāhya* expressed the following opinion: "Some persons say that *Samsāra* is *Swābhāvaka*, some that it is *Kārmika*, and some that it is *Aiswarika* and *Atmaka*: for myself, I can tell you nothing of these matters. Do you address your meditation to *Buddha*; and when you have attained *Bodhijnāna*, you will know the truth yours. Ives."

QUESTION V.

What are the attributes of God?

ANSWER.

His distinctive attributes are many; one of which is, that he is *Panchajñānātmanaka* (see note 16), or, in his essence are five sorts of *ज्ञाना*, possessed by him alone, and which are as follows: first, *Surisuddha-Dharma-Dhānaja*; second, *Adarsanaja*, third, *Pratyarekshanaja*; fourth, *Sāntaja*; fifth, *Anushtānaja*. The first created beings, *Vairochana*, etc., were in number five, owing to these five *ज्ञाना*s; and in each of these five *Buddhas* is one of the *ज्ञाना*s. Another of *Adi-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 *nirvṛtti*; and secondly, according to *pravṛtti*.

Nīrvṛtti (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 *Pravṛtti* is the opposite of this sublime science, and is the practice and notions of ordinary men. Therefore, according to *nīrvṛtti*, Adi-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 become annihilated, and nothing remains but himself. But some persons, who profess *nīrvṛtti*, contend that the world with all it containeth is distinct from Adi-Buddha: yet the wise know this to be an error. (See note 18.)

Adi-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 *nīrvṛtti*, which, being deeply studied, is found to be unity; but *pravṛtti*, which is multiplicity, may be distinguished in all things. And in this latter view of *pravṛtti*, Adi-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 Adi-Buddha has no concern with it. Thus the five Buddhas give *mukti* (see note 19) and *moksha* to good men: Brahmā by the orders of Padma-Pāni, performs the part of creator; Vishnu, by the same orders, cherishes all beings; and Mahā Deva, 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 Adi-Buddha, because he was before all, and is not created, but is the creator: and the *Pancha Dhyani Buddhas* were created by him, and are in the heavens. Sākya, 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 *Nirvāṇa Pada* (i. e. were absorbed into Adi-Buddha). (See note 20.) We therefore call them all Buddhas.

QUESTION VIII.

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

ANSWER.

Adi-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 limbs and organs we discriminate thirty-two points of beauty (*lakṣanas*), such as expansion of forehead, blackness of the eyes, roundness of the head, eleva-

tion of the nose, 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 *Newári* language admit the word Buddha, or any substitute for it? and what is the *Bhotiya* name for Buddha?

ANSWER.

The names of *Adi-Buddha* are innumerable: Sarvajña, Sugata, Buddha, Dharmarāja, Tathāgata, Bhagavān, Sāmanta-Bhadra, Mārjita, Lokajita, Jina, Anadimdhana, *Adi-Buddha*, Nirandhaba, Jñānakachakshu, Amala, Jñāna-Mūrti, Vachaswara, Mahā-Vāli, Vādirata, Vādīpungava, Vādisinha, and Parajita. Vairochana, and the other five Buddhas, have also many names. Some of Vairochana's are as follows: Mahā-Dīpti, Jñāna-Jyotish, Jagat-Pravṛitti, Mahātejas, &c.; and so of the other four. Padma-Pāni also has many names, as Padma-Pāni, Kamah, Padma-Hasta, Padma-Kara, Kamala-Hasta, Kamalakara, Kamada-Pāni, Aryavalokiteswara, Aryavalokeswara, Avalokiteswara, 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 Sanskrit word, not *Newári*; the *Bhotiya* names I do not know: but I have heard they call Sākya Sinha, Sūgi Thuba; *Sūgi* meaning the deity, and *Thuba*† his *Alaya* or *Vihāra*.

QUESTION X.

In the opinion of the *Bauras*, did God ever make a descent on earth? if so, how often: and what is the Sanskrit and *Newári* name of each *Avatāra*?

ANSWER.

According to the scriptures of the *Buddhavarṅgis*, neither *Adi-Buddha* nor any of the *Pañcha Dhyāni-Buddhas* (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 *Bodhijñāna*, as to have been gifted with divine wisdom, and to have taught the *Bodhi-charya* and *Buddhamārga*; and these were seven, named Vipasyī, Sikhi, Visvabhū, Krakutchanda, Kanaka muni, Kāśyapa, Sākya Sinha.

In the *Satya-yuga* were three: Vipasyī, who was born in *Vindumati Nagara*, in the house of Vindumān Rāja; Sikhi, in *Urva Desa*; and Visvabhū, in *Anupama Desa*, in the house of a *Kshatriya*; in the *Tretāyuga*, two persons became Buddhas; one Krakutchanda, in *Kshemavati Nagara*, in the house of a Brahman; the other Kanaka Muni, in *Subhacati Nagara*, in the house of a Brahman: and in the *Dvāpāra-yuga*, one person named Kāśyapa, in *Vārāṇasī Nagara*, in the house

* We do not find Matsyendra among these synonymes though he be now usually identified with Padma Pāni. For Avalokiteswara see Fabian, p. p. 115-117.

† Sanskritcē Sthūpa, a tomb, temple. But Cosma de Koros gives Sūgi Thubba as his name only.

[The name is Sangs-gyas Thub-pa, from Sang-jay Thub-pa, and means 'the Holy One, the Conqueror.' J.S.]

of a Brahman: and in the *Kālī-yuga*,* *Sūkya*, then called *Sarvārtha Siddha* (see note 25), in the house of *Suddhodana Rājā*, a *Sūkyavānsī*, in the city of *Kapilavastu*, which is near *Gangāsāgara*,† 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 *Acatāras* 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 they themselves are *Acatāras*. 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 *Acatāras* recognized by the *Newārs*?

ANSWER.

The *Lamas* are orthodox *Buddhamārgīs*, and even carry their orthodoxy to a greater extent than we do. Inasmuch, that it is said, that *Sankara Achārya*,‡ *Siva-Mārgī*, having destroyed the worship of *Buddha* and the scriptures containing its doctrine in *Hindustan*, came to *Nepaul*, where also he effected much mischief; and then proceeded to *Bhot*. 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 *yoga*, 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 that the *Buddhamārgī* practice of *Bhot* is purer, and its scriptures more numerous, than ours.

QUESTION XIII.

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

* This allotment into four *yugas* is apochryphal. The three first *Buddhas* belong to the penultimate *Kalpa*, and the four last to the present, or *Bhadra Kalpa*.

† Near or in *Oude*, or *Rohilkhand*, according to other works. *Kapila* was on the *Bhāgirathī*, near *Kailās*, say the *Tibetan* authorities.

‡ He flourished in the ninth century, or about 1,000 years back. This we learn from the *Brahmans*, and the date is important as it agrees with the era of that persecution which led the *Southerners* to seek protection in *Nepaul* and *Tibet*.

§ See pp. 36-39 for a corrected list of the *Sanskrit* literature of *Buddhism*.

ANSWER.

We have nine *Purānas*, called “the nine *Dharmas*.” (See note 26.) A *Purāna* 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 *Prajñā Pāramitā*, and contains 8,000 slokas. This is a *Nyāya Śāstra*, or work of a philosophic character, capable of being understood only by men of science; the second is named *Gaṇḍa Vyūha*,* of 12,000 slokas, which contains the history of *Sudhana Kumāra*, who made sixty-four persons his *gurus*, from whom he acquired *Bodhijuṇa*: the third, is the *Samādhi Rāja*, of 3,000 slokas, in which the nature and value of *japa* and *tapas* are explained; the fourth is the *Lankāvatāra*, of 3,000 slokas, in which is written how *Ravana*, lord of *Lankā*, having gone to *Malayagiri* mountain, and there heard the history of the *Buddha*, from *Sākya Sinha*, obtained *Bodhijuṇa*. The fifth, which is called *Tathāgata Guhya*, is not to be found in *Nepaul*;** the sixth, is the *Saddharma Pundarika* which contains an account of the method of building a *chaitya* or *Buddha-maṇḍala*, and the mode and fruits of worshipping it. (*Chaitya* is the exclusive name of a temple dedicated to *Adi-Buddha* or to the *Pancha Dhyāni Buddha*; and whatever temple is erected to *Sākya*, or other *Mānushi Buddhas*, is called *Kūtāgar*):| the seventh, is the *Laṭṭa Vistara*, of 7,000 slokas, which contains the history of the several incarnations of *Sākya Sinha Bhagavān*, and an account of his perfections in virtue and knowledge, with some notices of other *Buddhas*. The eighth, is the *Suvarṇa Prabhā*, containing, in 1,500 slokas, an account of *Saraswatī*, *Lakṣmī* and *Prithivī*; how they lauded *Sākya Sinha Bhagavān*; and how he, in return, gave each of them what she desired. The ninth, is the *Dasa Bhūmeswara*, of 2,000 slokas, containing an account of the ten *Bhūmanas* of *Buddha*. All these *Purānas* we received from *Sākya Sinha*, and esteem them our primitive scriptures because before the time of *Sākya* our religion was not reduced to writing, but retained in memory; the disadvantages of which latter method being evident to *Sākya*, he secured our institutes by writing them. Besides these *Purānas*, we received *Tantras* and *Dhāraṇīs* from *Sākya 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 Jāla*, of 16,000 slokas; second, *Kāla Chakra*, of 6,000; third, *Sāmbhū Udaya*, of 1,000. The *Dhāraṇīs* were extracted from the *Tantras*, and are similar in nature to the *Guhya*, or mysterious rites, of the *Śiva-Mārgīs*. A *Dhāraṇī* is never less than eight slokas or more than 500; in the beginning and middle of which are written the “*Vijja Mantra*,” and at the end, the “*Phūl Stotra*,” or the *Mahātmya*, i.e., what desire may be accomplished or what business achieved by the perusal of that *Dhāraṇī*; such, for example, as obtaining children—advantage over an enemy—rain—or merely the approbation of *Buddha*. There are probably a thousand *Dhāraṇīs*.

* See note at page 137.

** This is a very holy *Tantra*. It was kept from me long, but at last I got it.

|| *Kūtāgar* is the name of the class of temples inferior to *Chaityas*, as now employed in *Nepaul*. Besides the *Chaityas*, the *Nepalese* have temples, dedicated equally to the *Dīṇa* minors of the *Buddhas*, and to many of the (adopted) deities of the *Brahmanas*.

QUESTION XIV.

What is the cause of good and evil?

ANSWER.

When Padma-Pāṇi, having become *Tri-guṇa-Ātmaka*, that is, having assumed the form of Satya-guṇa, Rājo-guṇa, and Tamo-guṇa, created Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Mahesa; then from Satya-guṇa, arose spontaneously (*Swābhāvaka*), *punya* or virtue, and from Tamo-guṇa, *pāpa* or evil, and from Rājo-guṇa, the mean of the two, which is neither all good nor all evil: for these three *guṇas* 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 *vācaka*, *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 *mānasa*, *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 Nirvāṇa, and being freed from transmigrations: these exalted blessings cannot be had without the love of God; therefore they, who make themselves accepted of 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 Nirvāṇa. Pada, *i. e.*, *mukti* (absorption,) and their *jyotiśh* (flame, essence), will be absorbed into the *jyotiśh* of Buddha; and to this degree Śākya and the others of the "Sapta-Buddha" (see note 28) have arrived, and we call them Buddhas, 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 Adi-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 Rāja.

QUESTION XVII.

Do you believe in the metempsychosis?

ANSWER.

Yes. For it is written in the Jātaka Mālā, and also in the Lalita Vistara, that Sākya, after having transmigrated through 501 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 Moksha after the first birth, some after the seventy-seventh, and some after innumerable births. It is nowhere written that Moksha 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 Adi-Buddha.

QUESTION XVIII.

What and from whence are the Newārs, from Hindusthan or Bhot? (see note 30,) and what is the word Newār, the name of a country or a people?

ANSWER.

The natives of the valley of Nepal are Newārs. In Sanskrit the country is called Naipāla,* and the inhabitants Naipālī; and the words Newār and Newāri are vulgarisms arising from the mutation of p to v, and l to r. Thus too the word Bandya, the name of the Buddhāmārgī sect (because its followers make bandua, *i. e.*, salutation and reverence to the proficients in Bodhiñāna), is metamorphosed by ignorance into Bāra, a word which has no meaning.

QUESTION XIX.

Do the Newārs 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 Bāras?

ANSWER.

Bāra, according to the true reading, is Bandya, as explained above. According to our Purānas, 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 Vāhiya-charya, and those who

*From Nē, 'the sender to Paradise,' who is Swayambhū Adi-Buddha, and pāla, 'cherished.' The Brahmans derive the word Nepal from Nē or Neyum, the proper name of a Patriarch or Muni.

adopt the Abhyantara-charya—words equivalent to the Grihastha āsrama and Vairāgi āsrama of the Brāhmanas. The first class is denominated Bhikshu; the second, Vajra Achārya.* The Bhikshu cannot marry; but the Vajra Achārya is a family man. The latter is sometimes called, in the vernacular tongue of the Newārs, Gūbhāl, which is not a Sanskrit word. Besides this distinction into monastic and secular orders, the Bandyas are again divided, according to the scriptures, into five classes: first, Arhat; second, Bhikshu; third, Srāvaka; fourth, Chailaka; fifth, Vajra Achārya. The Arhat is he who is perfect himself, and can give perfection to others; who eats what is offered to him, but never asks for anything. The Bhikshu, is he who assumes a staff and beggar's dish (bhikshari and pinda pātra), sustains himself by alms, and devotes his attention solely to the contemplation (dhyāna) of Adi-Buddha, without ever intermeddling with worldly affairs. The Srāvaka 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 contents 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 Arhat also) are bound to practice celibacy. The Vajra Achārya 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 Arhats. But all the Nepaulese Buddhāmārgīs are married men, who pursue the business of the world, and seldom think of the injunctions of their religion. The Tantras and Dhāranīs, 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 Vihārs, and these Vihārs being very numerous, the separate congregations of the Bandyas, have been thus greatly multiplied.‡ In Pātan alone there are fifteen Vihārs. A temple to Adi-Buddha, or to the five Dhyāni-Buddhas, called a Chaitya, is utterly distinct from the Vihār, and of the form of a heap of rice or Dhanyarasya-ākar. But the temples of Sākya and the other of the “Sapta Buddha Mānushī,” as well as those of other chief saints and leaders of Buddhism are called Vihārs. The names of the fifteen Vihārs of Pātan are as follows: Tankal-Vihār, Tū-Vihār, Hak-Vihār, Bhū-

* See further on.

† In Nepal at present the Bandyas are divided popularly into Vajra Achārya, Sākya Vansi, Bhikshu or Bikhū, and Chiva-bare. The last derive their name from living in a Vihār which has a Chaitya, *called* Chiva, in its midst. Others say that Chiva or Chivakabare is a corruption of Chailaka Bandyapotius, Bandyas wearing the Chivara, a part of the monastic dress, a sense which would make the term signify Bandyas adhering to their vows.

‡ Some years ago there were 5,000 Bandyas in the Valley of Nepal out of a population of some 250,000.

Vihār, Haran-Varna-Mahā-Vihār,† Rudra-Varna-Mahā-Vihār,‡ Bhikshu-Vihār, Sākya-Vihār, Guhya-Vihār, Shī-Vihār, Dhom-Vihār, UnVihār, etc. (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) Vihār. With this distinction, however, that a temple to an eminent saint is denominated Mahā Vihār—one to an ordinary mortal, simply Vihār.§

NOTES.

(1) Here a Sloka of the Sāmbhū Purāna 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 Sāmbhū Purāna is a work peculiar to Nepaul. Many other Bauddha 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 revered by Bauddhas than by Brāhmanas. A, the Bauddhas say, is the Vija Mantra of the person Buddha; U, the Vija Mantra of the person Dharmā; and M, that of the person Sangha—and these three persons form the Buddhist Triad.

The Bauddhas, however, differ in their mode of classing the three persons. According to the Aiswarikas, the male, Buddha, the symbol of generative power, is the first member; the female, Dharmā, the type of productive power, is the second; and Sangha, 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 Dharmā. Sangha, according to all the schools, though a member, is an inferior member, of the triad.||

(2) Another sloka 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 Aiswarikas and Swābhāvikas. In the triad of the latter, the female, Dharmā (also called Prajñā), the type of productive power, is the first member; Upāya, or Buddha, the symbol of generative power, the second; and Sangha 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 Prajñā united become Upāya Prajñā; 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 Swābhāvika doctrine. (See Note 16.)

† *Fulgo* Kon. ‡ *Fulgo* Uku. Throughout classical and vulgar names are mixed.

§ *Bebi* and *Bāhā* or *Bahāl* are the vulgar names for great and common Vihārs, or Vihārs with a Chaitya, and those with a Kutagā only, erected in the midst of them. Temples to Manushi Buddhas and other Deities are called Kutagā commonly, though Kutagā temples sometimes enshrine Dhyanī Buddhas. A Vihār may be built round either.

|| See Wilson's *Essays and Lectures*, ii. 23 ff.

(3) The deduction of the five Dhyáni Buddhas, and the five Dhyáni Bodhisattwas, from Adi-Buddha, according to the Aiswarika 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 sloka quoted is from the Pújā Kānda, 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-Kāraṇḍa Vyūha, and Kāraṇḍa Vyūha. The latter of these is a work of respectable authority, and contains the following partial justification of the language of the Pújā Kānda. (Śākya, speaking to his disciple Sarvanivarana Viśvakambhī, says,) "In the very distant times of Vipasyī Buddha I was born as the son of Suganda Mukha, a merchant: in that birth I heard from Vipasyī the following account of the qualities of Aryāvalokiteswara (Padma Pāni). The sun proceeded from one of his eyes: and from the other, the moon; from his forehead Mahādeva; from between his shoulders, Brahmā; from his chest, Vishnu; from his teeth, Sarasvatī; from his mouth, Vāyu; from his feet, Prithivī; from his navel, Varuna." So many deities issued from Aryāvalokiteswara's body. This passage is expanded in the Guna-Kāraṇḍa Vyūha, wherein it is added, that when Aryāvalokiteswara had created Brahmā, 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 Rajoguna and preserve;" and to the third, "be thou the lord of Tamoguna and destroy." The Guna-Kāraṇḍa Vyūha, is however a mere amplification of the Kāraṇḍa Vyūha, and of much less authority. In a passage of the Sāraka Dhāra—which is not one of the sacred writings of Nepaul, but a work of high authority, written by Sarvajña Mitrapāda, a Bauddha ascetic of Cashmeer—the Hindu deities are made to issue from the body of the supreme Prajñā just as, according to the Kāraṇḍa Vyūha, they proceed from that of Padma Pāni.

(6) The authority for these ten mansions is the Dasa Bhūmeswara, 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 Nepaul have the hemisphere surmounted by a pyramid or cone, called Chūdāmani, and invariably divided into thirteen grades.

(7) 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 Brahmanas, 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: Mahā Kāla, Indra, Ganesa, Hanumān,

and the triad. Of females: Lakshmi and Sarasvatī. The Hindu triad are considered by the Buddhists as the mere servants of the Buddhas and Bodhisattwas, 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 Buddhist books, I have already given one account, and referred to another. The notions of the three gunas and of the creation, etc., by the Brahmanic triad as the delegates of the Bodhisattwas, I look upon as modern inventions. According to genuine Buddhism, the Bodhisattwas are, each in his turn, the active agents of the creation and government of the world.

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

(9) 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 Nepal, 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.

(10) 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 Svābhāvika school of Buddhist 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 *nirvṛtti*, and the other *pravṛtti*. (See note 12.) To speak more precisely, the above is rather the doctrine of the Prājñika Svābhāvikas than of the simple Svābhāvikas: 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 Buddhas; and accordingly representations of it occur in a thousand places, and in as many forms, in the Buddhist sculptures and architecture.

(11) The sloka quoted is from a modern little manual of Pāli. I have not seen any adequate original authority; but the Aiswarika Buddhists, who maintain an eternal, infinite, intellectual Adi-Buddha, in all probability made the human soul an emanation from him; and considered Moksha a reanimation to him.

(12) The Svābhāvikas, the name assumed by one of the four schools of Buddhist philosophy, and apparently the oldest, are divided into two sects; one called Svābhāvikas simply, the other Prājñika Svābhāvikas. The former maintain that an eternal revolution of entity and non-entity is the system of nature, or of matter,

* Dharmma, or that which sustains, is the Buddhist equivalent for the Brahmanical *Mātra*, or that which measures all qualities in space, the English 'matter.'

which alone exists. The Prājñikas deify matter as the sole substance, and give it two modes, the abstract and 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 *nīrṛitti*; the contingent mode *prarṛitti*. 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 *Yoni*, and personified as a female divinity called *Adi-Prajñā* and *Adi-Dharmā*. Man's *summum bonum* is to pass from the transmigrations incident to the state of *prarṛitti* into the eternal rest or bliss of *nīrṛitti*. The triadic doctrine of all the schools is referable solely to *prarṛitti*. In the state of *nīrṛitti*, with some of the Aiswarikas, Buddha represents intellectual essence and the then sole entity; with others of the Aiswarikas, Dharma, or material essence exists *binarily* with Buddha in *nīrṛitti*, the two being in that state *one*. With the Prājñikas, *Prajñā*, in the state of *nīrṛitti*, is the *summum et solum nomen*, *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 *nīrṛitti* abstracted from palpable material substance, eternally, unchangeably, and essentially one. When this essential principle of matter passes into the state of *prarṛitti*, 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 figured to be a female, first the mother, and then the wife, of the male, Buddha. [For a glimpse at the esoteric sense of these enigmas, 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 Swābhāvika doctrine.

[14] This is the name of the Theistic school of the Bauddha philosophers. The Sāmbhū Purāṇa and Guṇa-Kāranda Vyūha contain the least obscure enunciation of Theism—and these books belong to Nepal. 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 Kārnika and Yātnika appear to have attempted to remedy this defect. [See the following note.]

[15] Of two of the four schools of Bauddha philosophy, namely, the Swābhāvika and Aiswarika, I have already said a few words: the two remaining schools are denominated the Kārnika 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 Swabhāva, or Prajñā, or Adi-Buddha, the Bauddhas, both Swābhāvikas and Aiswarikas, 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 Prājñika, and even to the Aiswarika 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 circumstance that, out of some forty slokas 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 *Dirya Aradāna*, Śākya says, "from the union of Upāya and Prajñā, arose manas—the lord of the senses; and from manas or 'mind' proceeded good and evil; and this union of Upāya and Prajñā is then declared to be a Kārma. And in the same work, in regard to the Yātnika doctrine, it is said, "Iswara (*i.e.*, Adi-Buddha) produced Yatna from Prajñā, and the cause of *pravrīti* and *nīrvrīti** 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 Prājñikas and Aiswarikas; and it was to remove these objections that the more recent Kārmikas and Yātnikas feigned conscious moral agency (*Kārma*), and conscious intellectual agency (*Yatna*) to have been with the *causa causarum* (whether material or immaterial) from the beginning. Of all the schools, the Kārmikas and Yātnikas alone seem to have been duly sensible of man's free-will, and God's moral attributes. The Kārmika confession of faith is, "*Pūra janma krīdam karma tad daivyaṃ iti kathyate*," 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 Aiswarika school.

(16) This is the divine creation alluded to in the third note. The eternal, infinite and intellectual Adi-Buddha possesses, as proper to his own essence, five sorts

* See note 17 for the sense of these cardinal terms.

of wisdom. From these he, by five separate acts of Dhyána, created the five Dhyáni Buddhas, to whom he gave the virtue of that *jñána* whence each derived his origin. These five Dhyáni Buddhas again created, each of them, a Dhyáni Bodhisatwa by the joint efficacy of the *jñána* received from Adi-Buddha, and of an act of his own Dhyána.

The five Dhyáni Buddhas are, like Adi-Buddha, quiescent—and the active work of creation and rule is devolved on the Bodhisatwas. This creation by Dhyána is eminently characteristic of Buddhism—but *whose* Dhyána possesses creative power? that of an eternal Adi-Buddha, say the Aiswarikas of the *Sámhú Púrana*—that of *any* Buddha, even a *Mánushi* or mortal Buddha, say the Swábhávikas. The Bauddhas have no other notion of creation (than that by Dhyána,) which is not generative.

(17) These terms are common to all the schools of Bauddha philosophy; with the Aiswarikas, *nirvritti* is the state in which mind exists independent of matter; *pravritti*, the state in which it exists while mixed with matter. With the simple Swábhávikas the former term seems to import non-entity; the latter, entity. With the Prájñika Swábhávikas, the former term signifies the state in which the active and intellectual power of matter exists abstractedly from visible nature. The *Moksha* of the first is absorption into Adi-Buddha; of the second, absorption into Súnýatá; of the third, identification with Prajñá. In a word, *nirvritti* means abstraction, and *pravritti*, concretion—from *nirvána* is formed *nirvritti*, but *pravritti* has no *pravána*.

(18) If so, I am afraid few Bauddhas can be called wise. The doctrine of the text in this place is that of the Aiswarikas, *set off to the best advantage*: the doctrine incidentally objected to is that of the Swábhávikas and Prájñikas. 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 Dhyáni Buddhas of the Theistic school *do* anything. They seem to be mere personifications, according to a Theistic theory, of the active and intellectual powers of nature—and hence are called Pancha Bhúta, Pancha Indriya, and Pancha Ayatana-Akára.

It may seem contrary to this notion of the quiescence of the five Dhyáni Buddhas, that, according at least to some Nepaul works, each of them has a Sakti.

Vairochana's is Vajra-Dhāteswarī; Akshobhya's, Lochanā; Ratna Sambhava's, Māmukhī; Amitābha's, Pāndarā; Amogha Siddha's, Tārā. But I apprehend that these Buddha-Saktis are peculiar to Nepal; 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-Saktis, in which the ladies act a conspicuous part; and according to which, Adi-Buddha is styled Yogāmbara; and Adi-Dharma, Jñāneswarī. But this system has only been recently revealed to me, and I cannot say more of it at present.

(20) According to the Aiswarikas: the Swābhāvikas say, into Akāsa and Sūnyatā; the Prājnikas, into Adi-Prājnā. The Swābhāvika doctrine of Sūnyatā is the darkest corner of their metaphysical labyrinth. It cannot mean strictly nothingness, since there are eighteen degrees of Sūnyatā, whereof the first is Akāsa: and Akāsa 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; but by their Sūnyatā 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 seventh question, are exactly similar to that of Sākya 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† (*chīnas*.) When coloured there is a more remarkable diagnosis, Akshobhya being blue, and Sākya and the other six Mānushis, yellow.

(21) The *Sāmbhū Purāna* says, manifested in Nepal in the form of flame (*Jyotī-rūpa*.) According to the same work, Adi-Dharma's (or Prajnā's) manifestation in Nepal is in the form of water (*jala 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 Pāni's names in his character of active creator and governor of the *present* world. Three Dhyāni Bodhisattwas 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 Bodhisattwas from Adi-Buddha. It is the Bodhisattwas 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 *bodhijnāna*; and even then, while yet lingering in the flesh, he got the name of Sākya Sinha. This name has caused some speculation,

* Tāntrika system.

† *Mudrās*, the name of the several (all) positions of the hands: *Chīnas*, that of the cognizances placed between the supporters or vahans.

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 Sakavansa was an Indian race or family; as was the Gautamavansa, in which also Sākya was once born.

(25 *his*) This must be received with some allowance. The *Lalitā Vistara* 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 *Rakṣā Bhāgaratī*, consisting of no less than 125,000 slokas. This is a work of philosophy rather than of religion, and its spirit is sceptical to the very verge of pyrrhonism. The Bauddhas of Nepaul hold it in the highest esteem, and I have sent three copies of it to Calcutta. Its substance though not its form or *reduction to writing*, are attributed (as are those of all the other Bauddha scriptures) to Sākya Sinha. Whatever the Buddhas have said, (*sugatai-desita*) is an object of worship with the Bauddhas. Sākya having systematised these words of the Buddhas, and his earliest disciples having reduced to writing, the books are now worshipped under the names of *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 *Rakṣā Bhāgaratī*, by the Buddhists. That work, (as already stated) is of vast extent, containing no less than 125,000* slokas, divided into five equal parts or *khands*, which are known by the names of the five *Pāramitās* and the five *Rakṣās*.

(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 Bauddha 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, *Pratyeka*, *Srāvaka*, and *Mahā Yānika*. Sākya Sinha is often said to be the *seventh* and *last* Mānushi Buddha who has yet reached the supreme grade of the *Mahā Yānika*. In the *Lalitā Vistara*, 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 Yāna*."

(29) Genuine Buddhism never seems to contemplate any measures of acceptance

* See list of books at pp. 36-39. The *Prajñā Pāramitā* is found in five different degrees of development; of these the second, though distinct from, is often blended with the first.

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 Bodhi-Sattwa)—conquer the importunities of the body, urge your mind to the meditation of abstraction, and you shall, in time, discover the great secret (*Sāngatá*) of nature: know this, and you become, on the instant, whatever priests have feigned of Godhead—you become identified with Prajñá, 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 *pravṛtti*, but in the archetypal and pure state of *nīrvṛtti*. Put off, therefore, the vile, *pravṛttika* necessities of the body, and the no less vile affections of the mind (*Tapas*); urge your thoughts into pure abstraction (*Dhyána*), and then, as assuredly you *can*, so assuredly you *shall*, attain to the wisdom of a Buddha (*Bodhijnána*), and become associated with the eternal unity and rest of *nīrvṛtti*.” Such, I believe, is the esoteric doctrine of the Prájnikas—that of the Swábhávikas is nearly allied to it, but more timid and sceptical; they too magnify the wisdom and power of nature so abundantly diffused throughout *pravṛtti*, but they seem not to unitize that wisdom and power in the state of *nīrvṛtti*, and incline to conceive of *nīrvṛtti*, as of a state of things concerning which nothing can be predicated; but which, even though it be nothingness (*Sāngatá*), is at least a blissful *rest* to man, otherwise doomed to an eternity of transmigrations through all forms of visible nature: and while the Swábhávikas thus underrated the *nīrvṛtti* of the Prájnikas, it is probable that they compensated themselves by magnifying, more than the Prájnikas did, that *pravṛttika* omnipotence of which the wise man (*Buddha*) is capable, *even upon earth*. It has been already stated that the second person of the Prájnika Triad is denominated Buddha and Upáya; 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 (*Prajná*), 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 *pravṛtti*); but which is not fully accomplished till he passes, by the body's decay, into the eternal state of *nīrvṛtti*.

And as the wisdom of man is, in its origin, but an effluence of the Supreme wisdom (*Prajná*) of nature, so is it perfected by a reflux to its source, but without loss of individuality: whence Prajñá is feigned in the exoteric system to be both the mother and the wife of all the Buddhas, “*jananī sarva Buddhá-nám*,” and “*Jina-sundarī*,” for the efflux is typified by a birth, and the reflux by a marriage.

The Buddha is the adept in the wisdom of Buddhism (*Bodhijnána*) 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 "Bodhisattwas," so called from their hearts being inclined to the wisdom of Buddhism, and "Sanghas," from their companionship with one-another, and with their Buddha or teacher, in the *Viháras* or cœnobitical establishments.

And such is the esoteric interpretation of the third (and inferior) member of the Prájñika Triad. The Bodhisattwa or Sangha 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 immortal or ceases to be subject to transmigration. 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 *Prajñá Páramitá*. Let me add in this place, that I desire all searchers after the doctrine of Bodhijnána to look into the Bauddha scriptures, and judge for themselves; and to remember, meanwhile, that I am not a Sanskrit 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 *Pandit*.

(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 Newárs must be assigned to the north; and in the *Sámhjá Purána*, a Bauddha teacher named Manju Ghosha, and Manju Nátha and Manjusri, is stated to have led a colony into Nepaul from China;† to have cleared Nepaul of the waters which then covered it; to have made the country habitable; to have built a temple to Jyoti-rúp-Adi-Buddha; and established Dharmákara (whom he brought with him) as first Raja of Nepaul. But I nevertheless suppose (upon the authority of tradition) that Nepaul received *some* colonists from India; and that *some* of the earliest propagators of Buddhism in Nepaul came to the valley *direct* from India. Be that as it may, the Indian origin of Nepaulese Buddhism (whether it reached the valley direct, or *via* Blhot or China) seems to be unquestionable from the fact that all the great *Saugata* scriptures of Nepaul are written in the *Sanskrit language*. From the gradual decay of literature and of a knowledge of Sanskrit among the Newárs has resulted the practice, now very common, of translating *ritual* works into the vernacular tongue; and also the usage of

‡ *Tathá*, 'thus, absolutely, verily;' and *gata*, 'got, obtained;' the thing got being cessation from versatile existence, alias, *nirvāna pada*.

† See Fahien, pp. 112-115 for Manjusri. The place named is Pancha Sirsha Parvata, which the comment says is in China. The words are both Sanskrit.

adding to the original Sanskrit 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 Sanskrit having always been considered by the Buddhists of Nepaul 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 Newárí language.

(31) Of course therefore the Bauddhas of Nepaul 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 avocations, and abhors the distinction of clergy and laity. All proper Bauddhas are Bandyas; and all Bandyas are equal as brethren in the faith. They are properly all ascetics or monks—some solitary, mostly cenobitical. Their convents are called *Viháras*. The rule of these *Viháras* is a rule of freedom; and the door of every *Vihára* 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 *Vihára* has a titular superior called *Náyaka*,|| 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 *Viháras*.

The old Bauddha scriptures enumerate four sorts of Bandyas, named: Arhan, Bhikshu, Srávaka, 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 Arhan being only segregated from the rest by his superior proficiency in Bodhijnána. Of these the proper institutes of Buddhism, there remains hardly a trace in Nepaul. The very names of the Arhan 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 Achárya*, has derived his name, office, and existence in Nepaul, not only without sanction from the Bauddha scriptures, but in direct opposition to their spirit and tendency.

Nepaul is still covered with *Viháras*; 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-Achárya* in Sanskrit; *Gábbhá* in Newárí: 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-Achárya*, 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 Bauddhas who retain the lock on the crown of the head, and are

§ "Once a priest for ever a priest" is a maxim which Buddhism utterly eschews.

|| *Náyaka*, the superior of a convent, is *Khanpo* in Tibet, *Thero* in Ceylon *Banrya* is *Bonze* in Japan, *Bandida* in Altaia; and *Arhat* is *Rahatan* in Indo-China. I demur to the frequent use of the word priest as the equivalent of any of these terms.

not Bandyas. These improper Bauddhas are called *Udás*, *Japu*, *Kami*, etc., according to their various avocations and crafts; the *Udás* are traders; the *Japu*, agriculturists; the *Kami*, craftsmen. They comprise the untensured class: they never dwell in the *Viháras*; 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 untensured class, who have thus become, in course of time, more numerous than the Bandyas, notwithstanding the early abandonment by the Bandyas of those monastic vows 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 many of the mechanical, arts of their country. The *Vajra-Achárya* and *Bhikshu* are the religious guides and priests of both Bandyas and non-Bandyas.* 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 of the other classes—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 mostly Saivas and Sáktas; 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 Sanskrit, but from Newari. I have not thought it worth while to enumerate any more of these examples. The *Vihára* is built round a large quadrangle, or open square, two stories high; the architecture is Chinese. *Chaitya* properly means a *temple* of Buddha, and *Vihára*, an abode of cenobitical *followers* of Buddha.† In the open square in the midst of every *Vihára*, is placed a *Chaitya* or a *Kutagar*—but those words always bear the senses here attached to them; and *Vihára* can never be construed temple—it is a convent, or monastery, or religious house, but never *templem* *DEI* *VEL* *BUDDHÆ*. At the base of the hemisphere of every *Nepaul Chaitya* are placed the images of the *Dhyáni* 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

* Bandyas has no correlative term, like *Laius* of *Clerus*; one of many arguments in favour of the nonadmittance of that distinction by Buddhism, as elsewhere attempted to be shown: see *Fahian* pp. 12, 172, 175, and 289, for sundry notices of so-called *Clerus* *et* *Laius*. Those passages seem to prove that the distinction is foreign to genuine Buddhism.

† Fergusson, tree and serpent worship, p. 79.

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.

QUOTATIONS FROM ORIGINAL SANSKRIT AUTHORITIES.

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 Nepal in the original Sanskrit.

These extracts were made for me (whilst I was collecting the works* in question) some years ago by Amrita Nanda Barlya, the most learned Buddhist then, or now, living in that 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 higher and better sense than those of Csoma de Körös or of Upham. Without stopping to question whether the sages who formed the Buddhist system of philosophy and religion used Sanskrit or high Prakrit, or both, or seeking to determine the consequent pretension of Upham's authorities to be considered original;‡ it may be safely said, that those of Csoma de Körös can support no claims of the kind.

† Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, London; —neon, Transactions of Bengal Society, vol. xvi.

*The collection comprises, besides sixty volumes in *Sanskrit*, procured in *Nepal*, the very names of which had previously been unknown, some 250 volumes in the language of *Tibet*, which were obtained from *Lassa* and *Digarcha*. But for the existence of the latter at Calcutta, Csoma de Körös's attainments in *Tibetan* long had been comparatively useless. The former or Sanskrit books of *Nepal* are the authorities relied on in this paper. One complete set has been presented to the Indian Home Government, another procured for the Asiatic Society, and most of the Sanskrit series for the Libraries of Paris and of Oxford. Since the first collection was made in *Nepal*, very many new works in the Sanskrit language have been discovered and are yet daily under discovery. The probability now is, that the entire *Kaluggur* and *Struggur* may be recovered in the original language. The whole series has been obtained in that of Tibet, 327 large volumes.

‡ Upham's 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 *Ayodhyā* and *Magadha*, (the acknowledged founders of *Buddhism*) postponed the use of Sanskrit to that of Prakrit, in the original exposition of their subtle system appears to me as absurd as it does probable that their successors, as *Missionaries*, resorted to Prakrit versions of the original Sanskrit authorities, in propagating the system in the remotest parts of the continent and in

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 infinitesimally-multiplied and microscopically-distinguished 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 a 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 words their system, will cautiously reserve, I apprehend, for the Baudtha books still extant in the classical language of India, the title of original authorities. From such works, which, though now found only in Nepal, 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 invidiously, as well as laxly, used and applied in certain quarters.

It is still, I observe, questioned amongst us, whether Brahmanism or Buddhism be the more ancient creed, as well as whether the latter be of Indian or extra Indian growth. The Buddhists themselves have no doubts upon either point. They unhesitatingly concede the palm of superior antiquity to their rivals and persecutors, the Brahmins; 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 the exotic origin of Buddhism upon the supposed African flocks 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 exotic theory, to go in quest of presumptions to the time-out-of-mind illiterate Scythians,† in order to give to them the glory of

Ceylon. On this ground, I presume the Prakrit 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 Prakrit works, comparable in importance with the Sanskrit books discovered in Nepal, will suffice to shake it in my mind. Sir W. Jones had a copy of the *Lalita Vistara* whence he quotes a description of Dharma as Diva Natura. Sir W. Jones I believe to be the author of the assertion, that the *Buddhists* committed their system to high Prakrit or Pali; and so long at least as there were no Sanskrit 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 Sanskrit lexicon extant was the work of a *Buddha*; nor that the *Brahmins* themselves acknowledged the pre-eminent *literary* merits of their heterodox adversaries. But for his *Brahminical* bias therefore, Sir William might have come at the truth, that the *Buddha* philosophers employed the classical language.

*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 Uighurs of Bish Balig had letters derived from the Nestorian Christians. Thence Sramanism and Christian monachism may have met on the common ground of monachism. Sramanism is nothing more than Tantrika Buddhism.

originating a system built upon the most subtile philosophy, and all the copious original records of which are inshrined in Sanskrit,† a language which, whence-soever primevally derived, had been, when Buddhism appeared, for ages proper to the Indian continent.

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

Sākya Sinha is, avowedly, a Kshatriya; and, if his six predecessors had really any historical existence, the books which affirm it, affirm too, that all the six were of Brahmanical or Kshatriya 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 Brahmanical one of their day.|| The Chinese, the Mongols, the Tibetans, the Indo-Chinese, the Japanese, 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 Sanskrit 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 Brahmanism, 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), is monastic asceticism in moral, 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 reli-

† The difference between high Prakrit and Sanskrit could not affect this question, though it were conceded that the founders of Buddhism used only the former and not the latter—a concession however, which should not be lightly made, and to which I wholly demur. In fact, it now appears that they used both languages, but Sanskrit only in the philosophical or speculative series of their Sastras.

§ The Brahmanical or Kshatriya family from which each of these Buddhas sprung is expressly and carefully stated by the Bauddha writers, a fact which I hold to be decisive of this dispute, since if we would carry the etymon of Buddhism beyond the last of these seven Buddhas, we cannot surely think of carrying it beyond the first of them.

|| See the Bauddha 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 *Pu-su* is *Vissavāṇṇa Prajñā* or the polyform type of "Divā Natura." See Oriental Quarterly Magazine, No. xvi. pp. 218-222, for proofs of the fact that numberless Bauddha remains have been mistaken for Brahmanical 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 *Nipaulese* 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.

gious 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 *Māra-charya* or way of the evil one,†† contradistinguishing their reformation thereof as the *Bodhi-charya* or way of the wise; and the Brahmanical impugnors 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 bald doctrine of mortal souls: and the Swābhāvika 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 Rémusat 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 Rémusat'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 Brahmanism and in Popery; whilst in Islamism, and in the most enthusiastic of the Christian sects, which sprang 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

†† Nāmuchi by name, chief of the Kakodemons.

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

† For example, the Anglican church holds that there is no virtue in any sacerdotal function not performed by the successors of the apostles, who are the only clergy.

‡ 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 numerously followed.

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 cœnobite 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 of an unboundedly enthusiastical 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 *Sata Sâhasrika*, *Prajñā Pāramitā*, or *Raksha Bhāgavatī*, 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 cœnobites, the rest, solitaries. The fullest enumeration of these followers (*Bhikṣu*, *Srāvaka* 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 (*Vihāra*) 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, (called from this very circumstance *Sangha*,) 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 Buddhist books, is in those of a comparatively recent date, and not of scriptural authority. Therein the *Vajra Acharya* (for so he is called) first appears arrayed with the ordinary attributes of

§ See Guizot's *Civilization of Europe*, ii. 61-63, & i. 86.

|| 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 Swâbhâvikas 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.

* *Srāmana* includes the whole, and is equally ascetic; *Srāmanī* feminine, equal to monk and nun. *Sākya* is often called the great *Srāmana*.

§§ Bunsen's controversy with Gladstone, and his work on the constitution of the church (published in 1847) set this matter clearly in the light in which I viewed it; Bunsen sets on the congregational church as the only true one, says the clergy church is pregnant with priestcraft and essentially untenable, contends that the future church must be of the former kind, and adds that the reformation virtually extinguished the clergy church. So *Sākya* argued and instituted in opposition to the clerical exorbitances of the *Brahmans*.

a priest. But his character is anomalous, as is that of everything about him ; and the learned Bauddhas of Nepal at the present day universally admit the falling off from the true faith. We have in these books, *Bhikshus, Srāvakas, Chailakas, and Sākya Vansikas*,* bound by 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 by *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 for centuries† 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 *Saṅgha* of the Buddhist triad ought to have been invariably rendered by Rémusat into ‘congregation of the faithful’ or ‘church,’ and never into ‘clergy’ or ‘priesthood.’ Rémusat indeed seems to consider (*Observations*, 28-29, 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 !

* An inscription at Karli identifies the splendid *Sālivāhana* with the head of the Saka tribe, which is that of Sākya Samha. The Sākya-Vansikas, or people of the race of Sākya, appeared in Nepal as refugees from Brahman bigotry, some time after Buddhism had been planted in these hills. Sākya is universally allowed to have been the son of king Sudhodana, sovereign of Magadha, or Bihar (Kosala says Wilson, who calls it a dependency of Bihar). He is said to have been born in the “*Sthāna of Kapila Muni*,” at Gangā Sāgara, 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. Sākya died, according to my authorities, in Assam, and left one son named Rahula Bhadra. (See Csona de Koros in No. 20 of Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society for origin of Sākya-Vansika. Their primitive sect was Tatta, their next Kapila in Oude, whence they migrated into Nepal.) The Sakas were Kshatriyas of the solar line, according to *Baudāha* authorities : nor is it any proof of the contrary that they appear not in the Brahmanical genealogies. See note in the sequel.

† Even if we begin with Asoka we can hardly assign less than six to eight centuries for Buddhist predominance, nor less than about double that duration for more or less of prevalence in the plains of India. (See note at page 76.)

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 Barman *Rathan* and the Japanese *Bouze*,) no more necessarily mean priest, clergy, than do the Latin *fideles* and *milites* as applied to Christianity, as little can such a sense be ascribed to the word *Bhikshu*, which means 'mendicant' 'fiar;' 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 Rémusat and Upham appear to insist is the case, every monastic follower of Buddha be a priest, then *Bandya* or *Bonzé* must be rendered into English by the word 'clergyman.' 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*, *Srāvaka*, and *Chailaka*,† as specific ones, are still

** Observations, p. 63.

* *Bhikshu* now appears to be the word rendered priest by us in Ceylon. But it is unquestionably mendicant, holy beggar, as *Thero* is *Nagaka* or Superior and *Upasika* Servitor, of a Convent. See Fabian, 12, 172, 231.

† The possible meaning of this word has employed in vain the sagacity of sundry critics. In its proper form of *Bandya* (*Vandya*), it is pure Sanskrit, signifying a person entitled to reverence, and is derived from *Vandana*.

Equally curious and instructive is it to find in the *Sanskrit* records of *Buddhism* the solution of so many enigmas collected by travellers from all parts of Asia, e g gree, Elphinstone's mound is a genuine Chaitya, and its proper name is *Manikatalaya*, or the place of the precious relic. The mound is a tomb temple. The "*tamuli corum Christi altera*" 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 *Buddhas*, 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 enshrining of the relics of their saints; they worship the architectural model or form of the *Chaitya*.

The *Chaitya* of Sumbhunāh in *Nepaul* is affirmed to cover *Jyoti rūpya* Swayambhu, or the self-existent, in the form of flame: nor was there ever anything *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 *Gyā*, and of *Bāg*, demonstrate. The *Dhyāni Buddhas* appear in the oldest monuments of the continent and islands.

‡ Buddhist monachism agrees surprisingly with Christian, whether owing to Nestorian infusion among the Uighurs or otherwise. Thus there are several orders of monks in both; in the former mendicant saints, naked or scantily clothed saints, and learned

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 Arhats in the persons of their divine Lamas. No such imagination however possesses the heads of the followers of Buddha in Nepal, Ceylon, or Indo China; 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 Nepal, (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, Rémusat'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 the creed, and all who, following his steps, have reached the full rank of a Maháyánika 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 any and every assemblage of true, *i. e.*, of monastical observers of the law, past or present.

In a philo-osophical 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 underived. Dharma is material essence,|| the plastic cause, and underived, a co-equal binunity 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 saints like the Franciscans, Dominicans, etc., and all of both creeds are usually social, though hermits also be found.

§ *Bodhanātmaka iti Bud dha*, 'the intellectual essence is Buddha.'

|| *Dharmatmaka it Dharma*, 'the holding, sustaining or containing substance is Dharma.' Again, *Prakṛteswari it Prajna*, 'the maternal goddess is Prajna,' one of the names of Dharma. The word *Prajna* is compounded of the intensive prefix *pra*, and *jna* wisdom, or *jna*, to know. It imports the supreme wisdom of nature. Dharma is the universal substratum, is that which supports all form and quality in space. The *Buddha Dharma* is the exact equivalent of the *Brahmanical Matra*. Matra is that which measures space; Dharma that which supports form and quality in space; both are very just and philosophical ideas relative to what we call matter and substance. The *substans* or supporter of all phenomena, whatever its nature, is Dharma.

* *Samudayātmika iti Sangha*, 'the multitudinous essence is Sangha:.' multitude is the diagnosis of the versatile universe, as unity is of that of abstraction.

*† *Prjñāopayātmakam Jagatah*, from *Prajna* and *Upaya*, the world. *Upaya* is the energy of *Prajna*.

above are the principal distinctions; others there are which I cannot venture here to dwell on.

With regard to Rémusat's remark, "*on voit que les trois noms sont placés sur le même niveau, comme les trois représentations des mêmes êtres 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 *pūjā* of the *Dakṣiṇācāras*,* and that all the philosophers and religionists are agreed in postponing *Sangha* to *Dharma*.

I possess very many drawings exhibiting the arrangement mentioned by Rémusat; but all subservient to mere ritual purposes and consequently worthy of no serious attention. The *Matantara*, or variorum text of the *Pūjāris* 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.

THE SWABHĀVA-DOCTRINE.

1. All things are governed or perfected by Swabhāva;‡ I too am governed by Swabhāva. (*Aṣṭa Sāhasrikā.*)

2. It is proper for the worshipper at the time of worship to reflect thus: I am *Nirlipta*,§ and the object of my worship is *Nirlipta*; I am that God (*Iṣwara*) to whom I address myself. Thus meditating, the worshipper should make *pūjā* 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* come from Swabhāva 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; and from that of the letter L, earth; and from that of the letter S, Mount Sumera. On the summit of Sumera 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 Swabhāva, so also does Vajra Satwa, thence called the self-existent.** (*Pūjā Kāṇḍa.*)

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 Swabhāva (nature), and according to others, from God (*Iṣwara*); and hence it is said, that Swabhāva and *Iṣwara* are essentially one, differing only in name.*† (*Aṣṭa Sāhasrikā.*)

*The theistic sects so call themselves, styling their opposites, the *Swabharikas* and *Prajñikas*, *Vanacharas*. The *Paurāṇikas*, too, often designate the *Tantrikas* by the latter name, which is equivalent to left-handed.

† See the classified enumeration of the principal objects of *Bauddha* worship appended to this paper.

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

§ Intact and intangible, independent.

|| Root, radix, seed.

** 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 *Vatukā* system.

4. At the general dissolution of all things, the four elements shall be absorbed in *Sūnyākāra-Akāsa* (sheer space) in this order:—earth in water, water in fire, fire in air, and air in Akāsa, and Akāsa in Sūnyatā, and Sūnyatā in Tathatā,* and Tathatā in Buddha, (which is Mahā Sūnyatā†) and Buddha in Bhāvāna, and Bhāvāna in Swabhāva. And when existence is again evolved, each shall in the inverse order, progress from the other. From that Swabhāva, which communicates its property of infinity to Akāsa, proceeded into being, in Akāsa, 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-Satwa, and from them the five elements, with their Vija Mantras.§ Such is the Swabhāvika Sansāra; which Sansāra (universe) constantly revolves between Pravritti and Nirvritti, like a potter's wheel. (*Dīrṅga Aradāna*).

5. Mahā Sūnyatā is, according to some Swabhāva, and according to others, Iswara it is like the ethereal expanse, and self-sustained. In that Mahā-Sūnyatā, the letter A, with the Vija Mantra of Upāya,|| and the chief of all the Vija Mantras of the letters, became manifest. (*Rakṣā Bhāgaratī*.)**

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 Charitra Kāya*.)

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 Swabhāva. (*Kalpalatā*.)

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 Swabhāva. (*Kalpalatā*.)

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

* *Tathata*, says the comment, is *Satya Jayana*; and *Bhavana* is *Blava* or *Satta*, i. e., sheer entity.

† See note on quotation 1 of section on *Adi-Buddha*.

‡ Here again I might repeat the caution and remark at quotation 2. I have elsewhere observed that *Swabhāvika* texts, differently interpreted, form the basis of the *Aiswarika* doctrine, as well as that the *Buddhas* of the *Swabhāvikas*, who derive their capacity of identifying themselves with the first cause from nature, which is that cause, are as largely gifted as the *Buddhas* of the *Aiswarikas*, deriving the same capacity from *Adi-Buddha*, who is that cause. See remarks on Kēmasat in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Nos. 32, 33, and 34.

§ A. Cunningham has found this literal symbolic representation of the elements, and also that of the triad at Bhilsa. See his *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 355 f.

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

** The *Rakṣa Bhāgaratī* is the same work as the *Prajñā Paramita*.

*† 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 *Swabhāvika* philosophy. and if this denial amount to atheism, the *Swabhāvikas* are, for the most part, atheists:

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 Swabhāva. (*Kalpatalā*.)

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 Swabhāva; and the union of the soul or life (*Ātmā*) with body, is also Swabhāva. (*Buddha Charitra Kāvya*.)

12. From Swabhāva (nature) all things proceeded; by Swabhāva all things are preserved. All their differences of structure and of habits are from Swabhāva; and from Swabhāva comes their destruction. All things are regulated (*suddha*) by Swabhāva. Swabhāva is known as the Supreme. (*Pūjā Kānda*, from the *Rakṣā Bhagavatī*, where the substance is found in sundry passages.)

13. *Akāśa* is Swabhāvika, 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 (*Ātma***) of creation, preservation, and destruction; it is the essence of the five elements: it is infinite; it is intellectual essence (*Bodhanūtmika*). The five colours are proper to it; and the five Buddhas; and the letters. It is *Sūnyatā*; self-supported; omnipresent: to its essence belong both *Pravritti* and *Nirvritti*. This *Akāśa*, which is omnipresent, and essentially intellectual,* because infinite things are absorbed into it, is declared to be infinite. From the infinite nature of this *Akāśa* 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 *Akāśa* pro-

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 grave, or the doctrine of atonement. Still Newton's is, upon the whole, the right judgment, '*Deus sine providentiā et dominus nihil est nisi fatum et natura*.' The *Śarabharvaka* 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 the Brahmanists over the material pantheism of the *Buddhists*. Metempsychosis and absorption are common to both. Both admit eternal necessary, entity or a substance for phenomena; both admit intellect; both deny two classes of phenomena as well as two substances for them; both affirm the homogeneity and unreality of all phenomena, and lastly, both leave the personality and active dominion of the *causa causarum* in obscurity.

** One comment on the comment says, *Ātma* here means *sthān* or *ataya*, i. e., the *abode* of creation, etc.

* *Akāśa* is here understood as synonymous with *Sūnyatā*, that is, as the elemental state of all things, the universal *abi* 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 ens, or eternal portion of the system of nature, though separated from self-consciousness or personality. In the same manner, *Prājñā*, the sum of all things, *Dīpa natura*, is declared to be eternal, and essentially intelligent, though a material principle.

† Secret nature of *Akāśa*, that is, *Akāśa* or *Ether* has no sensible cognizable properties such as belong to the ordinary elements. The gradual evolution of all things in *Pravritti* and their revolution into *Nirvritti* being perpetual, seem to prove that the Buddhist *Sūnyatā* is not nothingness, but rather the utterly inscrutable character of the ultimate *semina rerum*.

ceeded likewise, together with the *Vija Mantra* of each one, air with its own mobility; and from air, fire with its own heat; and from fire, water with its intrinsical coldness; and from water, earth with its own proper solidity or heaviness; and from earth, Mount Sumeru with its own substance of gold, or with its own sustaining power (*Dhātuvātmika*); and from Sumeru, all the various kinds of trees and vegetables; and from them, all the variety 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, etc.) and their several modes of birth, (oviparous, etc.§) 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; and its gradual growth and assumption of flesh, bones, skin, and organs, is caused by the joint energy of the Swabhāva of the foetus, and that of time, or the Swabhāva 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 (*Devatās*) without parentage of any sort: all these marvels proceed from Swabhāva. (Comment on the *Piṇḍa Kāṇḍa*, quotation 12.)

THE AISWARIKA* SYSTEM.

1. The self-existent God is the sum of perfections, infinite, external, without members or passions; one with all things (in *Pravritti*), and separate from all things (in *Nirvritti*), uninformed and formless, the essence of *Pravritti* and of *Nirvritti*†. (*Śvayambhū Purāṇa*.)

† By virtue of Swabhāva and of time says another comment; thus time stands out like space, as a something superior to all phenomena, and both are quasi deified by Buddhists and by Brahmanists.

§ By cetera, 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 *Buddhists*, 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*, *Jātas*, and other dissenters from the existing orthodox system of *Vyāsa* and *Saṅkara Acharya*.

* From *Iswara*, 'God.'

† *Pravritti*, the versatile universe; *Nirvritti*, its opposite, this world and the next. *Pravritti* is compounded of *Pro*, an intensive, and *vritti*, action, occupation, from the root *va*, to blow as the wind; *Nirvritti*, of *Nir*, a privative, and *vritti*, as before.

2. He whose image is *Súnyatá*, 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 *Iswara*, the first intellectual essence, the *Adi-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-jñánātmanika*, he produced the five Buddhas thus:—from *Suvisuddhadharma-dhātúja-jñána*, *Vairocana*, the supremely wise, from whom proceed the element of *Aláka*, the organ of sight, and colours: and from *Adarsana-jñána*, *Akshobhya*, from whom proceed the element of air, the organ of hearing, and all sounds: and from *Pratyavekshana-jñána*, *Ratna Sambhava*, from whom proceed the element of fire, the organ of smell, and all odours; and from *Sánta-jñána*, *Amitábha*, from whom proceed the element of water, the organ of taste, and all savours; and from *Kṛtīyanuśthā-jñána*, *Amogha Siddha*, from whom proceed the element of earth, the organ of touch, and all the sensible properties of outward things dependent thereon. All these five Buddhas are *Pravritti-karmānas*, or the authors of creation. They possess the five *jñānas*, the five colours, the five *mudrās*, and the five vehicles.* The five elements, five organs of sense, and five respective objects† of sense, are forms of them.‡ And these five Buddhas each produced a *Bodhi-Satwa*, (for the detail, see *Asiatic Society's* Transactions, vol. xvi.) The five *Bodhi-Satwas* are *Sṛishti-karmānas*, 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

|| This is the symbol of the Triad and of the Saktis.

* See Appendix A.

† If *Manas*, as the sum of the faculties of sense, be excluded, we may render the passage as here; else we must say elements, organs, and objects.

‡ The five *Dhyani Buddhas* are said to be *Pancha Bhūta*, *Pancha Indriya*, and *Pancha Agatana ākāra*. Hence my conjecture that they are mere personifications, according to a theistic theory, of the phenomena of the sensible world. The sixth *Dhyani Buddha* is, in like manner, the icon and source of the sixth sense, and its object, or *Manas* and *Dharmā*, i.e., the percipient principle, soul of the senses, or internal sense, and moral phenomena. *Manas* is the *Bhūta*, *Dharmā* the *Indriya*, and *Dharmā* the *Agatana*, or mind, mental apprehension and the appropriate objects of such apprehension, or all things. Mind is the seat of consciousness and perception, whatever its essence, and is the effective cause of all sensation and perception.

§ This important word is compounded of *Tatha*, thus, and *gata*, gone or got, and is explained in three ways. First, thus got or obtained, i.e., the rank of a *Tathāgata*, obtained by observance of the rules prescribed for the acquisition of perfect wisdom, of which acquisition, total cessation of births is the efficient consequence. Second, thus gone, i.e., the *mundane* existence of the *Tathāgata*, gone so as never to return, mortal births having been closed, and *Nirvṛtti* obtained, by perfection of knowledge. Third, 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.

(versatile) existence is the cause of the cessation or extinction of all (such) existence: so said Śākya Sinha. (*Bhadra Kalpācadāna*.)*

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

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

6. Subandhu (a Rāja of Benares) was childless. He devoted himself to the worship of Iswara (Adi-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 Ikshvāva Aku. (*Aradāna Kalpalatā*.)

7. When all was void, perfect void, [Śūnya, Mahā Śūnya] the triliteral syllable *Aum* became manifest, the first created, the indelibly splendid, surrounded by all the radical letters (*Vija 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. (*Swayambhū-Purāna*.)

THE KARMIKA† SYSTEM.

1. From the union of Upāya and Prajñā,‡ arose Manas, the lord of the senses, and from Manas proceeded the ten virtues and the ten vices; so said Śākya Sinha. [*Dirya Aradāna*].

The epithet *Tathāgata*, therefore, can only be applied to *Adi-Buddha*, the self-existent, who is never emanated, 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 *Tathāgata*? It does not come again,’ proposed and solved by the *Rakshā Bhagavate*, 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. *Tathāgata*, ‘thus gone, or gone as he came,’ as applied to *Adi-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 *Adi-Buddha*, for the third sceptical and general interpretation above given. The synonym *Sagata*, or ‘well gone, (or well got, that is, happily got so as never to be lost—or virtually got, that is, by rigid observance of the laws or rules prescribed,) for ever quit of versatile existence,’ yet further illustrates the ordinary meaning of the word *Tathāgata*, 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. See Guizot’s *Civilization*, ii. 386. India long long preceded Europe in the paths of transcendental philosophy.

* Since ascertained that this passage was mis-quoted for me, and that it is in fact equivalent to the Sarnath inscription, which should be rendered thus, “Of all things cause-produced the causes hath the Tathagata explained. The great Śāmanā hath likewise explained the causes of the extinction of all things.” For these causes of existence and non-existence see the next section.

† From *Kārmā*, morality, the moral law of the universe.

‡ See the note on quotation 6 of the section *Adi Saugha*. Also the note on quotation 1 of the *Vāṇika* system.

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 Avidyā, 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,* wherefore this system is called Kārmika. (Śākya to his disciples in the *Rakṣā Bhāgaṭī*.)

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 unindividualized (?) 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 *Saṃskāra* and constitutes the second† Karma of Manas. When *Saṃskāra* becomes excessive, incipient individual consciousness arises [third Karma]: thence 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

*The *Dasā Karma* are, 1 *Saṃskāra*, 2 *Vijñāna*, 3 *Namarūpa*, 4 *Śaḍāyatana*, 5 *Iedana*, 6 *Trishanā*, 7 *Upadāna*, 8 *Bhava*, 9 *Jatī*, 10 *Jaramarana*.

†The first, not second; ten in all.

‡So I render, after much inquiry, the *Śaḍāyatana*, or six seats of the senses external and internal; and which are in detail as follows: *Rūpa*, *Sabda*, *Gāṇḍa*, *Rasa*, *Sparsa*, *Dharma*. There is an obvious difficulty as to *Sparsa*, and some also as to *Dharma*. The whole category of the *Āyatana*s expresses outward things and after much investigation, I gather, that under *Rūpa* is comprised not only colour, but form too, so far as its discrimination (or, in *Kārmika* 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 *Āyatana*s 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 Kārmika system amounts to idealism. Nor is there any difficulty thence arising in reference to the Kārmika doctrine, which clearly affirms that theory by its derivation of all things from *Pratyaya* (belief), or from *Avidyā* (ignorance). But the *Indriyas* and *Āyatana*s, with their necessary connexion, (and, possibly, also, the making *Avidyā* the source of all things,) belong likewise to one section at least of the *Sarābhāraka* school; and, in regard to it, it will require a nice hand to exhibit this Berkeleyan notion existing co-ordinately with the leading tenet of the *Sarābhārikas*. In the way of explanation I may observe, first, that the denial of material entity involved in the *Indriya* and *Āyatana* theory (as in that of *Avidyā*) respects solely the versatile world of *Pravṛtti*, or of specific forms merely, and does not touch the *Nivṛtṭika* state of formative power and of primal substance, to which latter, in that condition, the qualities of gravity, and even of extended figure, in any sense cognizable by human faculties, are denied, at the same time, that the real and even eternal existence of a substance, in that state, is affirmed.

Second, though *Dharma*, the sixth *Āyatana*, be rendered by virtue, the appropriated

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 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 consequence of the abandonment of all absurd ideas respecting the reality and stability of *Pravritti*, or, which is the same thing, the abandonment of *Avidyā*; for, when *Avidyā* is relinquished or overcome, *Sanskāra* and all the rest of the Karmas or acts of the sentient principle, vanish with it; and also, of course, all mundane things and existences, which are thence only derived. Now, therefore, we see that *Pravritti* or the versatile world is the consequence of affection for a shadow, in the belief that it is a substance; 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 percipient principle, it is therefore called *Kārmika*. The manner of procession of all things into existence is thus: from the union of *Upāya** and of *Prajñā*, Manas proceeded; and from Manas, *Avidyā*; and from *Avidyā*, *Sanskāra*; and from *Sanskāra*, *Vijñāna*; and from *Vijñāna*, *Nāmarūpa*; and from *Nāmarūpa*, the *Shad Ayatana*;† and from them, *Asandā*; and from it, *Trishnā*; and from it, *Upādāna*;

object of the internal sense, it must be remembered, that most of the *Swābhāvikas*, whilst they deny a moral ruler of the universe, affirm the existence of morality as a part of the system of nature. Others again (the minority) of the *Swābhāvikas* reject the sixth *Indriya*, and sixth *Āyatana*, and, with them, the sixth *Dhyāni Buddha*, or *Vajra Sutra*, who, by the way, is the *Magnus Apollo* of the *Tantrikas*, a sect the mystic and obscene character of whose ritual is redeemed by its unusually explicit enumeration and acknowledgment of a "God above all."

The published explanations of the procession of all things from *Avidyā* appear to me irreconcilably to conflict with the ideal basis of the theory.

* See Fahian, 159 and 291. See also Gogerly, p. 15, his enumeration is precisely ours though his explanation differs, and is I think unintelligible, as is also Colebrooke's. See Ceylon Journal, No. 1.

† That is; 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 explanation. See his paper on the *Buddha* philosophy, *apud* Trans. Roy. As. Society, quarto vol. The following are the details of the three catagories, viz:—

<i>Āyatana.</i>	<i>Indriyas.</i>	<i>Āyatana.</i>
Earth	Skin	Tangible properties.
Water	Palate	Savours.
Fire	Nose	Odours.
Air	Ear	Sounds.
Ākāśa	Eye	Colours, forms.

and from it, Bhava; and from it Jāti; and from it, Jarāmarana. And from Jātirūpya 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 being 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 Avidyā; and when Avidyā ceases, all the rest cease with it. Now, since Avidyā 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 Upāya Prajñā.† Pravṛtti is the state of things under the influence of Avidyā; and the cessation of Avidyā is Nirvṛtti; Pravṛtti and Nirvṛtti are both Karmas. [Another comment on Quot. 2.]

5. The actions of a man's former births constitute his destiny. [*Prajña Parada.*]

6. He who has received from nature such wisdom as to read his own heart, and those of all others, even he cannot erase the characters which *Vaḥkāraḥ*§ has written on his forehead. [*Avadāna Kalpalatā.*]

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. (*Avadāna Kalpalatā.*)

8. Karma accompanies everyone, everywhere, every instant, through the forest, and across the ocean, and over the highest mountains, into the heaven of *Indra*, and into *Pātāla* (hell); and no power can stay it. (*Avadāna Kalpalatā.*)

9. Kanāla, 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. (*Avadāna Kalpalatā.*)

10. Sākya Sinha's son, named Rahula Bhadra, remained six years in the womb of his mother Yasodharā. The pain and anxiety of mother and son were caused by the Karmas of their former births. (*Avadāna Kalpalatā.*)

11. Although I had acquired (Sākya 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. (*Lalitā Vistara.*)

Bhūtas.

Indriyas.

Āgādānas.

Manas Perception or conscious sensation.

The sum of all phenomena which are homogeneous and result from Manas,

and include thought, considered as one of the phenomena of *Indra Natāra*, or thought, that is, human perception regarded as the sole measure of all things, the sole reality.

† The *Vandābhāras* say, into *Prajñā Upaj*—see note on quotation 6 of the section *Adi Saṅgha*.

‡ *Prajñā*, identified with *Adi Buddha* by the theistic, and with Fate, by the atheistic doctors. The precise equivalent of the maxim itself is our 'conduct is fate.'

§ *Beḍaṇa*, 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 basal hemisphere; above this a square neck or *Gala* always supports the acutely conical or pyramidal superstructure, and on all four sides of that neck two eyes are placed, which are typical of omniscience. Wherever the hemisphere is found, it is indisputable evidence of *Buddhism*, e. g., 'the topes' of *Manikyāla* and of *Peshāwar*. In niches at the base of the hemisphere are

THE YATNIKA* SYSTEM.

1. Iswara (Adi-Buddha) produced Yatna from Prajñā:§ and the cause of Pravritti and Nirvritti 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 Avadāna.*)

2. That above mentioned Iswara, by means of Yatna, produced the five Jñānas, whence sprang the five Buddhas. The five Buddhas, in like manner, *i. e.*, by means of Yatna, produced the five Bodhisatvas; and they again, by the same means, created the greater Devatās from their bodies, and the lesser ones from the hairs of the 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 Nirvritti 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 Swābhāvikas call Swabhāva, and the Aiswarikas, Iswara,§ produced a Bodhisatva, 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 mankind the real sources of happiness and misery, and the doctrines of the four schools of philosophy;¶ and then, by means of Yatna, having obtained Bodhi-jñāna, and having fulfilled all the Pāramitās (transcendental virtues,) he at length became Nirvāna. (*Divya Avadāna.*)

4. Sākya Sinha, having emanated from that self-existent, which, according to some, is Swabhāva, and, according to others, is Iswara, was produced for the purpose of preserving all creatures. He first adopted the Pravritti Mārga (secular

frequently enshrined four of the five *Dhyāni Buddhas*, one opposite to each cardinal point. *Akshobhya* occupies the eastern niche; *Ratnasambhava*, the southern; *Amitabha* the western; and *Amoghasiddhi*, the northern. *Vairocana*, the first *Dhyāni Buddha* is supposed to occupy the centre, invisibly. Sometimes, however, he appears visibly, being placed at the right-hand of *Akshobhya*.

* From Yatna, 'intellect, intellectual force and resource.'

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

§ This, as I conceive, is an attempt to remedy that cardinal defect of the older *Swābhāvika* 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* proceeds from the union of *Upāya* and *Prajñā*. *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 assignation to the divine nature implies its *personality*.

¶ Passages of this entirely pyrrhonic tenor incessantly recur in the oldest and highest authorities of the *Buddhists*; hence the assertion of the preface that Suga-tism is rather sceptical than atheistically dogmatic.

|| Expressly called by my Buddhist pandit the *Swābhāvika*, *Aiswarika*, *Yatnika*, and *Karmika* systems; and the terms well denote the things meant to be designated: see note at p. 23.

character,) and in several births exercised *Yatna* and *Karma*, reaping the fruits of his actions in all the three worlds. He then exercised *Yatna* and *Karma* in the *Nirvritti Mārga* (ascetical or monastic character) essaying a release from this mortal coil, fulfilling the ten virtues from the *Satwa* to the *Dwāpara Yuga*, till at last, in the *Kali Yuga*, having completely freed himself from sublunary cares, having become a *Bhikshuka*,** and gone to *Buddha Gayā*, he rejected and reviled the *Brāhmanical* penance, did all sorts of true penance for six years under the tree of knowledge on the banks of the *Niranjana* river; conquered the *Namuchināra*,*|| obtained *Bodhiñāna*, became the most perfect of the *Buddhas*, seated himself among the *Bodhisatwas*, (*Ananda Bhikshu* and the rest,) granted wisdom to the simple, fulfilled the desires of millions of people, and gave *Moksha** to them and to himself. (*Lalitā Vistara*.)

5. A hare fell in with a tiger†: by means of *Yatna* the hare threw the tiger into a well. Hence it appears that *Yatna* prevails over physical force, knowledge, and the *Mantras*. (*Bhadra Kāpāradīna*.) 6. *Nara Sinha*, *Rāja* of *Benares*, was a monster of cruelty. *Satta Śwāma Rāja*, by means of *Yatna*, compelled him to deliver up 100 *Rājakumārs*, whom *Nara Sinha* had destined for a sacrifice to the gods. (*Bhadra Kāpāradīna*.)

7. *Sudhana Kumāra* found a beautiful daughter of a horse-faced *Rāja* named *Druma*. By means of *Yatna* he carried her off, and kept her; and was immortalized for the exploit. (*Swagambhū Purāna*.)

ADI-BUDDHA.†

1. Know that when, in the beginning, all was perfect void (*Mahā śūnyatā*,‡) and the five elements were not, then *Adi-Buddha*, the stainless, was revealed in the form of flame or light.

2. He in whom are the three *guṇas*, who is the *Mahā Mūrti* and the *Viśvarūpa* (form of all things,) became manifest: he is the self-existent great *Buddha*, the *Adi* (that, the *Maheswara*.

* Mendicant: one of the four regular orders of the *Buddhas*. See the preface.

*|| *A Bodhi* of *Kanchanapura*, personification of the principle of evil. *Bodhiñāna* is the wisdom of *Buddhism*. *Ananda* was one of the first and ablest of *Sakya's* disciples. The first *code* of *Buddhism* is attributed to him in conjunction with *Kasyapa* and *Upāli*. He succeeded the former as hierarch.

† Emancipation, absorption.

‡ *Adi* 'first,' *Buddha* 'wise.'

‡ The doctrine of *Sūnyatā* is the darkest corner of the metaphysical labyrinth. Eighteen kinds of *Sūnyatā* are enumerated in the *Raksha Bhogavati*. I understand it to mean generally space, which some of our philosophers have held to be a *pleaum*, others a *vacuum*. In the transcendental sense of the *Buddhists*, it signifies not merely the universal *abi*, but also the *modus existendi* of all things in the state of quiescence and abstraction from phenomenal being. The *Buddhists* have eternalised 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, and, which is the same thing, of all those qualities which are cognisable or distinguishable, and hence the energy in that state is typed by sheer space. 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. 6 of this section *Adi Saṅgha*. The *Aiswarikas* put their *Adi Buddha* in place of the nature of the older *Swābhūtikas*. See *Journal of As. Soc.* No. 33, Art. 1.

3. He is the cause of all existences in the three worlds; the cause of their well-being also. From his profound meditation (Dhyāna,) 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 has no type: he is the form of all things, and yet formless.

5. He is without parts, shapeless, self-sustained, void of pain and care, eternal and not eternal;* him I salute. (*Kāraṇḍa Vyāha.*)

6. Adi-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 Nairātmya lion to the Kūtīrthya deer.† (*Nāma saṅgīti.*)

8. I make salutation to Adi-Buddha, who is one and sole in the universe: who gives every one Bodhi-jñāna; whose name is Upāya; who became manifest in the greatest Sūnyatā, as the letter A. Who is the Tathāgata; who is known only to those who have attained the wisdom of absolute truth. (*Nāma saṅgīti.*)

9. As in the mirror we mortals see our forms reflected, so Adi-Buddha is known (in Pravṛtti) by the thirty-two lakṣaṇas and eighty anuvījanas. (*Nāma saṅgīti.*)

10. As the rainbow, by means of its five colours, forewarns mortals of the coming weather, so does Adi-Buddha admonish the world of its good and evil actions by means of his five essential colours.§ (*Nāma saṅgīti.*)

11. Adi-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|| (*Nāma saṅgīti.*)

12. He is the possessor of the ten virtues; the giver of the ten virtues; the lord of ten heavens; lord of the Universe; present in the ten heavens. (*Nāma saṅgīti.*)

13. By reason of the ten jñānas, his soul is enlightened. He too is the enlightener of the ten jñānas. He has ten forms and ten significations, and ten strengths, and ten vasiṭās. He is omnipresent, the chief of the Munis. (*Nāma saṅgīti.*)

* 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 *Nairātmya* is 'Sarva Dharmaṇām nirābhāsa lakṣaṇam,' that is, all things are unreal; and that *Tārtha* means *Mokṣa*, and *Kūtīrtha*, any perversion of the doctrine of *Mokṣa*, as to say it consists in absorption into *Brahma*: and it explains the whole thus, 'He thunders in the ears of all those who misinterpret *Mokṣa*, there is no true *Mokṣa* but *Sāṅghāṭi*.' Another comment gives the sense thus, dividing the sentence into two parts, 'there is no *atmā* (life or soul) without him: he alarms the wicked as the lion the deer.' The first commentator is a *Śrāvastika*; the second, an *Ājivika* one.

§ White, blue, yellow, red, and green, assigned to the five *Dhyāni Buddhas*. For a detail of the *lakṣaṇas*, *anuvījanas*, *balas*, *vasiṭās*, etc., of the neighbouring quotations, see Appendix A.

14. He has five bodies, and five jñānas, and five sights; is the mūkat of the five Buddhas, without partner. (*Nāma sangīti.*)

15. He is the creator of all the Buddhas; the chief of the Bodhisatwas 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.* (*Nāma sangīti.*)

16. He is the essence of all essences. He is the Vajra-ātmā (eternal being). He is the instantly produced lord of the universe; the creator of Akāśa. He assumes the form of fire, by reason of the Prajñarūpi-jñāna, to consume the straw of ignorance. (*Nāma sangīti.*)

ADI PRAJNA,† OR DHARMA.

1. I salute that Prajñā Pāramitā, 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, are produced by her; who is the mother of Buddha (Buddha Mātra), of that Buddha to whose service all the Srāvakas and Bodhisatwas dedicate themselves. (*Pancharinsati Sāhasrika.*)

2. First air, then fire, then water, then earth,§ and in the centre of earth, Sumeru, the sides of which are the residence of the thirty-three millions of gods (Devatās,) and above these, upon a Lotus of precious stones, sustaining the mansion of the moon (or a moon-crescent), sits Prajñā Pāramitā, in the Lalitā-āsan manner;|| Prajñā, the mother of all the gods (Prasū-bhagavatān,) and without beginning or end, (anādyanta.) (*Bhadra Kalpavadāna.*)

3. I make salutation to the Prajñā Devī, who is th^e Prajñā Pāramitā, the Prajñarūpya, the Nirrūpya, and the universal mother. (*Pījā kānda.*)

4. Thou Prajñā, art like Akāśa, intact and intangible; thou art above all human wants; thou art established by thy own power. He who devoutly serves thee serves the Tathāgata also. (*Ishta Sāhasrika.*)

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

* 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 (*Adi-Buddha*) is the instructor of the *Buddhas* and of the *Bodhisattvas*. 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, Samādhi, Prajñā, Vimuktī, and Jñāna*.

† *Adi* 'first,' *Prajñā* 'supreme wisdom, nature;' see p. 12.

‡ Name of one of the ascetical orders of *Buddhists*.

§ In this enumeration of material elements, *Akāśa* is omitted; but it is mentioned, and most emphatically, in quotation 4, as in the fifty other places quoted. In like manner, the five elements are frequently mentioned without allusion to the sixth, which however occurs in fit places. Omission of this sort is no denial.

|| *i. e.*, one leg tucked under the seat: the other, advanced and resting on the bow of the moon-crescent.

6. O thou who art merciful to thy worshippers, the benevolent, knowing thee to be the source of Buddha excellence, attain perfect happiness by the worship of thee! (*Ashta Sāhasrika.*)

7. Those Buddhas who are merciful, and the Gurus of the world, all such Buddhas are thy children. Thou art all good, and the universal mother (Sakalajagat Pitā Mahī.) (*Ashta Sāhasrika.*)

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

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

10. The Buddhas, Pratyeka Buddhas, and Srāvakas,† have all devoutly served thee. By thee alone is absorption obtained. These are truths revealed in all Sāstras. (*Ashta Sāhasrika.*)

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

12. When all was Sūnyatā, Prajñā Devī was revealed out of Akāśa with the letter U; Prajñā, the mother of all the Buddhas and Bodhisatwas, in whose heart Dharma ever resides; Prajñā, who is without the world and the world's wisdom, full of the wisdom of absolute truth; the giver and the *ikon* of that wisdom; the ever living (Sanātani); the inscrutable; the mother of Buddha.‡ (*Pūjā kānda.*)

13. O Prajñā Devī! thou art the mother (Jananī) of all the Buddhas, the grandmother of the Bodhisatwas, and great grandmother of all (other) creatures! thou art the goddess (Isinī.) (*Pūjā kānda.*)

14. Thou, Śrī Bhāgavatī Devī Prajñā, art the sum of all the sciences, the mother of all the Buddhas, the enlightener of Bodhiḥṇāna, the light of the universe! (*Guṇakāraṇḍa Vyūha.*)

15. The humbler of the pride of Namuchimāra,§ 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. (*Guṇakāraṇḍa Vyūha.*)

16. All that the Buddhas have said, as contained in the Mahāyāna Sūtra and the rest of the Sūtras, is also Dharma Ratna. (*Guṇakāraṇḍa Vyūha.*)

* The force of the question is this, the wise certainly find thee.

† The Buddhas are of three grades: the highest is Mahāyāna, the medial, Pratyeka, and the lowest, Srāvaka. These three grades are called collectively the Tri-gaṇa, or 'three chariots,' bearing their possessors to transcendental glory. The Tri-gaṇa are otherwise explained as three paths leading to different degrees of beatitude suited to the different capacities of those who propose to follow them. The Mahāyāna is the great or popular, or the great or most excellent.

‡ *Sugatava*, which the *Vimśāchāras* render, 'of whom Buddha was born;' the *Dakṣiṇāchāras*, 'born of Buddha, or goer to Buddha,' as wife to husband.

§ Buddha personification of the principle of evil.

* Hence the scriptures are worshipped as forms of *Adi Dharma*. *Sūtra* means

17. Because Buddha sits on thy 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, Mahesa, and Indra, are oppressed beneath thy foot, which is advanced in the Alir-Asana. O Arya Tára! he who shall meditate on thee in this form shall be relieved from all future births (*Saraká Dhára*,†)

18. Thy manifestation, say some of the wise, is thus; from the roots of the hairs of thy body sprang Akása, heaven, earth, and *hades*, together with their inhabitants, the greater Devatás, the lesser, the Daityas, the Siddhas, Gandharbas, and Nágas. 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. (*Saraká Dhára*.)

19. Salutation to Prajñá Devī, 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 Adi Buddha, (Jinendra Mátra,) and wife of (the other) Buddha, who is imperishable as adamant. (*Sádhana Málá*.)

20. That Yoni, from which the world was made manifest, is the Trikonákára Yantra.|| In the midst of the Yantra or *trikon* (triangle) is a *bindu* (point, cypher): from that *bindu*, Adi Prajñá revealed herself by her own will. From one side of the triangle Adi Prajñá produced Buddha, and from another side, Dharma, and from the third side, Sangha. That Adi Prajñá is the mother of that Buddha who issued from the first side; and the 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 Prajñá Páramitá, the infinite, who, when all was void, was revealed by her own will, out of the letter U. Prajñá, the Sakti of Upáya, the sustainer of all things, (Dhármitá) the mother of the world, (Jagan-mátá;) the Dhyánarúpyá, the mother of the Buddhas. The modesty of women is a form

literally thread of (discourse,) aphorism. *Sákya*, like other Indian 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, though in fact reduced to writing and systematized by his disciples Káśyapa, Ananda, and Upáli. Sūtra is now the title of the books of highest authority among the *Buddhas*.

† Composed by *Sarvajña Mitrapála* of *Kashmír*, and in very high esteem, though not of scriptural authority.

‡ These thousands of *Buddhas* of mortal 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.

§ *Dharmadaya-saṅgata Kāmarūpī*, variously rendered, 'well got from the rise of virtue,' 'well got from the rise or origin of the world;' also as in text, *Dharmadaya*, the source of all things, signifies like wise 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 *Adi-Buddha* or *Adi Prajñá*, according to the theistic or atheistic tendency of his opinions who uses it. Our commentator is of the *Vimachhára* or atheistic school, and such also is his text. (See Ravenshaw in the J.R.A.S. on the *Khat Kon Yantra*.)

|| See J.R.A.S. xiii. 1, 79, and 171.

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. Prajñā is present everywhere. (*Sūdhana Mālā*.)

ADI SANGHA.

1. That Amitābha, by virtue of his Sānta-jñāna, created the Bodhi-satwa named Padma-pāni, and committed to his hands the lotos.† (*Gunakāranda Vyāha*.)

2. From between his (Padma-pāni's) shoulders sprang Brahmā; from his forehead, Mahā Deva; from his two eyes, the sun and moon; from his mouth, the air; from his teeth, Saraswatī; from his belly, Varuna; from his knees, Lakshmī; from his feet, the earth; from his navel, water; from the roots of his hair, the Indras and other Devatās. (*Gunakāranda Vyāha*.)

3. For the sake of obtaining Nirvṛitti, I devote myself to the feet of Sangha who, having assumed the three Gunas, created the three worlds. (*Pūjā kānda*.)

4. He (Padma-pāni) is the possessor of Satya Dharma, the Bodhi-satwa, the lord of the world, the Mahā-satwa, the master of all the Dharmas. (*Gunakāranda Vyāha*.)

5. The lord of all worlds, (Sarvalokādhipa,) the Sri-mān, the Dharma Rāja, the Lokeswara, sprang from Adi-Buddha (Jinātma). Such is he whom men know for the Sangha Ratna. (*Gunakāranda Vyāha*.)

6. From the union of the essences of Upāya and of Prajñā*, 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 foregoing quota-

* *Adi* 'first,' *Sangha* 'congress, union.'

† Type of creative power. *Amītabha* is the fourth *Dhyāni* or celestial *Buddha*: *Padma-pāni* is his *Āton* and executive minister. *Padma-pāni* is the *præsens Deus* 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 *lotos* and a jewel. The last circumstance explains the meaning of the celebrated *Shenlakshari Mantra*, or six-lettered invocation of him, *viz.*, *Om! Mani padme hont!* of which so many corrupt versions and more corrupt interpretations have appeared from Chinese, Tibetan, Japanese, Mongolian, and other sources. The *mantra* in question is one of three, addressed to the several members of the *Triad*. 1. *Om sarva cidye hom.* 2. *Om Prajñāye hom.* 3. *Om mani-padme hom.* 1. The mystic tri-form Deity is in the all-wise (*Buddha*). 2. The mystic tri-form Deity is in *Prajñā* (*Dharma*). 3. The mystic tri-form Deity is in him of the jewel and lotos (*Sangha*). But the *præsens Deus*, whether he be *Augustus* or *Padma-pāni*, is everything 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.

** From *Amitābha Buddha* immediately: mediately from *Adi-Buddha*.

*^o Such is the *Aiswarika* reading. The *Prājñikas* read 'from the union of *Prajñā* and *Upāya*.'

With the former, *Upāya* is *Adi-Buddha*, the efficient and plastic cause, or only the former; and *Prajñā* is *Adi Dharma*, plastic cause, a biunity with *Buddha*, or only a

tions, I would observe, that the ideal theory involved in the *Prājñika-Swābhāvika*, and in the *Kārmika* doctrines, was omitted by me in the sketch, from some then remaining 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 *Kārmika* and *Yātnika* schools are more recent than the others—that they owe their origin to attempts to qualify the extravagant quietism of the primitive *Swābhāvikas*, and even of the *Aiswarikas*—and that their contradistinguishing mark is the preference given by them respectively to mortals, or to intellect, with a view to final beatitude. The assertion of the *Ashtasahasrika*, that *Swābhāva* or nature absolutely disposes of us, not less than the assertion of other works, 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 *Yatna*, gave rise to the *Kārmika* and *Yātnika* schools. But that these latter entertained such just and adequate notions of God's providence, or man's free will, as we are now 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 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.

product. With the latter, *Upāya* is the energy of *Prajñā*, the universal material cause.

The original aphorism, as I believe, is, '*Prajñopāyātmanakam jagataḥ*,' which I thus translate; 'From the universal material principle, in a state of activity, proceeded the world.' This original *Sūtra* has, however, undergone two transformations to suit it to the respective doctrines of the *Triadic Aiswarikas* and of the *Kārmikas*. The version of the former is, *Upāyaprajñātmanakam saṅgha*, that of the latter is, *Upāyaprajñātmanakam manas*. Of both, the *Upāya* is identical with *Adi-Buddha*, and the *Prajñā*, with *Adi Dharma*. But the result—the unsophisticated *jagat* of the *Prājñikas*, became *Adi Saṅgha*, a creator, with the *Aiswarikas*; and *Manas*, the sentient principle in man, the first production, and producer of all other things, with the *Kārmikas*. *Avidyā*, or the condition of mundane things and existences, is an illusion, alike with the *Prājñikas* and with the *Kārmikas*. But, whilst the former consider *Avidyā* the universal affection of the material and immediate cause of all things whatever; the latter regard *Avidyā* as an affection of *manas* merely, which they hold to be an immaterial principle and the mediate cause of all things else, *Adi-Buddha* being their final cause. The phenomena of both are homogeneous and unreal: but the *Prājñikas* derive them, directly, from a material source—the *Kārmikas*, 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 *Prājñikas* are sheer energies of matter: those of the *Kārmikas*, 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 anthrōpos*."

APPENDIX A.

DETAIL OF THE PRINCIPAL ATTRIBUTES OF ADI-BUDDHA AND OF THE
EIGHTEEN SUNYATA.

THE THIRTY-TWO LAKSHANA.

- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| 1. Chakráṅkitapānīpādatalatā. | 17. Urṇāṅkṛitāmukhatā. |
| 2. Supratīṣṭhitapānīpādatalatā. | 18. Sīṇhapūrvārdhakāyātā. |
| 3. Jālābuddhāvajrāṅgulīpānīpādatalatā. | 19. Susāmbhṛitaskandhatā. |
| 4. Mṛidutarunahastapādatalatā. | 20. Chittāntarangatā. |
| 5. Saptochhandatā. | 21. Rasarāsāgratā. |
| 6. Dīrghāṅgulitā. | 22. Nyāgrodhaparimandalatā. |
| 7. Ayatapārshnitā. | 23. Uśnīṣhasiraskatā. |
| 8. Rījugātratā. | 24. Prabhūtajihwatā. |
| 9. Utsangapādātā. | 25. Prastambaratā. |
| 10. Urdhāṅgaromatā. | 26. Sīṇahanutā. |
| 11. Aīneyajunghatā. | 27. Suklahanutā. |
| 12. Paturubāhūtā. | 28. Samadantatā. |
| 13. Kōṣhagatavastiguhyatā. | 29. Hāṇsavikrāntagamitā. |
| 14. Suvarṇavarṇatā. | 30. Aviraladantatā. |
| 15. Suklachhavitā. | 31. Samachatwārīṇsaddantatā. |
| 16. Pradakṣīṇāvartāikaromatā. | 32. Abhinīlanētratā. |

THE EIGHTY VYANJANA.

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Atāmranakhatā. | 41. Suchisamudāchāratā. |
| 2. Snigdhanakhatā. | 42. Vyapagatatīlakālagūtratā. |
| 3. Tūṅganakhatā. | 43. Gandhasadṛīṣasukumārāpānitā. |
| 4. Chitrāṅgulitā. | 44. Snigdhapānīlekhītā. |
| 5. Anupūrvāṅgulitā. | 45. Gambhīrapānīlekhītā. |
| 6. Gūḍhasīratā. | 46. Ayatapānīlekhītā. |
| 7. Nirgrāṇṭhisīratā. | 47. Nātyāyatavachanatā. |
| 8. Gūḍhagūlphatā. | 48. Bimbapratībimbosthatā. |
| 9. Avīṣhamapādātā. | 49. Mṛidujihwatā. |
| 10. Sīṇhāvīkrāntagāmītā. | 50. Tanujihwatā. |
| 11. Nāgāvīkrāntagāmītā. | 51. Meghagarjītaghoṣhatā. |
| 12. Hāṇsavīkrāntagāmītā. | 52. Raktajihwatā. |
| 13. Vṛīṣhabhāvīkrāntagāmītā. | 53. Madhurachārumanjusvaratā. |
| 14. Pradakṣīṇagāmītā. | 54. Vṛittadānshtratā. |
| 15. Chārugāmītā. | 55. Tīkṣṇadānshtratā. |
| 16. Avakragāmītā. | 56. Sukladānshtratā. |
| 17. Vṛittagātratā. | 57. Samadānshtratā. |
| 18. Mṛīṣhtagātratā. | 58. Anupūrvadānshtratā. |

* Rémusat in his *Mélanges* applies all these to Sākya.

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|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 19. Anupúrvagátrata. | 59. Tunganásikata. |
| 20. Suchigátrata. | 60. Suchinásikata. |
| 21. Mridugátrata. | 61. Visálanetrata. |
| 22. Visuddhagátrata. | 62. Chittrapakshmatá. |
| 23. Paripúrnavyanjanata. | 63. Sításitakamaladalanetrata. |
| 24. Prithuchárumandalagátrata. | 64. Ayatakrikata. |
| 25. Samakramata. | 65. Suklabhrúkata. |
| 26. Visuddhanetrata. | 66. Susnigdhabhrukata. |
| 27. Sukumáragátrata. | 67. Pínáyatabhujalatata. |
| 28. Adínagátrata. | 68. Samakarnata. |
| 29. Utsáhagátrata. | 69. Anupahatakarnendriyatá. |
| 30. Gambhírakukshitá. | 70. Aparisthánalálata. |
| 31. Prasannagátrata. | 71. Prithulalátata. |
| 32. Suvibhaktángapratyangatá. | 72. Suparipúrnottamángatá. |
| 33. Vitimirasuddhálókata. | 73. Bhramarasadrisakesatá. |
| 34. Vitungakukshitá. | 74. Chittrakesatá. |
| 35. Mrishtakukshitá. | 75. Guhyakesatá. |
| 36. Abhayakukshitá. | 76. Asangunitakesatá. |
| 37. Akshobhakukshitá. | 77. Aparushakesatá. |
| 38. Gambhíranábhítá. | 78. Surabhikesatá. |
| 39. Pradakshinávarṇanābhítá. | 79. Srívatsamuktikanandyatá. |
| 40. Samantaprásádikata. | 80. Vartulachihiṇitapānipādatalatá. |

THE FIVE VARANA.

- | | | | | |
|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1. Sweta. | 2. Níla. | 3. Píta. | 4. Rakta. | 5. Syáma. |
|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|

THE TEN PARAMITA.

- | | |
|------------|--------------|
| 1. Dána. | 6. Prajná. |
| 2. Síla. | 7. Upáya. |
| 3. Sánti. | 8. Bala. |
| 4. Vírya. | 9. Pranidhi. |
| 5. Dhyána. | 10. Jnána. |

THE TEN BHUVANA.†

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1. Pramuditá. | 6. Abhimukhí. |
| 2. Vimalá. | 7. Durangamá. |
| 3. Prabhákari. | 8. Sádhumatí. |
| 4. Archishmatí. | 9. Samantaprabhá. |
| 5. Sudurjayá. | 10. Dharmameghá. |

* Burnouf renders the ten : Charity, Morality, Patience, Industry, Meditation, Ingenuity, Wish or Prayer, Fortitude, Foreknowledge, Method.

† Compare pp. 42 43. We have here no heaven for Adi-Buddha, nor any for any one of the five Dhyáni Buddhas.

THE TEN JNANAS.

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Duhkhajñāna.† | 6. Arthajñāna.§ |
| 2. Samúdyajñāna.† | 7. Samvrittijñāna.§ |
| 3. Nirodhajñāna.† | 8. Parachittajñāna.§ |
| 4. Mārajñāna.† | 9. Kshyajñāna.§ |
| 5. Dharmajñāna.† | 10. Anutpādjñāna.§ |

THE TEN AKARA.

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Prithivyākāra. | 6. Akāsanirodhākāra.† |
| 2. Jalākāra. | 7. Vāyunirodhākāra.† |
| 3. Agnyākāra. | 8. Agninirodhākāra.† |
| 4. Vāyvakāra. | 9. Jala-nirodhākāra.† |
| 5. Akāsākāra. | 10. Prithivīnirodhākāra.† |

THE TEN ARTHA.||

- | | |
|----------------|---------------------|
| 1. Prānārtha. | 6. Kūrmārtha. |
| 2. Apānārtha. | 7. Krikārārtha. |
| 3. Samānārtha. | 8. Nāgārtha. |
| 4. Udānārtha. | 9. Devadātārtha. |
| 5. Vyūnārtha. | 10. Dhananjayārtha. |

THE TEN BALA.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Sthānāsthānajñānabala. | 7. Dhyānavimokṣhasamādhisamāpattisan- |
| 2. Karmavipākajñānabala†. | klesavyavadānasthānajñānabala. |
| 3. Nānādhātujñānabala. | 8. Pūrvanivāsānusmritijñānabala. |
| 4. Nānāvimuktijñānabala. | 9. Chyutyutpattijñānabala. |
| 5. Sadindriyaparāparajñānabala. | 10. Asravakṣhajñānabala. |
| 6. Sarvatragūmipratipattijñānabala. | |

THE TEN VASITA.

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Ayurvasita. | 6. Janmavasita. |
| 2. Chittavasita. | 7. Adhimuktivasita. |
| 3. Parishkāravasita. | 8. Pranidhānavasita. |
| 4. Dharmavasita. | 9. Karmavasita. |
| 5. Avadhivasita. | 10. Jñānavasita. |

THE FIVE KAYA.

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Dharmakāya. | 2. Sambhogakāya. | 3. Nirmānakāya. |
| 4. Mahāsukhakāya. | 5. Jñānakāya. | |

† Five in Nirvritti.

§ Five in Pravritti.

* Evolution of the five elements in Pravritti.

† Revolution of the five elements in Nirvritti.

|| Five in Pravritti and five in Nirvritti ; and so of the Bala and Vasita.

THE FIVE CHAKSHU.

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Mānsachakshu. | 4. Divyachakshu. |
| 2. Dharmachakshu. | 5. Buddhachakshu. |
| 3. Prajnānachakshu. | |

THE EIGHTEEN SUNYATA.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Adhyātmasūnyatā. | 10. Anavarāgrasūnyatā. |
| 2. Bahirdhāsūnyatā. | 11. Anavakārasūnyatā. |
| 3. Adhyātmabahirdhāsūnyatā. | 12. Prakritisūnyatā. |
| 4. Sūnyatāsūnyatā. | 13. Sarvadharmasūnyatā. |
| 5. Mahāsūnyatā. | 14. Salakshanasūnyatā. |
| 6. Paramārthasūnyatā. | 15. Anupalambhasūnyatā. |
| 7. Sanskritasūnyatā. | 16. Abhavasūnyatā. |
| 8. Asanskritasūnyatā. | 17. Subhavasūnyatā. |
| 9. Atyantasūnyatā. | 18. Abhavasubhavasūnyatā. |

MATANTARA TWENTY SUNYATA.

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 19. Lakshanasūnyatā. | 20. Alakshanasūnyatā. |
|----------------------|-----------------------|

APPENDIX B.

CLASSIFIED ENUMERATION OF THE PRINCIPAL OBJECTS OF
BAUDDHA WORSHIP.

Ekānmāya.

Upāya.

Adi-Buddha.

Mahā-Vairochana.

Ekānmāyī.

Prajñā.

Prajñā-pāramitā.

Dvayānmāya.

1. Upāya.* 2. Prajñā.

1. Prajñā.† 2. Upāya.†

Tryānmāya.

- | | | |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1. Dharma.] | 2. Buddha.‡ | 3. Sangha.] |
| 2. Sangha.§ | 1. Buddha.§ | 3. Dharma.§ |
| 1. Buddha.§ | 2. Dharma.§ | 3. Sangha.§ |

Pancha-Buddhānmāya.

4. Amitābha. 2. Akshobhya. 1. Vairochana. 3. Ratnasambhava. 5. Amoghasiddha.||

Pancha-Prajñānmāyī.

4. Pāndurā 2. Lochanā. 1. Vajradhātviśvarī. 3. Māmakī. 5. Tārā.

Root of theistic doctrine.

† Root of atheistic doctrine.

‡ Atheistic. § Theistic; diversely so.

|| These five are the famous Dhyanī Buddhas. A sixth is often added, or Vajra Satwa. The series of five is the common exoteric one: the sixth seems to belong rather to the esoteric system.

Pancha-Sanghāmnāya.

4. Padmapāni. 2. Vajrapāni. 1. Samantabhadra. 3. Ratnapāni. 5. Viswapāni.

Pancha-Sanghāmnāyī.

4. Bhrikuti-tārā. 2. Ugratārā. 1. Sitatārā. 3. Ratnatārā. 5. Visvatārā.

Matāntara-Pancha-Buddhāmnāya.

1. Vairochana. 2. Akshobhya. 3. Ratnasambhava. 4. Amitābha. 5. Amoghasiddha.

Matāntara-Pancha-Prajñāmnāyī.

1. Vajradhātvisvarī. 2. Lochanā. 3. Māmakī. 4. Pāndurā. 5. Tārā.

Matāntara-Pancha-Sanghāmnāya.

1. Samantabhadra. 2. Vajrapāni. 3. Ratnapāni. 4. Padmapāni. 5. Viswapāni.

Matāntara-Pancha-Sanghāmnāyī.

1. Sitatārā. 2. Ugratārā. 3. Ratnatārā. 4. Bhrikutitārā. 5. Visvatārā.

Matāntara-Pancha-Buddhāmnāya.

4. Amitābha. 2. Amoghasiddha. 1. Vairochana. 3. Ratnasambhava. 5. Akshobhya.

Matāntara-Pancha-Prajñāmnāyī.

4. Tārā. 2. Māmakī. 1. Vajradhātvisvarī. 3. Pāndurā. 5. Lochanā.

Shat-Amnāya-Buddhāh.

2. Akshobhya. 3. Ratnasambhava. 4. Amitābha. 5. Amoghasiddha.

1. Vairochana. 6. Vajrasatwa.

Shat-Prajñāmnāyī.

2. Lochanā. 3. Māmakī. 4. Pāndurā. 5. Tārā.

1. Vajradhātvisvarī. 6. Vajrasatwātmikā.

"Shat-Sanghāmnāya.

2. Vajrapāni. 3. Ratnapāni. 4. Padmapāni. 5. Viswapāni.

1. Samantabhadra. 6. Ghantāpāni.

Mānushīya-Sapta-Buddhāmnāya.

2. Sikkhī. 3. Visvabhū. 4. Kakutsanda. 5. Kanakamuni. 6. Kāsyapa.

1. Vipasyī. 7. Sākyasinha.

Matāntara-Mānushīya-Sapta-Buddhāmnāya.

4. Kakutsanda. 2. Sikkhī. 1. Vipasyī. 3. Visvabhū. 5. Kanakamuni.

6. Kāsyapa. 7. Sākyasinha.

Prajñā-Misrita-Dyāni-Nava-Buddhāmnāya.

2. Akshobhya. 1. Vairochana-Vajradhātvisvarī. 3. Ratnasambhava.

8. Pāndurā. 6. Lochanā. 4. Amitābha. 5. Amoghasiddha. 7. Māmakī. 9. Tārā.

All the Deities named above are Dhyāni, or celestial. The following are Mānushīya Dhyāni, as specified.

Dhyāni-Nava-Buddhānmāyāh.

4. Amitābha. 2. Akshobhya. 1. Vairochana. 3. Ratnasambhava. 5. Amoghasiddha.
8. Vajradharma. 6. Vajrasatwa. 7. Vajrarāja. 9. Vajrakarma.

Dhyāni-Nava-Prajñānmāyāh.

4. Pāndurā. 2. Lochanā. 1. Vajradhātūśvarī. 3. Māmakī. 5. Tārā.
8. Dharmavajrinī. 6. Vajrasatwātmikā. 7. Ratnavajrinī. 9. Karmavajrinī.

Dhyāni-Nava-Saṅghānmāyāh.

4. Padmapāni. 2. Vajrapāni. 1. Samantabhadra. 3. Ratnapāni. 5. Viśvapāni.
8. Dharmapāni. 6. Ghantāpāni. 7. Manipāni. 9. Karmapāni.

Misṛita-Nava-Saṅghānmāyāh.

2. Maitreya. 1. Avalokiteśvara. 3. Gaganagaṇja.
6. Mañjuśhoṣa. 4. Samantabhadra. 5. Vajrapāni. 7. Sarva-nivaraṇa-viśkambhī.
8. Kṣitigarbha. 9. Khagarbha.

*Nava-Dharmānmāyāh-Paustakāh (Buddha-Dharma-saṅgha-Mandale
Pīṇakrame etan Mūlam.)*

2. Gandavyūha. 1. Prajñā-pāramitā. 3. Daśabhūmīśvara.
6. Saddharmapundarīka. 4. Samādhirāja. 5. Lankāvatāra. 7. Tathāgataguhyaka.
8. Lalita-vistara. 9. Suvarṇa-prabhā.

Nava-Bodhisatva-Saṅghānmāyāh.

4. Sītātārā. 2. Maitrāyaṇī. 1. Bhṛikūṭītārā. 3. Puṣṭātārā. 5. Ekajātā.
8. Dīpātārā. 6. Vagīśvarī. 7. Dhūpātārā. 9. Gandhātārā.

Nava-Devī-Prajñānmāyāh.

2. Vajravīdārīnī. 1. Vasundhara. 3. Gaṇapati-hṛidaya. 8. Marīchi. 4. Uśnīṣa-vijaya.
5. Parnasavarī. 7. Graha-mātrika. 8. Pratyāṅgirah. 9. Dhvajāgrakeyurī.

Misṛita-Nava-Dharmānmāyāh.

4. Pāndurā. 2. Lochanā. 1. Vajradhātūśvarī. 3. Māmakī. 5. Tārā.
8. Pratyāṅgirah. 6. Vajrasatwātmikā. 7. Vasundhara. 9. Guhyeśvarī.†

Mānushya-Nava-Buddhānmāyāh.

4. Sikkhī. 2. Ratnagarbha. 1. Dīpankara. 3. Vipasyī. 5. Viśvabhū.
8. Kāsyapa. 6. Kakutsanda. 7. Kanakamuni. 9. Sākyasiṇha.

Mānushya-Nava-Buddhānmāyāh.

1. Dīpankara. 2. Ratnagarbha.‡ 3. Vipasyī. 4. Sikkhī. 5. Viśvabhū.
6. Kakutsanda. 7. Kanakamuni. 8. Kāsyapa. 9. Sākyasiṇha.

* Avalokiteśvara is probably identical with Matsyendra nāth, the introducer of Nathism into Buddhism, but not with Padma Pāni, the fourth Dhyāni Bodhisatva, though now usually so identified. Maitreya is the Buddha next to come; Mañjuśhoṣa is a historical person and the apparent introducer of Saktiism into Buddhism: 4-5 are Dhyānis, shadows like the rest.

† Guhyeśvarī is now worshipped by the orthodox as the Sakti of Paśupati Nath. But the expelled Buddhists claim the goddess as their own and affirm that there is a subterranean way from their great temple of Sambhunāth to hers.

‡ For Ratnagarbha see Fahian, p. 116. We have here nine mortal Buddhas

Mánushiya-Nava-Prajñámúji.

1. Jwalavatí. 2. Lakshanavatí. 3. Vipasyantí. 4. Sikkhāmāliní. 5. Viswadhará.
6. Kakudvatí. 7. Kanthanamāliní. 8. Mahādhara. 9. Yasodhará.*

Nava-Bhikshu-Saṅghāmmáyāh.

1. Pradīpeswara. 2. Ratnarāja. 3. Mahāmatí. 4. Ratnadhara. 5. Akāsaganja.
6. Sakalamangala. 7. Kanakarāja. 8. Dharmodara. 9. Ananda.

Iti-Sri-Ekāmmáyādi-Narāmmáya-Devatāh Samāptāh

N.B.—The authority for these details is the Dharma Sangraha, or *catalogue raisonné* of the terminology of the Bauddha system of philosophy and religion.

EUROPEAN SPECULATIONS ON BUDDHISM.||

In the late M. Abel-Rémusat's review of my sketch of Buddhism, (*Journal des Savans*, Mai, 1831,) with the perusal of which I have 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 événemens ou incarnations (*avatāra*). Le nom de *Tathāgata* (venu**) qu'on donne à Sakia n'est point expliqué dans son mémoire; et quant aux incarnations, le religieux dont les réponses ont fourni la substance de ce mémoire, ne semble pas en reconnoître d'autres que celles des sept Boud-dhas. Il est pourtant certain qu'en en compte une infinité 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 nonsense' 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 *Lalitā Vistara* gravely assigns 505, or according to another copy, 550, *avatāras* to Śākya *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

instead of seven, which latter is the usual series, *vide* the *Amarakosha*. The Southern usually cite only four. All depends on the Kalpas, each has its own Buddhas, and to the last or present Kalpa belong the four of southern notoriety.

* Yasodhará was the wife of Śākya, and Rahula their son. Rahula therefore ought to have been the ninth Sangha; but he was dull and little known whilst Ananda was most famous and succeeded Śākya as Heresiarch after Kāśyapa's speedy demise.

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

** A radical mistake; see the sequel.

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 Bauddha perfectibility has countless degrees, several of which towards the summit express attributes really divine, however short of the transcendental glory of a *tathāgata* in *nirvṛtti*. 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 *devatās*, should be called an *avatār*? Such *avatāras*, in all their successive mortal advents till they can reach the estate of a *tathāgata*, are the *arhantas*, and the *bodhisatvas*, the *pratyeka* and the *śrāvaka-Buddhas*. They are gods and far more than gods; yet they were originally, and still *quoad* 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 latter 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 Rémusat 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 *Mahā Yānika* or *Tathāgata Buddha*. Such are all the 'sapta Buddhas,' of whom it is abundantly certain that *not one* ever was, or, by the principles of the creed, could be, incarnated. Sākya'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 Rémusat 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 Brahmins. *Avatāras* are an essential and consistent part of Brahmanism—an unessential and inconsistent part of Buddhism: and there is always this material difference between the *avatāra* of the former and of the latter, that whereas in the one it is an incarna-

* Not a syllable is told of these mortal Bodhisatvas with the exception of the last, Sākya's most famous disciple.

tion 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 considerations of the *dhyāni*, or celestial Buddhas, because Rémusat'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 Baudha scriptures, and by observance of the precepts therein laid down, in a word by *tapas* and *Dhyāna*, or severe ascetic purity and transcendental meditation. 3rd. *thus come*, 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 births, 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' (avenue), and implying incarnation, as Rémusat 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 *avatāras*, 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 Śākya is the seventh and *last* of the Buddhas,"† though I believe that Śākya's six predecessors are *voces et præterea nihil*.

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 countrymen the study of an entirely new and difficult subject in those original Sanskrit authorities* which I had discovered and placed

*To the question, what is the *tathāgata*, the most holy of Buddhist scriptures returneth for answer, "It does not come again, it does not come again."

† Asiatic Researches, vol. xvi. p. 415.

**Nearly seventy volumes in Sanskrit, and some in the language of Tibet, were sent by me to Calcutta between the years 1824 and 1830. 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 Sanskrit originals by M. Csoma de Koros, and by Professor H. H. Wilson in the third volume of Gleanings, and first volume of Journal As. Soc.—Ed.]

See at pp. 137-139 of vol. i. for list of Sanskrit works. Eventually I procured from Lhasa the complete Kalgyur and Stangyur in 327 large volumes. The catalogue thereof had previously been obtained, and its general character reported on before Csoma de Koros made his appearance.

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 Bauddha 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 Rémusat, 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, Rémusat considers the *vajra áchárya* 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 áchárya* 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 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 (Sanskrit), 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 honour, in the *immediately* adjacent countries, whither they safely conveyed most of their books, and where those books still exist, either in the original Sanskrit, or in most carefully made translations from it. The *Sata Sáhasrika-Prajñá-Páramitá*, and the nine Dharmas, discovered by me in Nepaul, are as indisputably original evidence of Buddhism as the Vedas and Puránas are of Brahmanism. The Káhyur of Tibet has been *proved* to have been

rendered into Tibetan from Sanskrit, 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, (Sanskrit,) 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, how can Buddhism in the several countries where it is practically used as the rule of life and of faith, fail to exhibit a common character as to essentials at least. And 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 Nepaul, it is just as absurd to insinuate, that the Prajñā Pāramitā, 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, and cause reference to be made to the written authorities, the result of an appeal to the living oracles will oft times prove as valuable as that of one to the dead without any other guide.

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 Nepaul, with that of Tibet, the Indo-Chinese nations and Ceylon, as reported by our local enquirers, as well as with

that of *ancient* India itself, as evidenced by the sculptures of Gaya,* 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 Rémusat'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 *Tathāgata*; because *Tathāgata* is designed expressly to announce that all reiteration and contingency whatever is barred with respect to the beings so designated. They cannot come; nor can anything come to pass affecting them.‡

And if it be objected, that the mere use of the word *avenu*, in the past tense, does not necessarily imply such reiteration and conditional futurity, I answer that Rémusat 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.

* 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 Buddhist systems of different countries, we may take this opportunity of quoting a private letter from Colonel Burney, relative to the 'Burmese Philosopher Prince,' Mekkhara Men, the King of Ava's uncle.

"The prince has been reading with the greatest interest M. Csoma 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 *g*. He is particularly anxious to know if the monastery called Zedawuna still exists in Tibet, where, according to Burmese books, Godama dwelt a long time, and with his attendant Ananda planted a bough which he had brought from the great *pīpal* 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 Sanskrit 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 Sanskrit or the Tibet 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 Sanskrit originals, in this respect differing from the Tibetan, which are *translations* of the same name.

‡ *Avenu* signifies *quod evenit, contigit*, that which hath happened.—(*Dictionnaire de Trevoux*.) *Tathāgata*; *tathā* thus (what really is), *gata* (known, obtained).—(Wilson's Sans. Dict.)—*Ed.*

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

Adverting again to Rémusat'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 Mánushis. The passage in which this singular allegation is advanced is the following: "Les noms de ces sept personnages (the '*Sapta Buddhā*') sont connus des Chinois, et ils en indiquent une *infinité d'autres* dont le Bouddhiste Nipálien *ne parle pas*."

My Essay in the London Transactions was the complement and continuation of that in the Calcutta Researches. Rémusat 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 Sanskrit works, that Buddhism recognises "une infinité" of Buddhas,—Dhyáni and Mánushi, Pratyeka, 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 long list*, drawn from the Samádhi Rāja, *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 Arhantas and the Bodhisatvas; 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,—man with Buddha; and I observed in conclusion that the epithet Tathágata, a synonym of Buddha, *expressly portrays this transition*. (London Transactions, vol. ii. part i.) Facts and dates are awkward opponents except to those, who, with Rémusat'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

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

* The *trigána*, or three paths to bliss (of three different degrees) suited to the respective capacities of the several followers of this creed, want elucidation. The *Maháyána* is elsewhere spoken of as the humblest path; some call it the highest.

‡ According to usage in that matter provided.

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 everywhere, 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 Desa! 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 consoled 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 Brahmanical sculptures of those venerable fane are, in fact, Buddhist. A hint to this effect I gave so long ago as 1827, in the Quarterly Oriental Magazine, (No. XVI. 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 Amrita Nanda. The existence of an infinite number of Buddhas; the existence of the whole Dhyāni class of Buddhas; the personality of the Triad; its philosophical and religious meanings; 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 Rémusat 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 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. Rémusat 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

* See Erskine's Essays in the Bombay Transactions.

† 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 *Edipuses*.” (Sir G. Haughton in epis. 16 January, 1832.)

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 étoit le principe de solidité, d'où naquit la roue d'or qui soutient et protège la terre. Le contact mutuel du vent et du métal 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 ignée, d'où provient le tourbillon d'eau qui embrasse les mondes de toute part."

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 Langyen-king, is, in fact, a description of the procession of the five elements, one from another, and ultimately from *Prajñā*, the universal material principle, very nearly akin to the *Pradhāna* 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. These modes are termed respectively *Nirvṛitti* and *Pravṛitti*.

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 and sound. Extension in the abstract is not a phenomenon, nor does it belong *properly* 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 *ākāśa*, 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.

* See Bailly's *History of Asia*, pp. 114, 118, 124, 187, of vol. i; also pp. 130, 187. Wondrous concord of ideas! Also Goguet, l. 170.

† 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. *Prajñā*. With the primitive *Śvabhāvikas* cause is not utilised: 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 *Prajuikas* only.

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

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 phaenomenal 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 *nivṛitti*, or of rest. It is *not* nothingness, except with the sceptical few. The opposite of *Sūnyatā* is *Avidyā*, which is the mundane affection of the universal principle, or the universal principle in a state of activity, that is, of *pravṛitti*. *Avidyā* is also the result of this disposition to activity; in other words it represents phaenomenal entities, or the sum of phaenomena, which are regarded as wholly unreal, and hence their existence is ascribed to ignorance or *Avidyā*. Now, if we revert to the extract from the Lang-yen-ki, and remember that *la pensée*,* *l'intelligence lumineuse*,* and *la lumière precieuse*,* refer alike to Prajñā, 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 Prajñā une idée surgit inopinément et produisit la fausse lumière:"—that is, the universal material principle, or goddess Prajñā, 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 (*Avidyā*). "Quand la fausse lumière fut née, le vide et l'obscurité s'imposèrent réciproquement 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 *ākāśa*, which, as the primary modification of *sūnyatā* (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 *ākāśa*) proceeded the element of the circumambient air. "L'intelligence lumineuse étoit le principe de solidité, d'où naquit la roue d'or qui soutient et protège la terre." Prajñā in the form of light (her *pravṛittika* 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 Meru, the distinctive attribute of which is protecting and sustaining power: this passage, therefore, simply announces the evolu-

* Prajñā 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.

tion of the element of earth, with its mythological appendage, mount Meru. 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 (*Prajñā*) in the *midst* of this evolution of the elements. “Le contact mutuel du vent et du métal produit le feu et la lumière, qui sont les principes des changemens.” The mutual contact of the elements of air and of *earth* produce 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 mis-apprehension of Rémusat’s. Nor less so is the false allocation⁴ 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’où provient le tourbillon d’eau qui embrasse les mondes.”

Prajñā (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 *causa 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 Swābhāvikas. 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. Rémusat 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 homogeneity and unreality of all phenomena, is not tantamount to an admission of it. The doctrine of *Avidyā*, the mundane affliction of the universal principle, is not necessarily the same with the doctrine which makes the percipient 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.

⁴ *Manas*, the sixth element, is the percipient 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 homogeneity of this sixth element with the other five.

I resume my notice of Rémusat'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 présentées 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 rentroient dans le repos réel et définitif à l'instant que les phénomènes cesseroient et disparaîtroient dans le sein de l'existence absolue, on conçoit un terme où tous les êtres seroient devenus Buddha, et où le monde auroit 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 definitive repose, and the absolute existence, spoken of, they are as certainly and customarily predicated of *Diva natura* by the Swābhāvikas, as of God or Adi-Buddha, by the Aiswarikas; to which two sects respectively the two opposite opinions confounded by Rémusat exclusively belong.

Again, "Tout est vide, tout est delusion, pour l'intelligence suprême (Adi-Buddha, as before defined). L'Avidyā seul donne aux choses du monde sensible une sorte de réalité passagère et purement phénoménale." 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 affliction 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, all phenomena are, according to this theory, absolutely homogeneous, and 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.

Rémusat 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."

* The question of formation is a very different one from that of continuance. Yet Rémusat would seem to have confounded the two. See the passage beginning "Mais ce qui mérite d'être remarqué."

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 fifty 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 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 classes of phenomena, are assumed to have a real existence; and I believe that there is scarcely one school of Bauddha 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 Avidyā and of Māyā; and I would ask those whose musings are in an impartial strain, whether the Bauddha device be not as good a one as the Brahmanical, to stave off a difficulty which the unaided wit of man is utterly unable to cope with:§

* A writer in the Edinburgh Review for January 1852, p. 192, says that to make immortality dependant on immateriality is most illogical.

† Rémusat 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; one of development, the other of non-development. 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.

‡ Time and Space; which however cannot, and are not classed among phenomena by Indian or European philosophers. Limited time and space are considered *quasi* phenomena by all.

§ See Ballantyne's *Vedānta*, p. 80: the very phrase "ignorance" or *Ajñāna* is essentially the same and more precise than *Māyā*.

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 homogeneous, at once renders the former a mere trick of words, or creates an irreconcilable contradiction between the two doctrines, and in fact Rénusat 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.” Rénusat 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 anything 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 Swābhāvika and the Aiswarika. It is most apparent to me that Rénusat 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 Swābhāvika sect.

In speaking of the two† bodies of Buddha he remarks, that “le véritable corps est identifié avec la science et la loi. La substance même est la science (Prajñā).” He had previously made the same observation, “La loi même est son principe et sa nature.” Now those who are aware that Prajñā (most idly translated law, science, and so forth,) is the name of the *great material cause*, can 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 Swābhāvika school, and would have laughed at the *co-ordinate* doctrine of his translator, that Buddha is the sovereign and sole cause, of whom nature (Prajñā) is an effect.

The Swābhāvika 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 Aiswarikas, 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 Aiswarikas 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

† There are in fact five bodies named by me; see page 92.

* *Prakṛiteswari itī Prajñā*; and again, *Dhāranātmaka itī Dharma*. *Dharma* is a synonyme of *Prajñā*. *Prajñā* means Supreme Wisdom. Whose? Nature's — and nature's, as the sole, or only as the plastic, cause.

So, again, *Dharma* means mortality in the abstract, or the moral and religious 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 Swābhāvikas, differently interpreted, have served for the basis of the Aiswarika doctrine, I presume no further caveat can be required.

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 Rémusat never meet with passages like the following ?

"And as all other things and beings proceeded from Swabháva or nature, so did Vajra, Satwa, Buddha, thence called the *self-existent*." Even the Swábhávikas have their Dhyáni 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 observed that this sect was, as compared with the Swábhávika, both recent and confined.†

If, in the course of this, and the three preceding letters, I have spoken harshly of Rémusat'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 Sanskrit 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 *bien-séance* for *bien-séance*, and a sincere tear dropped over the untimely grave of the learned Rémusat.

† Burnouf seems to hold that the transcendentalists had very early an atheistic and a theistic section, the theistic being the Yogicháryas, whose founder was Arya Sangha, and that a sect apart from both held the middle path, and were therefore called Mádhyamikas.

§ The case is altered materially *now*; because my original authorities, which stand far less in need of living interpreters, are generally accessible.

|| I beg to propose, as an *experimentum crucis*, the celebrated text—*Ye Dharmánityá* of the *Sata Sáhásrika*. 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 SARNATH.

I have just got the 39th Number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society and hasten to tell you, that your enigma requires no (Edipus for its solution at Kathmandu, where almost every man, woman, and child, of the Bauddha faith, can repeat the *confessio fidei* (for such it may be called), inscribed on the Sárnáth 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 Kőrös. 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:—“*Ye Dhamā hetu-prabharā; hetus teshān Tathāgato.*” Even thus curtailed, the sense is complete, without the “*Teshān cha yo nirodha, eram (cādi) Māñā 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 causes of all sentient existence in the versatile world, the Tathāgata hath explained. The Great Sramana hath likewise explained the 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 Nirvritti, which is the grand object of all Bauddha 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 Nepalese, viz., “Of all things proceeding from cause, the cause is the Tathāgata:”—understanding by Tathāgata, Adi-Buddha. And whenever, in playful mood, I used to reproach my old friend, Anurta Nanda, (now alas! no more) with the atheistic tendency of his creed, he would always silence me with, “*Ye Dhamā hetu-prabharā hetus teshān Tathāgato;*” insisting, that Tathāgata referred to the supreme, self-existent (*Swayambhū*) Buddha.†

* This curtailed version is traditional not scriptural.

§ See pp. 79-80 for these causes, viz., *Arādyā, Saṃskāra, etc.*

† 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 beauteous object.

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 Swábhávika 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 Pauránika and Tántrika, the scriptural validity of which commands a necessary assent. As it seems to be supposed, that the theistic school has no other than Tántrika authorities for its support, I will just mention the *Swayambhú Puránu* and the *Bhadra Kalpavadána*, 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 sprang, as any of the other schools. Nor is it to be confounded *altogether* with the vile obscenity and mystic mummery of the *Tantras*, though acknowledged to have considerable connexion with them. Far less is it to be considered peculiar to Nepaul and Tibet, proofs of the contrary being accessible to all; for instance, the *Pancha Buddha Dhyáni* are inshrined in the cave at *Bágh*, and in the minor temples surrounding the great edifice at *Gyá*: as to which see 'my old Bauddha Pandit's report further on. A. Cunningham of Bengal, Wilson of Bombay, and Chapman of Madras, have all recorded opinions substantially the same. And I have myself seen a fine image of Padma Páni, the son of the Dhyáni Buddha Amitábha, at Karnagurh on the Ganges. As I was looking over your Journal, my Newári painter came into the room. I gave him the catch word, "Ye Dharná," 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 Csoma'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 acceptance of *Kusal* and its opposite, or *Akusal*, came out. *Kusal* is good. *Akusal* 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 *Rakshá Bhágavatí*, or *Prajñá Páramitá*, as you seem to prefer calling it. So will I of Csoma's supplement so soon as I can lay my hands on the *Shurangama Samádhi*, 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 Bauddha work. Meanwhile, you will notice, that as my draftsman, above spoken of, is no pandit, but a perfectly illiterate craftsman merely, his familiar acquaintance

*i. e., J. A. S. B.

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.

I am no competent critic of Sanskrit, 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 famous *Ye Dharmánitya* of the *Sata Sāhasrika*, 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 Sāhasrika* serves likewise (I am assured) to prove that the signification of *ye* is not always strictly relative, but often expletive merely: but let that pass.

The points in question undoubtedly are,—*existence* in the *Prāvṛttika* or versatile world, and *cessation* of such existence, by translation to the world of *Nirvṛtti*; and of such translation, animals generally, and not human beings solely, are capable. Witness the deer and the chakwa, which figure so much in Bauddha sculptures! The tales of their advancement to *Nirvṛtti* are popularly familiar. The word *nirodha* 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 causes of versatile existence and of its extinction are given at pp. 79-80.

It is scarcely worth while to cumber the present question with the further remark that there is a sect of Bauddha 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 Rémusat 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. "*Dhāraṇāmaka iti dharma*," 'the holding, containing, or sustaining, essence (ens) is *dharma*.' The substratum of all form and quality in the versatile universe, the sustainer (in space) of versatile entity, mundane substances and existences, physical and moral, in a word, *all things*. Such is the *general* meaning of *dharma*. 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 *Nature* as Amara Sinha's explanation of *dharma*. This is essentially correct, as might be expected from a Bauddha lexicographer. The English word "substance" is the precise equivalent of *dharma*, which means that which supports qualities in space, and of the Brahmanic *mātrá*, meaning that which measures space or limits space, because space is only measurable by the substances it holds. I speak here merely of etymologies.

* See p. 109, in notes.

NOTE. If Mr. Hodgson's general interpretation of dharma is the true one, (which seems most probable, though its specification in the sense of *moral duties* is more agreeable to M. Csoma's supplement)—its implication, in the present reading, at least, appears manifestly atheistic. For that it cannot mean "Tathágata or the Adi-Buddha is the cause," is evident from the accusative hétún (which is also plural, *causas*.) Even if we were to strike out the word *avadat* or *áha*—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 explication given by the Aiswarika Buddhists (as though the words were hétus téshám Tathágatas) 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 metís 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. II. M.

Note on the Note of W. II. M.—My friendly and learned annotator is right as to the comparative recency of the Aiswarika 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. Csoma 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 Sákya, in the text graved at Sarnath, are Avidyá, Sanskára, etc., as enumerated in my "Quotations in Proof" under the head of the Kármika doctrine; and there, too, may be found the causes of the extinction of such existence. See pp. 79-80 of this vol. This passage is the true complement or exponent of the *ye dharmá*, and leaves no possible doubt as to its meaning.

NOTICE OF ADI-BUDDHA AND OF THE SEVEN MORTAL BUDDHAS,*

(With reference to Nepaul chiefly)

FROM THE SWAYAMBHU PURANA.

The *Swayambhú Purána* 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 Hemáchal, 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, Vipasyi Buddha arrived, with very many disciples and Bhikshus, from Vindumatí Naga, in Madhya Desa, at the Lake of Nāga Vāsa, in the course of his customary religious peregrinations. Vipasyi, having thrice circumambulated the lake, seated himself in the N. W. (Váyukona) 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, Swayambhú, the Lord of Agnishttha Bhuvana, shall be revealed in the form of flame; and then shall the lake become a cultivated and populous country." Having repeated these words, Vipasyi departed. Long after the date of this prophecy, it was fulfilled according to the letter.

After Vipasyi Buddha, came Sikhí Buddha to Nāga Vāsa with a great company of respectful followers, composed of rajas and persons of the four castes (chatur varna). Sikhí, so soon as he beheld Jyoti-rúpa-Swayambhú, 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 Swayambhú, 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 Sikhí threw himself into the waters of Nāga Vāsa, grasping in his hands the stalk of the lotos, and his soul was absorbed into the essence of Swayambhú. Many of his disciples, following their master, threw themselves into the lake, and were absorbed into Swayambhú, i. e., the self-existent; the rest returned home. Viswabhú was the third Buddha who visited Nāga Vāsa. Viswabhú was born in Anupama-puri-nagar, of Madhya Desa; his life was devoted to benefitting his fellow-creatures. His visit to Nepaul was long after that of Sikhí, and, like Sikhí, he brought with him a great many disciples and Bhikshus, Rajas and cultivators, natives of his own land. Having repeated the praises of Swayambhú-jyoti-rúpa, he observed; "In this lake

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

§ When the lake was desiccated (by the sword of Manjusri, says the myth—probably earthquake) Karkotaka had a fine tank built for him to dwell in; and there he is still worshipped, also in the cave-temple appendant to the great Buddhist shrine of Swayambhú Náth.

Prajñā-surūpa-Guhyeswarī* will be produced. A Bodhi-atwa will, in time, make her manifest out of the waters: and this place, through the blessing of Swayambhū, 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 Bodhi-atwa above alluded to is Manju Śrī,† whose native place is very far off, towards the north, and is called Pancha Śirsha Parvata, [which is situated in Mahā China Des.§] After the coming of Viswabhū Buddha to Nāga Vāsa, Manju Śrī, meditating upon what was passing in the world, discovered by means of his divine science that Swayambhū-jyoti-rūpa, 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 peasantry of the land, and a Raja named Dharmākar, he assumed the form of Viswakarma, and with his two Devis (wives,) and the persons above-mentioned, set out upon the long journey from Śirsha Parvata to Nāga Vāsa. There having arrived, and having made pūjā to the self-existent, he began to circumambulate the lake, beseeching all the while the aid of Swayambhū in prayer. In the second circuit, when he had reached the central barrier mountain to 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 Guhyeswarī,|| 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 lotos, the root of which is the abode of Guhyeswarī, he erected a protecting structure of stone and brick over the recum-

* That is the mystic form of Prajñā, who is the same with Dharmā and the Sakti of Swayambhū or Adi-Buddha, according to the Triadists. The type of Adi-Buddha in Nepal is fire—that of Adi-Dharmā or Prajñā or Guhyeswarī is water—or she has no type, is of a secret form, *i. e.*, Guhyeswarī, or lastly, according to the Tantras, her type is the Yoni, which, as well as the whole ritual belonging to it, is Guhya or esoteric and concealed.

† The Tibetans identify Manjusrī with Thumī Sambhota, minister of King Srongtsan, who lived in the seventh century, and was the great introducer of Buddhism into Tibet. Manjusrī's Tibetan name is Jam yang; Thumī is an incarnation of him.

§ The bracketed portions are from the commentators.

|| 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 Sambhū. The fable says, that the root of the lotos of Guhyeswarī is at the former place, and the flower at the latter; the recumbent stalk being extended throughout the interval between them. Swayambhū or Adi-Buddha is supposed to reside in the flower, in the form of flame; Prajñā Pāramitā or Guhyeswarī, in or at the root, in the form of water. The temple of Guhyeswarī has been appropriated by the Brahmans, who worship this goddess as the Sakti of Pasupati Nāth, whose symbol is the four-faced Lingum. But it may be that the Buddhists are wrong in identifying Guhyeswarī with Prajñā, and that Guhyeswarī, the Sakti of Pasupati Nāth, is really one of the deities or Nāthism—a half orthodox (Goraksha nāth) and half heterodox (Matsyendra nāth) divinity.

bent 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 Parvata, (the western half of the little hill of Sambhú Náth,) and called the desiccated valley, *Népálá*—*Né* signifying 'the sender' (to paradise,) who is Swayambhú, and *pálá* 'cherished'; implying that the protecting genius of the valley was Swayambhú or Adi-Buddha. Thus the valley got the name of *Népálá*: and, since very many persons had come from Mount Sírsha (or China) with Manju Sri, for the residence of Dharmákar Raja and his suite, Manju constructed a large place of abode [half way between Mount Swayambhú and Guhyeswarí,] and named it after himself, *Manju Pattana*, and established therein Dharmákar [of Mahá China] as Raja, subjecting the whole of the inferior sort of people who came from Sírsha Parvata to Dharmákar's rule, and providing abodes for them in the city of Manju Pattana.

[Thus was Nepal peopled, the first inhabitants of which came all from Mount Sírsha, which is in Mahá China, and thus the valley got the name of *Népálá*, and its inhabitants, that of *Népálí*, whose primitive language was Chinese.* This language in course of time came to be much altered by the immigration of people from Madhya Desa, and by the necessary progress of corruption and change in a new country, till a new language arose in Nepal by the natural course of things. The primitive inhabitants of Nepal 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. These four orders all monastic; 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*, etc. to a great extent of diverse names.] Manju Sri, having by such deeds as these acquired the highest celebrity in Nepal, [ostensibly, and for the instruction of the people] relinquished his mortal form and became *nirván*; [but in truth departed for Mount Sírsha with his two Devis, and in due course arrived at Pancha Sírsha Parvata.] Some time after the disappearance of Manju Sri, Karkut Sand Buddha came to Nepal, with some Bhikshukas, Dharmapála Raja, and a multitude of the common people, from Kshémávatinagar, of Madhya Desa. The beauty of the country delighted

* Manju Sri or Manju Ghosha (sweet voice) and Dharmákar are pure Sanskrit words, which fact makes against the alleged location of Mount Sírsha (also Sanskrit) in China, and there are grounds for supposing that mount Sírsha was in Assam.

In the Nepalese Vansavalis the first race of kings are apparently Gwallas and Saivas, or rather Pasupatas, who worshipped Pasupati and received the throne from a Rishi called Neyam. But this dynasty is open to doubt in all ways. The next dynasty is clearly barbarian and utterly alien to Sanskrit and India. It is of the Kiranti tribe now located in all the eastern part of Nepal. This evidence is indecisive. What says the *Skand Purana*, and what is its age compared with that of the *Simbhu Purana*? Physiology and speech decisively refer the *Newars* to the Tibetan stock.

him, and he remarked that in such a land the cultivator must be sure to reap as he sowed. He paid his devotions to Swayambhú, and then launched out in praise of the merits of Manju Sri, the Nepaulese patriarch. Afterwards he performed *pújá* to Guhyeswarí, and then ascended Sankhochá mountain (Siva Púra:) the prospect of that valley from that mount filled him with fresh delight, and he again celebrated the excellence of the country. Gunadhvaja, a brahman, and Abhiyandada, a kshetriya, and others of the four castes (*chatúr varna*;) 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 Swayambhú 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 Abhishéka or baptism. He called the river that originated with this spring Vángmati;* and then related to his followers both the past and future history of the valley watered by the Vángmati. Then, having left behind him in Nepaul, Raja Dharmapál 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 Kshemávati. [These companions of Kurkut Sand, or Krakucchand, were the first natives of the plains of India (Madhya Desa) 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 Viháras. When these Madhyadśiyas had become numerous in Nepaul, they and their descendants were confounded with the former or northern colonists under the common appellation of Népáli and Nėwári; 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, Kshetriya, Vaisya, and Sudra, and four ascetical classes, namely, Bhikshu, Sramana,† Chailaka, and Arhanta, dwelling in forests and monasteries, and all were *Buddha-márgi*.]

ACCOUNT OF DHARMAKAR RAJA AND DHARMAPAL RAJA.

Dharmákar, the before noted [Chinese] prince of Nepaul, being disgusted with the world, abandoned his sovereign power, and placed *Dharmapál*, the Raja of Gaur-des, already mentioned, upon his throne. *Dharmapál* governed his subjects with perfect justice and clemency, and made *pújá* at the Chaitya erected by Dharmákar, and regarded with equal favour his subjects that came from Mount Sirsha [or Mahá Chína,] and those who immigrated from Madhya-desa.

ACCOUNT OF PRACHANDA DEVA.—Prachanda Deva, a Raja of Gaur-des, which is adjacent to Madhya-des, and of the Kshatriya tribe, was the wise man of his age and country. At length, being inspired with the ambition of becoming

* From *Pach*, 'speech.'

† *Srávaka* and *Sramana* are equivalent.

nirvāna, 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 *tirtha*, and *pīth*, and *devatā*, and having made *pījā* to the *Tri Ratna*, or triad, he went to the temple of Swayambhū, 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 Guṇākar Bhikshu, a follower of Manju Sri. One day Prachanda Deva so delighted Guṇākar with the display of his excellent qualities, that Guṇākar made him a Bhikshuka; and the said Raja Prachanda after becoming a Bhikshu, obtained the titular appellation of Śānta Sri. [A great many Brahmins 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 Gaur-des.] After a time, Śānta Sri represented to his Guru Guṇākar his desire to protect the sacred flame of Swayambhū with a covering structure. Guṇākar was charmed with the proposition and proposer, and having purified him with thirteen sprinklings of sacred water (*trayodasābhisheka*), gave him the title of Dīkṣita Śāntikar Vajra Achārya. [From these transactions is dated the arrival of the people of Gaur-des in Nepaul, and their becoming Buddhists.]

ACCOUNT OF KANAKA MUNI.—Once on a time, from Subhīratīnagar of Madhyades, 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 Swayambhū, and the Tri Ratna, and then departed with most of his attendants. A few remained in Nepaul, who became Buddha-mārgī and worshippers of Swayambhū; [and these too, like all the preceding, soon lost their name and character as Madhyadesīyas, and were blended with the Népālī or Nēwārī race.]

ACCOUNT OF KĀSYAPA BUDDHA.—Once on a time in Mṛigalāba-vana, near Benares, Kāsyapa Buddha was born. He visited Nepaul in pilgrimage, and made his devotions to Sambhunāth. [Most of the people who came with him staid in Nepaul, and soon became confounded with the aborigines.]

ACCOUNT OF SĀKYA SINHA BUDDHA.—Some time after Kāsyapa's visit at Gangā Sāgara,* in the sthan of Kapila Muni, and city of Kapila-vastu, and reign of Suddhōdana Raja, of the Sāka-vansa, was born (as the son of that Raja) Sarvārtha Siddha, who afterwards became a Buddha with the name of Sākya Sinha. Sākya, with 1,350 Bhikshukas, and the Raja of Benares, several counsellors of state,

* Gangā Sāgara, says Wilson, has no necessary connection with the ocean. For the site of Kapila-pur see Laidlay's *Fakien*. But I doubt if the site were so far from the hills. Timur, in his annals, says that he took it and speaks of it as though it were actually in the hills, a mountain fastness in fact.

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 or Puchhāgra Hill,† and repeated to his disciples the past history of Nepaul, as well as its whole future history, with many praises of Manju Srī Bodhisatwa: he then observed, “In all the world are twenty-four *Pāths*, and of all these that of Nepaul is the best.” Having so said, he departed. His companions, who were of the Chatur varṇa, or four castes, [Brāhman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sūdra,] and belonged to the four orders, [Bhikshu, and Sramana, and Chailaka, and Arhant,] being much pleased with Nēpāl-des continued to dwell in it; [and in course of time were blended with the aboriginal Nēpālīs, and became divided into several castes, according to the avocations which they hereditarily pursued.] Some time after the date of the above transaction, Raja Gunakāma Deva, prince of Kāthmāndú, [a principal city of Nepaul,] became the disciple of the above-mentioned Sāntikar Vajra Achārya. Guna Kāma Deva, with the aid derived from the divine merits of Sāntikar, brought the Nāg Raja Karkotaka‡ out of the lake or tank of Adhār, and conveyed him to Sāntipūr 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, Srī Narendra Deva became Raja of Bhagatpattan, (or Bhatgaon;) he was the disciple of Bandudatta Achārya, and brought Aryāvalokiteswara* (Padma Pāni) from Pūtalakāparvat (in Assam) to the city of Lalita pattan in Nepaul. The reason of inviting this divinity to Nepaul was a drought of twelve years duration, and of the greatest severity. The measure was attended with like happy results, as in the case of conveying the Nāg Raja with so much honour to Sāntipūr.

NOTE ON THE PRIMARY LANGUAGE OF THE BUDDHIST WRITINGS.¶

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 Sākya, ‘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. Turnour, some misapprehension of the sense in which I spoke to that point.

† Part of Mount Sambhu, west of the great Chaitya; also called Go-puech.

‡ Karkotaka is named in the *Saṅhitā*. And in the annals of Cashmir he figures as conspicuously as in Nepaul. The Nāgas and Indra maintain still in Nepaul a deal of their pristine authority, and in connection one with the other: for the Nāgas are invoked for rain.

§ The *Nāgas* are still worshipped in Sāntipur whenever the rains are deficient, in conformity with this legend and with the original one of the lake as being the *Nāgrāsa*.

* Is Avalokiteswara the same as Matsyendra Nāth, whose arrival in Nepaul is referred to the fifth century of Christ by well known memorial verses? The identification with Padma Pāni rests on Sāstras of Nepaul and of China. See J.R.A.S., new series, vol. ii., part i., p. 137.

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

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 systematised in Sanskrit. I never alleged that the Buddhists had eschewed the Prakrits: 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 Sākya could be best and only explained by advertence to shameful *prior abuse* of the *religious sanction*, whence arose the characteristic *Buddha* 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 Prakrit, *i. e.*, Pāli, because the books of *Ceylon* and *Ava*, (the only ones then forthcoming,*) were solely in that language or dialect. I answered by producing a whole library of Sanskrit works in which the principles of Buddhism are more fully expounded than in all the legendary tomes of *Ceylon* and *Ava*; I answered, further, by pointing to the abstruse philosophy of Buddhism, to the admitted preeminence, as *scholars*, of its expounders; and to their location in the most central and literary part of India (*Behar* and *Audh*). 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 feebler 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 deduceable from monumental slabs, backed as this presumption is by the Sanskrit 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 Sanskrit 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

* Sir W. Jones had, however, in his possession a Sanskrit copy of the *Lalitā Vistara*, and had noticed the personification of *Diva Natura* under the style of *Arya Tārā*.

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 Śūkyā 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*,^f in *Kosala* and *Rājagriha*,—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 appearance of being ritual collectanea, legendary hearsays, and loose comments on received texts—all which would naturally be written in the vulgar tongue.*. To these, however, we must add some very important historical annals, detailing the spread and diffusion 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 divine.

But these annals, however valuable to us, for historical uses, are not the original written standard of faith; and until I see the *Prajñā Pāramitā* 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 *Nepaul*, classical or Sanskrit!

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

This material fact (so opposite to the genius of Brahmanism,) I long since called attention to; and thence argued that the inscriptions on the lāts would be probably found to be of scriptural character.

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

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

† They have one of the nine, *viz.*, the *Lalitā Vistara*; but M. Burnouf assures me, in a miserably corrupted state. Now, as this work is forthcoming in a faultless state in Sanskrit, I say the Pali version *must* be a translation.

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, Pāli and Tibetan books of the sect, and which alone 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 *Sāka*, or progenitors of *Sākya 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 Brahman in that same sense, *viz.*, with reference to their original seat. (*Brachmanes nomen gentis diffusissimæ, 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, Vyāsa and Sākya, from Tartary.* All I say is, that *quoad* the known and recorded man and thing—Sākya Sinha 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 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 Prakrit, 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

* That is from a country to the north-west of Hindostan—a country beyond the Indus—and no doubt the country called Ariana or Irān, in the widest sense, but not Tūrān or Tartary as we call it, for none of the Tartar races were literary, and even to this hour the Turks only have some poor and borrowed pretensions to literature. The Uighours got their alphabet from the Nestorians, and the Mongols theirs from the Uighours.

† According to all Buddhist authorities the lineage of the whole seven mortal Buddhas is expressly stated to be Brahmanical or Kshatriya! What is the answer to this?

‡ Our own distinguished Wilson has too easily followed the continental European writers in identifying the *Saka vansa* with the classical Sace or Scythians, and Buddhism with Samanism. The Tartars of our day avow that they got all their knowledge from India; *teste Kahgyur et Stanggyur*.

Brahmanism, its posteriority of date to the latter is decided, *as well as its jealousy of priestly pretensions. Nec clericis 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 monastic with the clerical character.

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 Śākya 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 Śākya, called the *Lalita Vistara*, found by Professor Wilson to agree verbatim with the Tibetan translation 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 Śākya from the Tibetan authorities by Mr. Csoma in the *As. Res.* vol. xv. writes—"The Tibetan life is apparently a very meagre performance, containing scarcely anything 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 Śākya in various parts of India during the forty-five years he was *Buddha*. Even the superstitious facts recorded are much more absurd than they are represented in the *Pitakattayan*. Thus the dream of Māyā Devī of having been rubbed by a *Chhadanta* elephant, during her pregnancy,—is converted into a matter of fact, of Śākya, 'in the form of an elephant having entered by the right side into the womb or cavity of the body of Māyā Devī!' '*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 *Mahāvanso*; chaps. v. and xxii."

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

* Let zoologists say what they think of the rationality of this story. I would add that refining of the sense of old legends is a common practise of later times.

by such an impartial examination.|| But to return to the subject 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, (*dkar-chhag*) of the *Kahgyur*, it is stated that the *Sūtras* in general—i. e., all the works in the *Kahgyur*, except the twenty-one volumes of the *Sher-chhin** and the twenty-two volumes of the *rGyud* class, after the death of Śākya, 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 *Sindh* as well as the *Bhāshā* of upper and western India present more striking analogies to the *Pāli*, in the removal 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 *Magadha*, 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 *Śākya* race, which had emigrated from *Sinde* to *Kapilavastu* (somewhere in the *Gangetic* valley) may

|| 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 *Rājagriha* are afraid of telling the king Ajāta Satru thereof lest he should faint from the shock, and it is suggested by Mahākāśyapa by way of breaking the intelligence to him, that the *Mahāmantra* or chief priest should “go speedily into the king's garden, and cause to be represented in painting, how Chomdandas (*Bhagavān*) 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 *Vārānasi* he turned the wheel of the law of twelve kinds, (taught his doctrines):—how he at *Srāvastī* displayed great miracles;—how at the city of *Ghachen* he descended from the *Trayastrīṣa* 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 *Kusha* in *Assam*.” 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 *Ajanta*, perchance, or the sculptures of *Bhilsa*, with a full volume of the life of *Śākya* 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.

* This exception embraces the whole speculative tenets or philosophy of Buddhism.

§ This is a daring hypothesis, contrary, I think, to all legitimate presumptions. Where were the books remodelled, and why in Sanskrit if their prototypes were Sanskrit.

|| See the Rev. Dr. Mill's note on this subject in the Jour. B. As. Soc. vol. v., p. 30; also Professor Wilson's remarks, vol. i. p. 8.

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 alone 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 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.‡

A DISPUTATION RESPECTING CASTE BY A BUDDHIST.

One day my learned old *Bauddha* 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! Notwith-

* This is Csoma in No. 14 of Jour. Bengal As. Soc. But Wilson in the Hindu Drama (*Notes on the Mrichhakatikā*) derives the Bihar dynasty from Andhra or Telingana.

‡ If the Sanskrit literature be so old as alleged (tenth to fourteenth century B. C.) it is most strange that we have no Brahmanical monument or inscription nearly so old as the Buddhist Pāli ones. The *Rigveda Samhitā* suggests at once that this cannot be referred to ignorance, and may be referred to the Sabæan genius of primitive Hinduism, which was averse to idols and temples.

standing, 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 *Bauddha*, upon the Brahmanical doctrine of caste: and what adds to its pungency is, that, throughout, the truth of the Brahmanical writings is assumed, and that the author's proofs of the erroneousess 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 Brahmins scorn to consider the *Súdras* 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 an 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?” etc.

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 *viva voce* disputation. Who Ashu Ghosha, the author, was, *when* he flourished, and *where*, I cannot ascertain. All that is known of him in Nepaul is, that he was a *Mahá pandit*, or great sage, and wrote, besides the little treatise now translated, two larger *Bauddha* works of high repute, the names of which are mentioned in a note.*

— — —

I, Ashu Ghosha, first invoking Manju Ghosha, the *Guru* of the world, with all my soul and all my strength, proceed to compose the book called *Vajra Súchi*,† in

* The *Buddha Charitra Kāvya*, and the *Nandi-Mukhasughosha Avadāna*, and other works.

† Burnouf has said that the very term *Vajra* proves this to be a very recent work.

accordance with the *Shastras* (Hindu or Brahmanical *Sāstras*).

Allow then that your *Vedas* and *Smritis*, 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 parentage, or body, or wisdom, or the ritual (*āchāra*), or acts, *i.e.*, morality (*karma*) or the *Vedas*?

If you say it is life (*jīva*), such an assertion cannot be reconciled 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 (*Swāpaka*) have become gods." From these words it is clear that Brahmanhood is not life (*jīva*), a position which is further proved from these words of the *Mahābhārata*: "Seven hunters and ten deer, of the hill of Kalinjal, a goose of the lake Manasarovara, and a *chakwa* of Saradwīpa, all these were born as Brahmans, in the *Kurukshetra* (near Dehli), and became very learned in the *Vedas*." It is also said by Manu, in his *Dharma Sāstra*, "Whatever Brahman learned in the four *Vedas*, with their *anga* and *upanga*, shall take charity from a Sūdra, shall for twelve births be an ass, and for sixty births a hog, and seventy births 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^d 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 *Smṛiti*, that Achala Muni was born of an elephant, and Kesa Pingāla of an owl, and Agastya Muni from the *Agasti* flower, and Kausika Muni from the *Kusa* grass; and Kapila from a monkey, and Gotama Rishi from creeper that entwined a saul-tree, and Drona Achārya from an earthen pot, and Taittiri Rishi from a partridge, and Parasu Rāma from dust, and Srīnga Rishi from a deer, and Vyāsa Munī from a fisherwoman, and Kausika Muni from a female Sūdra, and Viswāmītra from a *Chāndālīnī*, and Vasishtha Muni from a strumpet. 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 sprung of Brahman parents is a Brahman? Still I object that, since you must mean pure and true Brahmans, in such case the

But Weber in his new printed edition of it (original and translation) has shewn that the *Vajra Sūchi* is at least a thousand years old, for in a work of Sankara āchārya not only is the term *Vajra* used, but strange to say, the first paragraph of his work is identical with one in the work before us, though of course differently intended as to scope and purpose, Sankara only proposing to exalt his ideal of Brahmanhood by contrasting it with the ordinary and actual types. But this shews what I have elsewhere remarked, *viz.*, that Saintism by its very genius and character (above ordinances) tends to obliterate the distinctive marks of Brahmanism and Buddhism.

breed of Brahman must be at an end; since the fathers of the present race of Brahman are not, any of them, free from the suspicion of having wives, who notoriously commit adultery with Súdras. Now, if the real father be a Súdra, 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 *Mánava 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 Súdra 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 fleshpots.

From all this it is 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 (*Saríra*) 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 Súdras must have become Brahman from the great wisdom they acquired. I myself know many Súdras who are masters of the four *Vedas*, and of philology, and of the *Mimánsá*, and *Sánkhya*, and *Vaisesika* 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 *Achára* is Brahmanhood? This too is false; for if it were true, many Súdras would become Brahman; since many *Nats* and *Bhats*, and *Kaivartas*, and *Bhands*, and others, are everywhere to be seen performing the severest and most laborious acts of piety. Yet not one of these, who are all so pre-eminent in their *Achára*, is ever called a Brahman: from which it is clear that *Achára* does not constitute the Brahman.

Say you that *Karma* 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

* Perhaps it should rather be translated *learning*. The word in the original is *jñána*.

man becomes a Brahman? This is palpably false; for it is notorious that the *Rākshasa* Ravan was deeply versed in all the four *Vedas*: and that, indeed, all the *Rākshasas* studied the *Vedas* in Rávan'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 *Sanskára*, nor parentage, nor race (*Kula*), nor acts (*Karma*), confers Brahmanhood, what does or can? To my mind Brahmanhood is merely an immaculate quality, like the snowy whiteness of the *Kund* flower. That which removes sin is Brahmanhood. It consists of *Vrata*, and *Tapas*, and *Niyama*, and *Upavása*, and *Dána*, and *Dama*, and *Shama*, 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 *Rája*, and *Dwésa*. Moreover, it is written in all the *Sástras* that the signs of a Brahman are these, truth, penance, the command of the organs of sense, and mercy; as those of a *Chandála* 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 Achárya 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 class. From all which I infer, that birth, and life, and body, and wisdom, and observance of religious rites (*áchára*), and acts (*karma*) are all of no avail towards becoming a Brahman.

Then again, that opinion of your sect, that *Pravrajyá* is prohibited to the *Súdra*; and that for him service and obedience paid to Brahmans are instead of *pravrajyá*, —because, forsooth, in speaking of the four castes, the *Súdra* is mentioned last, and is therefore the vilest,—is absurd; for if were correct, Indra would be made out to be the lowest and meanest of beings, Indra being mentioned in the *Páni Sútra* after the dog, thus—“*Shva, Fuva, Maghava*.” 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 *Súdra* is vile, and the Brahman high and mighty, because we are used to repeat the *Chatur Varna* in a particular order. And if this proposition be untenable, your deduction from it, viz., that the vile *Súdra* must be content to regard his service and obedience to Brahmans as his only *pravrajyá*, falls likewise to the ground.

Know further, that it is written in the *Dharma Sástra* of Manu, that the Brahman who has drunk the milk of a *Súdráni*, or has been even breathed upon by a *Súdráni*, or has been born of such a female, is not restored to his rank by *práyashchitta*. In the same work it is further asserted, that if any Brahman eat and drink from the hands of a *Súdráni*, he becomes in life a *Súdra*, and after death a

dog. Manu further says, that a Brahman who associates with female Sûdras, or keeps a Sûdra concubine, shall be rejected by gods and ancestors, and after death shall go to hell. From all these assertions of the *Mânava 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 *Sâstra* of Manu, that many Sûdras became Brahmans by force of their piety; for example, Kathina Muni, who was born of the sacrificial flame produced by the friction of wood, became a Brahman by dint of *Tapas*; and Vasi-htha Muni, born of the courtesan Urvasi; and Vyâsa Muni, born of a female of the fisherman's caste; and Rishya-sringa Muni, born of a doe; and Visvamiitra, born of a *Chândâlini*; and Nârada Muni, born of a female spirit-seller; all these, became Brahmans by virtue of their *Tapas*. Is it not clear then that Brahmanhood depends not on birth? It is also notorious that he who has conquered himself is a *Tâti*; that he who performs penance is a *Tapasyî*; and that he who observes the *Brahma charya* is a Brahman. It is clear then that he whose life is pure, and his temper cheerful, is the true Brahman; and that lineage (*Kula*) has nothing to do with the matter. There are these *slokas* in the *Mânava 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 Vyâsa Muni, and other sages, though born of Sûdras, 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 therefore 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 Sûdra 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 *Rujaka Kul*, and the *Chandâla Kul*, and yet, while they existed in this world, performed the *Chûdâ Karam*, and *Mumja-bandhan*, and *Dant-kâshtha*, and other acts appropriated to Brahmans, and after their deaths became, and still are, famous under the name of 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 marked 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 those animals belong to very different races. But I never heard that the foot of a Kshatriya was different from that of a Brahman, or that of a Sûdra. All men are formed alike, and are clearly of one race. Further, the generative organs, the colour, the figure, the ordure, the urine, the odour, and utterance, of the ox, the buffalo, the horse, the elephant,

the ass, the monkey, the goat, the sheep, etc., 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 diverse genera. I now proceed to give some more instances from among birds. Thus, the goose, the dove, the parrot, the peacock, etc., are known to be different by their diversities of figure, and colour, and plumage, and beak: but the Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Súdra are alike without and within. How then can we say they are essentially distinct? Again, among trees the *Bata*, and *Bakula*, and *Palas*, and *Asoka*, and *Tamál*, and *Nagkesar*, and *Shirish*, and *Champa*, and others, are clearly contradistinguished 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 *Udumbara* and *Panasa* 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 Súdra 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 Brahmani 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 Súdras, are founded merely on the observance of divers rites, and the practice of different professions; as it clearly proved by the conversation of Vaishampáyana, 'Whom do you call a Brahman; and what are the signs of Brahmanhood?' Vai-ham 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 bene-

violence, and penance.* Whoever possesses these five signs of Brahmanhood I acknowledge to be a Brahman; and, if he possess them not, he is a Súdra. Brahmanhood depends not on race (*Kula*), or birth (*Játi*), nor on the performance of certain ceremonies. If a *Chándál* 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 women 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 Súdra; aye, lower than a Súdra. The Súdra who, on the other hand, possesses these virtues is a Brahman.'

'Oh, Yudhisthira! If a Súdra 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 whoso possesses *Kshema*, and *Dayá*, and *Dama*, and *Dán*, and *Satya*, and *Sauchana*, and *Smriti*, and *Ghriná*, and *Vidyá*, and *Vijnán*, etc., is a Brahman. Oh, Yudhisthira! if a person perform the *Brahmacharya* for one night, the merit of it is greater than that of a thousand sacrifices (*yajna*). And whoso has read all the *Vedas*, and performed all the *Tirthas*, and observed all the commands and prohibitions of the *Sástra*, 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 Vaishampáyana. Oh, my friend, my design in the above discourse is, that all ignorant Brahmans 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.

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 Buddha country, I have had ample opportunities of noting this resemblance, and a perusal of the works of Crawford, of Raffles, and of the Bombay Literary Society, has satisfied me that this curious similitude

* 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.

is not peculiar to the country wherein I abide. I observe that my countrymen, to whom *any degree* of identity between faiths in general so opposite to each other as Saivism 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 incommunity 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, 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 resolution 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 Bauddhas to convince me that the cause of the difficulty lay deeper than I had supposed.* The best informed of the Bauddhas contemptuously rejected the notion of the images in question being Saiva, and in the books of their own faith they pointed out the Bauddha 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 Bauddha 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 Bauddha, 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 Bauddha 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 bade him do so, and was presented with a paper of which the enclosed is a translation. Let me add that never having visited Gayah, I cannot say anything 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

* 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, etc. Even Christianity adopted many of the rites and emblems of classic paganism.

from the Bauddha 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 Bauddha comment on Brahmanical 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.

P.S.—Captain Dangerfield's five images in the cave at Bâg, and which the Brahmans told him were the five Pândús, are doubtless the "Pancha Buddha Dhyáni;" as is the Captain's "Charan," said to be that of Vishnu, the Charan of Sákya Sinha; or that of Manju Ghosha. If it be the latter, it has *an eye* engraved in the *centre of each foot*; if the former, it has the *ashtamangal* and *sahasra chakra*.

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

In Buddh Gayah there is a temple* of Mahá Buddha in the interior of which is enshrined the image of Sákya Sinha: before the image is a Chaitya of stone, close to which are the images of three Lokeswaras, viz., Halá halá Lokeswara, Hari hari váhana Lokeswara, and Amogha pása Lokeswara.† This temple of Mahá Buddha, the Brahmans call the temple of Jagat Nátha, and the image of Sákya Sinha they denominate Mahá Muni;‡ of the three Lok Náths, one they call Mahá Deva, one Párvatí, and the third their son. On the south side of the temple of Mahá Buddha is a small stone temple in which are the images of the seven Buddhas:§ and near to them on the left three other images, of Halá halá Lokeswara, Maitreya Bodhisatwa, and Dípankara Buddha. The Brahmans call six of the seven Buddhas, the Pándús and their bride, but know not what to make of the seventh Buddha, or of the remaining three images.

* The word in the original is Kútágór, and I understand that the temple of Mahá 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. Sákya Sinha, the genius *loci*, is enshrined in the centre of the first story; Amitábha, the fourth Dhyáni Buddha, occupies the second story; a small stone Chaitya, the third; the Dharma Dhátu *mandal*, the fourth; and the Vajra Dhátu *mandal*, the fifth and highest story, and the whole structure is crowned, on the outside, by a Chirrá Mani Chaitya.

† Halá halá Lokeswara, a form of Padma Páni, the fourth Dhyáni Bodhisatwa, and active creator and governor of the *present* system of nature. Three Dhyáni Bodhisatwas preceded him in that office, and one remains to follow him.

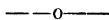
‡ This name is equivocal: the Brahmans mean I suppose, to designate by it the chief of their own Muns. The Bauddhas recognise it as just, since the Tri-Kánd Sesh, and many of their scriptures give this name to Sákya Sinha.

§ The Bauddha scriptures say that one form is common to all the seven great Mánushi Buddhas. The figure I have given of Sákya has the Bhúmi-sparsa Mudrá, or right hand touching the earth. The Gayah image of him is said to have the Dhyán Mudrá for the position of the hands. That is, the two hands open and laid one on the other and both resting on the doubled thighs, the figure sitting tailor-wise. There is nothing improper in giving that Mudrá to Sákya or other Mánushi Buddhas, but *usually* it is appropriated to Amitábha; and almost all the images of Sákya that I have seen are characterised by the Bhúmi-sparsa Mudrá, Sákya's image is generally supported by lions, sometimes however by elephants, Sákya's appropriate colour is yellow or golden, which colour, like the other characteristics, belongs also to the remaining six great Mánushis.

Upon the wall of the small temple containing the Sapta Buddha, 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 Brahmá. At the distance of fifteen yards, perhaps, east of the great temple of Mahá Buddha is another small temple in which is placed a circular slab having the print of the feet of Sákya Sinha graven on it. The feet are known to be those of Sákya, because the stone has the eight mangals,§ and the thousand-fold chakra upon it. The Brahmans of Gayah call this Charan, the Charan of Vishnu, 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 Buddha towards the east, is a Kund called Páni Hata, and at the eastern corner of the well is the image of Maitreya Bodhisatwa.

The Kund 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 Kund is Saraswatí's, and insist that Maitreya's image is the image of Saraswatí. At a little distance to the north of the great Mahá Buddha temple are many small Chaityas,|| which the Brahmans call Siva Lingas, and as such worship them, having broken off the Chúrú 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.



The purpose of my paper is to show that very many symbols, the most apparently Saiva, are notwithstanding strictly and purely Bauddha; 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.

† Vajra Satwa is a Dhyáni or celestial Buddha. There is a series of five celestial Buddhas, to whom are assigned the five elements of matter, the five organs of human sense, and the five respective objects of sensation. There is also a series of six Dhyáni Buddhas, 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.

§ These are symbols of the Vitarágas, which are portions of the eight Bodhisatwas. See Naipálya Kalyána, in *Jour. Ben. As. Society*.

|| The Chaitya is the only proper temple of Buddhism, though many other temples have been adopted by the Saugatás for enshrining their Díi Minores. In Nepaul, the Chaitya is exclusively appropriated to five Dhyáni 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 Chúrú Mani. The small and unadorned Chaitya might easily be taken for a Linga. It was so mistaken by Mr. Crawford, etc.

* The like metamorphosis of the Chaitya into a Lingam and its worship as the latter, may now be seen in numerous instances in Nepaul, *e.g.*, at Kali's temple on the road side near Tundi Khél.

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 Saugatism, 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 the unequivocal indices of the presidency of the Hindu destroyer, in all the great Saugata temples, he came to the *general* conclusion, that "genuine Buddhism" is no other than Sivaism. I thought when I had shewn 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 *Bauddha* and *exclusively Bauddha*; 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 *Bauddha* temples, it is both erroneous in fact, and insufficient were it true. However probably *borrowed* from Sivaism, these images and symbols became genuinely *Bauddha* by their adoption into Buddhism—just as the statue of a Capitoline Jupiter became the very orthodox effigy 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 than 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 Sivaism from apparently Saiva images and emblems, I shall adduce a few striking instances from Crawfurd's second volume, chap. i., on the ancient religion of the Islanders; and to save time and avoid odium, I 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

* In regard to those cave-temples of the Western Continent of India, called mixed Saiva and *Bauddha*, the best suggested solution is *successive possession*—but I believe them to have been wholly Buddhist.

from what he saw, reasonably inferred that images, the most apparently Saiva, were really what they seemed to be; and that Saiva images and emblems proved a Saiva 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 nature. How Mr. Crawford could take it for Siva, I do not know, since in the forehead is placed a tiny image of Amitábha Buddhá, whose son Padma Páni 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 Mára, (the Bauddha personification of the evil principle,) proceeding to interrupt the Dhyán of Sákyá Sinha; and plate 22 gives a continuation of this exploit, exhibiting Sákyá meditating, and the frustration of Namuchi's attempt by the opposition of force to force.|| The whole legend is to be found in the Saumbhu purána.

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 Nepaul, 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 Dii majores of Buddhism. The genuine Chaitya is a *solid* structure exclusively appropriated to the Dhyáni Buddhas, whose images are placed in niches round the base of its hemisphere. Mánushi Buddhas and Dhyáni and Mánushi Bodhisatwas and Lokeswaras, with their Saktis, are placed *in* and *around* various *hollow* temples, less sacred than the Chaityas.† These Bodhisatwas and

§ At Kurnagush (the ruins near Bhagulpur) there is a fine and perfect image of Padma Páni, with Amitábha in the forehead. The Pujári to me called it a Krishna, and was astounded when he heard my explanation and whence derived.

|| See *Jour. Amer. Ori. Soc.*, vol. ii., part ii, pp. 31-35, for another version of this story.

* And why not? for Buddha is a mere title: and though there are but six Dhyáni Buddhas, there are hundreds of Mánushis, which latter are constantly placed about temples in vast numbers; always as objects, though not, when so placed, special ones, of worship.

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 Dii minores the Gods of the Hindoo Pantheon, the Bauddhas have not, by any means, entirely confined themselves to the Sectarian Deities of the Saivas.

—o—

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

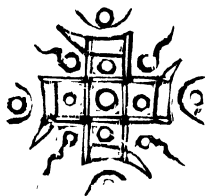
THE PRAVRAJYA VRATA OR INITIATORY RITES OF THE BUDDHISTS
ACCORDING TO THE PUJA KAND.

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 Guru, to whom he must present *pauṇḍra*, *supāri*, *dukshinā*, and *akshat*, requesting the Guru to give him the Pravrajya Vrata. The Guru, if he assent, must accept the offerings and perform the *Kalasi pījā*, which is as follows: The Guru takes a *kalasi* or vessel full of water and puts into it a lotus 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 Brihi, and five Amrita, and five Ratna, and five threads of as many diverse colours. Above the vessel he places rice, and then makes *pījā* to it. He next seats the aspirant before the vessel in the *Vajra āsan* 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 Guru. Then the aspirant repeats the following text: 'I salute Buddhanāth, Dharma, and Sangha, and entreat them to bestow the *Pravrajya Vrata* on me, wherefore I perform this rite to them and to my Guru, and present

† As for example, Sākya Sinha in the great temple of Gya, which is a Kūtágár, and wherein Sākya appears as the genius *loci*.

§ 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 !

these offerings.' Reciting this text and holding five *supāris* in each hand, the aspirant, with joined hands, begs the Guru to make him a Bandya. The offerings above mentioned he gives to the Guru, and *dakshinā* proportioned to his means. This ceremony is called *Gwāl Dān*. On the next day the ceremony above related is repeated, with the under-mentioned variations only. As in the *Gwāl Dān* the *Kalāsī pūjā* and *Deva pūjā* are performed, so here again: but the aspirant on the former occasion is seated in the *Vajra āsan* manner, in this day's ceremony in the *Sustaka āsan*. The *Sustaka āsan* is thus: first of all *kūś* is spread on the ground, and above it, two unbaked bricks, and above them the *Sustaka* 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 Rākshā* 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 Rākshā*, 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 Rākshā*, that is, the Guru puts a cup of wine (*surā-pātra*) on the head of the Chela and utters some prayers over him.

Next is performed the *Kalāsī-Abhisheka* or baptism; that is, holy water from the *Kalāsī* is sprinkled by the Guru on the Chela's head and prayers repeated over him; after which, the *Nāyaka Bandya* or head of the Vihār (Abbot or Prior,) comes and puts a silver ring on the finger of the aspirant. The *Nāyaka*, 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 *Nāyaka* performs the *Vajra Rākshā*, and then makes *pūjā* 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 *Dūsala*.

‘The third day's is denominated *Pravra 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 *Prajñā Pāramitā* 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 *Newās*, a

* The monastic vows properly so called.

Pinda pátra 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 razor 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 Guru Mandala, and the Chaitya, and the Tri Ratna and the Prajñá Páramitá Sástra. Then the aspirant, kneeling with one knee on the ground with joined hands, entreats the Guru to make him a Bandya, and to teach him whatsoever it is needful for him to know. The Guru answers, 'O! disciple! if you desire to perform the Pravrajya Vrata, first of all devote yourself to the worship of the Chaitya and of the Tri Ratna; you must observe the five precepts or Pancha Sikshá, the fastings and the vows prescribed; you must hurt no living thing; nor amass property of any kind; nor go near women; nor speak or think evilly; nor touch any intoxicating liquors or drugs; nor be proud of heart in consequence of your observance of your religious and moral duties.'

Then the aspirant pledges himself thrice to observe the whole of the above precepts; upon which the Guru tells him, 'If while you live you will keep the above rules, then will I make you a Bandya.' He assents, when the Guru, having again given the three Rakshás above mentioned to the Chela, delivers a cloth for the loins to him to put on. Then the Guru 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 Guru next puts on the ground a little pulse and desires the Chela to apply it to his own feet. Then the Guru gives the Chela a cloth of four fingers' breadth and one cubit in length, woven with threads of five colours, and which is especially manufactured for this purpose, to bind round his head. Then he causes the aspirant to perform his ablutions; after which he makes *píjā* to the hands of the barber in the name of Viswakarma, and then causes the barber to shave all the hair, save the forelock, off the aspirant's head. Then, the paternal or maternal aunt of the aspirant takes the vessel 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 Guru causes him to eat, and also sprinkles upon him the Pancha Garbha, and says to him, 'Heretofore you have lived a householder; have you a real desire to abandon that state and assume the state of a monk? The aspirant answers in the affirmative, when the Guru or Náyaka,* or maternal uncle, cuts off with his own hand, the aspirant's forelock. Then the Guru puts a tiara adorned with the images of the five Buddhas on his own head, and taking

† These, with the water-pot or Gahdhar and an umbrella constitute the equipments of a Bauddha ascetic. The *chivar* and *nivás* are the upper and lower garments. The *pinda pátra* is the begging platter: *khikshari*, the appropriate baton or distinctive staff (carried in the hand and surmounted by a model of a Chaitya). The *Mani* or prayer-cylinder, which is so universally in the hands of the Tibetan monks, is not in use in Nepaul. The *chivar* and *nivás* are of a deep red color.

* Náyaka is Abbot, that is, head of the Religious House into which the neophyte purposes to enter.

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 Náyakas or superiors of proximate Viháras and the aspirant's Guru perform the Pancha Abhisheka, i.e., the Guru 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 Náyakas, taking water from the other four water-pots named above, severally baptize the aspirant. The musicians present then strike up, when the Náyakas and Guru invoke the following blessing on the neophyte: 'May you be happy as he who dwells in the hearts of all, who is the universal Atman, the lord of all, the Buddha called Ratna Sambhava.' The aspirant is next led by the Náyakas and Guru above stairs, and seated as before. He is then made to perform *pūjā* to the Guru Mandal and to sprinkle rice on the images of the Deities. The Guru next gives him the Chivara, and Nivása, and golden earrings, when the aspirant thrice says to the Guru, 'O Guru, I, who am such an one, have abandoned the state of a householder for this whole birth, and have become a monk.' Upon which the aspirant's former name is relinquished and a new one given him, such as Ananda Sháli Putra, Kásyapa, Dharma Srí Mitra, Páramitá Ságara. Then the Guru causes him to perform *pūjā* to the Tri Ratna, after having given him a golden tiara, and repeated some prayers over him. The Guru 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 Rája and Munindra, the destroyer of desire and affection, and vice and darkness; who is void of avarice and lust, who is the ikon of wisdom. I ever invoke him, placing my head on his feet.'

'I salute that Dharma, who is the Prajná Páramitá, 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 Srávakas. I salute that Sangha, who is Avalokiteswara and Maitreya, and Gagan Ganja, and Samanta Bhadra, and Vajra Páni, and Manju Ghósha, and Sarvani varana Viskambhi, and Kshiti Garbha and Kha Garbha.'† The aspirant then says to the Guru, 'I will devote my whole life to the Tri Ratna, nor ever desert them.' Then the Guru gives him the Das Sikshá 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;

† These are nine Bodhisatwas, whereof the first, or Padma Páni, is now lord of the ascendant, and as such constitutes the Sangha of the present cycle, and is therefore associated to Buddha and Dharma of the triad as the third member of it. But there is confusion of celestial and mortal Bodhisatwas, and so also in the general enumeration. (See and compare pp. 95 and 96.) The Padma Páni here spoken of is probably Avalokiteswara, who seems to be the same with Matsyendra Náth—a mortal clearly, and therefore improperly identified with Padma Páni, a celestial. Of the rest all but four or five are mortal Sanghas.

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 Guru then says, 'All these things the Buddhas avoided. You are now become a Bhikshu and you must avoid them too;' which said, the Guru obliterate the Tri Ratna Mandala. Next, the aspirant asks from the Guru the Chivara and Nivāsa, the Pinda Pātra and Khikshari and Gandhar, equipments of a Bauddha ascetic: they are an upper and lower garb of special form, a begging platter, a short staff surmounted by a Chaitya and a waterpot. Add thereto an umbrella and sandals to complete it. The aspirant proceeds to make a Mandala and places in it five flowers, and five Druṭa-Kund, and some *khil*, and some rice, and assuming the Utkúta Asan, and joining his hands, he repeats the praises of the Tri Ratna above cited, and then again requests his Guru to give him three suits of the Chivara and the like number of the Nivāsa—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 Guru the like number of Gandhār or drinking cups, of Pinda Pātra, and of Khikshari. One entire suit of these the aspirant then assumes, receiving them from the hands of the Guru, who, previously to giving them, consecrates them by prayers. The aspirant then says, 'Now I have received the Pravrajyā Vrata, I will religiously observe the *Sīla-skandha* the *Samādhi-skandha*, the *Prajñā-skandha*, and the *Vimuktiskandha*.'

Then the Guru gives him four sprinklings of holy water and presents him with an umbrella having thirty-two radii. Next he sprinkles him once again and gives him a pair of wooden sandals—after which the Guru draws on the ground linearly, and near to each other, seven images of the lotos flower, upon each of which he puts a *supāri*, and then commands the aspirant to traverse them, placing a foot on each as he proceeds. When the Chela has done so, the Guru placing the Pancha Rakshā Sāstra on his head, sends him into the sanctum, where stands the image of Sākya Sinha, to offer to it *pān*, and *supāri*, and *dakshinā*. All this the Chela does, and likewise performs the Pancha Upachārya pūjā; when, having circumambulated the image, he returns to the Guru.

Then the Guru performs the ceremony called Shik Adhivāsan, 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 Khikshari he holds in his hands, whence it is continued unbroken to the Guru and delivered into his hands. The Guru holding the clue in his hands, repeats prayers and then rolls up the thread and then redeposits it in the kalas. He next performs the Pancha Upachārya pūjā to the kalas and to the Khikshari; 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 Rakshā Sāstra on his head, and

repeats over him some prayers. The Mandal is then obliterated, when the aspirant is made to perform the Mahā 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 noose and a mask faced like Bhairava,* having a small quantity of flesh in the mouth of it, are placed; and the aspirant makes *pūjā* to Bhairava, presenting to the mask the Naived and a light, and pouring out water from a conch he holds in his hands so that it shall fall into the vessel. The Guru repeats *mantras*, and invoking the Devatas and Nāgas, and Yakshas, and Rākshasas, and Gandharvas, and Mahoragas, and mortals, and immortals (Amānushas), and Pre-tas, and Pisāchas, and Dākas, and Dākinis, and Mātrika Grahas, and Apas Mār-gas, 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 Satva*.’ Such is the Sarva Bhūta Bali. In like manner the Balis of Mahā Kāla, and of the Graha, and of the Pancha Rakshā, and of the Graha Mātrika, and of Chand Mahā Rakshana, and of the guardians of the four quarters, and of Ekavinsati, and of Basundharā, and of the Chaitya, and of Pindi Karma, and of Amoghpaśa, and of Sarak Dhāra, and of Tārā, and of Hevajra, and of Kurkulla, and of Vajra Krodha, and of Marīchi, and of Ushnīsha, and of Hārīti, are performed. Next the Balis denominated the Tyāga Bali, and the Sankha Bali, are thus performed. 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 Upachāra *pūjā* is made in the vessel, after which the aspirant is commanded to perform the Chakra *pūjā*, which completed, he returns to his seat. The Chakra *pūjā* is that which is made to all the images in the Vikāra by going round to them all. The Guru then causes the aspirant to perform the Guru Mandal *pūjā* and afterwards to sprinkle rice on all the images, which done, the aspirant gives Dakshinā to the Guru, and the Guru, in return, gives the aspirant a small quantity of rice and a trifle of money. Then the Guru causes him to perform the Des-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 Guru and ten Nāyakas take the aspirant to make the circuit of all the shrines in the neighbourhood and to present at each, offerings of rice, and *pān*, and *supāri*, 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 *khiṛ* or rice and milk. The Guru then returns to the Vihāra, and the Chela remains at home. § Then the aspi-

* Thus far all is conducted according to the Pauranik exoteric and purely Buddhist ritual: what follows is derived from the Tantrik esoteric, and not purely Buddhist ritual.

§ Here end the scriptural injunctions: what follows rests on customary authority only, and has reference to the fact that in Nepal the Buddhists have long since abandoned the monastic restraints. Tonsure is the only mark of the old monastic habits still re-

rant 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 feel no serious call to the monastic profession he must go to his Guru at the Vihāra and to his Upādhyāya, (the latter is his instructor in the forms of *pūjā*, according to the *Pūjā Kānd*) and addressing the Guru, must say, 'O Guru ! I cannot remain an ascetic, pray take back the Chivara and other ensigns of monachism ; and, having delivered me from the Srāvaka Charya, teach me the Mahā Yān Charya.' The Guru replies, 'Truly, in these degenerate days to keep the Pravrajya Vrata is hard ; adopt then the Mahā Yān 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 evilly. 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 Mukti.' The aspirant then washes the Guru's feet, and having done so, returns to his seat, when the Guru having prepared the materials of *pūjā* noted in the first day's ceremonies, makes *pūjā* to the Kalas, after which he makes *pūjā* 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 *pūjā* to all four ; when he obliterate the whole and says, ' You have abandoned the Bhikshu Charya and adopted the Mahā Yān Charya ; attend to the obligations to the latter, as just explained to you.

The badges of monachism are then taken from the aspirant by the Guru, who gives him the Pancha Rakshā as before related, and then sends him to make the Chakra *pūjā*, which done, he causes him to perform the Guru Mandal *pūjā*, and then to sprinkle rice on the Deities. Then the Guru Mandal is erased, the aspirant makes an offering to the Guru, and the Guru gives him his blessing. The Guru then sends the aspirant to throw into the river the hair shaven from his head, and on his return makes the Agam *pūjā* and Kunāri³*pūjā* ; 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 Pāli 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 Sanskrit Buddhist works discovered by me in Nepaul, are now found to be copiously interspersed with passages in various Prakrits—Pāli among the rest—pretty much in the manner of the Hindoo Drama wherein this mixture of less finished dialects with the Sanskrit is of common occurrence.

tained by the Nepalese Bandyas, who are now divided into Vajra Achāryas, Bhikshukas, Sākyavansikas, and Chivaha Bares.

* In the above Srāvakcharya and Bhikshucharya are made equivalents, equally representing the strict rule opposed to Mahā Yān charya as the designation of the lax rule or that of the nou-monastic many. This sense of the latter term is contrary to some authorities. The Triyāna are elsewhere specified as Pratyeka, Srāvaka and Mahā, but in another sense a scripture of the highest class or that treats of transcendental topics is called a Mahāyāna Sūtra.

Comparative Vocabulary of the several Languages or Dialects of the Eastern Sub-Himalayas, from the Kāli or Ghogra, to the Dhaasri, with the written and spoken Tibetan for comparison, by B. H. HODGSON, Esq.

English.	Tibetan, written.	Tibetan, spoken.	Serpa.	Bhāskali or Lhopa.	Lepcha.	Limbu.	Kirānti.	Māra.	Nawir.	Gurung.	Nagpr.	Sanskrit.
Air	r Lungma	Lhakpā	Lāngbo	Lāng	Sagmat	Sammit	Itak	Lhābē	Phai	Nāng mro	Namēi	Phasi
Ant	Grogma	Thōmā	Rānūmā	Kyōmā	Takpāyāl	Sākāmba	Sākākāva	Syouri	Imo	Chiji	Mhār	Rāgnasāvi
Arrow	māhi	Dā	Dā	Dā	Chāng	Sichong	Mō	Māyā	Dālā	Māyā	Māyā	Bā
Bird	Byā	Chivā	Jhā	Bhāyā	Phō	Bā	Chongwā	Nānyā	Jhangō, Jhā-ngo	Nānyā	Gwāyā, g-wā-jā	Chivā, Chī-rā
Blood	Khāng	Thāk	Thāk	Thayak	Vi	Makhi	Hau	Kā	Hī	Koh	Hvū	U-si
Boat	Gri	Kōā, Syān	Thū	Drī, Tū	Navar	Khombē	Nāra	Dūngā	Dōnga	Phava	Dūngā	Dūngā
Bone	Rūpā	Rūhā	Rūhā	Rutok	Arhet	Sayet	Saita	Nakbū	Kwē	Nūgri	Māyā ros	Risāhē
Buffalo	Māhi, S.	Māhā	Māhā, S.	Māhi	Māhi	Sāwāt	Sāwā	Māhi	Mō	Māi	Bhādās, II.	Mesōy, S.
Cat	Byāla S.	Simi	Bērmō	Pili ^a	Aleu	Myōng	Myōng	Tāwar	Bhon	Nawār	Sūthū	Bērmō
Cow	Bā	Phā chūk	Chū mā	Gō ^a	Rik	Rit	Pit	Mhē	Sō	Myau	Nhet	Ji
Crow	Khātā	Ahlak	Kā lak	Oyā	Alok	A'wā	Kāhāwā	Kāwā	Kō	Mhōngyā	Kāg	Khād
Day	Nyū mo	Nyū mo	Nyū mo	Nyū m	Sakul	Lōndik	Lōn	Jini ^a	Nhī	Jini ^a	Na mēn	Nathi
Dog	Khyi	Uyō	Khi	Khi ^a	Kasā	Khūa	Kochū	Nāngi	Khi chā	Nagryā	Chhyā	Kūchōng
Ear	Na	Amchō	Am chūk	Navo	Nekho	Nekho	Nābā	Nāpā	Nhai pang	Nābē	Nā kyp	Nyūhā
Earth	Sa	Sā	Sā	Sāh	Phat	Kham	Bākhā	Sā	Chā	Sa, Nhē	Jhā	Kha pi
Egg	gGonga	Gōng nā	Gōngnā	Gong do	Ati, ā-ti	Thūn, thī-n	{ U'ring U-di-ang = ōi-mba Dewar, etc. }	Phūm	Khyēn, Khē-n	Phūng	Khā	Bē-phū, lā -- fowl, bird
Elephant	gLangchen	Lāmbochē	Lāngbō	Lāngchen	Tyāmō	Hetti, H.	Hāthi	Hāthi	Kisē	Hāthi	Hāthi	Sō dā
Eye	Mig	Mik	Mik	Milo	Amik	Mik	Nak	Mi	Mi khā	Mi	Mik	Mi chī
Father	Phā	Pāla	A bā	Apā	Alō	Amha	Upa, Opa	Apā	Abū	Abo	Bai	Bavē
Fire	Mē	Mā	Mā	Mi	Mi	Mō	Mi	Mō	Mi	Mi	Mhō	Mi
Fowl	..	Pya, Chya	Jha	..	Il-i-kā	Wā	Wā	Nē-gā	Khā ^a	Nē-lā	Gwō	Pā ū
Fish	Nyā	Gna	Gnā	Gayā	Gnō	Gnā	Gnā	Tār nyā	Nyā	Tāngnā	Jisāhē	Gnan
Flower	Mētok	Mendok	Mendok	Mentog	Jip	Phūng	Būngwai	Mōndū	Swong	Tūh	Sar	Phā
Foot	gKangpa	Kāngō	Kāngō	Kāngēp	Jhangtiok	Lāngchūphē ^a	U'khō	Bālō	Pālī	Jhālō	Mihū	Khōwō
Goat	Jhā	Rā	Rā	Rāh	Sar	Mēndā	Chhēngāt	Rā	Cholō	Rā	Khā	Chhyōyē
Hair	gKri, ā'ū	Tā, Nā ^a	Tā	Ryā	Achom, A-chōm	Thāgi	Mōi	Krā	Song	Mōl	Chham	Chhōng
Hand	Lāpna	Lāngō	Lāngō	Lāpna	Kabok	Hāktiphō ^a	Chūkiphōmā ^a	Yā	Pā lāhā ^a	Lāyā	Jhūt piak	Tāblē, Gwī
Head	gGo	Gō	Gō	Gūthō	Athiāk, A-thiāk	Thāgēk	Tāng	Thiōbō	Chhōp	Krā	Mi tāhū	Piyā
Hog	Phag	Phak-pā ^a	Phak	Phagē ^a	Mon	Phag	Jhag	Dhwā	Phā	Tāli	Wak	Pō
Horn	Rā	Rājō	Ariyok	Rou	Aring, A-rōng	Tāng	U-singā	Rūhā	Nōkū	Rā	Mirāhāg	Gūbō
Horse	rTā	Tā	Tā	O'ā	O'ā	Ghōra, II.	Tā	Ghōra, II.	Sālā	Ghōra, II. ^a	Ghōra	Ghōra
House	Khyim	Nāng	Kāngbā	Khyim	Lā	Him	Khin	Dhim	Chhēn	Tin	Yim	Khī
Iron	gChaga	Chyā	Chyā	Chyā	Panjing	Phanjō	Phakim	Phai	Nē	Pai	Phakim	Wā ā'li
Leaf	Lōmā	Hymā	Hymāp	Syōmā, Dāmā	Lop	Pellā	U'huva	Lāyē	Lāyē, Hsu	Lau	Lhā	Sephā
Light	Hod	Hwē, Yu	Rhōp, Yu	Eu, Dam	A'om, Achit	Oy, Thorū	U'lawā chāmi	U'jalo	Jālā	Bhā	Tyāwongchō, Jāp	Jhāngō
Man	Mi	Mi	Mi	Mi	Māzo, Tagrī ^a	Yapmī, Yembēcha	Māzo, Dōwachha	Mi	Māzo ^a , Mi jang	Mhi	Bharmi	Mūri
Monkey	gPhedi	Tyū	Rhū	Ppā	Sāhō	Sōbā	Hēkūwā	Māng	Māko	Tinyū	Būner, P.	Moro
Moon	gLāva	Dāwā	Oulā	Dau	Lāvō	Lāva	Lā dīma	Lhā ni	{ Twō milā, Tūyū milā }	Lau-gū	Gyā hāt	Lā to si
Mother	Amā	A'mā	A'mā	A'Y	Amo, A-mō	Amma	Oma, Uma	Amma	Mang	A'mo	Mā	Amāi
Mountain	Ri	Ri	Ri	Rōng	Rok	Tohō'ng	Bhar	Gang	Gūn	Kwōn	Dāndā, P.	Jhāndā
Mouth	Khā	Khā	Khā	Khā	A'ōng	Muri	Doh	Sing	Mhūti	Sing	Guer	So
Mosquito	Sirābā, mChuring	Syē-dongma	Dāngma	Zāngdā	Mang kong	Lāngjonkhi	Lāmkhūtā, P.	Lān khūtā, P.	Pati	Chwō	Lān khūtā, P.	Lān khūtā, P.
Name	Ming	Ming	Ming	Ming	Aling	Ming	Ning	Ning	Nang	Ming	Ming	Nē
Night	mTānmo ^a	Chēmō	Chēmō	Phārd, Nammo	Sānā p	Kiōn, Sendik	Khōkwē	Mōn	Chā	Mhōs	Nāmbik	Nā
Oil	ABrumar	Nūm	Nūm	Mākhū	Nam	Ningō	A'wā	Chī gū	Chāng	Chūgū	Sidi	Gyo

^a *Tōkōn, Chā, Chā, Sōn, Sōn, Nam, Nop*, the radical words of the six first columns. In the ninth we have *Chā*, void of suffix. The others have the suffixes or formative particles.

^b *Pho* and *mo*, as post-fixes, for *mas*, et. fem.

^c *Bhā* the cow; *Lāng*, the bull. *Gō* = *Box*, both sexes.

^d *Hik hong*, hen; *Hik bew*, cock; *Hik len*, chick.

^e *Tagrī*, *mas*, *Taypī*, fem.

^f *Chūkiphōmā* = arm flat; so also *Hāktiphō* of Limbu, and *Lāngchūphē* for foot is leg flat. There are no proper words for hand or foot. The words for arm and leg are used with the sign of flat things (*phē*) suffixed. So also in Limbu *Hūktiphō*, foot; and *Lāngchūphē*, hand.

^g *Bo* and *Mā*, used prefixally, are the sex signs, and unchangeable in Newiri. Here *Bo*-as equals bull, *Mā*-as cow. The occasional omission or insertion of these signs, and, still more, of the generic or segrega-

tive signs, as in *Pē-Mā* = hand, from the root *Mā*, with *pē*, the mark of flat things, and *hē* the sign of long things, create many differences more apparent than real, since the use or neglect of these additions is to a great extent optional, e.g., *zōl* 'foot' has the *pē* sign only; *lāh* 'hands and feet' has neither.

^h *Khā* equals fowl in Takpa and Uron, *Kōi* in Chinese.

ⁱ *Mi-jang*, viz.: *Mi*-as, mulier; *Māzo*, like *Māzo*, mankind; and so *Yapmī* in Limbu, whilst *Yem* is *chō*, *Menchima*, are man and woman in that tongue.

^j *Pa, Mā*, merely sexual adjuncts, *mas*, et. fem., identical with the *Pho* and *Pō* *mo* elsewhere occurring.

^k Compare *Go-hye*, the Dhimali word.

^l *U* is the pronominal definite, as in *Upa, Uma, Uhuwa, Uthōn*, etc., of the sequel.

H, Hindi.—P, Parbatya.—S, Sanskrit.

English.	Tibetan, written.	Tibetan, spoken.	Sgpa.	Bhaktin or Lajpa.	Lepcha.	Limb.	Kiranti.	Murni.	Nepal.	Gurung.	Magar.	Sansad.
Plantain	chret	Gnák	Lánga sí	Gnák	Kardung	Lá seh'	Gnák ai	Moché	Mwai	Kalo	Mocha	Mijhi
River	g Tsang po	Chiangpó	Hyang	Chhu byang	Ongkyang	Chua. Wo-hong	Hong-ká	Syóng	Khisi	Khwóng	Kholá	Lí kú
Road	Lam	Lam	Lam	Lám	Lam	Lam	Lam	Ghým	Lón	Kyón	Lam	Lá
Salt	Tshá	Chhá	Chhá	Chhá	Vom	Yim	Yim	Chhách	Chhi	Chhách	Chá	Yü sí
Skin	Pagpa	Páp-pa	Kop-pa	Páko. Kompo	Athim. Kómbó	Horik. Saho	Uhoé bé	Dí bhi	Syá. Chágu	Dhi	Chá	Kúsyul
Sky	Nam khah	Nam	Nam	Nam	Ta liang	Témsakpá	Nam cho	Má	Sarag	Tyódi. Mán	Sarang	Sardagi
Snake	Dril	Deu	Dril	Beu	Beu	Oesá	Pachám	Púktú	Bi	Bhúgiri	Bil	Bá sa
Star	Karma	Karma	Karma	Kám	Sahór	Khéséva	Sángyen	Karchin	Nagá	Prá. Targya	Rhiga	Sori
Stone	Do	Dó	Doh	Doh	Lóng	Lóng	Lóng tá	Yámé	Lohong	Yima	Lhóng	Phungli
Sun	Nyima	Nyí-ma	Nimo	Nyim	Sachak	Nam	Nam	Dini	Sijá. S'	Dhimi	Nam khán	Ná
Tiger	Tak	Ták	Jik	Ták	Satshing	Ket'ra	Kiwá	Chyan	Chén	Chén	Ráinghi	Gúpsa
Tooth	So	So	So	Soh	Aphó	Hébo	Kang	Swá	Wá	Sak	Syak	Kryi
Tree	Woshing	Shingdóng	Dóng	Shing	Kung	Sing	Sungdang	Dhong	Simá	Sindi	Sing	Rawa
Village	Yil taho	Tshóng	Yil	Kyong	Kyong	Rhóngphé	Téng	Namsó	Dó. Gang. S.	Nás	Láughá	Gám
Water	Chhu	Chhu	Chhá	Chhu	Ong	Chúá	Cháwa	Kwí	Lau. Lá	Kyú	Lí	Pinkhá
Yam	Dova	Thómá	Dhóá	Kyú	Bák	Khó	Sá ki	Témó	Hi	Taya	Náni	Rébé
I	Na	Gnyá	Gná	Gná	Go	Ingá	A'ka	Gná	Ji	Gná	Gná	Go
Thou	Khyod	Khá	Kayo	Chhá	Hau	Khénó	Khaná	Ai	Chha	Kén	Nang	Gai
He, she, it	Kho	Khá	Khuo	Khá	Hau	Khúnó	Moko	Thé	Wo	Thi	Hos	Hari
We	Na chag	Gndajo	Nidag	Gná ché	Kayú. Ká	Anigé	Ankan	Gnúki	Ji ping	Gni mo	Kan kúrik	Gov ki
They	Khyod chag	Khenjo	Khyurag	Khá ché	Háya	Khénú'	Khanamin	Aini	Chha ping	Kén mo	Nang kúrik	Gav ki
Ye	Khoebag	Khenjo	Kaworag	Khóng	Hóyi	Khúnehi	Moko chi	Thóni	Wo ping	Thi mo	Hos kúrik	Harev ki
Mine	Nahi. Navi	Gná yi	Gná ti	Gná gi	Kaesusa	Ingá in	Ang ko	Gná lá	Jp' gi nua	Gná lá	Gnou	A'ké
Thine	Khyodnyi	Khé yi	Khyó ti	Chhé gi	Wadosa	Khúne in	Am ko	Ai lá	Chhang gi	Kén lá	Niwu	Thé
His etc.	Khóyi. Khóhi	Khé yi	Kwoti	Kheu gi	Heusa	Khúne in	Móso	Thó lá	Thi lá	Thi lá	Ho chí	Harev ké. Méyé ké
Ours	Nachaggi	Gndajo yi	Nirúti	Gná chégi	Karú pongsa	Anigen in	A'in ko	In ná	Jipung gi	Gni molo	Kan kúrikim	Go ain ké
Yours	Khyod chaggi	Khenjo yi	Khyéti	Khen chégi	Háya pongsa	Khémú' in	A'mno	An ná	Chhangping gi	Kome molo	Nang kúrikim	Gai ain ké. In ké
Theirs	Khachaggi	Khenjo yi	Khorwóti	Khong gi	Hóyi pongsa	Khúnehi in	Myáthmo. Myo	Thamá	Waping gi	Thamola	A kúrikim	Hari ain ké
One	g Chig	Chik	Chik	Chi	Kát'	Thit. Thit-á'	Ktai. k' Tai'	Ghrik. gRik	Chhi'	Kri. kRi	Kát'	Ká
Two	g Nyis	Nyi	Nyi	Nyi	Nyet	Nvetsa	Haast	Gni. gNi	Ní	Ni	Nis	Nshi
Three	g Sum	Süm	Süm	Süm	Sam	Sým sh	Súmyá	Sóm	Sí	Song	Song	Sung
Four	b Zhi	Zhyi	Zhyi	Zhi	Pha lí'	Láya	Láya	Bor	Pón	Pif	Buli. Ba-li'	Lá
Five	Hna	Gná	Gná	Gná	Pha grón'	Gná sh	Gnáya	Gná	Gná	Gná	Dongá. Ba-grú	Gná
Six	Drúá. dRu-k	Thú	Túk	Thú	Tarok'	Túik sh	Túkyá	Dhi	Khá	Tú	carot	Rik
Seven	b Dín	Dín	Dyin	Dín	Ka kryok'	Nú sh	Bhúgyá	Nis	Nhó	Nis. Limbu. S.	carot	Chá ni
Eight	b Gyal	Gyá	Gyá	Gyá	Kakéu	Yet sh'	Réya = rTibet	Pré = bTib.	Chyá	Pré. plé	carot	Yoh
Nine	d Gá	Gáh	Gáh	Gá	Ka kryot	Phang sh	Phangyá	Káh	Gún	Káh	carot	Gáh
Ten	b Chit. Thámhá	Chih	Chih	Ché-tham	Ka tí	Bong. Thi bong. Gíp	Kip	Chirwai	Sá shó	Chah	carot	Sa shi
Twenty	Nyi shú	Nyi shú	Nyi shú	Nyi shó. Khéchi	Khakát	Ni bong	carot	Nhi shú	Sang shóho. Nié	Kúti	carot	Khalák
Thirty	Símshú	Sím ché	Sím ché	Khá phéchi	Khakátá kati	Sím bong, 3 tens	carot	Bokai ché shú	Ni shóho. Siyé	carot	carot	Súit sán
Forty	b Zhilché	Hip ché	Hip ché	Khé ni	Kha nyet	Lí gíp, 4 tens	carot	Bokai shi	Ní sháho. Pi-yé	carot	carot	Khák néchi
Fifty	Hna behé'	Gnap ché	Gnap ché	Khá phéchi	Kha nyet sáká ti	Gná gíp, 5 tens	carot	Bokai shi shú	Pi sháho. Gniyé	carot	carot	Khák nishisasha
Hundred	b Gya thámhá	Gyá Gya thámhá	Gyá	Khé grá	Khá pha grón	Thi bong gíp, one	carot	Bokai grá	Gún sháho. Sái chi	carot	carot	Swalák
Of	Kyi. Gi. Hi. Yi.	Gi	Ti	Gi. Yé	Sa	Le. In	10 + 10 Wé	Lá	Yá	Yé. Lá. Bó	Yó. Wó	Ké. Kyé
To	La. Té. Dá. Ra. Shí. Lá	Lá	Ló	Ló	Ká. Rem	Mo. Nin	carot	Dé	Yáta	Dé	Ki	Kwí
From	Nas. Las.	Né. Diné	Néá	Náá. Lá cháié	Nam. Liang'	Nú. Manú	Dmáká	Yanché	{ Ni shyang. Ang. Yákén	Wájé	In	Gná
By, instr.	{ Kris. Gi. S. His. Yis.	{ P	{ [Elongation of terminal vowel]	Kl. Dé	Nan. Sa	Ilá. Ní	Yá	Syé	Ang	Ji	Ye. P	Mi

**hNob* *Cpm* = 5 tens, and so of 20, 30, 40, which also give the radicals of the decimal scale, and show how serviles are always dropped in compounds. See and compare all.

* Compare *Tá-kw*, Burmese *Ta*, with the neuter sign *kw* = *Néwá* *gu*, *G* vel *K*, final of Tibetan; *Sérpa* and *Múmi* is the same. So also is initial *kw* of Lepcha 7 to 10. In *Néwá* the numeral adjuncts are invariable. *Hic et hoc*, *hwa*; *hoc*, *gu*, suffixed as in the other qualitives. The varied position and optional use of these addenda create much false semblance of diversity.

* *Pha* pre-fixed here, like *st* post-fixed in the Limbu columns, is not radical. *Pha* is equal to the silent *b* of written Tibetan. *Bā*, *Bḥ*, in the Magar column, are equivalent to the Lepcha *Pha*, that is, pre-fixed only, and so *B* in the Mürmi and *P* in the Gáruṅ columns. The mutation throughout is very instructive: compare *k* *na*, *b* *chi*, of the written Tibetan.

^d *Kiaw* added, forms the locative form. Its meaning is place, locus. *Nau* alone is instrumental.

⁹ The terminal *sh vel si* is ommissible, though usual; so also the Kiránti final *va*.

[†]Limbu *qip* = Kiranti *qip*, got from 40, just as Gwung *plɛ* for four got from *plɛi* 40. *Bong* equals *qip*.

⁸ Corruption merely of *Súrvá*.

^b *Hma* mas. et fam.; *Ga* neuter. *Jāma*, myself; *Jiga*, my goods. *Hma* and *ga* are affixed to every qualitative whatever. See note ⁱ note long.

¹ Answer merely, and for instr. and abl. alike: also *yakén*, which likewise expresses with, or *sáth* of Urdu: the Latin *cum*.

Chinese 到 *tāu*, equals first, a verb to arrive at, second a prep. to (going to.)

Comparative Vocabulary of the languages of Hŏr Sŏkyeul and Sifan, by B. H. HODGSON, Esq.

English.	Thibet.	Sŏpa.	Oyŏmi.	Oyŏrŏng.	Herpa.	Tŏpa.	Mongol.	English.	Thibet.	Sŏpa.	Oyŏmi.	Oyŏrŏng.	Herpa.	Tŏpa.	Mongol.	
Air	mayi	ŏlli	ŏphŏn	talŏ	yŏrŏy	rhŏt	mŏrlak	Stone	gholopi	hard	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Ant	tŏ-khŏr	khŏt-khŏw	mai-thŏn	hŏ-rok	'khŏr	rhŏt-pŏ	hŏ-rak			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Arrow	jŏt*	ŏl	chŏn	hŏ-rok	hŏ-rok	rhŏt-pŏ	hŏ-rak			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Bird	narwŏ	thŏ-hŏl	ŏphŏn-chŏr	yŏ-yŏ	ghŏ	yŏ	hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Blood	sŏh	khŏ-ro-gŏ	yŏ	thŏ-hŏ	yŏ	yŏ	hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Boat	phŏy	ŏkŏrŏ	sŏ-thŏ-thŏ	brŏ	ghŏ	ghŏ	ghŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Bone	ripŏt	yŏ	ŏl	khŏ-thŏ	ŏvŏ-thŏ	ri-rŏ	riŏpŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Buffalo	careŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Cat	lŏ-chŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Cow	ghŏwŏ (bull)	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Crow	nyŏ-gŏ	khŏrŏ	lŏwŏ	lŏwŏ	lŏwŏ	lŏwŏ	lŏwŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Day	ŏvŏ-rŏ	ŏvŏ-rŏ	ŏvŏ-rŏ	ŏvŏ-rŏ	ŏvŏ-rŏ	ŏvŏ-rŏ	ŏvŏ-rŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Dog	khŏ-wŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Ear	ŏkŏh	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Earth	zip	wŏmŏsh	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Egg	khŏ-wŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Elephant	careŏ	lŏ-hŏchŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Eye	han	nŏvŏ	yŏn-chŏn	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Father	ai	lŏ-chŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ	ŏvŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Fire	mŏh	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Fish	inŏh	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Flower	lŏmpŏh	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Foot	jŏhŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Goat	ŏvŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Hair	hŏmpŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Hand	jŏhŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Head	ŏvŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Horn	ŏvŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
House	khŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Iron	ŏvŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Leaf	thŏmpŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Light	ŏvŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Man	nŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Monkey	wŏsh	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Moon	chŏhŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Mother	ou	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Mountain	ŏvŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Mouth	chŏhŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Mosquito	ŏvŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Name	ŏvŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Night	ŏvŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Oil	chŏngŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Plantain	ŏvŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
River	chŏhŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Road	ŏvŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Salt	chŏhŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Skin	ŏvŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Sky	ŏvŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Snake	ŏvŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli
Star	ghŏsh	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ	khŏ-hŏ			gholopi	chhilo	hri-thou	ri-gŏ	'gŏmŏ	gŏr	wŏli

*h, underscored thus, h, marks the abrupt accent.

† Ghŏmŏ, hair of head. Yŏ-gŏy, hair of mouth or moustache. Pŏ-yŏy, hair of body.

‡ But for the analogy of the Herpa plural in 'ai' I should say they were genitives and possessives, and that the plurals were wanting.

§ R, re, final, is a servile. So ha and ka of Sŏpa and ku of Oyŏmi.

¶ A distinct and complete series of possessives formed by adding the suffix 'young' to the personals has been alleged to me, but it is so rarely used, I doubt its genuineness. Here it is Gŏyŏng yŏ Gŏng, Nŏyŏng yŏ Nŏng, Gŏyŏng yŏ Gŏng, Nŏyŏng yŏ Nŏng, Gŏyŏng yŏ Gŏng, Nŏyŏng yŏ Nŏng.

** In composition these names of the numerals are liable to variation, as tŏmŏ-kŏmŏ, one man; tŏmŏ-tŏmŏ, two men; but three men is tŏmŏ-kŏmŏ, unchanged.

†† Ka, prefix, varying to ku, and taking a nasal of other euphonic appendage, ku-ng, ku-sh, is servile. It is the common and almost inseparable adjunct of nouns, verbs, &c., and it interchanges with ta. Sometimes both are used. Compare ta-pŏ, a father, with ka-pŏ, Kassi, and ta-gŏpŏ, Tamil, etc.

§§ No declensional signs as the general rule; but tu has been obtained as an anomalous exception of very special and narrow use, as Lŏmŏ-in-bŏchŏ, the Lŏmŏ's horse.

English	Thak.	Sikp.	Ojama.	Ojwang.	Horya.	Telpa.	Makpak.	English	Thak.	Sikp.	Ojama.	Ojwang.	Horya.	Telpa.	Makpak.
Below	löl	tóro	ti svá	wáki	wó	wá	ryé	Red	shidri	uán	khóng-di	kavet' ni	góng	leu	dani
Between	tári	toung dá	túng len	tle. tle	kyúki	tút ká, kápá	ongché	Green	zvangkú	khó káo	lig-di	karnyák	jangru	changú	chóngdo
Without, outside	khayri	gúchá	wai thá	woupo	pleu-so	phit ka	rwá	Long	drúhu	úr chú	thóng-ti	kaset	kachi	zingho	shaká
Within, inside	hókú	tótar	lúán	ugu, wogu	uáng	uáng	khú	Short	wongthúhá	"	thóng-ti	kachán	kalgé	thóngpo	drúha
Far	gríkhó	khóhó	ywén	ka sri	cheché	ringhó	rwesé	Tall	hachá	ún dór	kou-ti	kaset'	gakhé	garing	hwa hwa
Near	grín, gríná	nangni	phín	haching	thóine	thóngphú	zini	Short	*thátha	"	ti-ti	kachín	gáde	zig thung	drúhá
Little	khwini	bágh	syóti (small)	kúh ché	ámehé	chúti	tameh	Small	hósti thá	bágh	syon-ti	kachhái	kannus	chóngpho, pót yá	"
Much	broho	elvik	ti-ti (great)	kak-ti	kaguré	shúto	tabrá	Great	pót thá	lákhi	ti-ti	kakhi	kamhú	tháho	kah kah
How much?	núkal	in chin yúth to syó	this-ti	"	hásiyi	gó	trímini	Round	asoyara	"	ang-di, yáng káhará	lóló	lirhi	wá wá	"
As, rel.	tek	carot	as men-ti	carot	naya	dantang	ni	Square	ghúiri	"	pyang-di [di tháho]	sir zhi	tóp-chi	dráso	"
So, corol.	sháká	carot	as men-ti	carot	nyá	dantazang	thúzyó (not)	Fat	chawá	vakché thá	hóu-ti (good)	káho, gáyo	gák yá	dashú	"
Thus, poss.	elcu	*chan yéinrhin	thi men-ti	carot	wóhí	usúin	thúsi, thúsi	Thin	angché	ókho ná	syon-ti small	káwhén	chú chú	kámring	kári
How?	wikanyú pik-	carot	thi má	thóngpho, this-pé	akúhi	katin gyá	hanus wuh	Weariness	doravach	yá tava	spúw leu	diéuk	néthá	"	ná bráa
Why?	núhín, nishi	tharzhin	syó chú	thóng-pé	áchú gúo	syagák	hámúli	Thirst	tipúch	ókho	khóng-ti	tasom'	asya	"	de-pé
Yes	góngwá, gúo	hi	syó	do-mus	gnor	in	zyi	Remedy	as-púch	wáho	ó-ti, wó-ti	touus	nangphagi	"	viangphé
No	góngwá, nang	si	pasitféyó	"	nyé	men	ná zyí	Eat	ada	désh	thúy, khyé	ta-zo	nang	zú	ganyu
(Do) not	chi	puthi kó	púyo	met	nú, dí	ná, magrá	thá*	Drink	álhi	wóó	kháw	ta-not	wathi	thong	gnachóh
And, also	tah, dah	porhó	orcha	carot	ré	"	"	Sleep	ánan	wim thá	sukýot	kormán	góngyín	nyet	kháiyá
Or	gnó	"	thóng	ló, wóé	ná	ná, ná	lé	Wake	tu-on (get up)	pos	kúli	ta-zas	ta-yén	lung (get up) longwá	"
This	ché	ani, yéni	thikou	chúti	ókó	wóhu	thú	Laugh	daran	enua	súo	ka-núe	khó káo	gyo	narir
That	thá	théni	lákou	hadi	outká, vé	wóhu	thú	Weep	arzan	*kóchin wim ná	shúhín	da-ka-kú	nakalén	gna	dangwá
Which, who, jon	"	"	hi mé	carot	carot	carot	"	Be silent	*sistan, déik	ah ná hóp- púphelo	náe-chú	yá-zúí	thomá	thátháiyá	"
Which, who, ton	"	"	lá mé	carot	carot	carot	"	Speak	kwar, kúrt	carot [chú carot]	ta-chén	náp-shé, táyin	syat	thadya	"
Which, who, kón?	"	"	syá, kímé	sú	sú, ló	sú	sú	Come	hai	iré	lé	ka-pín, papón	*kwi-thén	syó	lémó
What? khyá	sú	"	syácha, kima	thú	edhín	si	káho	Go, depart	to-hon	yá bí??	chhi	yeyen, da-chín	to-shin, wó-shin	gai	yú
Anything	ning	*wan	hóng	tenzi, tízaz	áke	siang	láká	Stand up	deon	posh	chhílé	ta-zúp ye-chín	ná-yén	jang	khanyá
Anybody	ningwan sòng-	"	chhi, hong	sú	siyó	siang	siyé	Sit down	ajon	so	chó	ná-nén	únán, wanzin	rak	nayey
Good	nú	chhóng bésé	boukhon, hóti	kasé	ghyá ghor	lúhúni	deunduk	Move, walk	lúhan	ahyer yáho chú, chhi	ya-yen, ya-chín	ashin	gai	yú	"
Bad	ghai, gúé, marí	hóu thá	hóu ti nyú	na-kasé	gávé nyé	lúhúni	niada	Run	dáhuu	thúy keng	théwo	danz-gyók	tangyo	phet	tachinoyá
Cold	syá	khóu thín	sidi	kavandri, kamishá	kóhín	krang-wu	phengphé	(Give	dagsh (curis)j	kwigsh (nuli)	wúg enk	li. yóho	daro (curis)	ti-kh'é (curis)	bé, kú
Hot	"	há lon	zé-di	kaset, kavasi	ché ché	gnou	cheche	Take	gásh	exact	rákwó	da-ven	gwohóde, tiéshá ya. §§	lóngé	dangó [khi
Ripe	a-min	bál chhén	phú-ti	ka-enko	núhúsin	choso	déni	Strike	da-patch	chhók ka	tá	ta-típ	nachí	dingé	dán-lá
Raw	a-min	chhik thá	myúphín	na-ka-amá	núshúsin	machoso	déni	Kill	ta-wá	"	sá	ná-sé	ta-shé	sóá	na-sya
Sweet	jan	am thá thó	syángú	kam-gar	thú-thú	nyók-pa	déti	Bring	dú-tá	ahú-tháha lí-le	ka-pet	wa-thyé	rotá	trúllé	"
Sour	chak	amabakhon	lí-ti	kich-chú	*gú-go	kým-pé	da-chú	Take away	dunkwa	ahú-chhi	lí-chhé	da-chang	wim-bé	khór	túyá
Bitter	khák	"	(good) khú-ti	kich-ché	*hóné	khák-bó	dú-lhá	Lift up	ta-chi	wim	máyn	ta-yók	rang-bé, rákzi	lóngas	da-chi
Handsome	*kwi	cháng bésé	hóuti (good)	kám-chu	kam-syir	lúhúni, gromón	phayn phú	Put down	kwaksh	carot	carot	na-lók	núe	nina	wúchi
Ugly	núshwí	ná kene (bad)	hóuti wuyá (bad)	na-kamchú	nén-syir	lúhúni, gromó	mám páya	How	kóshostan	súni	thýén	kar-nyon	zúu min	nyau	kháde ní
Straight	khásh	[gré	"	túng-di	ka-has-to	kathóng	tráng bó	Understand	akhehan	hériya	syá	ti-sén	sam tenehi	sén	nájingé
Crooked	jugzra	júllá	"	túng-di myá	na-has-to	gungyá	kyók pó	Tell, relate	akhehan	kháka	shró	ta-chén	ta-yín, náp-shé	syat	thá-dyá
Black	nyik	"	khúdi	ka-nak'	ná nág	nák pó	dáná								
White	phoyók	chhágén	pi-di	haprom'	phúti phúti	kúteri	dallú								

* These are the positive and negative forms of the substantive verb = the Person has, is, is not, exactly.

† Di, as in-dix, medial; pa, pre-fix.

‡ Horizontal and perpendicular between. Initial and medial.

§ In all these tongues there is a special and general term, indicated by the Latin appendage,

†† Quare? Iré hó, come not, in Kalmak.

‡‡ Ka prefix of all the above words is the same as that added to the numerals. (See note at "ku.") To

the verb the analogous prefix ta-vel da is usually added. But ka is also used with verbs, e.g., dong = it is, he is, in Bolo (Du of Newari and Tibetan do-g) is ka-n-dong in Ojwang.

§ Ka prefix becomes pa, according to that alliterative principle which prevails so greatly, though irregularly.

§§ Lé, Tó, have a special sense. Give to me: take from me. Run, Long, a general sense. One solicits; the other commands.

English.	Théban, written.	Théban, spoken.	Sépa.	Dhémion Lépa.	Lépa.	Limbi.	Kirindi.	Muruti.	Néac.	Girac.	Ngop.	Néac.
With, cum, latin												
Such in Hindi and Urdu	l'hanehig	Lá, Dá	Tang	Chá, Dá, Cháru	Sé, Tyol	Ná, Téng	Dá	Ta	Yáché, Nápé	Dé, Dyéé	Lé ching, Kháta	Núh
Without, sine	.....	Thána	Mé tála	Té lí	Ti	Meuné	Málang	A'á ná	Madaya kang	Ar esyá	Mámlé	Mahátha
In, on	La, Na	Lá	Lá	Ná	Ká, Phóng	Mó, khep na, káhang tho	Dá	Rí	E, Té	Rí	Yáng, Ang	Mí
Now	Denget, Du, Deng	Tháná	Tángá	Pháo	Along	Alo	Hané	Dádo	A'	Tasso	Chandán	Féu
Then	Dé tsé	Thí dwi	Támé	Odé, Odé góng	Ohá	Khem pha lé	Khoronlo	Jámi	Wala	Chok léu	Amán	Méni
When?	Gang tsé, Nam.	Khá dwi	Tanam	Nam	Sathá	Alphá lé	Déuklé	Ká i na	Gála	Khu mo	Syen	Géni
To-day	Dwíng	Thúing	Túing	Pharing	Sarong	Aín	Aí	Tini	Thavon	Tini	Chúni	Mup léi
To-morrow	Sung, Thavé	Sung	Thaváng	Taváng	Láuk	Tandik	Mang kolong	Nangar	Ka náhi	Nhá gá	Póngina	Dís
Yesterday	Dung	Dúing	Dúing	Kháchá	Tasso	Moh na	Akhománg	Táhi	Mhúg	Tela	Téwéni	Sinúti
Here	Hódina	Hécho	Héu	Dé té	Alim, Aba	Kót ná	Wadi	Jyáse	Thúhé	Chúri	Hak	Wacha
There	Héna	Háchó	Chóuá	Phá té	Jél, Wola	Ná	Miyani	Kesye	Uk	Kyuzi	Alak	Yere
Where?	Gangna	Kháchó	Káni	Káni té	Saba, Solá	Atáng	Kháidini	Kháin	Gúkhé	Kháidri	Kalak	Dóha, Góha
Above	Tengna	Téng, Ché, Yéti	Týing	Tén khá, Téng	Atún, Tal, Apóng	Tháng	Madhani	Tóying	Cho	Túiri	Ohman	Lí
Below	Hog na	Wá, Syá, Magi	Wag	Wáh	Jáchim	Mó	Móyini	Noyang	Ko	Mupri	Máika	Yú
Between	Bar, du	Bhar	Par	Pánd	Alók, Achuk	Kúllon	Lóndi	Gangari	Dathá	Kálori	Mi kháng	Dato
Without, outside	Phy, rohu	Chá, Yáng	Phí	Póng	Báhar	Udang yá	Mang gyir	Yue	Há jiri	Báhar	Báhar	Báhar
Within	Nang na	Nang	Nong	Náng	Savang	Kósi gang, Houg	Udang yá	Tung gyir	Dime	Nhóri	Báhar	Alá
Far	Né, Syé	Thúing	Kéno	Tú ring	Máruu	Mauko	Mángsá	Thángá	Tápa	Rhémé	Lós	Gami
Near	Ring	Thúni	Táné nimbo	Atól	Nong dóng	Nétiá	Jyat na	Sutti	Kyodo	Khwep	Néhi	Néhi
Little	Xyung	Nigáwa	Chayak élik	Nyung bo	Amán	Mi sa	Chúhi	Udín	Bhati	Chúgi dé	Chok ja	Jáká
Much	Mang, Tamo.	Má guá	Alá	Máng bo	Ag yáp	Yorik	Báho	Lámiá	Apá	Láwé	Dier	Iréh lá
How much?	Tsuu, Tsuan.	Khá chwé	Káyo	Kájia	Satet	Aláhu	Jé moyé	Gáiké	Gúli	Ká ká	Kóit	Góá
As, rel.	Hobtsig	Khánda	Kándé	Katé	Salam	Apá dóng lé	Kham súo	Khúit	Gatling	Khaga lýon	Kángang cha	Dadiv
So, corr.	Détang	Thúndá	Thúndé	Olé	Ohen	Kham phá dóng ha	Khóm súo	Wapá	Atlang	Thúhóng lýon	Atáng cha	Modiv
Thus, pos.	Jisig	Dúndá	Dúndé	Ók, Dó	Alon	Kou phá dóng ha	Wám súo	Cháipá	Tha tóing	Chóng lýon	Póng cha	Alko
How?	Tsúg, Chitsúg	Kháché, Khándá	Kándé, Kándá	Káo lé	Salom	Alphá	Ainsiko	Kháipá	Gatúg, Gá.	Khaga lýon	Kángang cha	Dadiv
Why?	.....	Khá in	Káng	Kám lé	Shó mat	Thé úng	Thé jókna	Kháimé	Tik	Chhá	Ta	Kóita
Yes	.....	Tu	In	Táp, In	Ák, Tak	Ok	Angá	Mindé, Yá	Khou, Dé Ang.	Wó	Hó, Lá An	Mai
No	Ma, Ni	Mén	Mén	Mé táng, Mén	Má né	Men, Ná	Máng	Áim	Mé Khóit, Méi Ahung	Áhi	Má	Ma mai
(Do) not	.....	Má	Má	Má	Má-nar ^a	Má-ne ^b	Man	Thá	J até	A', Waché	Má	Mo
Also, and	Yang	Yáng	Yáng, Ang	lé	Lá	Ang	Ning	Yen, Den.	Ang, Nang	Yé	Ra	Ní
Or	.....	Mo	Nam, Nam	Yáng, Mo	Yáng, En	Bí	Hé	Wá	Lá	Bani, Gí	Kí	Dé
This	Háde	Dé	Dúang	Dé, Hádi	Aré	Kou	Wó	Chín	Thó	Chín yó	lao ná	Yékwé
That	Dé	Phí-dí	Phí dráng	Phé, Phádi	Oré	Khen	Mó	Hó chan	Wó	Hó chan yó	Osé ná	Makwé
Which, rel.	.....	Thúnda?	Swin?	Kúdi?	Sure?	A'ín?	Sá?	Khá chúá?	Gá, Sú?	Sú?	Kos?	Tékwé
Which, corr.	.....	Thé	Thú dóng	Uái	Ware	Khen	Khó	Hó chúá	Wó	Thí	Hós	Mé kwé
Which?	Gang	Khangí	Swin	Ká dí	Saré	Thé	Khá, Ko	Khá chúá	Gá, Sá	Tá	Kós	Té kwé
What?	Chí	Khóng	Khóng	Kang chí, Kan	Shú	Thé	Dé Dé	Tízi	Chúhi	Sí	Jíi	Máru
Who?	Sú, Kha.	Khangí, Sú	Sú	Ká	To	Hát	Dí	Kúit	Sú	Sú	Súra, Hira	Súhá
Any thing	Chizhig	Khá in	Kháináng	Kándochi	Shúri, Tham	Thé ró	Dinim	Tízi	Chúáng	Týáng	Híhi ko	Máká
Any body	Súháng, Khachig	Sá in	Sáináng	Káyé, Ka inchi	Táá	Hít lé	Aktai	Khá lá	Sáng	Súyáng	Súr	Súhá
Eat!	Zó	Só	Sé, Sí	Sá	Zé, Thá	Ché	Chó	Chou	Ná	Chad	Jou	Jan
Drink!	ÁThing	Thúing	Thúing	Thúing	Thúing	Thúing né	Dúing	Thúing	Ton	Thú ná	Gua	Tung
Sleep	Nyah	Nyé	Nýul	Nýé	Dé	Ipé	Imé	Gúing	Dýon	Rod	Mís	Tp
Wake	.....	caré	caré	Lóng	Sí	Phóké	caré, Póká.	caré	Dón	Ré	Swón	Bók
Laugh	Óad	Gá	Gwet	Gá	Then	Yéé	Týá, Láa	Nyet	Nhyú	Nýed	ket	Ris

^a Ma is a pre-fix and now a conjunct post-fix, thus *ma mat oná*, 'do not.'

^b In Lépa and Limbi the double negative is used in composition precisely in the same way. Thus, from the Lépa verbal root *ryn*, 'it is good,' is formed *ma-ryn-sá*, 'bad,' and from the Limbi root *an*, 'it is good,' *ma-an-ai-ai*, 'bad,' an extra-harmonic consonant being added in both tongues to the root.

^c Of the verbs, the final syllable is the neuter sign: the final nasal, almost neutral, referring rather to root than grammar; the final dentals (t, d) and labials (p, b, m), with or without a consonant, transitive signs; but all more or less passing into oblivion, as well as all sense of that suffixed

pronoun, which, in the more complex tongues, helps to difference the transitive and reflex forms, as in Haya, Gurung, etc. See on, to weep and give.

^d Denotation of terminal vowel nearly often expresses in *ca* in declension. Also the *ai* and *in* sign (*ca*, *ai*, *in*).

^e Though the list exhibits relative and correlative terms, pronominal, and others, it may be doubted if there be any such, or any conjunction equivalent to English "and." The correlative pronoun and the conjunction "also" may indeed be had.

English.	Tibetan, written.	Tibetan, spoken.	Serpa.	Butanior Lhapa.	Lepcha.	Limbu.	Khamti.	Mirani.	Nadar.	Gurung.	Magar.	Sikanes.
Wear	Npā. Sham	Gnō	Gnini	Gnū	Rhiop	Hābō	Khārvā	Krājā	Khrow	Krod	Rip	Gruk
Be silent	Khang	Chām	Khānā	Khā chām	Sākā	Svātā	Man chabā	Kū dyā	Sinai khā chāp	Tāp yun	Mā chāk	Pālo ma pōn
Speak	brJol. Shārvā	carēt	carēt	Lap	Lāp	Pāō	Chāwā	Nava	carēt	carēt		Bāk
Come	Hāng. ālyun	Syō	Syōk	Syō	Di=move: abā di, come, or here move	Pāōr	Bānā	Kham. ryan	Wā	Khō	Rā nū	Pyā
Go	Song. Gro. Gru.	Gyō. Song	Gyōk	Sāng	Nōn	Bāō	Khāra	Nyā. Syō.	Hōn	Yā	Nā nū	Lau
Stand up	āKhāz	Lāng	Lāng	Lāng	Lān	Ding	Yēwā lānta	Ryō	Dong	Bāhā	Sōwā	Dok
Sit down	āKhāz	Dēh	Dēh	Dēh	Dēh	Ying nō	Tāy	Tāy	Phā tū	Tāhā	Nā nū	Bāk
Move, walk	āKro	Gyō	Dāng	Dyā	Nōn. Dī	Bāō	Bāyā	Dēwa	Nyā. Hān	Yāy	Wā nū	Gāk
Run	āGyōg	Gyāng. Chāng	Chāng	Pāy kyop	Deang	Lāōk	Lāōk	Yā	Dēwā	Dhāi	Yanai	Phāk
Give	to us ^a to any to any	āBhō. Phāh Tōng	Phā. Bā. Bāk	līn	Nāng. Bā. Bāk	Bā. Bī	Pāng Pāō	Pān	Dyā. Tī	Pā	Lānī	Gī
Take	from any from any	āLōn. Jāng. Hōn. Lōn. Yā	Lāng	Lāp. Nāng	Lyō	Lā	Bānā. Khānā	Thōb	Kā. Nā	Khō	Lōō	Hōy
Strike	āDin. rDēg	Dāng	Dāng	Dāng	Bok	Hāō. Hīp-tō	Sērī	Rōb	Dā	Tān	Nāng	Tāp
Kill	Shāp Sā. āGōm Sē	Syāt	Syāt	Sāt	Sāt	Sērī	Sērī	Sāt	Sērī	Thōd. Sōt	Chāp	Sāt
Bring	āKhyāng. āKhyā	Bā. syō. give=come	Gyōp	Dā. syō. give=come	Bā. dī. give=come	Phāp-pō	Pā āng ^a	Dōn	Hā lī	Pōp	Rāhō	Pā
Take away	āKhāz. āKhyā	Bā. syō. give=go	Khāy syōp. līn	Bā. syō. give=go	Bā. dī. give=go	Tāō	Khā tū	Pōr	Yā lī	Phōd	āThō. Lāh	Chī
Lift up, raise	āWēs. Sām	Chān	Chān	Thā	Chān	Pāhō. Pō-ke	Khāyā	Pīyō	Lhōn. Bā	Nōt	Bā	Pōk
Beat, carry	āNyōp											
Hear	Nyān. Sōn	Nyān	Nyān	Nyān	Nyān	Khāpēt. Khāp-sē	Yōnā	Shān	Nyō	Thōl	Thānāsā	Nyān
Understand	Sōm. Sōn	Sīm	Syān	Syān	Sūn. tsaap. Noh	Chāng	Sin tū	Gōt	Sāō	Mhādā	Pāōr	carēt
Tell, relate	āBhō. āKhāhō	Lāp. Chāwā	Lāp	Lāp	Dyān	Chāhō. Chā-ke	Khāng mētā	Srāt	Kōn	Bā	Khāngnā	Dōn
Good	Deang-po	Yāpō	Lānā	Lēnō	Arāyā. Rāyābō	Nōh. bā. kōhōhō	Nāhā	Jāhā	Bhāng ^a	Sāō	Gyōphō	Khāso
Bad	Nāng-po	Dāpō	Mā lōmā	Mā lēm	Arāyā. Zyāpō	Pāhā. bā. Kaphānā. Sānā	Nāhā	Asūhā	Mā lāhōg	āSālā	Māgphō	Mānā sōnā
Cold	Gang-po	Tāyānō	Tāyāngnō	Khāyā nō	Arāyā. Nyānō	Khāō. Sāō	Kāng yāng ^a	Sājū	Khāwā wōn	Sūnā	Kōng yōg	Chī sō
Hot	Tāhā-po. Dēp-pō	Chāhō	Tēmō	Tēmō	Arāyā. Khāngō. Kōpō. bā. Gōhā	Kāng yāng ^a	Kāng yāng ^a	Lōyā	Khōwā	Kō. bā	Khān. chō	Hōō
Raw	.....	Zyānō	Zyānā	Māō chō bō	Asū. Zōhō	Kāhō. bā. Lāhā	Uchāwā	Chāpā	Khāō ^a	āNāwā	Mhād	Chīrā phā
Ripe	Sāmō	Chāhō	Chāhō	Chāhō	Dūwā	Dūwā	Mā bā	Nān. bā	Nyān. gō	Mīrā	Mānō	Mō
Sweet	.....	Gānō	Gānō	Gānō	Chāhō. Chāhō	Chāhō	Chāhō	Khōlā bā	Chāhō	Gōhā	Jyā. chō	Djī sō
Sour	.....	carēt	carēt	carēt	Kōpō	Mānā nānā ^a	Sārō	carēt	Phāhō	Sōhā	Thāp. chō	Bā sō
Bitter	.....	Khāō	Khāō	Khāō	Arāyā. Khāō	Khāō. Kāhō	Khāō. Kāhō	Kānā bā	Khāyā	Kāhō	Khāō. chō	Kōō
Handsome	Dēsōm. āNyōp	Jōō	Lōmō. Sāmō	Lō mō	Arāyā. Rāyānō	Nōh. bā. Kōhō. bā	Khāngmētā	Dēhā. Khāhō. Bāhā	Bāhā	Sāhā	Sāō. chāpā	Khāso
Ugly	Māhōmā Māhōmā	Mān. Jōō	Māhōmā	Māhōmā	Marāyānā ^a	Pāhā. bā. Kāhō. bā	Khāng. āwā	Bhōlā. Khāhō	Bāhā	āSālā	Māō. chō	Māhōmā sō
Straight	Dyāpō	Thāng bō	Tāngō	Thāng bō	Nāng	Tōhō	Thāō	Thāō	Tāyāng	Kyān	Thāng. chō	Thāō
Curved	āKhāz. Tūpō	Kāpō	Kāpō	Kāpō	Mānōg ^a	Khā tū	Uchōng. twāng. twōn	Nōhōg	Bēhō	Kūding	Gōn. chō (ho) Bāngō	
Black	Nāpō	Nāpō	Nāpō	Nāpō	Arānō. Kōhō	Kīmāhō	Māchāwānā	Tāngnō	Hāhō	Mīngyā	Chāh. chī. dān-Kō	
White	āKāpō	Kāpō	Kāpō	Kāpō	ā'ān. Dāmō	Kāpōlō	Umpī yāng wā	Tān	Tūyī	Tākryā	Ikēhō	Dēi Syō
Red	āNāpō	Nāpō	Māō	Māō	ā'ān. Hēnō	Kāhōlā	Hāhā lāwā	Bāhā	Hyōn	Wāhryā	Gyā. chō	Lāō
Green	āMāngchī	Jāngnō	Nūmō	Nyānā bō	Phang phāng	Lāhā	Chāhā	Phangō	Wā wān	U'āyā	Phāpū chāhō	Gāgō
Long	Rīngpō	Rīngpō	Rīngpō	Rīngpō	Arānō. Rīngbō	Kēmō	Rōng bā	Tāhā. tā-hā	Mōhō	Lēt chō	Chāō	Jūō
Short	Thāngpō	Thān. dān	Thānō	Thānō	ā'ān. Tāhō	Tāngbā	Dāng bā	Tūmō	Tāhā. tā-hā	Rāhā	Tān. chō	Tū pūh
Tall	.....	Thāmō	Thāmō	Thāmō. Thā	Arāhō. Thāhō	Kēmō	Kīm tū	Chān tū	Chāhō. tā-hā	Cāhā	Chāng. chō	Lāō
Short	.....	Māhō	Māhō	Māhām. Mhōr. Arānō. Māhō	Thāngā	Sin tū	Mēhā	Mēhā	Chāngchī=chāhā. dī. Bāpō	Chāmō. Tēmō	Tēmō	lō chō
Small	Chāngnō. Phā	Chān. chān	Tyōpō	Chāng bō	Arāhō. Chāmō	Chāhā pā	U'chāh. yāng ^a	Jāō	Chāng. chā. gō	Chāmō	Mā. chō	The bālā
Great	Chāngpō. Bōmō	Bōmō	Bōmō	Bōmō	Arānō. Tūmō ^a	Yōn bā	U'chāh. yāng ^a	Gāh. yāng ^a	Tāng. tā. gō	The bā	Kān. chō	Kāl sōnā
Round	āLūmpō	Rīrī	Gīrō	Gīrō. yēpō	Rēt rēfō	Kāpōk mā	Ar bō	Kāl tō	Gāh. pō-gō	Phā. dōng	Dāhō	Kāl bīl
Square	Gūhā chī	Thūhī	Tōpōhī	Dhāhī. yēpō	Tōn kyōng phāh	Kāyōt tū. hāh	Phōk dāhā Lāō hānā	Kānī pūhā	Pēkhāng. pō. gō corresponding	Kōnā pūh	Chō. khā. nū. H.	Chā. pūyā
Flat	.....	carēt	Lāhōh	Lē blep	Alōp. Lēpō	Kū phāhā	Phēmāwā	carēt	Pātī	Phāhō	carēt	carēt
Level	.....	carēt	Lāhōh	Sēt thēm	Asāp. Sāpō	Yōhō	Tōh. yōng ^a	Chāpō	Lhāng	Chōhā	Thōhō	Dēmō
Fat	āGyāngpō	Thā thāmō	Gyānā	Gyō mō	Arāyā. Symbō	Māhō	Yōhō	Chāpō	Gōhō	Chōhā	Bāhō	Gyō sō
Thin	Srōhō. Rāpō	Māhō	Nūmō	Bōyō kō	Arāhō. Chāmō	Yōhō	Hōhōg	Bhāy chī	Phā. Hōn	Rāhā	Māhōhō	Dātī
Weakness	.....	Gyō	Yā chē	Thāng chō	Pā	Nānā	Wā wān mā	Kwī phāhī	Tāyō	Rāhā	Dē. sōnā	Pāng dātī
Thirst	āKēm	Khāhām	Khāhām	Khāō hām	U'ngō	U'ngō	Sāō	Phāōng	Phyā	Phāōng	Thākryā	Arāyā
Hunger	Thōg	Tāō	Tō kōng	Tō kōng	Tō kōhō. Kīrōhō	Sāō. lāō mā	Sāō					

^a Tāhō, Chā, Thā, Bā, Gā of the six first columns, exhibit the mutations of the verbal radical, it is hot, whence is universally derived the adjectival form of words by means of pre- and post-fixes, quite analogous throughout or very nearly so. The pre-fixes are often omitted, as āKō-gō, Gōhō, Gōhō, in Limbu.

^b Chōng, Tibetan, uale chom, chī, jī, dā, chī, chā, chō, through the columns. The rest of the differences belonging to the appendicular letters and the pre- and post-fixed.

^c Both these forms are common. The letter shows plainly the Tibetan affinities of the Lepcha tongue.

^d Double negatives, pre- and post-fixes, Mē-nyō-ān, Mē-nō-ān, with the positive form emphatically denied.

^e So also Mē-nyō-ān of Siquar.

^f Lepcha adjectives are like Burmese: rye 'it is good', and kang, ditto: ar-gon-mā and a-hōng 'good': Jāh tū 'it is black': Anōh 'black', in both tongues.

^g Jāh is the common Turpi sign: the s, ā, u, o, of other tongues. The preceding consonant denotes the class. It is the dental t, d, or it is the labial p, b, or guttural k, g, or nasal n, g, or the simple radical merely, or a liquid (l, r) consonant, or lastly, the abstrait forms the conpositional sign. If we turn to the Limbu and Khamti columns, and note carefully the root, the resemblance of the words becomes often almost identity. Thus Sāngpō, Sānōr-rōt, Sān; Phāpō, Phāō-rōt, Phā; Pī, Lōpō, Lōpō-rōt; Lō; Bōp, Bōp-rōt, Bā; Bī; Sērō, Sērō-rōt &c. Any penultimate is passive. Thus Phōng, 'give

[illegible]

^a *Tabé, Ché, Tse, Tse, Bde, Bde* of the six first columns, exhibit the mutations of the verbal radical, it is not, however, as universally derived as the adjectival form of words by means of pre- and post-fixes, quite analogous throughout or very nearly so. The pre-fixes are often omitted, as *Ki-yeu, Gola*, good, in Limbu.

^b *Cwey, Tietan*, male clown, *chi, ji, chi, chi, chak*, through the columns. The rest of the differences belonging to the appendical letters, pre- and post-fixed.

^c Both these forms are common. The latter shows plainly the Tibetan affinities of the Lepcha tongue.

^d Double negatives, pre- and post-fixes, *Ne-yeu-nd, Ne-yeu-nd*, with the positive form exponentially altered.

So also *Mee-ni-yeu* of Sumra.

¹⁰ *Lopha* adjectives are like Burmese: *ryu* 'it is good', and *kmyi*, dative: *a-ryu-n* and *akmyi* 'good'. *Muk* 'it is black': *awuk* 'black', in both tongues.

