

Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism (ENGLISH VERSION)

by Eugene Burnouf
1801-1852

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INTRODUCTION A HISTORY OF INDIAN BUDDHISM BY E ^ ^ BURNOUF FROM
the institute of FRANCE AND ACADEMY OF MUNICH AND OF LISBON,
CORRESPONDENT OF THOSE IN BERLIN "OF SAINT-PÉTERSBURG, OF TURIN,
ETC. SECOND EDITION STRICTLY COMPLIANT WITH THE ORIGINAL
EDITION AND PRECEDED BY A NOTICE OF M. BARTHÉLÉMY SAINT-
HILAIRE ON THE WORK OF M. EUGÈNE BURNOUF PARIS MAISONNEUVE ET G
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NOTICE ON THE WORK OF M. EUGÈNE BURNOUF.

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NOTICE ON THE WORK OF M. EUGÈNE BURNOUF. (Journal des Savants, notebooks
for August and September 1852.) Mr. Eugene Burnouf delighted if prematurely to the
science has made part during twenty years, from the Journal des Savants; and, in this
capacity alone already, his memory could find here a pious memory, if, moreover, the
grandeur of his works and the fruitful originality of its findings not deserve a review
special, we are happy to devote to him. From all the philologists of our time that the death
has struck, it is perhaps not a single of which the posterity will plus de account that to
him. All the subjects he has dealt with are immense; and, although he left only
works incomplete, the results obtained are so important and so sure that the criticism do
them will not shake, and that history will have to record them as apart now essential and
indisputable in its annals. Even in studies old and from long cultivated, it is a well worth
grand que arriving at As of confidence in the help of the efforts of his predecessors and in
the filling; cornto carry this degree of precision and this breadth in entirely new
research, do not make a false step on a land unknown and so vast, not pass'égarer in

theroads so obscure and so difficult, it is a glory to just close one ; and, some flash-as that is the example, heis to be feared that it will not happen again , and thatimitation in is almost impossible. M. Burnouf had received from the Natureof faculties admirable, which heknew how to make the most useful and the most persevering use.It is known, for most, make advantage of the happy circumstances of his education philosopherlogical ;and it has joined the inspirations of his genius the lessons fathers, who maybe the had awakened in him,andthat 's certainly expanded. Thanks toall these aids so well employed, his career, shortened as it was,will have beenfull; and its monuments, if theyare incomplete, does are not less lasting. Themethod that has been used in the building will be used alwaysby raising other, andFrench scholarship, which has a such number of names illustrious, can be showproud of this conquest that hepromises and assures him so many subsequent conquests .I will give that the details very short on the biographyby Mr. Eugene Bur-nouf. The true scientist is entirely in his works ;and these are the phases of his

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VIIINOTICE ON THE WORK OF M. EUGENE BURNOUF.intelligencewhomake up allthe storyof hislife.It isan observationthat we have done a hundred times ;and, if lthe repeated, that is for in note a time of more thecorrectness.Mr. Eugène Burnouf, only son of Mr. J.-L. Burnouf, famous author of the gram-mayor who has renewed the study of Greek among us , was born in Paris on April 8 , 1801. Hefitof brilliant and very strong studies at College Louis-le-Grand. I notice that atout of his classes his vocation only had not yet decided, and that was the beginningsome uncertainty on the road hehad to take. In 1822 hewas a student ofthe school of Charters. Received licentiate-ès-lettres and licentiate in law, in 1824, hecultivatedfrom then on the Sanskrit, which was to open to him a career sansbornes and so beautiful ;what if ithen recall a very personal memory , from that time hepossessed quite wellthis language to give us the leçonsà my friend Littré and to me. Besides,heit is no doubt that these beginnings, some strangers they seem to thecontinuation of its work, were not very useful. The habit of deciphering the texts Frantish and Latin he taught more later to decipher the texts well otherwise difficultidiomsAsian.the sagacitymerveilleusedont his friends he had vudonneras evidence has sharpened, is formed in the first test; andschoolfromCharters, which should be glorifyingfor having counted him among his pupils, can claimalso a certain share in the studies to which it the prepared so well. The writingtures of different peoples, some dissimilar they may seem, ontcependantlots of features common, even in amendments the more bizarre; andthis is an instrument well useful for the unraveling as to have a time enteredeven a single thoroughly. For who knowsthe manuscriptswhich Mr. EugeneBurnouf has consumed his existence and his strength, heis certain that this initiation ofSchool of Charters, far from having been for him a deviation has been, to the contrary, asort of routing. Lesétudes even of law will have not ruled out as theycould thebelieve, andby finding very recently in hispapers a memoirextended on a few pointsof the former legislationcalendar of Indians andof NotesMany of the digestible Hindu, I am told that the student in law had notvery fact lost thetime ofphilologist,and that Mr. Eugène Burnouf would have lesswell understood Manou andYâdjnavalkya if hewould have been less versed in the subjects oflegislation. The thesis which he passed in 1824 was much noticed, and itremains yetin the memory of those who have known ;it was much praised by teachersin front of which hesupported her. Endowed with a very rare

facility of word and infinitely of wit, M. Eugène Burnouf would certainly have passed the bar ; and here would be done, to all appearances, a position brilliant and lucrative. He has preferred the austerities of the science, and he has been due, although the science do it has not always made it that she owed him. It was in 1826 that the vocation of Mr. Eugène Burnouf was irrevocably fixed. In that year he published, together with Mr. Chr. Lassen, his Essay on the faded or language sacred to the peninsula to beyond the Ganges. Patronized by Abel Rémusat, printed/

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NOTICE ON THE WORKS OF M. EUGÈNE BURNOUF. IX by the Asian Society of Paris, of which Mr. Eugène Burnouf was deputy secretary, This book was the forerunner of the many works that were to make his glory and contribute to that of our country. I do not mean to say that we find in V Essay on the Pali all the qualities eminent who is so developed more later in the Commentary on Yacnaet in the Introduction to the history of Indian Buddhism ; herein this work by a young man who was barely twenty-five , we can already see the special character that marked the works the most mature of Mr. Eugène Burnouf : the invention, supported on the method the more rigorous and more circumspect. What was known about the Pali in 1826? Named for the first time by Laloubère in the relationship of the kingdom of Siam in 1687 the Pali was so little known towards the end of XVIII * century that the often confused with the Pahlavi, language in semi-semitic, which, in Persia, succeeded the ancient zend. Father Paulin de Saint-Barthélémy, more of a century after Laloubère, argued that one could not understand the pale without the Sanskrit, and he tried to show by some comparisons which, without being false, were neither complete enough nor sufficiently decisive. The Dr. Buchanan and above all Leyden, all two in the memories inserted to Research Asia, Volume X, were gone most far. The second, above all, had shown the indisputable reports the pale with Sanskrit, Prakrit and the zend ; he is proposing to make a study very particular and to publish a grammar, when he died. This is where it was the knowledge of Pali when Mr. Eugène Burnouf got occupied. It was like a riddle that had tried to understand, and to which we had given up. It is resolved in a complete and definitive way, at least in its essential data . He showed that the Pali, the sacred language and scholarly used to the religion of Buddha to Ceylon, Burmese, Siam, Tchiampa, etc., was only a derivative of Sanskrit; and that spoken in the fifth century of our era and undoubtedly much earlier in Ceylon, where the Buddhism had been introduced a thousand years ago, it was from there that it had been transported with the religion even in the country so diverse where the found today. This discovery, because it was , even after the indications of Father Paulin de Saint-Barthélémy and those of Leyden, was proven by a comparison * régulière and luminous use of the grammar pale and of the grammar of Sanskrit. The main rules of the derivation of the words were fixed; and, a rather curious philological phenomenon , the pale was related to Sanskrit by means more narrow even than those that unite Italian to Latin. The attenuation of all the joints a little strong is the line distinctive of Pali, as it is also of Italian, with respect to the virile idiom from which it is out. Besides , the declensions and conjugations, as well as the syntax, are identical in pale and in Sanskrit; the roots are a little about all the same; and for those who know one of the two languages, it would be easy to switch to the other by observing before the laws of the transmutation, which are exact and of a precision really surprising. It was a lot of revealing the origins of

unelangué as widespread as thepaled, and dedicated to religious monuments of so many peoples ;it was a lot

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NOTICE ON THE WORK OF M. EUGENE BURNOUF. to have made its intelligence possible and easy. But Mr. Eugène Burnouf, himself, was far in 1826 to be doubts about the extent of the area that had just opened. He did the knew well that many years more later when the annals of bud-dhism attracted his | attention, and that he was able to confront the Sanskrit drafting of Sutras Buddhist of Nepal, north of India, with the writing faded that in had been made to the south, at 400 leagues beyond, in the island of Geylon. The Pali had her apparent be born then as one of the two idioms without which heit is forbidden to know to positive on the religion of Buddha. It must then be happy to have started of ifeary and with little near in the same time these two studies, which are the key to all the others, and who had in his hands produce the results so amazing. This is what that we explained how he devoted so much work to the study of Pali until the end of his career, and how, if the dead do would have if early shot, he would have given to the learned world a pale grammar, of which all the materials are found almost entirely finished in the manuscripts he leaves. Corndo not anticipate ;I will discuss further in detail of these manuscripts so precious and so considerable. The Essay on the Pali showed therefore a large fact philological, full of consequences historical the most important; but the guess without difficulty, this book was possible only on one condition, who is the thorough knowledge of Sanskrit. Around 1820, this knowledge, quite uncommon even today, despite the immense progress it has made, was exceedingly rare. Help was little many and not very accessible, and it had a great courage to tackle studies who did were that to be born. It is true that these studies promised a lot and that they had to hold out even more than they did not promise. But it was not a common wisdom than to understand from then on all that they contained, and to despise the vain criticisms of which they were too often the subject. He there was yet in this era of spirits also prominent, which niaient l'existence of the literature Sanskrit, and that the sarcasm fairly specious well have been cool the ardor of a young man. M, Eugène Burnouf, although he have more than once suffered from these paradoxes extravagant, if this is not interested, not kept any account ;and he was, from that the put, a student assidue Mr. Chézy. His great father her in had been setting the example for a long time ;from 4817 while at least, Mr. Burnouf's the father had the Sanskrit, and I found all his early work in this day in the papers of the son. Thus, Eugene Burnouf has made yet in this than follow the example and father's teachings ;and it is a department of more than the author of the grammar of Greece has delivered to the philology. I do not want to pretend that without the advice of his father, Mr. Eugene Burnouf that the Nature was created philologist, not would not have spontaneously arrived at the elude the Sanskrit toward which everything had to attract it. But it is a valuable benefit of being initiated to whether good time and by an affection of families to labors which we must make the purpose of his own life ;and without this enlightened guide, Mr. Eugène Burnouf might have lost some

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NOTICE ON THE WORK OF M. EUGENE BURNOUF. XI time à trouver the way that it happily indicated an initiative so sure and so gentle. A little close unknown of all the eighteenth century cultivated towards 4780 successfully in the institutions of India, with the conquering English, and then to the Company Asia-tick of Calcutta, had founded

ongenius of William Jones, explained in the grammars first quite imperfect, the Sanskrit remained almost unknown to Europe's scholar until the time of the Restoration. The France had the honor of founding the first chair where this language was taught in Europe ;and it's M. de Chézy, as is the know who occupied it from 1814 to 1832. M. de Chézy, attracted by the study of Persian to that of Sanskrit, was formed all alone on the continent, far from all resources, by an extraordinary wisdom and by a tireless patience. In man of taste, he was attached by above all the beauties literature of Sanskrit; and it was in the report of the shape he wanted there to recommend to the attention of scholars. In front of the Greek models , it was pushing the blindness a little far , moreover. their very excusable, enthusiasm ;and Sanskrit literature, some beautiful it is in some ways only can support the comparison with the literature Greek. But here there was much more in the Sanskrit as the beauties literary :the philology there found a way obvious and indisputable the family of all the languages main things that Europe has spoken or is talking about. The Greek, Latin, Celtic, German, the Slavic, with all their derived dialects, have drawn from a common source , few important fact to what eras. This fact too unexpected that immense, too certain that surprising, was demonstrated ;and the story was right then, although she born knew exactly the route to go by the language all our civilization western to the central Asian plateaus . We can imagine that a fact of this kind would not just [imaginations and that also deceive the minds of the more positive and more accurate. This fact was established with a certainty more than mathematical ;and nothing that the taking by the side of the philology, he was quite large and quite curious to excite the longer and longer painful labors. MM. Burnouf had to be plus particulièrement hit that which as it is ;and so much research given to the intelligence of the Greek language would make them more expensive than anyone the unexpected discovery of its origins. That's why the father first and the son then have cultivated the Sanskrit. To their eyes like the eyes of the judges enlightened, the Sanskrit deserves our days all as much interest as the xv " and the sixteenth century in agreed [to the study of Greek. We can even say sans exagérer that the Sanskrit was more for him the attraction of a novelty that the Greek had no at the time of the Renaissance. The tradition that connects the civilization modern to civilization Greco-Roman will was never broken, and going back to the thinking Greek, we were only going back to a past already well known, if besides he could be even better . But for Sanskrit, who knew, before the works of William Jones, Wilkins, Colebrooke, de Chézy, everything we owed him ? Who knew that was where to go get the/

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MI'NOTICE SLR THE WORK OF M. EUGÈNE BURNOUF. cradle of so many idioms, and by these idioms, of so many mythological beliefs, religious and philosophical? We must say in honor of the principal nations of Europe that the studies so new and so important were accepted with EMPRESment as soon as we understand the consequences which in could go out; and on thenot the France, several governments founded Chairs public without *crit. The considerable development that these studies have taken, the monuments they have already produced and all those they still promise to centuries of study, the importance and the variety of these monuments, attest enough that the governments Europeans have done well to believe the advice of philologists, and that they have not badly placed their admiration and their vigil. Mr. Eugène Burnouf, educated all together by his two masters, his father and Mr. Chézy, and by his own talent

was soon exceeded the lessons he received ;andI do fear not to say that from that time, he knew Sanskrit as he will begave out little people de jamais the know. I insist on ce point, because that it was with the help of Sanskrit that M. Eugène Burnouf was able to conceive of all taken, and that without this all-powerful instrument , he would not have been able to accompany any of his discoveries. The first applying it to fit, after the Test on the pale, was his course at proofed normal on the grammar general and compared. This conference had been created for him in November 1829, and he fulfilled these functions until February 1883. When this chair was founded, he was to just close the only quipût occupy, and when it was destroyed after his resignation, he would have been very difficult for the replacement ;the sup-pressure from this chair was certainly an unfortunate loophole repaired later in the teaching of a large school ;but the Minister not given points successor to Mr. Eugène Burnouf can find an excuse in the extreme embarrassment of such a legacy. From left, Mr. Eugene Burnouf has nothing published his lessons; corn they had left in such memories, not not seulement parmi his listeners, but still in all the generations which for twenty years have succeeded at the School normal, that the insufficient editorial that in were made are still very popular with the students and by the candidates ;they the had made lithographed to spread its use, and notebooks passed religiously from hand to hand an advancement to a other. One could believe that Mr. Eugène Burnouf had nothing kept for himself from this course which he perhaps regarded as an incomplete test of teaching ;but i have found this course written almost entirely from its hand ;and well as the writing made in the haste does is not completely stopped, the more a large part would however deserve to see the light of day and could face the look of criticism. Doubtless , the author would have made many changes to this work from his youth, if he had believed before duty offer to pubHc; but in the state even when it is, I think worthy of being preserved, and I am assured that the impression does would no harm to scholarship and to the reputation of the illustrious philologist. The manuscript does do n't understand less than 450 pages in-V of writing fine and tight; he does not vap at *

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NOTICE Sim THE WORK OF M. EUGÈNE BURNOUF. XIII of the of the first two years of the course. In these two years, the professed-sister, as he the said himself, "had given an exact notion and complete" of diverse parties of speech in use in the ancient languages and in the "modern dialects of Europe; these were the general principles of a theory" philosophy of language. y> After these preliminaries on the grammar general and compared, or rather the grammar comparative, and on the history of this science, Mr. Eugene Burnouf is proposed to study the Greek and the Latin, and of the close of Sanskrit and languages of this family. He then had to do in third year the criticism of the methods of teaching the languages and cetter critique was the end and as the rationale for the entire course . You do n't have to be very well versed in these subjects to see that there was in this program, followed by a scholar of this merit, all the elements of a renovation for the study of languages. This course has not been continued ;but the need is in is always made to feel in the large establishments that had possessed for some time; and M. Dubois, who directed the School for ten years with both of Honor, was in part satisfies this need by the course teaching which he had taken care of himself. It is more feasible now to do a study full of Latin and the Greek without back to Sanskrit, and Mr. Eugene Burnouf will have been among us the first to inaugurate a teaching that we lack and that sooner or later heit will be necessary to reconstruct as he had conceived it. I will do more than mention

the price won in 1831 by Mr. Eugene Burnouf on the transcription of Asian scriptures in Latin letters. This award founded by Volney no longer exists ; and the subject, a little too narrow, has been expanded for the make more useful to the science. The papers of Mr. Eugene Burnoufne that contain desnotes enough many on this work ; but the original writing must be in the archives of the Institute, which was crowned. Such was therefore the scientific situation of M. Eugène Burnouf in the first part of his career. Already known by the Essay on Pali, and I add by Notices interesting on the French India secretary beyond Company Asiaticque de Paris in 1829, after having been one of its founders, a very authorized teacher , though innovative, at School normal member of the Institute to the site of Champollion the young profes-Sister of Sanskrit at the College de France at the place of M. de Chézy, member of the Journal of Scholars in the place of Mr. Saint-Martin, it promised to national scholarshipnal the work the newer and more distinguished, when, in 1833, the publication of his Commentary on the Yaçna (1) came to realize and even surpass all the expectations. This is the first of his great monuments ; let's stop for a few moments. We know that the Yaçna is one of the religious books of the Parses, or sectarians of the religion of Zoroaster, which still remain today in some districts of the (1) Yaçna is the word that Zend M. Eugene Burnouf has felt obliged to recover. Izescliné, that we found in the Zend-Avesta of Anquetil-Duperron, is the pehlie transcription, which he had trans-put the Parses of Guzarate,

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XIV NOTICES ON THE WORK OF M. EUGÈNE BURNOUF. Persia and in India, where they are scattered and few. The Yaçna, as the etymology even indicates it, is the book of the liturgy, the book of prayers pronounced at the time of sacrifice. It is part of a collection that the Parses call Vendidad-Sadé, and which includes, in addition to the Yaçna, the Vendidad proper and the Vispered, or collection of invocations. The Vendidad-Sadé itself is a portion of a very few large of books that bore the name of Zoroaster and that the Parsees look like the basis of their law ; it is a simple fragment of the twentieth section or naçka of these books, which in had in all twenty and one. If to these three pieces of Vendidad-Sadé one in seal some other much plus courts, that the Parsees preserved under the name of leschts and of Néaeschs, and which are hymns to master geniuses world, we will have all the rare remains of the great religion that reigned in Persian in the time of Cyrus. That's where all this as the time in a left to subsist ; but the time has also abolished knowledge of the original language in which these books precious have been composed, even for the nation to just close off that their request always his religious inspirations. In d723, an Englishman, Georges Bouchier, had brought from Surat to Oxford a copy Zend's Vendidad-Sadé and was deposited at the library of the University ; but this text without translation was not heard by anyone, and it was a curiosity rather still just a document. Later , a Scotsman named Frazer had done everything on purpose the trip from Surat to complete Celtic first acquisition ; but the priests of the Parsees, the mobeds, not wanted neither him communicate the manuscripts, nor him learn the Zend and the Pahlavi, who only had the account. In 1754, a few leaves copied from the Oxford manuscript accidentally fell under the eyes of An-quetil-Duperron, and he [it takes no more to ignite the soul heroic. With no other resources than his courage, he immediately leaves for a journey of three thousand leagues, among peoples which he only knows neither the language nor the customs ; and after ten-seven years of research, fatigues of work, it publishes the Zend-Avesta, that is to say the translation of all that

remains of the books of Zoroaster, and he submits to our great library the texts originals and documents of any kind that had been able gathering, delivering and to control the world learned all the results and all the processes of a gigantic work , " which might seem unlikely, as has said Mr. Burnouf, if he would have been crowned by the success. "Unfortunately the Anquetil-Duperron's knowledge did not equal his great heart ;and the translation he gave the Zend Avesta was not him. His modesty and his sincerity, moreover, do not did not attribute it to themselves. He had to mobeds of Guzerat, the priests parses with who he had lived a long time . But these priests themselves no longer understood the original language of Zend-Avesta ;they did not understand even that very imperfectly the translation Pehlevi, which, in the time very remote, had canonically the place of the old idiom Zend, which has become unintelligible. Much more, he was certain that the Parsees of Guzerat which had sent Anquetil Duperron did to him give than a suspicious tradition. Their ancestors hunted from Persia by the conquest muslim

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NOTICE ON THE WORK OF M. EUGENE BURNOUF. XVAiane and settled in India after about two hundred years of races and emigrations, had lost towards the fourteenth century AD the copy of Vendidad-Sadé that the exiles had brought from their homeland. He had taken only this time a destour appointed Ardeschir, came all express the Sistan, they should give a copy accompanied by the translation Pehlevi. In the many times shorter, early the eighteenth century, a new Destour of Kirman, Djamasp, had had to come in the Guza-spleen to teach again the Zend and Pahlavi to Parsees and correct even the faulty copies that they had of holy books. Thus the translation of Anquetil Duperron, arrived in French through three or four languages, was only an uncertain tradition, and, to all appearances, strongly altered. She could perhaps give a fairly true idea of the meaning of Vendidad-Sadé ;but she hardly gave any light on the Zende language in which he was written. It is this language, we can say, that Mr. Eugène Burnouf has resuscitated. First, with the help of a Sanskrit translation of the Yaçna made at the end of the fifteenth century by the mobed Nériosengh, on the text pehlvi, it could correct the translation which had been collected by the Parsees of Guzerat and that reproduced Anquetil. But, good thing otherwise difficult and considerable, it explained all the words Zend in their forms grammatical, in their roots, in their true meaning ;and it was revived, with all the evidence that peut exiger the philology the most scrupulous, an idiom who not lived all the more that the state sacred language and religious from the time to Darius, son of Hystasp. How could he have done this miraculous evocation that no one before him had dared to try? There we had itself out her secret in the preface of Yaçna; but these secrets will be only the use of those who can find out for themselves. The translation of Anquetil it gave the general meaning of the text, like that of Nériosengh, who, despite the barbaric Sanskrit in which it is written, had the advantage of going back three centuries earlier. In addition, this second translation gave one who could hear it, and the need to correct a crowd of words with the root is closer to that of words zend correspondants, or that even sometimes there was the same. It is this fact fortunately understood and pushed to its final limits sequences that Mr. Eugene Burnouf has pulled all the materials of his building ;it's here key to its discovery. To help with this perpetual confrontation of Sanskrit and the zend, he was able to establish this great result unknown to him that the Zende language ,any name besides that it gives (1) is contemporary with

the primitive dialect of the Vedas, and that without coming to the Sanskrit nor have product, the Zend, less developed than him, drew to a source common, as it were drawn, although that in the (1) In several passages of the foreword to the Yaçna, pages vu, xv and xvi, M. Eugène Burnouf emits a doubt about the authenticity of the word Zend, for which Anquetil Duperron, after the Parses du Guzarate, designates the language in which the books of Zoroaster are written. He thinks that the Zend word is simply the name of the books and not one of the idioms. In the invocation, or rather in the small preface that Nériosengh has put in mind of his translation, he declares that he

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XV NOTICE ON THE WORK OF M. EUGÈNE BURNOUF. proportions unequal, all the idioms of the Sanscrit family, the Sanskrit him—Similarly, the Greek, the Latin, the German, etc. But it was not enough only to understand vaguely take the text as Anquetil and the Parsees the included; he had to determine the shape and the grammatical value of each word in particular and reconstruct the proposition. At this first job, he had to add a second more thorny again: it was, by stripping each word of its formative endings and suffixes of the reducing its radical and a time master of this radical, in specifying the meaning, in the asking is the Sanskrit roots, which it gave in the most of cases, either the Greek, the Latin, the Germanic languages, etc., depending on the needs of each special case. The almost all of Zend radicals have had to give in to this analysis, which we can call incomparable, which they found in the Sanskrit Vedic exclusively, or simply in the list the roots denoted by the grammarians, although without use, or in all the Sanscrit family, or even in the Persian modern. A very small number of radicals have resisted; but Mr. Eugène Burnouf has taken for the defeat a process more difficult than none of those that I have to remember. Through the laws of the permutation of letters he had con-found between a large number of Zends and Sanskrit words, it was able to bring back these radi-caux rétractaires the forms known in which they are present in other idioms. So that the language Zend has been reconstructed by him from scratch. How much science, what works, what method do not imply feats of strength of this kind in philology! what infallible sagacity, what imperturbable memory, what invincible perseverance! To achieve this amazing result, Mr. Eugène Burnouf had created personal instruments of which only those know well. all the difficulty and all the power that have been initiated into these secret labors. From 1829, he had been autographed to his costs (I) and published the text of the Vendidad-Sadé, in a folio volume; then he had been built [indexes comprising several folio volumes of all the words of Vendidad-Sadé, leschts and Néaesch's, from has made its Sanskrit translation of Yaçna on a book Pehlevi; and here are the words which he is used: idam idjisnidjamdapoustakampahalavîdjamdât (*). M. Eugène Burnouf, while regaining in the mots Djamda and Djamdât the transcript dévanagari the word Zend, gives to this ^ word that the meaning of the book "it has in several authors" oriental; "and he did it not grant the special meaning that it assigns Anquetil-Duperron. It is proposed to discuss this important dans a special essay (see the score of the page xv foreword of Yaçna) that devait être ready right this time, 1833, if you in court by the manner in which he announced; this dissertation has not appeared. We understand, moreover, that this disagreement between Mr. Eugène Burnouf and Anquetil Duperron, although he carries on a spot very curious, do not squint at the bottom of things. We do know not least the books of Zoroaster, which that is the name of the language in

which they are composed.(1) The first nine deliveries have appeared to charge personal M. Burnouf; the tenth and latter, which has appeared as .Many more later, in 1843 was published the expenses of Mr. Dumont, of the library of the Institute. {*} This volume, called the book Idjismi (Izeschné, yaçno), “ eti translated from the book Pahalavl (Pehlvi).

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NOTICE ON LES WORK OF M. EUGENE BURNOUF. XVII Inokered, dialogue in pazend between the spiritdivine and Zoroaster, dtSirouzéj orPraise geniuses who chair the days of the month, of all thevariants ofvarious manuscripts from Vendidad-Sadé, etc. In a nutshell, ithad made for his useFirst, and most late for that of the public ^a dictionaryzend according to allthe fragments that we have stayed in this dead language for almost of twenty-fivecenturies. Besides the Comment on the Yaçna not going to beyond the first chapter orHà ;and Yaçna in contains to him only seventy-two, without counting theVendidadand the Vispered. Mr. Eugene Burnouf is proposed to explain by the same methodthe entire Vendidad-Sadé , and ithas given to 4840 to 1850 to ^ Journal Asia, a large number of articles which continue the Commentary on the Yaçna and which hegathered in a volume in-8o under the liter of Studies on thelanguage and on the textsZend. He has left, in addition, a mass considerable notes that could providethe subject matter of several volumes as interesting and as extensive as this one. Since 1833 the translation of Vispered était'à little near completion, as foretoldthe foreword of the Yaçna (page xxxv). But ifthe Commentary on the Yaçna, and even the materials leftby M. Eu-Burnouf gene are far awayto explain all the Zends books , these help are enoughhowever so that it is possible today to continue and complete the workbegin. The method is given ;an implementation qui peut serve to model haswas made with a full success ;and it is a road now that we can take withsecurity. Heis true that it would be necessary for thebrowse therare faculties which distinguishguaient that which was open ;but his successors will have less of the trouble ofinvention ;and there is little risk of getting lost in the regions, even thelessexplored, when wethere Aete preceded by a guide as brave and as safe. Thethe form in which the author presented the Yaçna to the learned world has sometimes beencriticized, and I would say not that it is attractive; but it was the only one that could bereally demonstrative andreally useful. YesMr. Eugène Burnouf wasconfined toremake Anquetil-Duperron, had he been a thousand times right, his corrections were alwaysdays remained doubtful and questionable. Heno need to remember that it is in somesort of a Zend dictionary he had to make ;and although the religious and philosophical sensesophical the books of Zoroaster is the final aim of all these investigations, Mr. Eu-Burnouf gene , to the point where hethe taking, had mainly deal of sense philolo-geology of this unknown idiom ;hewe have given the interpretation with a certaintyunshakeable ;and thanks to him,all the inductions that history andthe philosophywill be able to shootof these venerable monuments now rest on a basescientist. The work of Mr. Eugene Burnouf on booksZend was a consequence verycurious and almost immediate (1834) :is that the Parses of Guzarate, inspired byof his example, had one of their copies of Vendidad-Sadé autographed , ashe had been autographedone of those that had reported Anquetil Duperron, and a

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XVIII NOTICE ON THE WORK OF M. EUGENE BURNOUF. copy of Vendidad-Sadé offered by the Parses to Mr. Eugène Burnouf appears innext to hers on the shelves of her library. We can add, something more curiousyet, that ina controversial religious that the

Parsis of Bombay have supported in these last times against missionaries Protestants, it has served to share and the other, in citing the books of Zoroaster, of the interpretation that was given the Commentary on the Yaçna. It was the science of the young French philologist who made authority for the worshipers of Ormuzd (1). This exact knowledge of zend, grafted onto the deep knowledge of Sanskrit, allowed Mr. Eugène Burnouf to do make some progress unexpected in a study who was then very little advanced, and who then walked with immense steps : it's her the inscriptions cuneiform. We knew, at this time a definite number inscriptions of this kind, copied more or less exactly by travelers. Corneille Lebrun (1750), Niebuhr (1772), Schulz, W. and Gore Ouseley, Horier, Ker Porter, Witsen, etc. These inscriptions, which were found at hundreds of leagues from each other in the ruins of Persepolis, on the rocks of Alvande, ancient Oronte, near Hamadan, on the walls of the castle of Vân, near Ecbatane, to Tarkou, were engraved with the most great care and according to some uniform rules forms which announced official monuments. Some were reproducing faithfully one another, and everything was to believe that they were devoted to Rap-peel some of the facts the most important in the history of ancient Persia. But in what language were they written? and as several were in three languages, as well as the three attested systems different in character, what were the three languages which the Great Kings had thought it necessary to use to speak to their subjects and to the posterity? But, before knowing in what language were written these monuments it had to read them. Mr. Grotefend, occupied with these questions from the beginning of the century, had been able to decipher the names of Darius, Xerxes and Hystaspe ; more later, M. Saint-Martin, and more exactly M. Rask, had read that of Achémenes, writes Aqâmnôsôh. M. E. Burnouf came to confirm and extend all this information. events ; here and translated the two entire inscriptions found near Hamadan, one of Darius, the other by Xerxes ; and he demonstrated that the language of these two inscriptions, written in the cuneiform system called Persepolitan, is not the zend of the books of Zoroaster ; it only belongs to the same strain ; she is closer to it than to Sanskrit, and we can watch in some respects, like the beginning of modern Persian. By then, the existence of Zend itself is dated a manner quite rough, and he was noted that, from the fifth century before our era, the Zend was no longer a language we hear and that they spoke vulgarly in Persia. That it is important to note, in a study that gave as this nais- (1) I must indicate this fact, if honorable for the work of M. Burnouf and for the eru-French edition, to the obliging communication of my learned friend and colleague M. Jules Mohl.

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NOTICE ON THE WORK OF M. EUGENE BURNOUF. XIX. Priority to questions of priority, is that from Tannée 1833 to more later, Mr. Eu-Burnouf gene was in possession of all these results, and that he summarized them in a Note that one can read on the page 16 of his Commentary on the Yaçna : Invocation. I should add that the work of Mr. Eugène Burnouf on the inscriptions cuneiform Persepolitan, have not received any attack from the many and admirable research that have been made since then. After the great discoveries of Mr. Botta, in the ruins of Nineveh, Mr. Eugène Burnouf, if happy already in the decryption of Persepolitan writing, tried the same effort on the other two systems cuneiform, called Medica and Assyrian. But in spite of all his wisdom and of various tests that I found in his papers, he could not succeed in piercing this mystery, which, without doubt, will remain not always impenetrable, and that he may have to

been given to reveal if the death would not have stopped him so soon. But he is satisfied had such difficulty himself that he did not want to publish these studies, which, the rest were not especially the own, despite all the ability that there could bring. The two last monuments which it we still talking are purely Sanskrit writings. One, which is the most extensive, if it is not the most important and the oldest, it is the Bhâgavata-Pourâna, which is part of the magnificent Oriental Collection that publishes the Imprimerie Nationale. It already forms three folio volumes; and when he would have been finished, it would have included six very -probably. The last would have been consecrated the Notes and the clarification. The three volumes that have appeared do not extend the addition of the ninth book, and they contain only the text and the translation French with introductions. We know that that is what the Puranas in literature Sanskrit. In the number of thirty-six, of which eighteen principal, the Purânas are semi-religious legends, semi-poetic and philosophical. They all go back to the origin of things and deal within general the following topics, which in are like the subject matter obhgée and almost canonical: the creation, the destruction of worlds, the genealogy, the reign of Manous and the history of families. Sometimes these five "characters," which constitute the Ordinary Purâna, are increased to ten for the great Purâna. The Pourânas, very widespread encore aujourd'hui in India are the lecture habituelle populations poorly educated. First composed in Sanskrit, they have been translated into all the dia-vulgar readings of the peninsula; they replace, for the lower classes of the Company India, les Védas, including the reading them is prohibited. But the Brahmins, who have reserved the privilege the holy books, have not delivered at random Education religious of castes placed beneath them, and they have succeeded in the lead as they want the average of these huge and singulères compositions, which are sufficient to Indian imaginations, while in the astray. The Purânas have served the spirit of sect, as we can assume; and according to the times, according to the fortunes and beliefs dominant, they have taken everything into remaining within the prescribed limits, colors various that he is easy to recognize. They were also written at times

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XX NOTICE ON THE WORK OF M. EUGENE BURNOUF. very different; and well as the background common to them is taxed and they retain still very old, some of them are recent. The Bhâgavata-Pourâna, in particular, passes for the last of all, and it only goes back not to the past of thirteenth century of our era; it is attributed with a lot of probability au grammaire nothing Vopadéva, known by several other famous works and among others by the grammar titled Moudhabodha. In the minds of Europeans, the reading of the Bhagavata Purana, is too tedious that the thought in is confusing. The translation of M. Eugène Burnouf, admirable for fidelity and of clarity, has been able to erase the defects of the original; I would almost say that she the fact still stand out more. He will be however that our taste was too deeply offended by these faults; it's not for us that the book has been done; and like the Bhâgavata-Pourâna, who came the latest in date, summed up in some sort all these epics cosmogony of India, he was maybe still the more interesting for us. But why Mr. Eugene Burnouf he has chosen a Purana to do enter into the great Oriental Collection? Why did he not prefer monuments of quite another interest and of quite another importance in the literature Indian? the Vedas, for example, the Mahâbhârata, the Râmâyana? This is an issue that I have often heard do, and that I myself would be made to myself even if my relationship with Mr. Eugene Burnouf not had me

from long learned his response. At the time when he undertook the publication of the Bâghavata-Pourâna, Fr. Rosen was going to publish the Vedas; M. Schlegel gave the Râmâyana, which M. l'Abbé Gorrezio, one of the most distinguished pupils of M. Burnouf, has published in a superior manner with an Italian translation; Mr. Bopp announced the translation of the Mahâbhârata. Mr. Eugene Burnouf, by a scruple which honors him, did not wish to intrude on what that seemed to him the domain of others; and this is how he was brought to undergo the Bhâgavata-Pourâna. The choice is perhaps all the more regrettable that, if I except the work if remarkable of Father Gorrezio, the other companies announced or have not appeared, or have appeared only partially; the place that M. Eugène Burnouf did not want to deal with has not been filled by others, as he feared his delicacy. I add that the regrets must still increase when we see the prodigious labor that the author has given to these three volumes. The text, unprecedented in France, was collated on numerous manuscripts and on the editions Indian with a care that, for so to say, has let slip no mistake. The translation, very difficult to reason of the oddity of ideas and of the diversity almost infinite of style, is in the shelter of any criticism; and as it was possible for me to see personally at what price Mr. Eugene Burnouf got both of correcting and accuracy, I can say, in all health of side the background even in the book, that the scruples of philologist and of the man of taste do not pourrout pas be pushed further away. For example, M. Eugène Burnouf had taken the trouble to chant and to verify a to a the eighteen miles to thoroughly that fill these three volumes. I saw all this metric denoted by

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NOTICE ON THE WORK OF M. EUGENE BURNOUF. XXII his hand with the remarks that he provided the few irregularities that Vopa-déva is permitted; I also saw all the variants prepared for each one of nine books, and a long working very curious about the names own enclosed in the Bhâgavata, which had to be translated, in order to better understand its strength and scope. The Bhagavata Purana, remains unfinished, although that quelque travaux are made in part for the following books. Which hands will be able to finish this monument? I can ask just as much, and with much more sadness still, for the introduction to the history of Indian Buddhism. But let's see what belongs in its own right to Mr. Eugène Burnouf in this great revelation of the authentic origins of a religion that has more than three cents million of followers, from the Nepal until Ceylon, and from the Kashmir until the China. Thanks to work happy and considerable of MM. Abel Rémusat, Turnour, Schmidt, Csoma de Kôrôs, Ed. Fou-waters, we can know in part the history and tenets of Buddhism. But the Chinese, the Sinhalese, the Mongols' and the Tibetans had not done that for translators; and however precious they were, they could not take the place of the originals. This is an English, Mr. Brian Houghton Hodgson, quiet the glory of the find in the Buddhist monasteries in Nepal, country of northern India where all the Asian traditions carried forward the cradle of the religion of Buddha. For twenty-five years of living and research, Mr. Hodgson, resident of Kathmandu, is procured all canonical books; and with a liberality that can not be praised too much, he communicated the copies to Asian Companies of Calcutta, to London, to Paris. He himself published on the Buddhism the information the more extensive and more new, drawn of these materials until then unknown. The company Asian of Paris had eighty-eight Buddhist works donated or procured by Mr. Hodgson; they were all in Sanskrit, and they concealed the entire treasure of a religion. But he had read them

and us the explanation. This was the task to which devoted himself Mr. Eugène Burnouf ;it is was prepared from a long time ;and by a coincidence enough Remarkably, the Buddhism, he studied at the beginning of Bill's career, when he published in 1826, the Essay on Pali, is also the last subject that his soft hand will have touched. He would be much unnecessary analysis here of new Introduction to the history of Indian Buddhism ;this analysis was made in the Journal des Savants by M. Biot (specifications of April 1845), and it will again not what Mr. Biot has a once treated. All the merits of this great book have been brought to light, and full justice has been served ;I therefore do not insist , and I am content to refer to the judgment of our illustrious colleague. Introduction to history of Indian Buddhism had to include a second volume where Mr. Eugene Burnouf is proposed about the collection of legends Buddhist Pali what he had made on the collection of Nepali Sanskrit. It is also proposed in this other part of his work to discuss with the full extent necessary the question of the date of Buddhism. He adopted the Singaporean system

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XXI NOTICE ON THE WORK OF M. EUGENE BURNOUF. which places the death of the Buddha 547 years before the Christian era . Despite research endless, this topic has the point been completed by Mr. Eugene Burriouf ;and this second seat is lacking in its edifice. He was finishing, when he has been struck, the impression of a volume which, without replacing the one expected, will complete, at least to a few respect, the one we have: it is the translation of one of the main Buddhist sutras .dhiques, Saddharma Pundarika, that is to say the Lotus of the good law. Started that's more than fifteen years, Celtic translation was delayed from day to day by the de-developments that were taking these études admirables under the pen of Mr. Eugene Bur-nouf. The preface to the Lotus of the Good Law was now little to little Introduction to history dii Buddhism Indian, which we did as the half ;and some notes that he added without cease this sutra form, and we can soon be in convince, the volumes and the whole treated. But he it will be time to occupy of this supreme work of our colleague, when it has been published ;the world scientist will not have long to wait for it. As for the work on the collection singha-laise, he does he will never be given ;and despite all the usefulness that I agree to the translation of the Lotus, I admit that I would have preferred of much analysis and the cry-tick of books Buddhist of Ceylon. Superfluous regrets ! he we must be satisfied with debris and ruins which I the fear, will not more raised. What he in any case, the Introduction to the history of Buddhism Indian all misunderstood plete that she is, not be not less founded the true study of Buddhism. It is now in following the footsteps of Mr. Eugene Burnouf and in s' Addressing the original Sanskrit we can to continue. Thanks to him we already know when was born this religion at the same time so powerful and so absurd, how she got oped in the breast of Brahmanism in trying to the reform, what are its dogmas essential, the main phases through which it passed at its beginnings ; and, like the said Mr. Eugene Burnouf himself, he we have done know the Buddhism Indian until the time when he goes down in history. It was Ik the point of capital for us. The history of Buddhism is ours or will be known to us by the annals of the various rents peoples who have successively received it. That which we interested above all, it was to know that that was the Buddhism itself ;because history, incaring the events outside, could we leave ignore the background of doctrines from where these events had come out. This exact knowledge of Buddhist dogmas has already produced a very serious consequence :it has dispelled all these

assumptions in sen-Sees that established between the religious Christian and Buddhism of relations imaginary. It is now proven that the Buddhism is earlier than six or seven centuries at least to Christianity ;but he is no less proven than the christia-ism is by its doctrines more far still the reUgion Buddhist she does east of it chronologically. As it is too often used in these assumptions in opposing camps , he is good for them to refute a time of addition, any in soute-nables that they are, and to indicate to the friends of the truth the documents where they will find it in its simplicity and in its full light. In the background, the boud-

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NOTICE ON THE WORK OF M. EUGENE BURNOUF. XXIII dhisme does nothing other than worship and the fanaticism of nothingness; is the destruction of the personality human continued into its expectations the most legitimate. I ask if he is in the world something more contrary to Christian dogma , heir to all ancient civilization , that this aberration and this monstrosity. A further consequence not less serious, although a whole other character to the work of M, Eugène Burnouf, is to have introduced into the history of India a chronological element . Now the Brahmanism is dated, since the Buddhism is now a way certain. For those who know what darkness and what uncertainty threw on the entire Indian studies the absolute lack of chronology, this is an invaluable service rendered to these studies. It was nice to say that the testimony of the companions of Alexander, four centuries before the era Christian, we showed from the time the company Indian so we find in all the monuments of its Literature; it was beautiful to say that the testimony of so many neighboring peoples , in agreement with this one, postponed the organization of the company to antiquity more remote, it does still not less doubts and for clouds on this fundamental point. It felt good that all the negation of a poorly enlightened and not very benevolent criticism were so many errors ;but he was not the refutation of a so conclusive. Now this great fact is cleared up ;and like the split of the religion brahmanic is prior at least from six centuries to our era, it follows that the origins and developments of this religion dig really well in the time where the tradition of the placed and where the eye of history does put plus the discerning. So far, I have read the published works of M. Eugène Burnouf; for completion of the to do know it I need to talk about those he leaves, and of which several perhaps can also see the day. I will be excused from doing some sort of the inventory. I divide his manuscripts into five classes, according to whether they belong to various studies and the languages in which it took care of the zend, the registration of cuneiform, in Sanskrit, in Pali, Buddhism, etc., etc., without speaking about those which I have already made mention of more high. First class of manuscripts, Zend language : 1 » Index containing all the Zend words of Vendidad-Sadé. Paris, 1833. It is a large folio volume of thousand pages at little closer, with a supplement that has not less than a hundred. The words zends are transcribed there in Latin letters and classified in the order that Mr. Eugene Burnouf has given to the alphabet Zend, and that is very close to the order of the Sanskrit alphabet . This index responds to the volume of Vendidad-Sadé that M. Burnouf has made lithographed, 1829-1843, manuscripts Anquetil, suppl. n » 1 ;and, in addition, it serves as a reference table for the volume of variants of Vendidad-Sadé contained in the following Index. 2 "Index containing the variants of Vendidad-Sadé, collated on the manuscripts from Paris, from Oxford and from London, and on the edition from Pares from Bombay; a large in-folio volume , the same format as the previous one, of 571 pages. III

XXIV NOTICE ON THE WORK OF M. EUGENE BURNOUF.3 » Index containing all the words both zends and pazends in the volume of leschts and of the Néaeschs, mss. Anquetil, supplement No. 3. Paris, 1835, 686 pages, from the same format than the previous two. 2 » Index containing all the words of Minokered and those of Schekend Goumani, works written in pazend, mss. Anquetil, supp. n " x and n" xviii; Paris, 1838, from 231 folio pages, same format. These four indexes form, as is to be seen, a zend dictionary; and in the state very advanced where it has left Mr. Eugene Burnouf, they could be printed, to the great majority of these difficult and recent studies, which have both emergency needs and instruments. It is good to add that in addition to the indexes, there is, in the manuscripts of M. Eugène Burnouf, a lot of texts Zend transcribed and collationnés after the documents of Anquetil-Duperron and those of Manakdjî-Cursetdjî. I can cite, among others, the Sirouzé in its entirety, with tables of words composed on the same plane as the major indexes, and the Minokered, transcribed from the copy of the National Library. In addition, in the copy of Vendidad Sadé- lithography which is used as the author, to find a crowd of notes of his hand and of translations of words to the page 90, about 562 of which the book around is made. Mr. Eugène Burnouf had also prepared several memoirs that he intended to Journal Asia or to the Academy of inscriptions. Among these materials, I distinguish a work in little near completion on the language Zend considered in its relations with the Sanskrit and ancient languages of Europe: it would have been, in a way, the summary of the commentary on the Vendidad-Sadé. I'm there also a complete article on the ninth chapter of the Yaçna, and this article was to follow with many more to Studies on the Zend language. Second class of manuscripts, cuneiform inscriptions: 1 " A mass substantial of notes of transcripts of clarifications of all genre and deciphering essays on the inscriptions of Nineveh. The efforts that made Mr. Eugène Burnouf to solve this problem yet impenetrable have not been satisfied, and he has not published anything, and as I have said; but I have no doubt that, in the attempts even failed in this mind as sagacious as powerful, it should find the valuable insight. Studied by skilful and far-sighted eyes, they could facilitate other work more happy and hasten perhaps the discovery that the learned world is still waiting for. 2 " A draft of letter to Mr. Botta on the registrations from Khorsabad. 3 " Three more or less completed letters to M. de Saulcy on the same subject. In these letters, Mr. Eugène Burnouf wanted to expose the results he already had obtained and that he judged the less questionable. I would say not that they might be published since the author did not want and that he has not completed; but they could be usefully consulted, and would certainly give the thread who must lead in the middle of the notes they summarize. Third class of manuscripts, Sanskrit language:

NOTICE ON THE WORK OF M. EUGENE BURNOUF. XXVI » An index of Pânini, containing the axioms of this grammarian, arranged by alphabetical order, with reference to the edition from Calcutta, and with indication of the part of the grammar of Bhattodjî which is located by each of these axioms. This Index, which Mr. Eugène Burnouf had started to resqueat the same time as his Sanskrit studies, and which is completely completed, would be of great help for all those involved in the grammar of Sanskrit. The axioms of Pânini, at number of 3,996, are as obscure as they are concise, and it was nice to have to cross the language in which they are written, it be in doing a study toute spéciale

to understand the formulas almost symbolic. The work of Mr. Eugène Burnouf would greatly aid intelligence. It could be published as it is; he understood laying of 687 pages in- ^". 2o A transcription in Latin letters of the Brahma Veivartta Pourâna. She's spreading until çloka 54 of Book IX, and it is accompanied by a translation in Latin ceilingcée at the bottom of the pages. This work is from 1827. 3 » A transcription and a translation of Narasinha's first three books, made on the same plan and in the same year. 4 " A memoir of 30 pages to just close on some Indian medals Trouvilleées in Delhi. 5 " A memoir on some points of the ancient civil law of the Hindus. 6 " Some notes on the digestible Hindus. We do not be surprised that the class of manuscripts relating to the language undocumented written does not contain pas plus of documents. Mr. Eugene Burnouf has consecrated forty years all his work on the Sanskrit ason during the College of France and the students that there are trained. It's his word that has put in work and employed as of materials fertile; this is how he remains so little in his papers. Fourth class of manuscripts, Pali language :io A grammar pale, almost all done, and where it is not incomplete as the part which concerns the verbs, and that suggests a note of the hand of the author. 2 » A literal translation of Sandhikappa or theory of Sandhi in the grammar pale. This translation had been done on a manuscript of the collection per-sonnelle of Mr. Eugène Burnouf; it is completed, and it contains 240 in-4o pages. 3 » Abhidanappadipika, or explanation of words, Pali dictionary in verse, transcribed in Latin letters and translated. This work, of 90 pages, accompanied by notes, goes back to 1826. 4 » The Mahavansa, transcribed in Latin letters, and almost entirely translated into Latin, 273 pages in-4o, from 1826 like the previous one. Mr. Eugène Burnouf would have probably published later this document if important for the history of Ceylon, yes Mr Turnour not had published and translated before it. 5 » Buridatta djataka, oii history of the existence of the Boudha Sakyamouni under the figure of the Buridatta naga, copied from the manuscript of the Asiatic Society of London, Pali text and gloss in Burmese, translated with explanation and foreword; 520 in-4o pages *

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XXVISUU NOTICE THE WORK OF M. EUGENE BURNOUF. 6o Nemi djataka, or history of the birth of the Buddha in the face of Nemi Pali and Burmese, translated with explanation and foreword; 416 in-4o pages. 7 » Suvanna Sama djataka, or History of the birth of the Buddha under the figure of Suvanna Sama, Pali and Burmese, translated with explanation and foreword; 449 pages in-4o. 8 " Considerable fragments Mahadjarma djataka, Pali and Burmese, translated of same. The Djatakas, or Stories of the prior births of the Buddha, hold a high up in the beliefs of Buddhists of Ceylon and in India transgégé-tick. These legends, more or less developed, are the number of 550, among les what hethere in a top ten. These were the ten legends that Mr. Eugène Burnouf had proposed to translate in full, in order to prepare the materials of his second volume of the Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism. 9o Kudda Sikkadîpani, or the Torch of the small inscription, Pali and Burmese, translated; 320 pages in-4o. 10 ° Patimokka nissaya, translation Burma of Patimokka Pali ("u Rules of sa-read for the rehgieux, Pali and Burmese, translated; 611 pages in-4o. 11 » We can link to the studies on the Pali of the Recherches sur la géographie ancienne of Ceylon, in relation to the history of this Isle. Mr. Eugène Burnouf has been run as the first part of this task, in a thesis of 50 pages in-fo about the ancient names of the island of Ceylon; he has read, I think, toward 1836, at the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. He also left a lot of tra-vail on the geographical

names that are found in the Mahavansa.¹² \diamond I join again to this class of manuscripts Studies on the language Burmese and numerous notes intended for a Siamese grammar .Fifth class desmanuscrits, Buddhism of Nepal :1 "Eight notebooks, some of which of 100 pages and more, comprising the translationstions from Buddhist legends of Nepal, takenprobably manuscriptsgiven to the Asiatic Society or acquired for it by Mr. Hodgson.2 » The beginning of the translation of Lalitavistara, one of the mostmost famous of thelife of Sakyamouni.Mr. Ed. Foucaux has given since at allthe Lahtavistara, translated into French with the Tibetan text.3 » An untitled Buddhist legend , translated from Sanskrit, and forming 430 pagesin-4o.4 " The very numerous documents of the additions and the corrections to the Notesand the appendages of the Lotus of the Good Law.Among the materials of this kind of whichM. Burnouf has been able to make use of fear to grow disproportionately the volumebut who are all prepared, I can distinguish a very long Examination of the language of theLotus and a Comparison of Sanskrit and Pali texts . The drafting of these two mor-ceaux is to just about complete.5 » Finally Tibetan extracts of various extent which should serve to clarifysseveral passages from the Lotus of the Good Law.

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TO NOTICE ON THE WORK OF M. EUGENE BURNOUF.XXVI We feel that in this enumeration, all long it is,i do n't havenot allnoted. I do myself amstopped only to the most important pieces ;but i haveheld in this that the world scholar might learn just the time and what that leaves Mr. Eugene Bur-nouf,and the conscientious labors by which heprepared all his works beforehe does them submitted to the judgment of the public.To conclude what concerns the services rendered by him to studies on the Orient,hemust remember that appointed inspector of the typography East in 1838, to theplace of M. Sylvestreof Sacy, it has monitored the etching and the melting of several bodyof characters new, the Pahlavi, the Magadha, theTibetan, the Bougui, the Javanese,the telinga, the ninivite cuneiform , the phoenician , etc. Already, from 1832 to 1833, hehaddirected the etching of the zend, the Tamil, the pale, the Burma and the guzarati. In 1847,hehas done a leaflet strong interest on the foreign kinds of specimen the Imprinational mery . This notice,which does not bear his name, is placed in the leadof thisspecimen.Here, I must say that, despite everything that M. Burnouf has done for the studiesIndian in particular, hewould have done much more, if,in 1838, hewould have beennamed, as it expected the public learned, the functions ofconservativefromoriental manuscripts in our large Library. Presented on the front line bythe assembly of conservatives, heseemed that nothing would had to oppose to a vow sowell justified; but the place created since the Convention, and which is indispensable, wasremoved, perhaps by following considerations all personal . and reallydeplorable.I have heard often M. Burnouf speak to this issue of re-grets as righteous as they are disinterested. Hedid not think of himwhen heblamed herdeletion of this place ;heonly thought of the studies that were costed to him , and whichtake on so much importance and development every day . Before him, Abel Ré-musat had been able to increase and complete the collection of Chinese manuscripts ; Mr. SylvestreSacy in had doneas much for thefundsSemitic. Sanskrit studies , wellmore fruitful and very recent, demanding, for more strong reason to careand onelike protection .It does was not allowed to M. Eugene Burnouf of the give,to the great detriment of the science andof the public interest . If I call this circum-painful tance ofhis career, it does not, we the think well, to raise ofvain recriminations, it is not

even to try to prevent such unfairities ;it is so that we restore themore sooner we can this site who lackto our large Library and which causes themost annoying gap. All this thatI wish is that the minister who will have the right mindof therestore meetingfor the filling a candidate as worthy.*Hegoes almost without saying that these admirable works had opened to M. EugèneBurnouf the doors of almost all the academies and learned societies of Europe;I did mention that the main :hewascorrespondent of the Royal Academy ofsciences of Turin, doctor of the Christine-Albertine Academy of Denmark, memberof the Royal AcademyScience of Bavaria, the Academyroyal of Prussia,

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vsXXVIII NOTICE ON THE WORK OF M. EUGENE RURNOUF. Imperial Academies ofSciences of Vienna and St. Petersburg, of the AcademyRoyal of Sciences of Lisbon, the Royal Society of Sciences of Gottingen, etc.He was part of all the sociétésasiatiques Europe, Asia and America, andof several other learned societies, which had insisted on attaching him. Member ofthe Institut de France from 1832, as I said, ithas been appointed perpetual secretaryof the Academy of inscriptions and belles-lettresa few days before his death. Thisselection, made in the almost unanimously have been as the crown of his life sci-tific,crown deposited on a grave. Hewas an officer of the Legion- of -Honorsince 1845. In March 4852, hehadaccepted the placesenior inspector ofstudies for letters.A part too little knownof the career of Mr. Eugène Burnouf, and that he isgood to bring to light, it is his professorship. At least his school classnormal, although it is very little lasted, have left the tracks and in the notebooks ofstudents and in the manuscripts kids teachers; but what will remain of the coursethe college deFrance, continued with both of zeal and of regularity for twenty an-born immediately? Some students, I theknow, some of whom areare already donea namefamous by applying the lessons of their master, and indelible memories inthe memory of all who followed him.But heimportant that the public also knowwhat was this teaching so deep and sovaried. We can see through the books ofMr. Eugène Burnouf, and especially by his Commentary on the Yaçna and its Electedof on theZende language , what an abundance of views, what exact knowledge ofsmallest details, what penetrating sagacity,and what prudence of method dis-tingled his mind, moreover admirably fair and well made.All these qualitieswere found in his lessons,with the life that the word, the gesture andthe accent ofteacher communicate more to all that hesaid.The usual texts of histeaching were the book of Manou, the Mahâbhârata, the Ramâyana, the Karikâ ofSankhya, and especially theVedas. The language of the Vedas wasthe particular purpose of hisstudies themore diligent and expensive.Shedeserves all the effortthere isconsecrated, first of all because it isexcessively difficult, andfor more because sheis in a way the embryo from which came the classical Sanskrit of the great epochs.SOEP, the monuments philosophical dramas, poésieslégères, etc.Thislanguage had moreover for him this special attraction that it comes very close to thezend and that she gave him the key to a host of insurmountable difficulties without her.Also each of the words of the Veda, or to speak better of the Rigveda, which we explainquions usual * on the edition of F. Rosen, unfortunately unfinished, was it ofhis hand the opportunity of remarks the most curious and the most helpful. I had studiedat bottom, for us the give, theIndian commentators , yeseducated, so thoroughin everything that is related to the holy book. Often hejoined to the interpretation oftext that of the comment, and itwas followed on to the Veda of the gloss of Sankarâcharya, as heKoullaka Bhatta gave to the

result of the text of Manou. Occasionally he invited the students to read advanced to take the speech in its place ; and it 's formed

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NOTICE ON THE WORK OF M. EUGENE BURNOUF. XXIX thus under its direction, and by an anticipated practice , to the functions of the sign-ment, at the same time as he forced them to wear in their own studies more than clarity by the necessity of the pass to the other. It was criticized more than once to M. Eugene Burnouf to make a too during high ; we would have liked more elementary lessons from him , just as we asked him also a grammar of the Sanskrit language , which he possessed so wonderfully. He did was never made to these wishes, while legitimate they might seem, well that there is often thought about it, and he has certainly maintained its course in the regions the higher. I think he has been right. In the state which is found the studies undocumented written when he entered the college of France, elementary books were not lacking more. The beginners could easily find the help that they were ne-assignees ; year after year, this assistance multiplied and became more and more accessible. M. Eugène Burnouf, without disdain the care of these preliminary works , believed better serve the Science in the letting to aytres of hands them his. I do not deny that a Sanskrit grammar from him would not have been very useful to us ; but he would have been much regret that we are costing the less work it has been accomplish, without actually completing them. The excellent grammars we possé-donations may be enough for us ; and him one was by far of us reveal the zend and of us open the birthplace of Buddhism. The science must therefore absolve him ; from Lessons like the own of the hymns of the Veda were plus précieuses and more rare that lessons on the declension and conjugation Sanskrit. We know now to just close what was Mr. Eugene Burnouf as teacher, as a scholar, as a philologist. There I left to finish this leaflet to mark precisely the trait that distinguishes his talent of any other, and that in remain the indelible character with the postérité. Je not speak not to the extent of its labors of his perseverance that nothing will could put off, for his sagacity which divined all of its ease of work, the immensity of his memory of the sharpness and of the rightness of his mind, of the variety of his knowledge. It is there, no doubt qualities of the highest price and which he possessed to a high degree rare ; but well other than him the have had and to have done as a worthy purpose ; which is only him, that is his method with employment higher that in knew how. I have some already said a few words at the beginning of this article ; i'm there must insist in finishing. One way any general, the method has plus de secrets for the good es-taken since Bacon and Descartes, and especially since the applications so happy and so striking that the science in have learned in the last century. Observation has its essential laws she is no longer allowed to disregard and that we never infringe that with the certainty of getting lost ; person in the science can today 's ignore. li there was therefore point to properly speak of discoveries possible in fact to method. But that which is always possible, that is to extend the method from long known and practiced in subjects new, and for there to make do with the science of constant and assured progress . Such is the glory of those who are called inventors ;

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XXX NOTICE ON THE WORK OF M. EUGENE BURNOUF. Such has been the glory of M. Eugene Burnouf. But what is the really new subject he has won in the science in the subjecting to the rigor infallible of the method? We do let's not here deceive by appearance : this again, this is not the pali, nor even the zend ; it is not writing cuneiform,

northeBuddhism. It issomething more general and of more new that all these languages and that all thesestudies, somenew that they are for us ;it is comparative grammar ,that is to saythisscience, because now it is one, which studies all speciesthe language of human for the ranking, for the distinguished, for the light the oneby the other, and who gets the results as positive, as some none ofsciences which areparent with moreor less of right the beautiful name of scienceaccurate.In the last century, the grammar comparative was not born ;we don't knowknows not enough languages for observation should bear on a number sufficientof facts. So the methods we tried were arbitrary, andthe resultswere they insignificantwhen theywere not ridiculous. But when at the beginning ofour century theCulture of Sanskrit came open field while in fact unexplored in thephilology, theamazing resemblances of this antique andscientist idiom with thelanguages that we are the most familiar burst at all the eyes, and grammarcomparative could be founded. His domain is immense, since he does not understandUnless the circle of all thelanguages that speak now the men, orthat they spoke. The Sanskritas fruitful as he is, bornstill fillsthat onepart of this area, the most interesting ifone wants and the most beautiful. It's to thatthere more especially that Mr. Eugène Burnouf had devoted his watches, and we have seenwith what success. The Commentary on the Yaçna without mention of his other works,attest to itself that that the grammar comparison has been done between his hands.Certainly I would not want to belittle the admirable monuments of philologyproduced by Germany, our rival in these studies, which now constitute aelement necessary to the history of the genre human ;but I don't think I am exaggerating anythingby putting M .; Eugène Burnouf above his competitors, who are moreover ready toher grant themselves the superiority. It is that all the benefits it held in theNature, he in joined one another, much larger as :it was to be born in a people wherethe clarity is the first requirement of any implement intellectual, as it isofnational language . With equal faculties , the French spirit will always prevail on this side;and Idoes not hesitate to note the decisive influence that thiscircumstance exercisedon the genius of M. Eugène Burnouf. It was not there a deception of patriotism,is a single justice ;and we have enough of defects for that we be allowedofclaim ourindisputable qualities. But ifthe national spirit has a lotgiven toMr. Eugene Burnouf, I am anxious to say that M. Burnouf do him ano less rendered. Without having made up of books special on the grammar comparisonrative, itin has demonstrated thecertainty and the power of the applications infalliblehein was made; andthese applications are of such an order that they have restored to

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NOTICE ON THE WORK OF M. EUGÈNE BIRNOUF.XXXIannals of history human some of its pages the most curious, remaineduntil him closed and indecipherable. These are thereof services that contributeat theglory of individuals, no doubt, but who do not contribute less to the glory ofnations, and that the nations, on pain of ingratitude and ignorance, must honorof their noblest rewards. Like M. Villemain'adit (a word that comes out of asuch and such a mouth is a praise as fair as it is great), "Mr. Eugène Burnouf, that we" Envied Europe, was a genius philologist ".For my part, I will be happyif this article has been able to show how such a praise, in its conciseness, is superb anddeserved.BARTHELEMY SAINT-HILAIRE.

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A THE MEMORY OF Mr. JEAN-LOUIS BURNOU MY FATHER TRIBUTE OF
RECOGNITION AND REGRET

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1 ^WARNING. The object and plan of the research to which this volume is devoted are exposed to enough of details in the first of Memories that he contains, for that more detailed explanations are here superfluous. However, I owe the reader a few explanations concerning the collective title under which I gathered these Memoirs. The belief to which it has given the name of Buddhism after the founder is a completely Indian fact. It is in India that she took birth; it's in this country that it has developed and has bloomed for over twelve centuries. However from the 11th century before J. C. the Buddhism had begun to be spread out of India, and in the 14th of our era it was almost completely banned. Transported, at times various, among the Singhalese and the Barmans in the south, among the Chinese and the Japanese to the east, with the Tibetans and Mongols to the north, he threw deep roots in these nations, the most very different from the people in the breast which he was born; but all in acting in a manner very sensitive about their status social, it could sometimes experience itself the influence.

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XXXVI WARNING. A history of Buddhism, to be complete, should therefore, after having explained the origin of this religion, and exposed the vicissitudes of its existence in India, the monitor out of his native land, and the study at the peoples who have it successively collected. I do not know if he is currently possible for a single man to embrace this immense subject, but I have hardly need to say that I did not have the pretension of to do. I myself am especially attached to Indian Buddhism; and one time my topic so limited, I have limited my desires to compose an Introduction which opened the lead to more extensive research and more deep. This observation will justify me, in the eyes of the reader, to have made as sober use of materials as scientists of first order have excerpted of books foreigner to India, with the intention to explain the religious dogmas and philosophical of Buddhism in general. He is although far from my mind to ignore the greatness and the merits of these attempts; and we will see, in the during these Memoirs, with what eagerness I declare me indebted to the clarification the more bright to ingenious and deep research of an Abel Rémusat and a Schmidt. But we will also recognize that I did not make call their testimony that when he seemed to me to agree with that of the books Indians who make the base of my Memories, or when was able, by his diligence even, throw some day on a point, obscure or controversial. This that I want to say here, is that being able to consult, thanks to the libérahité by M. Hodgson, a considerable collection of Buddhist books written in Sanskrit, I have believed that my first duty was to analyze these books, and to extract this which could be useful for the knowledge of Buddhism of India. In one word, as I had, to study this Indian religion, of materials Indians, he seemed to me that I should not resort to foreign sources in the case of absolute necessity. This party to had to my eyes a further advantage; he exempted me from posting in front of the public the claim of speaking of things which I could not do as study special.

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WARNING. xxxvii This first volume drives the reader up to the point where the Buddhism will go down in history. I do not have not needed to expose the chronological system applicable to the facts who reported the birth and the developments of this religion;

the exhibition of this system a, following the plan of my work, its place marked after analysis of the sacred collection of the Singhalese. However like all my research led me to this result, that between the two opinions dominant touching the date of Çākya muni, the one the Chinese or the Buddhists the North, which the place at xith century before our era, and that of Singhalese or of the Buddhists of the South, which they come to life, there is single true is the opinion of the Singhalese, I admit frankly that it is of this point of view that have been considered the facts which I have had to speak in the here volume. It is elsewhere that it intends to demonstrate the inconsistencies of this system foreign to India, which give to the founder of Buddhism four centuries of antiquity of more than him in recognition born the Sinhala, including the Indian records, preserved with care and a regularity remarkable, since the ivth century about before our era, we offer the only information the original and authentic that we had so far on the origin and history of Buddhism. I thought I owed this statement to the readers who would be surprised to not meet more of specific dates in a critical work literary and philosophical. I do not could even exempt me from the to do, without authorizing by my silence the already too widespread opinion, and that we strive to spread more every day, that it is impossible to find in India nothing to really historical. Yes a scholar illustrious was able to explain, and until a certain point excuse indifference from the public French to against Indian studies in is based on Celtic opinion, I will be perhaps excusable to my turn to take some reservations against the assertions which tend, without unbecomingly to doubt of their authors, to "propagate and to justify this indifference. It includes in addition what patterns I have had to tie the most grand prix in the Memoirs of MM * Hodgson and Turnour, which are written

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XXXVIII WARNING. to using materials Indians : too there have - I fully tapped. I do not have however not made a too frequent use of the dissertations of Mr. Tumour that of those of Mr. Hodgson, because as I am concerned yet, in this first volume, that of Northern Buddhism. When I arrive to an analysis of books palis] of Ceylon, we will see what discoveries and what work we owe to the zeal of M. Turnour; he will even have to recognize to be born that if he has given to Europe less manuscripts originals it he has done read most of accurate translations. So he will be me possible to make an equal justice to the efforts of these two men prominent, who enlightened the origin and the tenets of Buddhism Indian of more of lights than all those who until then as had undertaken the study, without marking with a precision sufficient the limits and the field of their research. Finally, I dare to count on the indulgence of the reader for an attempt too new in such a difficult subject. I will have wanted to bring as much to know that I there have put in good faith, but I have too much often met the obstacle that it was impossible for me to conquer. I have beloved all my care at the Correction of texts and the terms Oriental that I have cited; it is however at this point especially since I reads the severity of the critical. The impression of this volume a summer completed in the middle concern the more painful. Struck by the unexpected blow who, by removing our family a respected leader, too cruelly troubled the happiness that she him had to, I did could tear me away only by of long efforts to discouragement which had reached me. He has required that the memory always here of my father reminded me of work that he encouraged. Those who have it known only me ask not to tell them the reasons that I have of the cry, because they know all this which he was capable for those he loved; and they will understand

easily that I have looked like them more imperious duties the obligation to put this book under the protection of that dear and revered name .Paris, this November 40, 1844.

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INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY THE Buddhism INDIAN FIRST

MEMORY PRELIMINARY OBSERVATION The research which are devoted these memoirs have been completed with the help of a large collection of Sanskrit books that the Asian Society of Paris received, towards the end of the year 1837, from Mr. Brian Houghlon Hodgson, English resident at the court of Nepal. Fixed by the duties of his spot in central country where Buddhism still flourishes, Mr. Hodgson was, as of the year 1821, the thought of enjoying his stay at Kathmandu to study this doctrine religious and philosophical also if little known ; and although his hobbies were almost entirely employed by work of history natural have made his name famous, he knew even to find time to gather more of document originals on the Buddhism that did had collected JUST that then, either in Asia or in Europe. Mr. Hodgson got in touch with a Buddhist educated from Patan, and he obtained the information very curious about the dogmas fundamentals of the religion of Nepal, as well as directions precise on the existence of Buddhist books written in Sanskrit, to which he drew on the details that he held the Religious by Patan (1). He soon returned to see these books; he had acquired, not without difficulty, a definite number, as did (1) Hodgson, Quotations from orig. Sanscr. author., in / oum.

Asian girl. Soc. of Beng., t. Y, p.29.1

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2 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY copy others; and after several years of effort and of research, it is now in possession from a considerable collection of treatises Buddhist Sanskrit, whose existence was not even suspected before him, at the exception maybe of the only Lalita Vistara, a species of life of Çakyamuni Buddha, of which W. Jones and Colebrooke had either seen or owned a copy. Hodgson will soon not to communicate to REUR /) he learned the results of his discoveries. Asian research of Calcutta, the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of London, the newspaper that published Celtic society, and one that led James Prinsep, secretary of the Society of Bengal, were successively of Mr. Hodgson of Communications more high interest. From 1828 the Research Asia of Calcutta published an essay of these before, filled notion stout in fact new about the language, the literature and the religion of Buddhists of Nepal and the Bhot or Tibet ; and this first test contained already a presentation of the various philosophical schools of Buddhism from this country, who was neither surpassed, nor even equaled since (1). At the same Mr. Hodgson time put at the disposal of the Society of Calcutta three Buddhist treatises written in Sanskrit, which Mr. Wilson published in this same volume of Research, translated and accompanied by a commentary (2). This first Memoir revealed, among other discoveries important, this fact capital and unknown until then, that large collections of Hvres existed in the monasteries of Nepal composed in Sanskrit, that is to say in the language of country where the Buddhism was not several centuries before our era, and hence the Brahmins had it since long expelled. Mr. Hodgson published a first list of these books, with the classification that give the Nepalese, and here joined an analysis and the extracts from those of these works which deal with philosophical opinions from Buddhists, and make known the various schools that they divide. In 1829 Mr. Hodgson introduced to the committee of the Asian Society of London a test on the Buddhism, prepared according to the works he had found at Nepal (3). In transmitting to the

Company that memory by means of doctor Nathaniel Wallich, the author made, for the first time, know in detail and the plan he had followed from his arrival at Nepal, to be providing the information correct on the religion called of Buddha, and the success that had crowned his efforts. He should read the letter to Mr. N. Wallich, which precedes the test (1) Hodgson, the notice of the languages, literature and religion of the Bauddhas of Nepal and Bhot, in *Asiat. Res.*, T. XVI, p. 409 sqq. (2) Wilson, Notice of three tracts received from Nepal, in *Asiatic Researches*, t. XVI, p. -450. (3) Sketch of Buddhism derived from the Bauddha scriptures of Nipal, in *Transact. of the Roy. Asian girl. Society*, t. II, p. 222 sqq.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .3 of which I speak, to appreciate the selfless zeal which animated Mr. Hodgson, and the perseverance he had put in pursue the subject of his research. I call her back here, less because of the honor than she made to its author that because she marks the starting point of his work, and that she notes the care he took to be put to even to check on the texts sacred the information that held the Buddhist of Patan- In effort, while he summed up in a form specifies the answers that the Buddhist gave his questions, he was run a list of the Buddhist books, written in Sanskrit, which we knew in Nepal, and he got copies of those of those books to which he was can have access, in the design of the send to Calcutta and in London. He wanted by that to give to learned bodies dealing with the history of Asia the means of control, to extend and complete, by studying the texts original, the results he had gathered in his conversations with the Buddhist of Patan. A circumstance happy it was used in the composition of the list of Buddhist works from Nepal, which he sought to draw up. He learned that the copyists or the owners by Hindus religious used to add to the list of their copies of the kinds of lists of sacred works which were known. The discovery of these lists put in a state to compile the catalog of a veritable Buddhist library, which does not contain less than two one hundred and eighteen articles, of which several are of considerable extent, thus that we have it been able to verify since. This catalog, much more significant and more complete than one he had sent to the Society of Bengal, was printed, in the Transactions of those of London, in Devanâgaris characters (1). I don't speak of other communications which were enriched the Transactions of the Company Asian in the UK, and that the other collection of scientists cited above, and I am eager to get to the result that, for Hodgson, had always been one of the most important objects of his research, I would say the donation he intended to make to the Asian Society in London, as he had done for some time to that of Calcutta (2), from the collection of manuscripts Buddhist discovered by him. At the beginning of the year 1830 he was sent in London seven volumes of Buddhist manuscripts (Tibetan), as the means without further description, the list of the donations made to the Asian Society, which is inserted at the end of the third (1) *Transact. of the Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, t. II, p. 224 sqq. (2) From 1824 to 1839, Mr. Hodgson was sent to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta near fifty volumes in Sanskrit, and four times as many in Tibetan. {European Speculation on Buddhism, in *Journal of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, t. III, p. 885, note.)

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4 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY volume of his Memoirs (1). Regardless of time after, in 1835, publishing in the Journal of this Society a series of texts taken from Sanskrit books of Nepal, in order to justify by authentic evidence his Test on the Buddhism, Mr. Hodgson announced that the collection of Sanskrit books he had assembled in Nepal

consisted of about sixty large volumes, and it added at this indication these generous words: "I will be happy to provide the copies of the works of which this collection is composed for learned bodies who will wish the possession" (2). Towards the end of that same year, Mr. Hodgson was sent in London twenty six volumes containing the great compilation entitled Pradjhâparamitâ, in a hundred thousand articles, which was part of the collection previously announced (3), and he promised to address successively to the Asian Society of the United Kingdom, not only the nine books that pass for canonic at Nepal, but still all he had been able to collect from Sanskrit books relating to Buddhism (4). In fact, one year had to sentence since this promise, that the Society would receive a second series of sixty-six volumes Sanskrit, all relating to the religion and to the philosophy of the Buddhists of Nepal (5). But it was not enough for Mr. Hodgson for giving to a company English which he was a member of this evidence many of his liberality; he wanted again call on the Asian Society of Paris to share the fruits of its discoveries green, and he made him donation in 1837 of twenty-four Sanskrit works among which several are of considerable extent (6). This present was followed of a shipment much more valuable still: he is composed of sixty-four manuscripts containing a little pre-stout it that had been somewhat of time the Company Asian from London (7). Mr. Hodgson had made copying these manuscripts for the account of the Asian Society of Paris, which from 1836 had hastened to accept the offer that was this scientist, to transmit to literary bodies who would like the owning copies of manuscripts that had discovered. So, thanks to this double act of liberality and of zeal, the Asiatic Society of Paris, to which one of Bengal had just sent, a year earlier, the large collection of Buddhist books translated into Tibetan, known under the name of Kah-gyur (Bkah-hgyur), had the most big party of Sanskrit texts, which of confession (1) Transact., Etc., t. III, Appendix, p. xlij. (2) Journ. of the Roy. Asian Soc., t. II, p. 288, note 2. (3) Ibid., t. III, p. iij. (4) Ibid., t. III, p. vij and viij. (5) Ibid., p. Ixxij. (6) Journ. of the Asiatic Society. de Paris, ii series, t. III, p. 31 G. (7) Journ. Asian, me series, t. III, p. 557, and t. IV, p. 91.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .5 The Buddhists of Bhot, like those of Nepal, pass to be the originals on which have been executed the translations Tibetan. The Asian Society does not neglect nothing to show to Mr. Hodgson all his gratitude; but he was evident that one of the surest ways of expressing it to him, it was to answer in a scientific way to the call he had thought possible make him. Mr. Hodgson had certainly not sent two collections to Paris. of this expanse so that they can sleep peacefully on the rays of a library. He wanted to continue in Europe the research he had started himself with so much of success in Asia; and it would have been wrong to recognize the efforts he had made to himself procure these manuscripts, and the generosity with which he is available in favor of the France, that do not try of carry the light on some of the books they contained. I felt, for my part, as a member of the Asian Society of Paris, everything that there was honorable and of pressing in the appeal of Mr. Hodgson, and I resolved right then of them respond as he was in me. These are the circumstances that have given rise to the research that is the subject of the Memoirs contained in this volume. We will see, I hope so at least that this research has its place marked in the context of studies relating to India Ancient that I traced, it has some time in the form of my introduction to the Bhagavata Purana. When, for the first time, Mr. Hodgson made his findings known, he introduced the world learned the works which as were the fruit, like the texts original post which had been executed the

translations of books who are authoritative among the most nations from Asia converted to Buddhism (1).x No voice was raised against this assertion that so many testimonies were to besoon to confirm. In fact, little of time after that Mr. Hodgson had published itslist of Sanskrit books from Nepal, Csoma de Gôrôs, that studies continued with heroic devotion had made master of the Tibetan language , inserted in the newspaper of the Asian Society of Bengal, and particularly in the Becherches of this learned company, exact and detailed analyzes of the great Tibetan library of Kah-gyur, which, as indicated by its title of Translation of Precepts, is composed of versions made on works sanswritings that are found almost all in the collection of Mr.Hodgson (2).It is (1) Hodgson, Quotations in proof of his Sketch of Buddhism, in / owni. of the Roy. Asian girl. Soc,t. II, p. 288; and in Journ. of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, I.V, p. 29.(2) Abslract of the contents of the Diil-va, etc.,in Journ. of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, t.I,p. isqq. Analysis of the Kah-gyur, ibid., P. 375. Analysis of the Dul-va, in Asiat. Res., T.XX,p. 41 ff. Analysis of the Sher-chin, etc., ibid., T. XX, p. 392.

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6INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY as well as the part of Kah-gyur entitled Cher-tchin (Cher-phyin), which deals with, intwenty and a volume, the metaphysics of Buddhism, is enclosed allwhole, minus the last volumes perhaps, in the various editions of the Prajñāpāramitā in Sanskrit, discovered by Hodgson (1) .Ill to be saidas many of a good number of volumes belonging to the Kah-gyur section named Mdo-sde, and responding to the great division of Buddhist scriptures from Nepal known as Sûtrânta ^ or simply Sûtra. Through example, the second volume of the Tibetan section is the translation of Lalita vistara, that is to say of a religious exhibition of the life of Çākya muni (2). A portion of fifth volume contains the version of the Sanskrit philosophical treatise entitled Langkâva-tara (3) work which, to the say in incidentally, is also the China (4). theseventh volume gives the translation of Saddharma pundarîka, or the Lotus white of the good law, of which I will soon publish a French translation (5). This same volume contains, among other treatises, a translation of the Karanda vyûha, including the Sanskrit text is also in the collection of Mr. Hodgson (6). the twenty-ninth volume gives a version of Tibetan very literal, so that I have checked myself, a collection of legends called avadâna çlaka, which I'll deal with it elsewhere in more detail, and which I already have translated two books (7). I borns speaks pasd'un number considerable of pieces that are found scattered, is in the section called Mdo, and of which the Bivya avadâna by M.Hodgson gives the Sanskrit originals , either in the Did-va section (Hdul-va-gji). Brings them closer-things that I have just indicated are sufficient to prove how much is worthy of trust the testimony of the Nepalese, when they claim that their texts Sanskrit are the original Tibetan versions . These quotes give in at the same time a great likelihood of this opinion of Mr. Hodgson, that he is, in the collection of Tibet, almost no treaty that we should not keep hope to find a date the original Sanskrit (8). If Mr. Hodgson spoke (1) Csoma de Coros, Anal, of the Sher-chin, in Asiat. Res., T.XX, p. 393 seqq., Compared with Hodgson, Sketch of Buddh., In Transad. of the Roy. Asian girl. Soc, t.II, p. 224 sqq.(2) Csoma, ibid., P. 416 ff., Compared with Hodgson, Sketch, etc, p. 224.(3) Csoma, ibid., p.432, compared with Hodgson, Sketch, etc., p. 224. We will see more low that the real title of this work is Saddharma Langkâvatûra.(4) A. Remusat research on the languages Tartar, t.I,p. 206. Email Asiat., 1. 1, p. • ISl. Observ.out of three Mem. by M. de Guignes, in the Noiiv. Journ. Asian., T.VII, p. 295.(5) Csoma, Analis., Etc., ibid., P. 436 seqq., Compared with Hodgson, Sketch,

etc., p. 224.(6) Csoma, *ibid.*, P. 437, compared with Hodgson, *Sketch*, etc., p. 225.(7) Csoma, *ibid.*, P. 481, compared with Hodgson, *Sketch*, etc., p. 224. '(8) Letter to the secret. Asian girl. Soc, in *Journ . Of the Roy. Asian girl. Soc. of London*, t. III, p. viij. Quotations from orig. Sanscr. author. inproof, etc., in *Journ. ofthe Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, t. Y,p. 29, note f.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .7and before that Csoma of Kórös had published his excellentanalyse ofKah-gyur,this assertion does notcan more be the subject of a doubt from that this analysiswe have given, with the title of Tibetan treaties contained in this vast collection,that of the Sanskrit originals of which these treatiseswill be that the translation.What I come from. say the books Tibetanalso applies to booksMongol, so at least it is to me permits the recognition, for those oftreatedreligious includingI can check the titles.The beautiful collectionprintsand Tibetan and Mongolian manuscripts including M.Schilling de Ganstadt thread present,in i837, at the Institut de France, contains the Mongolian translation of sometreatedSanskrit fromNepal.I will cite, among others, thePradjhâ pramitâ, intwenty-five thousand stanzas, of which the Mongolian version forms two strong volumes(1);the Suvârna prabhâsa, including the release Mongol is cited by Mr. Schmidl underthe title of Altangerel (2) ;the Vadjra tchhédika, which we must to Mr. Schmidt aTranslation made on the Tibetan(3),and two collections of small treatises or formulasof a lesserimportance (4).If I don't quoteno other books,is that Ido n't have anyamost large number at my disposal; but I do not claim inno way limited to these indications necessarily incomplete listthe works that theMongols had to translate from Sanskrit, or at least from Tibetain. It is to Mr. Schmidt, quia extract of books Mongols of so precious REN-teachings on the Buddhism of Central Asia, which it is up to determinethe extent of borrowing that the Mongols have made to the literature BuddhistofNorth of India. This task would be all the less difficult for this skilful orienteer.taliste, that from the year 1830 heaffirmedthat among the two hundred and eighteenbooks Buddhist which Mr. Hodgson gave the listthe mosthad beentranslated into Mongolian, and that almost all of them were in his or herwere well known by their Sanskrit title(5).I ownless information yet on the relationship of the literatureBuddhist of the China with that of Nepal, because that books of BuddhislesChinese have not yet been analyzedin detail like those of the Tibetans, andas the titlesof those who know not can be easily made alueform original without the double knowledge of the Chinese and the Sanskrit. But this(1) Catal. man. from the Schilling collection, our go and 81.(2) J.-J. Schmidt, *Mongolian. Gramm.*, P. 142. *Geschichte der Ost-Mongol.*, P.307. Catal. man. ofthe collect. Schilling, No. 83.(3)Catal. man. of the coll. Schilling, No. 86. Schmidt, *Mém. of Acad. of the sciences of Saint-Petersburg*, t. IV, p. 126 sqq.(4) Catal. man. of the coll. Schilling, nos Si, 85.(5)Ueber einige Grundlehren des Buddhism, in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences of St.Petersburg*, t.I, p. 92, 93.

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8IINTRODUCTION TO HISTORYthat in can discover, withoutdirect access to sources, shows thatChina, as in Tartary, many of the books deemed sacred by the Ruddhistswill be that of the translations of treaties Sanskrit ofNepal. So hethere is alreadylong timethanMr. Abel Remusatnotedexistenceof atranslationChinese language of Langkûvalâra, one of thelist worksby M.Hodgson whobelongs to the Royal Ribliothèque (1). My learned

colleague Mr. Stan. Julien haswell wanted me to know a Chinese translation of Saddharmapundarika ^that the same library has (2). M. Landresse quotes, in his notes on the Foe koue ki, a new treaty religious known as Title of The splendor of the brilliance of Vâr, who is undoubtedly only the Suvarna prabhâsa of Nepal or the Mongols (3). He still need recall here a book that the Chinese refer to as the title of Grand Âgama, and who is certainly nothing else than the Dîrgh-ageama, of which he will be discussed below, of the same as the book they name "Agama increased by "is the Sanskrit book, or rather the named collection Êkô Uara ageama (4). I do not visit to believe, that if he would have been possible for me to compare with the titles of lists of Hodgson the names of books Chinese Buddhists frequently cited by various authors, I would have found a good number of titles Sanskrit hidden in the translation or in the transcripts more or less altered from the Chinese. (1) Research on the languages dried up., T. I, p. 206, and the quotations made above, QS, p. 6, note 4, compared with Hodgson, in Transact. of the Boy. Asian girl. Soc, t. I, p. 224, and Csoma, in Asian girl. Bes., T. XX, p. 432. (2) Mr. Stan. Julien has been so kind to me to communicate with this subject, a rating that will without doubt much of fun to read that I have to the quote: "The information that this note contains are borrowed from the preface of Miao fa lien hoa king (the sacred book of the excellent law), preface written under the dynasty of Thang (between 618 and 904), speaks Samanéen Tao siouen. The book sacredness of the Lotus of the law good has been made in the country of Ta Ma (Bactria?) it there is a thousand years. It will have about three cents years he was brought to East in the Tchintan (of China). During the reign of Hoeï ti, in the first year of the Thai Kang period of the Western Tsin (in AD 280), a sage bearing the title of Tun hoang pou ssa tchou hou fa tche (that is to say the Bôdhisattva de Tun hoang, the defender of the law of India), who resided (in China) in Tchang'an, translated this work for the first time, under the title of Tching fa hoa (the Flower of the right law). Under the Eastern Tsid, in the Long'an period of the reign of Emperor 'An ti (between 397 and 402), Kieou ma lochi (Kumâra ...), Samanean of the kingdom of Kieou tse, translated this work for the second time, and titled it: Miao fa lien hoa (the Lotus of excellent law). Under the dynasty of Souï, in the Jin cheou period of Emperor Wen ti (between 601 and 605), Tau na ki to, Samanite from northern India, attached to the hatchery of Ta hing chen sse (the convent where we made bloom the virtue), translated this book to the third time, and called him Miao fa (the Law excellent). This is the second traduction chinoise performed between 397 and 402, by virtue of unordre Imperial, which is located at the Royal Library of Paris; it forms seven oblong notebooks. » It will come back to this interesting note in the preface to The Lotus of the Good Law. (3) Landresse, Foe koue ki, p. 322, (4) A. Rémusat, Essay on the cosmogr. and the cosmogon. buddh., in the Journal des Savants, year 1831, p. 604, 605 and 726, and several times in the notes of Foe koue ki.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM ., 9 The study followed by the works Buddhist qui font authority among the Mongols and among the Chinese will add certainly later a very large number of facts to those that I do not quote here that in passing, and he it is very probable that we re-found in the monasteries of the Tartary and from the China, if not the totality, of minus the most large part of this that the Tibetans have. But some limited that may be, as now, the previous instructions, they are sufficient to place the collection of Sanskrit books of Nepal to the point of view under who Mr. Hodgson wanted her was considered by learned Europe. Yes, it is a fact shown up clearly that the majority of books considered

sacred by the Buddhists of Tibet, of the Tartary and from the China, will be that the translations of texts Sanskrit recently discovered in Nepal, and this fact only positively marks the place of these texts throughout the document that the nations of the Asia cited everything to time give to the story General of Buddhism. How they present like the originals of which these documents do not care that the copies, and it returns to India and to its language the study of religion and (for a quia philosophy had India for its birthplace. Yes I insist on this fact, because it gives to Buddhist studies their true and more solid basis, I do not want in any way to dispute the importance that in this study the books Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese. Besides that the rebirth of these three last classes of books is absolutely essential for the general history of a system which, hosted since of times already former home of the peoples of origin and of various civilization has had to undergo the changes that matter to the historian philosopher recognize and to see, I acquired the personal conviction that, for the same who wants to stick to the study of Indian Buddhism, the translations of the books Sanskrit from Nepal done in Tibet, like those of the Pali books of Ceylon made in the Barma, have an indisputable utility. I do recall not, to enhance the value of these translations, that they have been executed when the Buddhism was still flourishing, and by the men who had studied the Sanskrit and the Pali with the care demanded the mission of which they were loaded. I will not indicate the various circumstances that ensure the superiority of versions done once in Asia on those we can give today in Europe of Sanskrit texts from the North, although it must not cost to philologists, familiar with their studies with the Sanskrit language, to recognize this superiority, distant, as they are to us, the rescue of natives, from which men learned have faithfully preserved the deposit of traditional interpretation. I will not speak more of the difficulties that presents the explanation of some terms philosophical, joined to the inconceivable incorrectness of the manuscripts, which for

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INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY almost all the texts Sanskrit of Nepal are unique. But I will say that in themselves, and by that alone that they are translations, the Tibetan versions, Chinese Mongolians and bartenders must, in many cases, happily serve to the intelligence of the Sanskrit originals or pale that they reproduce. The difference of idioms in which these versions are written provides the European reader with unexpected means of interpretation, which he would usually be very difficult to discover by studying the original text in isolation. And to cite one example, the engineering more or less metaphorical of the language in which is expressed the translator, whether Chinese, Tibetan or Mongolian, has had the force to take a decisive advantage on certain terms purely Indian as the bottom and about in the form, for which his tongue mother not her offered as equivalent incomplete or do it by offering not at all. Now, as he had to translate, we must believe that the interpreters have sacrificed the form to the senses, and they have made all their efforts to make one, same at the expense of the other. Now if any of these purely Indian expressions is present in a Sanskrit text of Nepal; if no dictionary, if at (philological analogy will help to to make suspect the senses, not will do you expect to find in the Chinese, Tibetan or Mongolian version of this text, the way to interpret it? The case of a dark deep are the remains fairly rare, and I can assure that there has nothing, in all the literature Sanskrit, to also easy to hear that the texts of Nepal, except a few words which the Buddhists have made a very special application; I will give no other proof that the considerable number of these texts was to me possible to read in

a fairly limited time . However, it also need in agree, assuming these books also difficult that there are few, there is be that the foreign interpreters were pretty well served by their love of accuracy to discover and touse a phrase also obscured in their own language that is one of the Sanskrit text. The release then we will be even less useful, that she will be more faithful, all of even its importance in the eyes of unlecteur European will grow usually due to the freedom with which the translator will have treated the original. Mais on does not need to exaggerate the difficulty of the texts to enhance the value of the versions made by the Tibetans, the Chinese and the Mongols; these versions will have always in themselves an indisputable value as means to interpret the texts even the least difficult. After these observations, which I only need to indicate briefly, I will be more free to argue that, in my opinion, the real sources to which we owe draw the knowledge of Indian Buddhism , the original sources and the most Pure are the Sanskrit texts of Nepal, and as I him say more later, the

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM . I had to agree that the Chinese, Tibetan versions and Mongols could, in a plus or smaller number of cases, enlighten some light study the original, it will also give me that, in a much larger number of cases , these versions must remain also obscure to philologists Europeans who care for Chinese to Tibetan and of Mongolian as the texts written in Sanskrit it is for those who have done of this language a special study . I dare even say that if he exists some difference between these two classes of scholars, all the terms of knowledge and of talent being recognized as equal, this difference should be to the advantage of those who have the faculty to read in the original even what the others can not see. It is through the medium of language which the processes and the character have often so little of relations with those of the idiom in which the texts have been originally written. The engineering of India has marked all its productions with such a special, that some superiority of mind, and some freedom in the employment of their means we suppose to oriental translators , we can't help but to recognize that they have had necessarily to carry in their versions some features of the original that will remain often unintelligible to the reader when / A not the way to use the text of India itself. Here there is more, the goal even of these translators must have been to reproduce as faithfully as they could the Indian color , if strong footprint in the work that they wanted to popularize. From there these versions in which the names clean, and often also the special terms of the religious language and philosophical of Buddhism, have been retained with a focus desperate for that who can look for the meaning in the idiom to which they belong. From there these translations, which are imitations materially accurate of the original but who, all in tracing the lines outside, do not express more the soul as the layer of a painting that would stop at the outline of the figures, without reproduce the part colorful and alive, do would represent this painting. Under this report, the texts original have on the translations there repeat, an indisputable advantage ; and, all other things being equal , the translator of a Buddhist book written in Sanskrit is found square in lesser conditions adverse to the well understand that the translator of the same text in the language of one of the peoples of the East at which was established the Buddhism. But it 's not just by the features what retains the original Sanskrit that a Chinese, Tibetan or Mongolian translation will sometimes be more obscure than the text, and therefore must it be inferior to eyes of the

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12 'INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY critical ;it is again, and in particular, of all that in
 erase that result the inferiority of the version compared to the original. When, for example,
 the Chinese designate a Buddhist work as translated from the Sanskrit language, that is to
 say, and that has recognized Mr. A. Remusat of the language *Drahmâ* (1), they we are
 learning NEET no doubt that the text original has been written in an Indian language any;
 but they do we say not what is this language. And as they have been able to translate many
 books on faded originals, and that the Pali is also although an Indian language as the
 Sanskrit, it happens that the denomination of Sanskrit language, while expressing a
 fact true, removes the distinction which would to grasp, as it did, a different fact
 secondary, which has not less of importance than the first, and which remains in a deep
 darkness, knowledge whether the text was Sanskrit or Pali. This drawback, which has
 already been pointed out (2), and which he is easy to sense the effect, since it is historically
 necessary to know to what source was drawn a given work, must have consequences quite
 severe when it This is of some texts which are composed of mix of various styles,
 and often even to several dialects; because in re-dressing in a uniform color a work of
 which the various parts bear the trace of origins diverse, the translation made disappear the
 only index to which the criticism can recognize the authenticity, or even the age and the
 homeland of the book. It suffices for me to indicate this observation, of which I do not have
 the means to determine or undermine all the scope in which key the Chinese translations and
 Mongolian. He is however one book at least, in the collection of Nepal, which
 justifies these remarks and allows one to conjecture that the Tibetan translators did
 not always faithfully render certain features of the original, which constitute one of
 the characters the most curious "and the plus neufs of the original text. This work is titled
Saddharma pundarika, or "the white lotus of the Good law ;» He is part of the nine
 Dharmas, or books deemed canonical by the Buddhists of Nepal. He is a compound of two
 distinct parts, or to true to say of two essays, one in prose, * and the other in verse. The
 second not done in general that reproduce the background of the first, with the differences
 that necessarily the exhibition poetic. These two editions are intertwined one to another, of
 such a kind that when a story or a speech has been exposed in prose, he is to again
 resumed in verse, sometimes in a way abbreviated, sometimes with the developments that
 add little of things at the first draft. This kind of decomposition, which born recalls that by
 the mixture of the prose and the (1) *Mixtures Asiat.*, T. II, p. 242. *New Journ. Asian.*,
 T. VII, p. 298 and 299. *Foe koue U*, p. 15. (2) *Abel Rémusat*, *Foe koue ki*, p. 14, note 9.\
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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .13 to the named Sanskrit works *Tcham-pû* (1), is not the only
 one peculiarity curious about this book; what that makes more remarkable still is that
 the poetic portions are largely interspersed with popular forms, sometimes similar to those
 of *prâcrits* dialects derived from Sanskrit for little close as in the stance, mid-portion
 Sanskrit and *prâcrite*, as *Colebrooke* has cited in his treatise on the poetry Indian (2). These
 shapes do not only appear there where the name is the need of the meter, including the
 laws are not very-severe; on the contrary, they are very frequent and sufficiently
 numerous to characterize a manner separate the style of poetic parts of this
 work. What I come to tell the *Saddharma pundarika* also applies to a large number of works
 in the collection Nepali. the books appointed *Mahâyâna* sutras, of which I will speak soon,
 and in general all the treatises which the substance is found and doubled the addition of a
 poetic writing, offer this mixed style of shapes popular preached or faded ; is there mark again,

and even to a more high degree, in a work composed in prose, the Mahāvastu, or the Great History, voluminous collection of legends relating to founder of Buddhism and to several of his contemporaries, from whom he will be questioned below. This work is generally written in prose, and the presence of forms altered there is certainly not justified by the necessities of the metric. I do not have need to insist a lot to do to understand the interest has the critic to verify the existence or absence of a character of this kind. It is still a matter obscure than that of knowing in what language have been, for the first time, written by writing the books attributed to the founder of Buddhism. In the north, the Tibetans, so we then say later, affirm that several dialects Indians have been employed in both by the first disciples of Çākya (3); but without discussing this opinion in detail here, whose examination will find place in the Historical Outline of Buddhism, I then already say, with Lassen (4), that the classification of dialects which the Tibetans attribute to the first writers of the scriptures is too systematic and too fictitious to be admitted as an expression full of the truth. His sole merit, in my eyes, is to certify the simultaneous use of the learned language and of dialects popular. Now, this fact, of which Mr. Hodgson has already, by good arguments, demonstrated the possibility (1) Colebrooke, Miscell. Essays, t. II, p. 135 and 136. (2) Ibid., T. II, p. 102 and 103. (3) Csoma, Note on the diff. syst. of Buddh., in Journ. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, t. VII, p. 143 ff. (4) Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenland, t. III, p. 159 and 160.

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 sibility (i), is in itself too plausible not to be recognized, at the moment in general; only the following our research will have to expose it with more details, and to mark the limits and scope. So it will take account of the existence of ancient inscriptions Buddhist written in Pali, and will see the proof that at a time close to the establishment of Buddhism, the Sanskrit was no longer the popular language from central and northern India, and that the new religion, to be understood by all, was forced to make use of a vulgar dialect. It will also be necessary to weigh facts such as that which already pointed out the sagacity of Lassen, when he was suspected that a formula that is part of the profession of faith of Buddhists had had to be designed primitively in Pali and from there transported in Sanskrit (2). If, as I show in a dissertation special, very numerous passages and very important of Sanskrit texts North authorize the inductions of the same kind, he must recognize that the vulgar dialect of central India exercised over the writing of texts composed in Sanskrit an influence that may have produced that in the time old, before that the Buddhists were separated in two large schools, that of the North, where books are written in Sanskrit, and that of the South, whence they are in Pali. The question is therefore not as easy it seems to be at first glance. It is further complicated by that of councils, whose history is so close to that of the writing of books. What would it be if, stretching the horizon of our research, we compared to the tradition of the North this that we learn the Sinhalese tradition? There, that is to say in the peoples where dominates exclusively the Pali in respect of language sacred, we should recognize that a part of the books Buddhist, before being drafted in Pali, its preserved long in Sinhalese versions. In a word we would find, in the end of our research, on the one hand the easily recognizable action of the dialect vulgar on the learned language used in the writing of the books of the North; on the other, the proof that the collection of books South has not been, in the beginning, written integrally in the dialect we called Pali. On the sees, in this difficult question, the monuments, the texts and

the memories of the tradition mingle, is sometimes contradict and rarely explained ; but still each of them is present SCUS the suit that he is clean ; the one talk in Sanskrit, the others in a dialect where he between the Sanskrit and the pale ; and it's up to these characters that you have to attach yourself, if you want to try to determine their age and their origin. (1) Note on the primary language of Buddhism, in Journ. Asian Stud. Soc. of Bengal, t. VI, p. 682 ff. (2) Zeitschrift u. s. w., t. I, p. 228 and 229, note.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .15 Now it the application that can remain of these characters and the questions they give birth, in a Chinese, Tibetan or Mongolian translation ? the translator, probably, has been aware since he has been able to translate ; but he is difficult that we find some trace in his version, who, by erasing this difference in style, has removed all the means that the original delivered to the critical for the solution of the various questions that I remembered everything on time. Maybe by the way to interpretation from parts poetic of Saddharma pundarika, for example, will the interpreter have warned that these songs are written in a style different and in a different dialect. This fact, that I born then affirm, is possible, no doubt ; but it must agree that such an indication would not be not sufficient, and that unless the translator did not give a specimen of the style with the name of the dialect, we do not could not decide anything this simple indication that the style changes. Without I give also to unnecessary speculation on this that the Chinese interpreters and Mongols were able to take care to indicate this circumstance capital, I am in measure to affirm that the Lotsavas or interpreters Tibetan, which we must the version of Saddharma pundarika contained in the Kah-gyur, have had use of any of the precautions made to arouse the attention of the reader the varieties of dialect mentioned above. They were translated into Tibetan prose the prose Sanskrit, in to Tibetan them to Sanskrit, without warning in passing from the first part of the original in the second we entered in some way in a style and in a book all new (i). Since I have spoken of interpreters Tibetan, that I be permitted to justify the general judgment made earlier on the Asian translations of Sanskrit works of Nepal, to show, by a small number of examples precise, of what way they are unfaithful to the original, either by translating too much, if I can express myself well, either by not translating not enough. He is clear that he does not is not here a criticism of system followed by these translators ; this system is irreproachable : it is that of a literality perfect ; and when he is applied with rigor, a Tibetan version represents until the last lines of the text Sanskrit. I even grant for a moment a point that seems to me still strong questionable, namely, that we know enough in Europe about all the resources of the Tibetan language to translate a book written in this language with so many (1) It is this that appears to have been also the traducteurs mongols. They have , however, focused enough accuracy in their work to reproduce the versified portions of Sanskrit books, without away, in which key the position of the words, the engineering of the original ; and in there sacrificing spirit of their own language. It is curious has pas échappé to the attention of Mr. Schmidt, who did not failed to report it. {Mongolian. Gramm., P. 161 and 162.)

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16 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY safety that it can make the text Sanskrit original, and without the need to re-run to this text same. He will be enough for me , as for the present , to borrow from these versions, in general so faithful, a small number of passages where the original Sanskrit has, at least in my eyes, a clear superiority over the Tibetan

interpretation. I have so little intention of declining the difficulties from this comparison, which I have chosen the term which returns the most souvent dans the text, the term the moreim-wearing of all, the one that the Lotsavas have had to understand the best one that we must have the most of hardly to explain, the term of Nirvâm. The Nirvana, that is to say, in a way very general, the deliverance or the hi, is the supreme goal that the founder of Buddhism has offered to the efforts of man. What is this issue, and what is the nature of this? Hello? If we consult the etymology, it will answer that it is the annihilation—surely, extinction. Now how do you hear this annihilation, and on what is he wearing? Is it on the relative conditions of existence, or on the existence itself, on the life? The Nirvana is it to man this state of rest in which he is located when has the meditation break the links that the Attachient the world outside, and he come in possession of its own strength considered in itself, and independently of everything that surrounds it? Or else is the state more elevated where, by abstraction and the outside world and of inner world, it detaches himself from the phenomena of his life clean, as it has detached the phenomena of his life on, and no longer feel in him than universal existence in the breast of which coexist all the parts of the universe toward? In other words, the man in the Nirvana, is it to the status of living indi-individual, keeping with the feeling of his personality that of his activity? Where is it in the state of being universal, for so having lost, with the feeling of his personality, that of his activity, he born can more to be distinguished from existence absolute, that this existence is God or the Nature? Finally, in the hypothesis where annihilation would on the existence itself, the Nirvana is extinction, the disappearance not only of individual life, but of the living uni-verselle: in two words, the Nirvana is it the nothingness? We see that the etymology the word of Nirvâm does not correspond to any of these issues, which will be another thing that the expression systems theological very diverse gives. It is for use that have made the Buddhists of this term, it is to definition they in have data that must ask for the explanation of these big problems. Now, as the Buddhists are, for many centuries, divided into sects or schools, the explanation of the term of Nirvâm varies according to the various point of view of sectarian. And without entering herein a discussion delicate which will find its place elsewhere, I can already say that the Nirvana is to

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM . • 17 the absorption theists of the individual life in God, and for the atheists the absorption of this individual lives in the nothingness. But for the few and for the others, the Nirvana is the issue, this is emancipation supreme. This is so true that the idea postage is the only one that the interpreters Tibetans have seen in the word of Nirvana ^ because it is the only that they translated. In the versions they give the Sanskrit texts of Nepal, the term of Nirvana is rendered by the words mija-ngan-las-hdah-ba, which mean literally "state of that which is freed from the pain," or "the state in which" one finds oneself when one is thus freed. "Open all the dictionaries Tibetans that we have, that of Schrôter, that of Csoma de Côrôs and that Schmidt you will find all unanimous on this point. The first translates this phrase by "die, put an end to the disorder and to business" (1,3) and he returns a composed speech where it appears by "obtain the eternal salvation." Csoma the making as well: "(v) the state of being delivered from the hardship," And in a different place, "a be issued to the punishment of death," "Emancipation (2)." M. Schmidt, finally, interprets it as "to be freed from" grief, "and in a different place by "the state of being freed from the law of" The transmigration (3)." The interpreters

Tibetan hear so by Nirvanapostage, and in particular, as Mr. Schmidt says , postagement of the law of the transmiration ;but theydon't wenot indicateof whatspecies is this emancipation, and their interpretation does not answer more thanonly makes the term of Nirvana to the many issues that arousesthis termhard.I say moreagain :this version teaches us less than theSanskrit wordoriginal,because it is nota translation to properly speaking; it'sa commental. If the word Nirvana does not show usnot what is destroyed inthe state of Nirvana, itwe reveals at least that there is a destruction. theTibetan, in saying that theNirvana is the emancipation of the pain, welearn the effectincluding theNirvana is the cause, andleave in the shade and thiscause and its mode of action. So here wecan boldly advance it , the performersTibetans have translated too much andtoo little :too much,because theyhave seen in the Nirvanamore than this term only say, knowing the effect of Nirvana; too little, because they spentin silence themode of action of Nirvana, andthetrue state that this termExpress,annihilation. All this, at bottom, back to little close to the same;(1) Bhotanta Diction., P. 290, col. 1.(2) Diction. Tibet, and English, p. 134, col. 2, and p. 194, col. 2.(3)Tibet. Deutsch. Worterbuch, p. 270, col.1,and P. 423, col. 1.Mr. Sctimidt was well seen the Tibetan expression answered the word Nirvana.

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48INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYbut when heit's about appreciationthe systems religious ofantiquity,this great and beautiful page in the history of the human mind , we cannottoo muchde rigueurin the interpretation of basic terms, and itis of thelast importance to know the original meaning of these terms, andof the viewwith their color and in their suit genuine. This is all the more necessarymake sure that thesystems are more ancient andmore original, because itthere isawhen we can say to the theology :nomina numina.A translation of this kind is therefore all the more satisfactory.that he is moreeasyto find there the original, and to go back from the term translating to the termtranslated. But we the see, this advantage misses entirely made in the translation Tibetanof the word that concerns us . If we do not have any text,noword from the Sanskrit books of the Ruddhistsnepali, yesthe word of Nirvana uswas entirely unknown, hewould be impossible toa reader versed in the languageTibetan to reconstruct the lost term of Nirvana with the current elementsfrom the Tibetan mya-ngan-las hdah-ba . The only Sanskrit expression that thereturnedexactly would be çôkamuhti or çôkamuktatva (the deliverance ofgrief), and theword Coka (grief) would be so much the equivalentofmija-nf / year, that this term evenofçôka, appearing in the royal proper name of Açôka (theking without sorrows), isrepresented among the Tibetans by the mya-ngan which heis here. And reciprocal-ment, if it was the name diAçôka which was lost, and that one of Nirvana would havepreserved,when we would meet theroyal namein whichappearthemonosyllables mya-ngan, translation of the part the larger the word ofNirvana, we would naturally be carriedto believe that the term Nirvana formsthe basis of this name. Here are two words, one of Nirvana and the name ofking Açôka, of which the more important half is,according to theTibetans, figurativeby a single and same expression circumstance which, I hesitate not to the state,creates, for the onewhich only consider the Duddhiste in the formulas Tibetanregardless of Sanskrit, a confusion of which he himself would be very difficult,if not entirely made possibleto go out.The termthat ijust examined belongs as much tothe language of the Rrâhmansthan that of the Ruddhists; but these are theare appropriatesort by use they in have done. Theywere

therefore able to modify the sense according to all of their ideas, and he is easy to understand that they to have given a translation that goes away as much of the real etymology. I myself even figure that it is on purpose that this translation has been left with the character that I reported everything to the hour; the performers, for fear of being forced to take advantage from the various sects, will have stuck to a generality accepted by all, which concurs, with other historical data, to establish

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .19 that the Tibetan versions are subsequent to the full development of major Buddhist sects . I will now quote a word that belongs in peculiar to the Brahmanic language , and which the interpreters of Tibet have dealt with a freedom made forebarrass a European reader . In a text strongly remarkable where the founder of Buddhism wants to establish the superiority of the moral on the fulfillment of religious duties , he learns to his followers that the houses where the children honor their father and their mother are as holy as if Brahma, a spiritual tutor , the God of the family and the domestic fire were in the midst of them. But in this list, we will read more low under the form even as he has given the text, appears the word *Âhavanîya*, which is a special term among the Brahmins, and that the direction will may be doubtful : that is, we the know, according to Manu, the fire consecrated that is lit at foyer domes-tick and prepared for the oblations; it's, in short , the fire of sacrifice (1). Etymology and use of the term are here completely agree, and doubt is no more possible on one than on the other. But how do the performers Tibetans have they translated this term? By a compound expression of three words : *kun-tu sbyin-pahi os-su- gyur-ba*, quid'après the existing dictionaries born means something other than " become worthy of alms complete (2)." Maybe does a Tibetan know how to find it here, thanks to the feeling he has its language and to the frequent use that he made of this term, the figurative meaning of fire of sacrifice; because by substituting the word offering to that of almsgiving, we arrive, although in a roundabout way , to this very idea , and the Tibetan phrase comes back then to this one : " That which has become worthy of the complete offering , " that is, say " the fire prepared for the offering. " I on request However to any reader impartial, this term is it not in itself less perfect and more obscure than the word Sanskrit original *Âhavanîya*, including the significance addition which is of-finished with precision par de good lexicons, is justified by the value by-easily recognizable from the elements that the make up? here still I doubt it is well easy for a reader European to go back to the expression Tibetan to the Sanskrit term , and yet it is to this very term that he must come back, if we want to know the true meaning of passage where he is located. What I just to say also applies to proper nouns , which is usually difficult to recognize in the versions Tibetan, because as their authors translate all the elements of which these names are composed. I myself happy to quote some here as example, that of all which reappears the * most often (1) *Mânakia dharma çâstra*, 1. ir , st. 231. (2) *Bkah-hgyur*, sect. Mdo, vol. ha or xxix, f. 413 o.

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20 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY and where he is the most easy to find the original Sanskrit. It is had to the time of *Çâkyamuni*, in the city of *Çrâvaslî* (1), not far from the modern Fizabad, a merchant or, like call the books Sanskrit from Nepal, a chief of house famous for its wealth and his freedom. It is called *Anâtha pinda* or *Anâtha pindika*, "One who distributes to the food for the poor," and he had a garden near the city which he had given to *Çâkyamuni* ; to the latter there did he withdraw very frequently with

his disciples for their teaching the law. That is why, out of ten legends, here are close of eight who start by the formula: "One day on a blessed island in Çrāvastî," In Djêtavana (2), in the garden Anâtha pindika. i> Definitely here the latter word, although significant in each of its elements, although given without (1) Here we have the name of one of the cities most frequently mentioned in the sermons and in the Sanskrit legends of the North. Fa hian, at the beginning of the Vth century of our era, speaks as of a city well fallen from its former splendor (Foe koue M, p. 171); too would it probably be very difficult to find some remains today? It was the capital of the Kośala and the stay of Prasenajit, king of Ceylon, or, to speak with more of accuracy, king of the Northern Kôçala (Lassen, Indische Alterthumsk., t.I, p. 128 and 129), which province is distinguished from the Kâçîkôçala, or the Kôoala containing Benares, both in the Buddhist legends than in the books of the Brahmans. (Vichnu purâna, p. 186.) Wilson establishes for good reason that it is necessary to seek the site of Çrāvastî not far from Fizeabad. (Journ. of the Roy. Asian Soc. t.V, p. 123.) I do not have forgotten to say that this city is cited in the Vichîi purâija (p. 361, note 16), and in the Kathâ sarit sâgara (Sanskrit text, p. 200, st. 63, ed. Brockhaus). It is often mentioned in the Daçakumâra, the story of Pramati. (Quart. East. Magazine, t. IX, June 1827, p. 281.) In this story, where appears several times the name of this famous city, it is spoke of a great fight of roosters, pleasure all Brahmin, and that Sakyamuni forbade his disciples, as we learn from the Pali books of Ceylon, notably a treatise entitled Brahmadjâla sutta. The name of this town is written Sdvatthi in the texts of Ceylon. (Clough, Pali Gramm. And Vocab., P. 24, st. 2.) (2) This name refers to the monastery and the temple the most famous of the province Kośala; he was located near Çrâstî. He is quoted at all times in the legends of Divyâvadâna and of Avadâna cataka, and Chinese travelers Fa hian and Hiuan thsang speak of it with admiration. (A. Rémusat, Foe koue ki, p. 179.) We always find this name written Djêtavana; and the Chinese, the Report MA Rémusat, the result of "the garden (or the temple) to the victory, or "Victorious. "I will then help to see in the spelling of the name, a record of the influence of vulgar dialects. If, in fact, Djêtavana means "the wood of the winner, it would have to be written in Sanskrit, Djêtrvana; and it is only in a popular dialect, such as the one of the north, that it may disappear and give way to a brief o. The Mahâvailisa of Turnour there reproduced in fact always in this form. Editors legends written in Sanskrit have received the name so that it has them given the people, and will have not recovered in the form that would be in the classical language. I conclude that this denomination is not prior to the establishment of Buddhism, a conclusion which, moreover, agrees with tradition. This is not so, indeed, that the Buddhists writing in Sanskrit treated the names of places which were current in India before the arrival of Sakyamuni: they in scrupulously respected spelling Brahmanic, however contrary it may be to the habits of the popular dialect. This is recognizable clearly in words like Çrāvastî, Srughnâ, Tâmrâipti, Sûrparaka, Kanyâkubdja and others.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .21 doubt after blow to powerful head of family and in consideration of his liberality, must be taken as a proper noun, and I have the firm conviction that the Titébains do there are never deceived. In fact, in the captions where this character plays a role, the Lotsavas, who always translate his name from the same way, don't may ignore that this name is that of a head of the family contemporary of Çakyamuni. But if they have in this regard committed any error, they have nothing done to

prevent the readers European straying, or all the least to hesitate in wanting to translate the version of Tibetan. So one of the scholars that his studies were the most familiar with them, ideas Buddhist, Mr. Schmidt, a, in his Tibetan Grammar, rendered the expression which corresponds to the terms without-crits Anātha pindikasya ARAME d6 this manner : " In the enclosure of universal joy where the food is brought to the needy (1). » Hethere certainly is nothing to say against this translation; it reproduces down to the smallest details from the Tibetan version ; corn though she that is literally exact, or rather by that that she is materially loyal, she deceive the reader in this what puts in raised the sense of universal joy that is hidden under the term Arama (Tibet kun-dgah-ra-ba), and who must disappear as a result of acceptance special that this word takes, that of pleasure garden or hermitage. J'en sayas much of the proper name of the merchant, and I point out of more here a imperfection of the tongue Tibetan who does distinguishing not pretty much the noun to genitive, of the preceding adjective a noun, does not allow decide if the garden at issue is that of unpersonnage that distributes alms, or well the one where the alms are distributed. I hesitate all the less to do this observation, that M. Schmidt, in a book all recently published me gives himself the opportunity to see the rightness (2). There, in fact, everything in (1) Gramm. der Tibet. Sprache, p. 224. (2) Der Weise und der Thor, text tib., P. 18, trad. garlic., p. 21, and at the beginning of the more large number of legends of which this curious volume is composed. I there is, the remaining bit of characters most famous among the Buddhists of all the schools that this mansion ^ we also called Anātha phidika. Its name is, strictly speaking, only a title which expresses its liberality; because, according to the Sinhalese, is the named Sudatta, name under which the Chinese the also know. {Foe koue M, p. 178.) These two names ^ that of Sudatta and & ' Anāthapindika, have passed into the Pali dictionary, where they designate, according to Clough, the husband of a woman who owes her fame to her dedication to the Buddha. {Pali Gramm. and Vocab. ^ p. 57.) We sees that this designation is not sufficient ; because he is certain that Anātha pindika is very better known than his wife, who was called Viçākhā, and who is mentioned in a list of Nuns. (Turnour, Journ. As. Soc. Of Beng., t. VIT, p. 933.) It was not no more, as Mr. Rémusat believes it, one of the ministers of Prasēnadjit, king of Kōçala, but a simple master of house, possessor of immense wealth. His garden, which he had ceded the use to the Buddha Śākyamuni, is the theater of the most of the preaching of the wise. Hsuan thsang saw the Vile century the ruins of the monastery that it had built, and which was the name of Djētavana. {Foe koue ki ^ p. 178 and 179.)

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22 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY rendering with its usual accuracy the Tibetan monosyllables which represent the name of generous merchant, he has very judiciously recognized that these words formed a proper noun which not was not translate. Also do I have not need to repeat that these remarks will cater not to Mr. Schmidt, since has itself recognized later an error that was not the own; they relate to the Tibetan interpreters, which by this even they have made all the elements that will make up these two words have too much translated, if I then to express myself thus, for the reader who has not to her disposition the original Indian. I rise to believe that the interpreters Chinese must also sometimes de-pass the goal in the same way, because I found in the drama titled Pipa/ a, a passage which undoubtedly reproduces the ordinary preamble of the more large number of books Buddhist reputed to be canonical in Nepal. "Here is this passage : " Is it not said, the beginning of the book of Fo, that in the " Garden of some prince who is alms to

the elderly and toorphans,"remains the great religious beggar Pi khieou, with twelve hundred and fifty(vspeople (1)?" The words " the gardenof a certain prince ” represent the wordDjêtavana (the wood ofwinner), and the following sentence , "who gives alms, etc. "is that the developmentof the very name of Anâtha pindika represented in hiselementsetymological. At last,"The great religious beggar " is theMahabhikchii, orrather theMaha shramana (2),that is to sayÇâkyamuni himself.Here again the translator Europe is at the shelter for allreproach, and we owe to theon the contrary to approve the accuracy that he put in his version, since one cango back from this version without much difficulty to the original Sanskrit.But hethis original must be known in advance , andI doubt helûtossible, ifwe did had not in the eyes, derecomposer with the translation French, picturefaithful to the Chinese translation , the proper names of places and people heisessential to keep, undersadnessto recognize the true meaning ofoprimitive text.It is on purpose that I did not speak here of the radically faulty translationsof some important Sanskrit words , which one notices in theTibetan versionstain, because that these translations are found also among all the peoplesDuddhists. They therefore start from a unique system of interpretation which belongs tois due to the various schools between whichtheBuddhism issharing, and conse-quently they will fall not the interpretive criticism, but of the critical(1) Bazin, Le Pipa M, p. 118.(2) These terms will be explained later.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .23philosophical andhistorical. Heyhas suchnadetymology whichhas been able to beadopted to respond to an order of ideasthat she favored,without that the La-driver who himgave courses wasguilty of infidelity towards thetext.Thoseerrors, to a certain extent volunteers are rare, andthey neither invalidatethe authority nor the véracitésdes Lotsavas Tibetan,thealone,with the interpretersbartenders, of whom I havecould bymyself check the correctness. I therepeat, theirtranslations are extremely literal;theyrender, as much as it ispossiblewith an instrument as dryly analytical as the Tibetan and thebartender, all thefeaturesof these happy syntheses contained in the unitexpressiveof a Sanskrit term . But the previous remarks do not allow menotless to concludethat, despite the merit of these versions, itis always indispensable to resort tooriginals on which these versions have been made,and that it is only from the study of the texteven that must result andthe appre-ciation of its true nature, andthe solution questions very numerousand very delicate that these texts do notmay fail to give birth. This con-clusion, which has never been contested for any kind of writing,nor for anyliterature, had need to be recalled, at the time when it is a question of statethe place that must occupy, in all the materials intended for the studyof Buddhism, the books written in Sanskrit that wehave the zeal and to theliberality of Mr. Hodgson.The facts that I have just established give rise to two observations of greatimportance for the result of recherchesdont the collection Nepalmust bethe object. The first is that thetranslations of Sanskrit books carried out inTibet in the Tartary and China, setting the various times when these bookshave started to be spread outfrom India, provide a precise limitto-below which heit is not feasible to make down the wording of the textoriginalSanskrit. The taste that the Chinese and the Tibetans, for example,always been for the historical accuracy, promises in this respect preciousaid to European criticism . Heis allowed to hope thatless in themost large number of cases the time towhich have been executed the translationsof Sanskrit books which, in theirquality of

works reputed to be inspired, are all also attributed to Sakya, have been marked with accuracy by the inter-ready. I do not have needed to observe any indication of this kind is toneglect, since the work of interpretation has not accomplished in the same time among the various nations that have adopted the Buddhism. What I myself happy to indicate here can already be verified by examining the library Buddhist Tibetan, to which the analyzes if accurate and if substantial of Gsoma of Kōrōs we have given access. We know and maintain with certainty that

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24 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY it is between the VII and XIIIth century of our era that books Buddhist have been translated into the language of Rot (i). This fact, that I remember in the warranty the knowledge of Csoma, will no doubt need to be studied in all its details. It will be necessary to find out whether the work of interpretation has not continued in the time more modern and if he had for object either of Sanskrit texts, either of works composed after indicated periods all at a time, or even the books foreigners in India. But this research itself will bear fruit which I believe I can expect; she will set the limits and useful indications for the still obscure history of literature Buddhist. I add that if I do not do not speak here lights that examination of versions already cited must spread on a different story no less curious, one of emigration and of the spread of Buddhism out of India, it is a question at the moment than to determine in general what kind of authority attaches to the Sanskrit books kept by the Nepalese. I will point out later the advantages that the history of Indian Buddhism will reap of the study of monuments that seem, at first blow of eye, belong exclusively to the external history of this belief. Appreciation of degree of authority that has the collection Nepali is still subject to the second comment that I announce plus above. Celtic observation is that if Buddhist books are written in Sanskrit, it results from there they have been drafted in India. This is what asserts in more than one place Mr. Hodgson, who does not hesitate to conclude from the language of books to the country where they must have been written; and it must be admitted that, presented thus in general terms, this conclusion has by herself a high likelihood; but when we examine the things of more closely, there is the issue less simple that it is not seems to be at first look. The difficulty that she presents comes from this what is connected to another question much more vast, that of history of Indian Buddhism. If the Buddhism had traveled all the sound phases of existence in a narrow theater and in a short space of time, the presumption that he had to be fixed by writing there where is spoken the language that him serves organism would be in my opinion almost unassailable. But as the Buddhism has long lived in India; as it has flourished for a long time also in countries neighbors, and especially to the west of the Indus and in the Cashmere, the drafting books that is tried first of look as a fact which was accomplished in a time and in a single country may have operated in several times and in several countries. This is only a guess, and may be this assumption (1) Analysis of the Dul-va, in Asiatic Researches, t. XX, p. 42.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .25 does it present less than probabilities in its favor than the contrary supposition. The facts we will learn to what extent she must verify. For my leaves, if he is allowed to me as soon as present to advance a personal opinion, I believe that the truth will be found in the conciliation of the two hypotheses. No, the body of Buddhist scriptures of Nepal can not have been written in full out, from India. He can not be assumed

that the disciples by Çâkyamuni not have thought to rediger the teachings of their master that when they themselves saw expelled for always of their homeland. It would something too weird to believe that the proscribed would have composed in Sanskrit such a considerable mass maple of books, for the result almost immediately in the languages of people that they offered an asylum. All these considerations, added to the circumstance the language militate in favor of the first hypothesis. on the other hand, he it is unbelievable that the Buddhism is restationnaire, the time it was transported out of his native land. We don't can admit that the Beligieux who were making themselves the apostles immediately forgot the language in which he kept on deposit of the teachings of their master. Heyou have to believe that the use of this language had continued their familiarity as they took hand, as evidenced by the catalogs of the library Tibetan, the versions who were running around them (1). Everything should not be inspired in the collection Sanskrit tion of Nepal ; careful study of this collection there will no doubt discover works that could to claim vulgar authors; nothing Nevertheless finally that the Beligieux Buddhists do have written off India, in neighboring countries , when the proselytizing, awakened by the persecution, the animated with a new ardor. From these two sets of hypotheses, none excludes absolutely the other, for they are very reconcilable with each other. This supposes possible for some of the books that that that one says not for the all of the collection ; can adopted one and the other in proper limits, they also keep us away from absolute assertions, as they we bring to the examination of facts which alone must verify, and mark in each its legitimate part in the solution of complicated problem that each, taken in isolation, is insufficient to resolve. But where will find the facts which we invoke the testimony, if it is not in the books same that heisto determine the origin? And how out of these general assertions leave to mind system of freedom of the contradiction, if it enters into these verifications of detail that is limited each other, and that the results will serve pas moins by opposition (1) Csoma, Analyze. of the Dul-va, in Asiat. Researches, t. XX, p. 78, 85, 92, etc.

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26 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY that by their agreement, to tighten the scope of the event and of the error? We don't can hope to arrive at something positive conclusion on the country where must have been drafted the Nepalese collection, before having examined in detail the various works of which it is composed. He must look for in each of them the clues made forenlighten us on their character, and by following their origin; to certify if all are present also as inspired; to distinguish those who wear the names of authors deceux passing to canonical ; then, Between those last, establish, if it is may, a chronological order, based on the succession of the schools to which they are relate and on the age of the events and of personages dont they have kept them memory. Such is the expression of more general conditions of the problem ; it's only when we have full-ment satisfies these conditions that he will be resolved in a positive manner ; until there, and as long as we have not determined the homeland of a given work, either by the direct testimony of this book itself, or by the means avowed the critical, the presumption will be in favor of opinion which looks as having been drafted in India the books written in the la Vignes scholar of this country. Now that I have said the site occupied by the collection of Mr. Hodgson in all material than provides us with the Orient for the study of the Buddhism, it does me rest plusqu'à draw quickly the order in which I believed of-see present the results of my research. To familiarize myself with the ideas and with the style which

distinguishes the Buddhist books from the other productions of the Sanskrit literature, I chose a work that was authoritative in Nepal, and I have reflected in the design of the present volume to the public as a specimen of this still unknown literature. But first of all I took me by-run almost all the collection, and it is only after three years of readings preliminary that I myself am decided for the book that I will publish soon under the title of Lotus of the good law. Regardless of interest that he can have as a canonical book, this work put me in a position to understand well of details that had I escaped during the review summary that I made of the collection of Mr. Hodgson. It is now for me a term of comparison to which I have brought back the notions that my first readings had provided me; and these notions in turn, compared with each other, then with those that can be drawn in someone else's books Buddhist people, the Singhalese, put me in a position, if not to definitively resolve the most important questions to which gives rise to the Nepalese collection, at least to ask these questions with a greater precision than would have been possible from the knowledge of a only book. Here then, in few words, the order that I am proposing to follow. I will describe

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .27 in a way general, according to Nepalese tradition, the Buddhist collection discovered by M. Hodgson. I will go into the necessary details concerning the three major divisions of the sacred scriptures accepted by the Buddhists of the North, and I will treat a part of the books in which the practices of the ascetics are mixed with Buddhism. I will then review some of the treatises who bear the names of authors. By examining those of works of Nepal who claim the title of inspired books, I will endeavor to find out if all can pass for having been written at the same time. I will use for the review of information that I provide the books themselves, and I will collect then what that we are currently possible to know of the history of the Nepalese collection. It will be the subject of a dissertation divided into seven parts, consigned the first to the general description of the books of Nepal; the second, the third and fourth to the three divisions of the books inspired; the fifth to books in which the cult of Siva is mixed with that of Buddha; the sixth at or bearing the names of authors; and the seventh in the history of the collection of Nepal. This Memoir, which will consist of texts borrowed from the most important of books sent by Hodgson, shed some light on the first time of Buddhism; and by providing the features most characteristic of the table of the state social and religious of India at the time of the preaching of Gakyamuni Buddha, he solve, hopefully the least, a matter ultimately, the issue controversial for a long time, but which is no longer one for any Indianist, from the year-tiquity relative of Brahmanism and Buddhism. In another memory that will follow the one that I have just summarized, I will do to the Pale collection of Ceylon an examination similar to that to which I have submitted the collection of Sanskrit of Nepal. I will set this as the tradition teaches us about the existence of this collection, and especially on that of the former councils which are fixed a way regular the doctrine of Çakya. This thesis will consist of five sections. I then dedicate a different memory for the comparison of collections of Nepal and of Ceylon, and the traditions that are kept in the North and in the South, affecting one and the other of these collections. This comparison reason will give us the means to recognize that we have in the library Sanskrit library in Nepal and in the Pali library in Ceylon two editors the writings Buddhist which the difference consists in general, less in the background as in the form and classification of books. It will result from this

examination that the fundamental and truly ancient elements of Buddhism should to be sought in this qu'aumont conservé common the two editors in--today of books religious, that the North who uses the Sanskrit, and that the South which appears from Pali.

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28 INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF INDIAN RUDDHISM . The determination of the various eras which will be held the councils where have been collected the Buddhist books will naturally lead me to the re-looking for the time on which they depend, that of Çākya muni Ruddha. It will be the subject of a Memoir divided into six paragraphs, in which I will compare the opinions of main peoples of Asia on this important point in Eastern history . Profi-both of the synchronisms that indicate and the history of Sinhalese Ruddhism , and some Tibetan texts from Kah-gyur, I 'll use those who are already recognized by the critics the most skillful, to make a choice among the various dates assigned to the death of the last Ruddha. A Once this established, I will summarize what that we know of more positive on the destinies of Indian Ruddhism ; and for do nothing omit what may the light of some light, I relate the various periods of emigration that have successively carried out of India where he not had more back.

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SECOND MEMORY. DESCRIPTION OF THE COLLECTION OF BOOKS FROM NEPAL. SECTION ONE GENERAL DESCRIPTION . The collection Buddhist of Nepal is composed of a large number of works including the literatures announce the treaties of very diverse kinds . These titles are known for some time by the Memoirs of Mr. Hodgson, and this learned in published two lists extended in the Research Asia from Calcutta (1) and in the Transactions of the Asian Society of London (2). This double catalog must be further increased by that that we could write according to analysis that Csoma of Coros has given to the vast Tibetan collection in the Journal of the Asian Society of Rengale (3), and especially in the searches Asians from Calcutta (4). In fact, like, with the exception of a few treatises which the publishers Tibetan only report by securities Sanskrit, the books which is composed this collection are translations of Indian works , and that, following opinion by Mr. Hodgson, these works have must have existed or are conserved even perhaps still in some monasteries of Nepal or from Tibet, we understands that the catalog of the Sanskrit collection of Nepal could find in the analysis of the Tibetan Kah-gyur the matter of a considerable supplement . We do not have in Paris all the works of which a catalog formed of these three lists reunited would make us know the existence, and if Mr. Hodgson could not even get obtain all the books indicated by his double list it is likely that we would now have some trouble to discover at Nepal all the original Tibetan versions of Kah-gyur. What hein(1) Notices, etc., in Asia ^ Researches, t.XVI, p. 426 sqq.(2) Sketch of Buddhism, in Transact. of the Roy. Asian girl. Soc, t.II, p. 229.(3) Abstract of the contents of the Dul-va, in Journal of the Asiat. Society of Bengal, t.I, p. 1 and 375.(4) Analysis of the Dul-va, etc., t.XX, p. 41 ff., And Analysis of the Sher-chin, etc., ibid., p. 393 sqq.

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30 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY either, the double sending that we owe to Mr. Hodgson put us in possession about eighty-eight Buddhist works composed in Sanskrit, or into words, either in prose, which contain, according to all likelihood that it is of most important in the religious collection of Nepal. These works, in fact, return to the most in the major divisions of scriptures Buddhist including the Nepalese tradition , in accordance

with the testimony of the books themselves, we retained the memory. We would not however not in extent of judge, from what we have, of the extent of the literature Buddhist, he had us in report to a tradition generally prevalent among the Buddhists of the North and in those of the South, a tradition which brings up to eighty-four thousand treatises these seem the books of the law (1). I find in a philosophical compilation, *Abhidharma kôça vyâkhyâ*, which he will be spoken later, a passage relating to this tradition, which proves that it is not only oral: "I received the mouth of the Blessed One, says a sacred text, eighty million texts of the Law and more. In a different collection, added the comment, it reads eighty-four thousand. The body of the law is made up of books that make authority gold (these books are, according to a few, the number of six thousand and one the "denotes by the title of *Dharma skandha*, or the body of the law. As for "eighty thousand texts of the law, they are lost; the only that remains is this" Unique body [of six thousand volumes]. Others hear by *Dharma skandha* (each of the articles of the law, and they in count four to twenty thousand (2). "It is rather in the latter sense that we must take the term *skandha*. If he had to admit that he has never existed a too voluminous collection is that wisely challenges Mr. Hodgson (3), we would be forced to be the representation as containing the works of proportions very different, since a treatise properly said to a simple stanza. So we know a work on the Buddhist metaphysics, the *Prajñâ Paramita*, of which we have two editions, one in hundred thousand items, and the other in a single volume, *mullum in parvo* (4). The tradition that I just to remind is the remaining old at the Buddhists. She has even given the number of eighty-four thousand as a sort of consecration; because we know that they have applied this figure to other objects than to their religious books. (1) Hodgson, *Notices of the languages, etc., in Asiat. Researches*, t. XVI, p. 421. (2) *Abhidharma kôça vyâkhyâ*, p. 38 b of my manuscript. Compare Turnour, *Journ. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, t. VI, p. 526. (3) *Asiat. Researches*, X. XVI, p. 425. (4) Csoma, *Asiat. Res.*, T. XX, p. 393 comp. to p. 396; it is A, which contains everything! - *Amlym of the Kah-gyur*, in *Journ. Asian Soc. of Bengal*, 1.1, p. 376.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM. Yes whatever it may be to those eighty-four thousand texts of the law, at the reality which we can believe, if by texts we mean articles, the books that remain today divide in three classes, named collectively *Tripiṭaka*, that is to say "the three baskets or collections." These three classes are the *Pitaka Sutra* or the Discourses of Buddha, the *Vinaya pitaka* or the Discipline, and *Abhidharma pitaka* or the Laws manifest, that is to say the metaphysical (1). This division, which is justified by the text, is one of the foundations of the classification of the *Kah-gyur*, and among the September body that form the one hundred volumes of this great library, the *Vinaya* is the first, the *Abhidharma*, under the title special de *Pradjnâ pramitâ*, is the second, and the collection of the *sūtras* is the fifth (2). It is not less familiar to the Buddhists of China, including the testimony generally agrees exactly with that of the Tibetans; they explain it with three words meaning sacred books, precepts and speeches (3), and we find elucidated in a learned note by M. A. Rémusat, which reproduces exactly the details we provide on this subject Buddhist books of Nepal (4). But he is required of us stop a few moments on these three titles, and to bring together what the texts Sanskrit and the tradition Nepali we learn of their value and of their application. The word of *Sutra* is a term well known in the literature of India Ancient; he designates these brief and obscure sentences that contain the rules fundamental to the science Brahmin, since the grammar

until the philosophy (5). This meaning is not unknown to Buddhists, because Mr. Rémusat defines this term as follows: "Principles or aphorisms that make the" Base the doctrine texts authentic and invariable (6). I find in Also in the collection of Mr. Hodgson a book entitled Vinaya Sutra, or Vinaya paira, which is composed of very brief sentences and conceived in the system of Brahmanic axioms. I will come back to this work below ; corn I must hasten beforehand to notice that it is not only thus that the Buddhists hear the word of Sutra, and that the treaties to which this title applies have a character very different from those which it designates in the literature. orthodox ture of India Ancient. The sūtras, according to the authorities Nepalese cited through Mr. Hodgson, contain everything that said the Buddhas ; it's (t) Abhidharma kôça vyākhyâ, f. 10 a du man. of the Asian Society. (2) Csoma, Abstract of the contents of the Dul-vuj in Journ. of the Asiat. Soc. of Beng. ^ 1. 1, p. 1 sqq., 37 sqq., and Asiat. Res., T. XX, p. 42. (3) Foe koue ki, p. 3, 78 and 108. (4) I Ud., P. 108. (5) Wilson, Samcr. Diction., Ve Sūtrâ, p. 940, 2 " edits: (6) Foe koue ki, p. 108.

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32 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Why it's called often Buddha vachana, "the word of the Buddhas, " or Mûla (jrantha, <the book's text (1).> The Chinese explain this term of the same way. The Sutras are, according to a curious note from M. Landresse, "The doctrines attached or sewn; is the name generally of all the teach-" holy births ; these are the texts of the sacred books , where we simply treat" Of the law in sustained, long speeches or short (2). » We recognize in this explanation the trace of the etymological meaning of the word Sutra, and at the same time application that are the Buddhists to that they specially call their sūtras. These books are attributed to the last of the Buddhas recognized by all the Buddhists, that is to say to Sakyamuni or Sakya, the solitary of the race Çakya, who is pictured conversing with one or several of his disciples, in presence of an assembly made up of other disciples and listeners of all species, from the Gods to men (3). I will show soon that the Buddhist texts determine the form proper to any Sutra, and I will establish that he exists between several of these books differences which are likely to throw of day on their origin and their development. At the moment he enough for me see the characters the more general, and to indicate briefly the spot occupied by the sūtras in all the Buddhist scriptures of Nepal. This place is, as we see, very high, since the sūtras pass for the speech even of the last Buddha, and that report Mr Hodgson, he there is not of title that enjoy of more of authority than this one (4). Written in general in a form and in a language very simple, the Sutras keep the track visible from their origin. What are the dialogues related to the morality and to the phi-philosophy, where Çakya fulfills the role of master. Far from presenting his thought under that concise form that is so familiar to Brahmanic teaching, it developed with repetitions and a tiring diffusion no doubt, but who give to teaching the character of true preaching. He has one gulf between his method and that of the Brahmins. In the place of this teaching mystery confided almost in secret to a small number of listeners, instead of these formulas whose studied obscurity seems also well made to discourage the penetration of the disciple that to exercise it, the Sutras show us around from Çakya a large audience, composed of all those who wish to listen to it, and, in his language, it needs to be to understand which words to (1) Notices of the languages, in Asiat. Raefches, t. XVI, p. 422. (2) Foe lioué fei, p. 321, note 6. (3) Hodgson, Notices of the languages, literature, etc., in Asiat. 1 {es., \. XVI, p. 422. (4) Hodgson, Quot. from orig. Sanscr. author., in Journ. of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, t. VI, p. S7, drown t-

OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .33all the intelligences, andwho, by hisperpetual repetitions,don't leave anyapologize to mind theless attentive nor to the most rebellious memories . Thisdeep difference isin essence even the Buddhisme, doctrine which theproselytism is the feature characteristic;but theproselytizinghimself is notan effect of this feeling of kindness and of love universal that animatesthe Buddha, and that is to both the causes and thepurpose of the missionheis givenon the ground.Heone should not believe, however, that these brief maxims, iftasted ofantiquity, are entirely lacking inthe teaching of Çàkyà;on the contrary, westill find in the Sûtras several traces of this sensitive exhibitionwhich sums up a long development in a few words or in a stanzaconcise. But these maxims, which wecould call of real Sûtrasaccording to the Brahmanic acceptance of this term, are quite rare in the Sutrasfrom Nepal, and heFIMT the look is longin the midst of the waves oflyricsunder which sometimes goes the thinking. Heis allowed to believe that Çàkyashould not refrain from the use of these sentences, and that theremembrance of the jobhein doing in his teaching has promoted the application special all thathis disciples have made the term deSûtra in the extending his preachingmoraland philosophical.The titleof h second class, that of Vmaya, means discipline,and weencounters at every moment in the texts the various forms of the radical of which thisword derives used with the meaning ofdiscipline,suit. Los BuddhistsChinese understand this term in the same way, and Mr. Rémusat thedefinesthus : " theprecepts, the rules, the laws and the ordinances, literally the " Good government (i)."The meaning of this word cannot d () ncto dono difficulty; but, bya singularity that it seems difficult to understand,apart from a few short treatisesrelating to thereligious practicesfew importantaunts, the collection of Mr.Hodgson does not offer works that are placedinthe class of the Vinaya, as itowns some that belongto thatfromSutras. In the two lists that I havecited plushaut, the name of Vinaya will bepresent a single time, and yet is it not used with this character ofgenerality he has in the expression of Vinaya pitaka," TheCompendium of the disci-"pliny.» It only appears on theliter of a philosophical treatise , the Vinayasurlra, of which I haveindicated the existence just now, and which heenough for me to sayat the moment it is not attributed to Çàkyamuni (5).So where does it come from that(1) Foe koue Here, p. i08.,(2) Asian girl. Researches, t. XVI, p. 431. Tramait, of the Roy. Aslat. Soc, t.II.p. • ii ').

34INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYthe class of the Vinaya is not, like that of the Sutras,represented in 1 ^Mr. Hodgson's collection ? Could it be that therelated worksat thedisciplinedare missing in this collection,either because Mr Hodgson would have been infind none, either because that these works would bein realitya lotless numerous than the Sutras ? Careful examination of some of the volumesof the Nepalese collection, compared with thelist of works contained inthe Tibetan Kah-gyur gives, if I am not mistaken, the solution of this difficulty.In studying the analysis has madeCsoma of theTibetan library , I have thererecognized a definite number of treaties bearing securities whichare found inthe Sanskrit collection discovered in Nepal by Mr Hodgson. These treaties ^ includingsomehave been cited in the beginning of thepresent work, belonggenerally the same class in one and in the other collection ;and such book, whichis called Sûtra after the double authorityof the Nepalese tradition andofmanuscript even that the contains, is partaccording to Tibetans, of the categoryof Mdo, that is to say the Sutras.

But we meet frequent exceptions to this normal regularity, and there are examples of works which should, according to their title Sanskrit, be related to a different class that that they have assigned to the translators Tibetan. A few examples will suffice to make me understand. The collection of M. Hodgson contains a large number of treatises of small extent which bear the title of Avadâna, title that I will examine everything at the hour, and on which I am content with notice that he is of application with little near as frequent as one of Sutra. I even believe that by bringing together to the two great collections of Divya avadâna and the avadâna çalaka all the treatises of this name scattered in the collection Nepali we own. To Paris, we find much more of avadânas than of Sutras. But several of these treatises have exactly the shape des Sûtras, and by following a classification rigorous, it should be the separate structures which have the title of avadâna and that do not offer the constitutive characters of a true Sutra. However the con-melting as I reported here is reproduced in the Tibetan collection, and we find against among the Mdo or the Sutras a very large number of treatises which bear the title of Avadâna. The distinction between these two classes of books is therefore not so decided that they could not place themselves next to each other in a classification very broad of Buddhist scriptures. That posed, it would seem that all we have of Sanskrit Avadânas should be found in the thirty volumes of Tibetan Mdo. It did is nothing however, and several qualified Sanskrit texts of Avadânas have taken place in the Dul-va des Tibétains which is other than the Yinaya vastu Sanskrit. I will quote among others the Pûrna avadâna, the Saïgha rakchita avadâna, the Sûkarikâ avadâna,

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .35 treatises to which it would probably be easy to add others, if we possess exactly in Sanskrit everything that contains in Tibetan the library of Kali-gyur. Now for a few Avadânas could have been understood in Tibet in the framework of the "Vinaya, he was that these avadânas had more or less directly relating to the discipline. I conclude from this observation that if the class of Vinaya seems to miss everything in fact to the collection of Mr. Hodgson, is that the title general of this class is masked by the particular titles of some books which must go there. The list of Buddhist works given by M. Hodgson, and including it will be frequently spoken below, provides us with two examples of Avadânas which necessarily belong to the class of the Vinaya; these are the Kathina avadâna, which discusses the vase, the stick and the garment of religious, and Pindapâtra avadâna, which is relative to the vessel to collect the alms (1). The Nepalese do not ignore the big division of the writings Buddhist in three classes, since their very books, canonical texts and commentators, inspeak as to something vulgar. But we do not own a book catalog Sanskrit from Nepal where the books are stored under one or under the other of classes to which they belong. The fact, however, must not prevail against the law, and in the absence of any positive information on this point, we can in any insurance use the Tibetan tradition, which, fixed by the écriture between the VII^e and the XIII^e century of our era, we offer the information prior to close from eleven centuries to the collected tradition, yet twenty years ago in Nepal. I hesitate even less to fill the gaps of the tradition Nepalese by the data provided by the Kah-gyur library, which this library not contained in very little degree near that of the translations of Sanskrit books, and that the books of Nepal derive their authority from the language in which they have been written, much more than in the country where Mr. Hodgson's has been covered. I now move on to the third division, that of the Abhidharma pitaka.

the commentary on the Abhidharma kôça, which I have cited above, explains the word abhidharma by ahimukhâ dharmah, "the law present or manifest (2)," and it's also well as hear the interpreters Tibetans from Kah-gyur (S). Buddhists Chinese do not give such a clear explanation when they say that abhidharma means speech, conversation, and they add that "these are" of treated where, by the means of requests and of answers, we do a choice (1) Asian girl. Researches, t. XVI, p. 430. (2) Abhidharma kôça vyàlujû, i. % H àw. man. of the Asian Society. (3) Csoma, Asiat. Researches, t. XX, p. 43..

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36 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY" Stopped between the various processes specified by the law (1). "I will show more tired, by exposing the data kept by the tradition Sinhalese on the Buddhist scriptures, that the meaning of speech is not unknown to Southern Buddhists; only, by translating ahidharma by "speech pro-"nuncio for the Gods, "the Sinhalese have tried to note the importance of those books that contain in reality the party the most high of the bud- doctrine ethics. The Abhidharma contains in effect the metaphysical, and in general the opinion deny that the Buddhists are of to what exists. This title does appear in any of the two lists of Mr. Hodgson; Abhidharma does lack however not to his collection, and here is represented by the Piadjfia paramilâ, "the Perfection of the wisdom of or" the Wisdom transcendent, "according the explanation that give of this term the Tibetans (2), and according to M. Schmidt, the Mongols (3). I'll be back further down on this title when I review books that bear; he must a para-e fore complete the description of un manière general three divisions the most wide the writings Buddhist. Presented as it is in the aforementioned passage of the commentary on the Abhi-dharma koça, and in the analysis of the Kah-gyur of Csoma de Côtôs, this classification of books of Sakya seem embrace the works of equal authority, and nothing indicates that he exists between the three collections that it understands a difference any. A review more attentive enables however, suspect the existence of some useful distinctions for the knowledge of books gathered under these three main leaders. So I find various passages from Abhidharma koça which one is in right to conclude that the books which contain the Abhidharma emanate not directly, nor in the same liter as the Sûtras, of the preaching from Çàkyà. The author of the treaty including I speak says, for example, in proper terms: <LA buddhòklam Ahidharma çàstram > (the book which contains the metaphysical has not been exposed by the Buddha) (4). The elements of this part of the doctrine Buddhist are, according to him, scattered in various books OII Sakya states in- now and by treating others subjects several principles of metaphysics, like this: "Any compound is perishable, "fundamental axiom in all the schools Buddhist, and that the commentator chose to prove this opinion, that without having exposed positively Abhidharma or the metaphysical, Sàkyà do was not less founded this part of the science parson teachings lying. It knows even the Sûtras, as the Arlha viniçlchaya, which ap- to (1) A. Rémusat, Foe koue ki, p. i08. (2) Csoma, Analy. of ihe Dul-va, in Asiat. Uesearvln, t. XX, p. 43. (3) Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen, p. 355. (1) Ahidharma kôça vtjukijn. [.127 b of my manuscript.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .37 plies the title of Abhidharma, ^ di Vce that one finds there the definition of the laws, or, of away more gi'nérale, the definition of everything that refers to the term very wide of D / iarma, to know the conditions, the reports, the Acts or

the waxes that are présent-tent s'ôus such and such conditions, which support between them such and such reports, and which are governed by such and such laws (1). Hemust , adds the commentator, thanr Abhidharma has been part of the deÇâkyâ education, since it is matter in a Sutra of a Religious to which we attributed the knowledge of three Pitakas (2). I will soon examine what hemust think of the presence of this title ((the three Pitakas î in a treaty which passes to emanate directly from the preaching of Çâkyâ; this that it is now important to note is that, following Before our author, metaphysical treatises are made up of axioms who is found dispersed in the teaching of Çâkyâ, which we have detached from it, and from which there has been a body apart under the name à'Abhidharma. (1) It does not need to gather here the notions that Mr. Hocigson gives us of this word important in several places of his writings on the Buddhism of the North. Dharma, derived from dhrl (to contain), in this way, "Dhàranâtmika itidharmah, "means nature, constitution clean ; it is in this sense that one of the great schools of the North has jtulook at this term assynonymous of Pradjha, the Supreme Wisdom, that is to say, the wisdom of the Nature taken to the fund and the cause of all the existences. The term Dharma means yet : 1 of morality, the virtue; 2 » the law, or the moral code; 3 "the effects" materials, or the phenomenal world . (Hodgson, Europ. Specul. on Duddii., in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bevg., t.IH, p. 502.) According to the same author, this mol refers to a way plus large even the sentient beings and things and the phenomena exterior. (Hodgson, Further note on the Inscript, from Sûrndth, in / own. Asiat. Soc. Of Bengal, t. IV, p. 213 and Sil4.) I usually translate this term by condition, other times by laws; cornnone of these translations is perfectly complete; hebe heard by Dharma that that factone thing is what it is, which is its natural clean, as was well demonstrated Lassen ..on the occasion of the famous formula " Ye dharma hôtuprabhavà. " (Lassen, Zeitschrift fur die Kundedes Morgenland, t.1, p. 228 and 229.) H there has even many cases where it do not have to hurry much the meaning of this word, because it is very vague and almost insensitive, especially at the end of a compound. So I found in any moment, in the legends of Avadâua çatoka, the term Deya dharma, it must be translated, not by " duty or merit of this that should be given, " but by "charity, offering; " That is to say that there must be a road made of rofi" rande and alms, and not the duty to accomplish, nor the merit which is it attached. This meaning is put beyond doubt by the former pressure Dêya dharma parityûgn, which has no other meaning than the abandonment of an offering. {Mahâ-vastu, f.193 b of my man.) It includes no trouble how of the idea of duty or merit the charity, we go to the general idea of charity, and from thereby the way particular of a charity special; our French word itself has all this breadth of meaning. This expression is, from Moreover, a the most authentic and the most ancient of Buddhism, because it belongs to all schools. Clough, in his Dictionnaire singhalais (t.II, p. 283. col. 2), gives it posi-tivement with the meaning of offerings, gifts, charity; and I think I discovered it among the inscriptions Caverns Sâimhâilri, in northern Djunîra, in the west of India. Prinsep {Note on Sylct's Inscript., Âiin> Jov m. Aaiat. Soc. of Beng., t.VI, p. 1042 and pi.HIM), who has if Fortunately declaimed these short legends, y lii Dayâdhama, which he translates as "compassion and piety ;" in moving the vowels, I find ^ JLD'8 rf ^ "/ o < ^ / '0" î "î" (gift, offering). (2) Abhidharma kôça vyâkhyû, f.8 6 of my manuscript.

38'INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY But if this is so, we can say that the Abbielharma comes in through its ori-ginein the class of sūtras, and that the section of metaphysical works should especially its existence in so that section separately, in a workingof compilation which was extracted from teaching of the Buddha ; and in pursuing these consequences, we can say with the Buddhists of Nepal that the Sutras are vérita-ably the word of the Buddha, Buddha vachana, and the text fundamental MIIL Agrantha. Heremains still beside Sūtras the section of Vinaya ;but we have seen what analogies offer, at least as to the shape, the books that make up these two classes, since various treaties filed by the Nepalese in many of the sūtras are placed, according to the Tibetans, among the sources of Vinaya. It includes also easily that the point of Yinaya or of disci-pline which pass for established by Sakya itself have been able to be in his speech, or a way more general in his preaching ;and like the Sutras contain this preaching, it is allowed to say that the Vinaya is that a part of the Sutras, a section composed of those of the speeches of Çākya-provided which more specifically relate to the disciplined. In the course of the observations which comes to give place classification the most general of Buddhist books , I have reported the origin of these books To Sakyamuni, that is to say, the last of the seven Buddhas humans that the tradition has kept the memory (1). I have done that reproduce on this point the opinion of Nepalese, which attribute to the last of the Buddhas they recognize the composition is the writing of their books sacred. The dates of these books are found and placed in the time history, and put in the shelter of all the uncertainties and of all the doubts that she could give birth, if the tradition would have attached to the existence of Phoneor such of those ancient Buddhas, who, if they have never existed, will escape long time in the making of the historical criticism. No doubt he does not result not yet of this testimony a rigorous precision for the determination of a fact that he would be so important to determine from the way the most accurate, since the time of the last Buddha is a point disputed between the various schools budget ethical. It is, however, already an advantage of being exempted from examining, to beginning a search of history literature, the issue of knowing when have existed Jes six Buddhas which preceded, it is said, Çākya muni, or to have to demonstrate, as the thought of clever critics, that these Buddhas owe their existence to the desire that the last would have had to assure to his doctrine the merit of a tradition consecrated by one long succession of ancient sages. Thanks to the good faith of the Nepa-foreshore, this issue of Buddhas prior to Sakya is all to fact distinct from (l) Hodgson, Notices, etc., in Asia !. Researches, t. XVI, p. 422.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .39 that which concerns the date books Buddhist, and this will be no their fault if the Western critics complicate the difficulties of the second by dealing before the time of the premiere. This would in effect an attempt premature as that of classify these ancient Buddhas chronologically before having noticed and appreciated the authenticity of the books that we the are known. It would even put in jeopardy from the difficult minds the positive data contained in these books, that of the present as carrying back the origin of Buddhism in a very ancient mythological. I don't want not say in there that flaw reject without examination, as the concepts purely fabulous, everything that tell books Buddhist of these Buddhas prior to Çākya ;and although I expected little from results positive for this research, I not me believe not the right of the condemn in advance without have tried it. I only wish to establish that the

question of the origin of the books Buddhism must remain foreign to that of the old Buddhas ;and I want to takeact, the name of the criticism,oftestimony of Nepalis who donot allowto go back to after the last Buddha none of the books that we have con-Servé the doctrines Buddhist.The traditional Nepalesegomore far again, and she says that it was Sakya whowrote the first of these works, and that it was to little close to the Buddhism that thatVyàsaaté for the Brâhmanism (1).Mr Hodgson, heis right,by reportingthis opinion,warns us that heborncould quote in hisfavor thetestimonyof any text, and I would add that indeed none of the works we haveParis is not supposed to have been written by Çâkyahimself. I do n't believe thatthis second partof the Nepalese tradition deserves as much trust as thefirst.I will notice first that she isformally contradicted by the as-ertions other schools Buddhist, and for us to stick to those that are thecloserfrom the primitive source , Inot mention that the books of Tibet and those ofCeylon.The Tibetans, like the Sinhala, claim that these were three ofmain disciples of Çâkyà who unitedin onebody works the doctrinesestablished by his preaching :It was Ananda who collected the sūtras, Upāli theVinaya, and KâçyapaTABhidharma (2). The books Sinhala we have even preservedtouching that first compilationthe writings Buddhist,a host of de-very curious details that we will recall elsewhere. It to me only in this time of op-to pose this double testimony. to the opinion of the Nepalese, thatdo not no moreeasy to justify by the form of the Buddhist books .We have already said thisform isthatof a speech or a dialogue in which Çâkyà appearsenlrete-(1) Hodgson, Notices, etc., in Asiat. Researches, l.XVI, p. 422.(2) Csoma, Anal, of the Dul-va, in Asiat. Researches, t.XX, p. 42.Turnour, Mahûvamso,p. 12 sqq..he

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40INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYnant with his disciples ;and those of these books which, according to the Nepalese, pass foraulhcnical books ,that is to say the sūtras, all begin with this strong-mule : " This is how hea key hearingby me." If this sentence sufficientlysignificanthas been placedon the goof the books attributed to Çûkyà, it isthat we don'tcould, without contradictingthe tradition ofbetter established, are exempt from markthe intervalthat existed between Çâkyn, from whose teaching emanated thesebooks, and the religious who the collected after him. All of usdoorso to believethat Çâkyà, similarin it to autresfondeurs of religions hassatisfiedto establish his doctrine through oral teaching , andthat it is onlyafter himthat wehas felt the need to fix it by writing, for in ensuring the conservation.This opinion will receive a new confirmation of the story of the first temptationtives of writing made in thecouncil which will meet after the death of Śākya.But I have to postpone consideration of these facts at the time oij I gather that thatthe tradition and the texts uslearn about the destinies of the collection bud-dhique since themoment where it has been collected for the first time in a body of works.By exposing this asweknow, according to theNepalese tradition of the tripleDivision of scriptures Buddhist, I said that this division was for her the TEstimony of texts enjoying some authority; I havereported, among others,several passages of the Abhidharma kôça vyâkhyà, and I could have 'to mention amuch larger number, since this book reminds allinstant litersby SùirciyVinaya and AbJiid karma. But this treatyis nota canonical book ;it is the work of two authors , none of whom has hidden his name, a work of which weignore the date, butwho is probablymodern. What that is Tajo, the compilation is of far posteriorto the canonical books to which she isrefers to any time. It is thereforenot surprising that there way citésles liters gen-nerals under which these books are

classified .But what place of surprise, is that these titles can already be read in the canonical books themselves, books that the tradition not done however not up to over the last Rudra. Before attempting to explain this fact, it is important to expose it immediately. I alleged above, according to the author of the Abhidharma kôça, the testimony of a Sûtra (that is to say from one of the books that everything leads us to look at as the most ancient), where one quotes a Religious contemporary Śākya 'passing to know the Tripitaka, or the three collections of sacred scriptures (1). This testimony is not isolated, and several treatises part of the great collection titled Divya avadāna repeat this literature of Tripitaka, as if it was perfect - (1) Abhidharma kôça vyākya, (. B b u e my manuscript.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .41 ment known and in use since the time of Sakya ; I think it is enough to reject as a note these indications (1). Not only these three great classes are mentioned as well a way collective, they are still listed more than once, each with their titles special, and the third is under a remarkable name . He is indispensable from citing here the passages where these titles appear : " Bet - " pritchchhanti Sûtrasya, Vinayasya, Mâtrikâyah, " that is to say, they make the questions on the Sûtra, on the Vinaya, on the Mâlikâ (2) ; " Sûtram Mâtrikâclia Dôvamanuchyêchu pratichthitam, " that is to say, the Sutra and the Mâtrikâ are established at middle of men (3) ; this

Ayuchmalâ Maha Kâtyâyanêna pravradjita, " tona pravradjya Mâtrikâ adhîta ; » That is to say, the respectable Mahâ Kâtyâyanahim fit kiss her religious life ; when he had it kissed, heread the My-trika (4). What can we conclude from these texts? Will it be said that the threefold division of the budget dhics already existed in Çâkyamuni's time ^ But one of two things : or it was prior to him, or it came from him. If it was earlier, that is say if it was derived from the Buddhas that it is said to have preceded it, the tradition is wrong when she reports to the last Buddha, to Çâkyamuni himself, the books that we have today ; if, on the other hand, it came from him, the tradition deceives again, by attributing to the three main disciples of Sakyamuni the division of the sacred scriptures , and in placing this division after his death. Corn, let us hasten to the state, he it is impossible that the tradition is in error on these two points at a time, and I don't then admit that the rare enough mentions that the works sacred deemed are of the triple division of the scriptures Buddhist must prevail over the testimony of the Nepalese tradition , which thus confirms that it shall see later, that in the tradition of Ceylon. The quotes reported just now I seem to be of such interpolations that are introduced naturally in the books that we did pass of the form oral to the written form . In collecting, after the death of Çâkyamuni, the teaching of their master, the disciples classified the memories again alive from this teaching under three securities general that do not represent imperfectly the names of morality, discipline and of metaphysics. Occupied as they sucked in this division, it was very difficult that they do not percuse some clues in the books themselves that there were (1) Pûrna, in Divya avad., F. 26 b of mon. from the Asian Society : " Tripitakah samghah " (assembly which knows the three collections). Kôtikarna, ibid., F. 9 ft ; " Têna trîlîyapitakam adhituni " (by him the third collection was read). (2) Kôtikarna, ibid., F. 9 b. (3) Sofhyha rakchila, ibid., F. 166 a. (4) Kôtikarna, ibid., F. 9 a.

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42 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY enter. Voiià for the time elders. But if, since this first draft, he is is a second a third ; if the books, kept for a long time by the oral tradition, have been revised several times, is it not natural that the titles of the three major classes, which

we continued to respect of the antiquity of their origin, have crept into some of the books understood under these same classes ? It is of this way I explain how he is made that the literers remembered more high appear in the even body of books attributed to the last Riddha, that is to say at a time when, following the tradition, these titles were not still invented. I do not see there anything of pre-meditated, and the made seems to me to be very simple. Possible in the assumption of a single writing of the sacred books, it became inevitable at the moment than these books were written more than once; because at the time of the second drafting, and more still at the time of the third, the division of Buddhist scriptures in three classes was a fait accompli, a fact almost sacred, that the compilers could easily be confused with the other facts kept in the writings which they gave a new editorial. I will not insist more so point because as I have, in summarizing this that we know from the Nepalese collection, talk about the various editorial staff to have been made at various times. I will report only the curious expression of Mâtṛikâ, by which the three aforementioned passages of Divya avadâna designate, to what it seems, the third class of the Tripitaka. She recalls the title of Yumor Ma-mo <the mother, "that the Tibetans give to this same class (4). Nothing we learn the origin of this denomination; we know only, by the texts of Nepal she is familiar with to the Riddhists of this country, like she east to those of Tibet have no doubt borrowed to Sanskrit texts (2). It takes there regarded as old, since it is accepted by all the schools, that of the South like that from the North. I noticed in fact, in one of Suttas (Sūtras) pale them most esteemed from Singhalese, that Religious are named "possessors of the law of the discipline and of the Mâtṛikâ (3); and this phrase is repeated in a different collection no less famous (4). I have to however warn that Mr. Turnour is doing of the Mâtṛikâ a portion of Vinaya. Finally, and so as not to omit anything which touches on the most general divisions nérales the scriptures Buddhist, I'll expose a different classification on which the tradition népalaise garde, to my knowledge, a silent complete (1) Csoma, Analyze. of the Dul-va, in Asiat. Recherches, t. XX, p. 43. (2) Csoma, Notices on the life of Shakya, in Asiat. Recherches, t. XX, p. 317. (3) Parinibbûna sutta, in Digha nikâya, f. 92a of my manuscript. (4) Anguttara nikâya, f. khi b, man. of the Library of the King.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .43 and which, however, is often indicated in the texts, more often even than the division into three classes considered very hour. I want to talk about the four Agamas, or collections beyond law, including the Divya avadâna done several times mentioned. Here are the texts where I find the indication : c <Herfiyuchmatâ Çâriputrôna prac-"vrâdjita upasampâdita Agamatchatuchtayam tchagrâhitah, "that is to say, When he had been introduced by the respectable Śâriputra (1) in the religious life, here received the nomination and the knowledge of the four Agamas (2). Âgamatcha-tuc / itmjam adhtam. "The four Agamas have been read (3). » Ilmpy Âgamatcha-tuchtayam sthâpayêt. "Let him establish here even the four Agamas (4j.^ Finally the titles of these four Agamas are given to us in the next passage : Tvam tûvat samyuktakam adhîchva, tvam api madhyamam, tvamapi dlrghâ-mam .., Aham api iâm êvâikôttarikâm vimrichtarûpim pradjvâlayâmi. "Lily" so, you the short Agama, you the average, you the big; as for me, I myself" Charge of clarifying the additional collection, of which I clearly considered "the subject (5). » He will be there rest still some doubt about the title of fourth Agama, which is quite obscure. What it is in either of the point of detail, we have here four collections or collections on which the tradition népalide does not teach us anything. That which

gives however, interest in this classification is that it finds, and we will say more later in (I) Çāripulira is, with Māi digalyāyana, of whom we will speak later, the first of the disciples of Çākya muni. We can see in the Foe koue ki, As the text of Fa Liian well balanced of MM. A. Remusat and Klaproth, the details also intéressants qu'exacts on this character famous. The passages that are related to his birth and his death are listed all the table of this work. The only point which is subject to dispute is the note where it is said that Çāriputra had been educated in the Pradjfiâ, or in the Wisdom, by the famous Avalôkitêçvara. {Foe koue ki, p. 107.) This assertion is most likely borrowed from some developed Sutra ; I don't find the slightest traces in the books that I review in this moment. Çāriputra was called Upatichya is the name that the Tibetans translate Ne rgyal, and that Klaproth quotes . {Foe koue ki, p. 264. Csoma, Asiat. Res., T.XX, p. 49.) There it stood her father, who is appelé Ticiya, while that the name of Śāriputra him came from his mother Carika. (Csoma, Asiat. Res., T.XX, p. 49.) Fa hian us learns that he was born in the village of Nalo, near Râdjagriha. He is singular that Klaproth did not compare to this name that of Nalan tho, of which the Chinese authors speak, between 780 and 804 of our era. {Foe koue ki, p. 256.) The first name is only an abbreviation of the second Nalan tho, and the latter reproduces exactly the spelling Nalada or Nalanda that Csoma gives {Akiat. Res., T.XX, p. 48), or more rigorously still Ndlanda, as the texts write Sanskrit from the North and Pali books from the South. The Mahāvastu names this place Ndlanda grâma, and the up to a half of yôdjana Rajagriha capital old of Magadha. {Mahdvasiu, f.264 amy man.) The book that I quote in this time reports with great detail the history of the youth and for the conversion of Upatichya or Śāriputra, and almost in the same terms as the Tibetan Dul-va analyzed by Csoma. {Asian girl. Res., T.XX, p. 48 ff) (2) Saiñgha rakchita, in Divya avadâna, f.165 o. (3) Kôtikarna, in Divya avad., F.9 a. (4) Saiñgha rakchita, in Divya avadâna, f.166 a. (5) Id. Ibid..

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44 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY the Singhalese exactly with the same title, except the fourth which it bed Anguttara (1). She is not less familiar to the Chinese, and among the works original buddhist which make use of their authors, there are few that are more frequently cited than the Agamas. I have already recalled the general title of these four collections, in speaking of books Indians who had to be translated to the China. I add here that the four Agamas are nominally cited, according to a great Chinese compilation, in a substantial note by M. Landresse on the Foe koue ki (2). the fourth Agamas it bears the title that he has among the Singha-lais, Angnltara, which would suggest that he is for the Chinese Agamas of the South, and not those of the North, if however it exists touching these books some difference between the two schools. I suspect, however, that the Buddhists of the China also know the denomination Nepali, Êkôttara; because it is without doubt this title that Mr. A. Rémusat has already translated, perhaps a little obscurely, by "the Agama increased by one (3)." He is probable that, for the Buddhists of the North as for those of the South, this division, away to embrace all the scriptures Buddhist, not be related to the class of sūtras. But as the Sanskrit texts where I find will decide not this point I thought it necessary to point out here, except to come back when I compare books palis de Ceylon in the Sanskrit books of Nepal. The division in three large classes, that I have exposed the first, we shows the Established Buddhism to title of religion and of philosophy; because she embraces the discipline, the moral and metaphysical, and it meets and atouste requirements which the preaching of Śākya muni

had to aim to satisfy. But she is not the only one known to Nepal, and Mr. Hodgson told us given, and as I've said earlier, two lists of books Buddhist, written according to a different system. These two lists, which have been published, one in ca-European characters and with some details on the works of which it is composed, the other in Devanagari characters, but without any explanation, have been also arranged [without regard to the triple division in Sutra, Vinaya and Abhidharma. We will see, it is true, to appear very often the name of Sutra; but the titles of Vinaya and Abhidharma are missing absolutely; and still one of Sutra is it does not put in evidence, as would be required if the Compilers of these lists would have wanted to indicate that the Sûtras formed to they alone one of the three great classes of sacred scriptures. The classification of the list published in Devanâgaris characters is, according to Mr. Hodgson, the work of (1) Tarnour, Mahâvamso, Append., P. lxxv. (2) Foe koue ki, p. 327. (3) Jofirnal des Savants, year 1831, p. 605 and 726.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .45 Religious buddhislethat he employed; and this scholar, who from the outset of his looking for took so many precautions to arrive at the truth, warns us he is doubtful that this classification could be justified by the testimony of books themselves (1). This finding myself waiver of me stop long, and he It will suffice for me to say that this division into Pûram or old books, Kâvfja Where poems, Vyâkaram or grammars, Kôça or dictionaries, Tantra or rituals ascetics, Dhârani or charms and formulas, not only mixes the layman with the sacred, but confused, under the denomination wave of old books, books of characters and of titles very different. the classification much more detailed information that Mr. Hodgson attached to his first memory of the Buddhism has a more important and deserves to a high degree of attention from the criticism by the number and by the variety of information it contains, and of more, because she is, to little thing close, also admitted by the Buddhists of Ceylon. He we need examine it therein detail, because that 'slights that we will find there must be used to guide us in the maze obscure the literatures sacred to Buddhists. We have in outrel'avantage of the find in the Chinese, where she is commented and justified by curious observations (2); and we are well in condition of supplying in some cases in silence of the Buddhists Nepalese. Of some that the listing given to Mr. Hodgson by his Religious, the one we point out at this moment is written without any regard to the triple division of Buddhist scriptures. The works there are brought back, according to their content, under twelve principal chiefs, or, for we use words similar to Hodgson, the Buddhist scriptures are of twelve kinds, each known through a namedifferent (3). \ ^ " Sutra. These are the writings fundamental (Mula grantha) - as the ((Rakshabhâgavatî and the Ahtasâhasrikâ Pradjnâ ^ pramitâ. They are equivalent" to the Vêdas of the Brahmans. "I notice first that we see here reappear the opinion already indicated, that the Sûtras are the fundamental scriptures of the Buddhists; but the books cited as specimens of the class of sūtras give rise to a difficulty made to stop a reader who would not have access to the manuscripts of these works themselves. We have seen that the Pradjnâ is here (and I now add the Rakchabhâgavatî, which is just another title) was devoted to the meta-physical, and that in this capacity this work was placed by the translators (1) Transact. of the Eoy. Asian girl. Society, t. II, p. 229. (2) Landresse, in the Foe koue ki, p. 321 sqq. (3) Notices, etc., in Asiat. Recherches, t. XVI, p. 426 and 427.

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46 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Tibetan the number of books which is compound the Abhidharma pitaka. Yes the Pradjnâ paramilâ belongs to the Abhidharma, how can it be cited as a model of the class of sūtras ? This comes, I believe, not only from the importance of the Prajñā, that is, among the Buddhists of the North, a collection fundamental for the metaphysics, but still it that this Treaty, as well as the various editions that we possess, is a veritable sutra in the form. Here is verified this that I say more high on the possibility to do fit the Abhidharma section into that of the Sutras. This possibility, that I deduced from the Abhidharma kôça testimony, must be admitted as a positive now that we see the treaties devoted to the metaphysical presented in the form of true sutras, and it is noted that the Tibetan leaders can only form their Abhidharma section with books which will provide for the Sutras, that is to say for speeches of Buddha. 2 ° "Gêya. These are ouvrages in honor of the Buddhas and the Bodhi (salivas written in one measured language. The Gita Govinda of Brahmins is "equivalent to our Gîta pustaka, which belongs to the class of Gêyas. "I add in this description that the Gita Pustaka, otherwise said Gita Pustakasamjraha, or Summary of the Book of Songs, is described by Mr. Hodgson as a collection of songs on religious subjects, composed by various authors (1). This gives me place to think that this book does is not part from the original collection in the scriptures Buddhist. The list by Mr. Hodgson does not quote another Gêya. This title means "Do not to be sung; "and if he yades Gêyas in the books that go for inspiration, these Gêyas not have to be that of fragments or more or less extensive heaps, composed in verse, and who can be sung. But I do not find that the Gêyas form a class of books known by the commentators that I have been to even to see, and I born then explain the existence of this title in the list of Mr. Hodgson that of two nianières : where the Gêyas are verses or songs that are part of the books primitive, and, as I it said just now, excerpts from these books, or are works after the division of the Buddhist scriptures into three classes. I added that it may be of Gêyas of these two species, in other words that we must find in the texts Buddhist chants or only of worms appointed Gêyas all as it can that authors modern have made the songs of this kind in honor of the Buddhas and of the Bôdhisattvas. the testimony of Buddhists of China confirmed the first of these two supposition (1) Notices, etc., in Asiat. Researches, t. XVI, p. 431.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .47 lions. " This word, they say, means corresponding song or doubled song, "that is to say he answer to a previous text, and that he, there repeat for in" Manifest the sense. He is from six to four, of three or two sentences (1). "This definition applies exactly at those stanzas that we meet dis-persées in all books emanated from the preaching of Çâkyâ, and which have for object to summarize and to present, in a precise form, the meaning of a speech or a story. In the sūtras developed (Vâipulya sutra) of which he will be spoken lower down, these verses or stanzas sometimes occupy a considerable space, and their number exceeds by far the proportions fixed by the definition Chinese; but their object is always the even, and hethereto nothing important in the part poetical of these books which will be already in the exhibition in prose. I will notice however that, in the sūtras that I just to mention and which the Lotus of the good faith provides a model, these stanzas are preceded by a formula of this kind : At this time Bhagavat (Çâkyamuni) pronounced the following stanzas. "boasts, "and that these stanzas are called Gâthâ. It seems to me that according to the Chinese definition we should find

here Gêya instead of Gâthâ; but this slight difficulty is explained if we admit that Gêya is the generic name of all that is by its shape capable of being sung, and that the word of Gâthâ designates each of stanzas same which is composed the geya. In a word, a Gêya can be formed of only one Gâihâ, as it can contain some various. We will see down the word of Gdthd used to designate a special class of books, and then I will have the opportunity to state this conjecture, than the definition given by the Nepalese list of the term Gêya applies better to that of Gâthâ. But what that either nuance that they distinguish one of the other, I can say right now that they not from Gêya would be badly understood if we are seeing that the title of a class of books as is that of Sutra. This can be, if one considers collectively all that is Gêya, abstraction made of the texts where the Gêyas are found. But this title designates, properly talk, one of the elements which enter into the composition of Buddhist books ; and this observation, which we are going to see repeat on the more large number of the Articles of the Nepalese list , is, if I do me wrong, the only one that we shows this list in its true light. 3 ° "Vyâkaram. These are narrative works , containing the story from "various births of Çâkyâ, before he became Nirvana (or rather that he entered" In the Nirvana), the various actions of other Buddhas and Bôdhisattvas, and "the formulas of prayer and of praise." (1) Landresse, Foe koue M, p. 321 and 322.

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48 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY There are several observations to do on this delineation. The list of Mr. Hodgson presents a big number of works which are qualified as Vyâkaram çâsra: these are, among others, the Gandi vyuha, the samddhi Raja and the Saddharmapun-darîka. But on any of these books will appear on title of Vyâkaram; those books are Su Iras of the species of those called Mahâyâna, or "servant of large vehicle," and several, notably the Saddharma pundarika, port-tent the title special of Maha Vaipulya Sutra or "Sutra of great development-is lying.)) Where is therefore this title of Vyâkaram we kept the La-Nepalese edition , and is it possible to find in the literature that they wear the Because of the application that they in fact? Heit should first be noted that this title must have in the eyes of the Buddhists of Nepal a pretty great importance, since Hodgson says in one place that he includes three other sub-division the writings Buddhist, which he will be talking all at the time ; and that, in a further passage, it teaches us that we hold, albeit wrongly, the Vyâka-rana for the equivalent of the Smrîli, or the traditional science of Brahmanes (I). But these various opinions lose much of their value, if we born can discover the liter of Vyâkaram on any of the works which, according to the tradition preserved in the listing that we are examining, should they carry. The explanation of this difficulty is , if I am not mistaken, in the value clean than the Sanskrit texts of Nepal, like the Pali books of Geylon, as sign with the word Vyâkaram. This value, justified by a very large number of passages and through the testimony of the Tibetan versions (2), is that of the future destinies of a character to which Gâkyamuni is addressed, in a word of prediction. These kinds of predictions, by which Gâkyamuni announces to his disciples that the dignity of Buddha will be a day there ward of [their merits], are very frequent in the Sanskrit texts from Nepal, and he is not almost no Sutra of any extent that does not contain one or more; gold, as they have for the Buddhists an importance considerable, in that they will promise to them belief in a limitless future , and representatives without end, they may have (provided an element of sufficient value to a classification which is at least as literary as it is religious. I myself faceso that when we say in Nepal of a reputedly sacred book (and we say it of various Sûtras) that it is a Vydkarana,

it wants to say that this book contains apartmore or less extensive which is devoted to prediction that Çàkyamuni (1) Asian girl. Res., T. XVI, p. 422 and 423. (2) Csoma, Analy. of the Sher-chin, etc., in Asiat. Researches, t. XX, p. 409, 410, 453, 454, 480, 484. Page 91

OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .49 address to his disciples, or just may be a chapter of predictions, as it shows in the Lotus of the Good Law. The explanation of Buddhists China is still here agree with the interpretation etymological. "This word" Sanskrit, they say, means explanation. It is when the Tathagata speaking to "Bôdhisattvas, to Prâtyêkas, to the Grâvakas, tell them the story of the Buddhas," as in the Fa hoa king, where he says : You Ay to f Mâitrêya J, in the century < to come, you will accomplish the intelligence of Buddha, and you will call Mâitrêya (i)." The beginning of this definition is a little wave, and perhaps in place of < them tells the story of Buddhas, "must we say" they tell that they < will be Buddhas ; ^ but the end of the explanation Chinese is more curious in this that she suggests to me a reconciliation of some interest. I don't then affirm if Fa hoa king, or the Book of the Flower of the Law (2), is the title truncated, either of the first Chinese version, Tching faho king, or of the third, Miao fa, which I must, as I have said above, the knowledge Mr. Stan. Julien ; but if these titles do not belong to the same work, it is at least allowed to suppose that the Fa hoa king has a lot of analogy with the Lotus of the good law that we have in Sanskrit ; thus \ q A y to of the quote above is the Sanskrit Adjita, (invincible, "title that, in the Lotus, Mafid-juçrî address each time the bodhisattva Maitreya. I do not find in the Lotus the same sentence that cite the Chinese definition ; but the sixty-fourth stanza of the first chapter of this work expresses the same idea, although in the terms a little different. From all the above, it follows that the term Vyâkarana designates, no more a class of Buddhist scriptures, but one of the elements that in these scriptures. It is the Vyâkarana in the books considered inspired, in the sūtras, for example ; but here Tonot of Sutras in the Vyâkarana ; in a word, the predictions are contained in the books, as they are the songs ou Gêyas from the previous article ; but the books are not no more in the predictions than in the songs.4 " " Gâthâ. These are narrative works, containing moral stories, (kAnêkadharmakathâ (i.e. exhibitions various of the law), relative (1) Landresse, Foe koue M, p. 323. (2) The Fa hoa king is a very frequent book cited in the notes of the Foe koue kl, either by M. A. Réinusat, or by the editors of his work. But the translation that I propose of this title do is pas dans the Foe koue ki ; and I warned, for fear that my mistake, if I do one, not soil attributed to scholarly publishers. In translating way by dharma (law), I am based on the meaning that this monosyllable fa in the formula foe fa seng, which represents, and that has established M. Landresse, the Sanskrit terms of the famous triad, Buddha, Dharma, Samgha, of which he will be question later .4

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50 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY "to the Ruddhas. The Lalitavistara is a Vyâkarana of the species named ((Gâthâ. "The comments that I have to do on the Gêyas and Vyâkarana not be ap-don't complain less rigorously to the Gâthâs. This word designates a stanza, and I do know in the collection of Mr. Hodgson no book bearing that title. However, the term Gâthâ is encountered more than once in a large number of these books ; but, as I've said the occasion of Gêyas, there are means never than the poetic portion of a very variable extent, which are frequently introduced in the texts written in prose. We do should here seem to me, tie of no importance to this observation, that the Lalita is a Vyâkarana of

the es-cies called Gdthd; it tends to give the title of Vifâkaram a character ofgenerality whichin fact the name of a class of some extent ;and it is from thismanner that Mr. Hodgson may have said, according toits Nepalese authorities , that the Gâ-thâs pass for a sub-division of the Vyâkaranas (1). But the remarks of whichthis title wasthe object in the previous paragraphhave taught us what hedesi-gnait to properly speak ;and the indisputable authority of the texts shows us thatoffers, with one of Gdthd, other analogy that to be met in the sameworks. As at the end even of Gdthd, the Ruddhistes Chinese the well defined : "This word means sung verse ;it is a direct and long- term speech in"worms, like the Kung phin in the Kin Kuan Ming king or the Book of the":splendor of the shine of gold (2). "This definition, indistinguished by the extentthe Gâthâs of the Gêya <, wepostponeto the one that the Nepalese list gives of Gêyas,and who seemsapply to structures of a certain length and entirelywritten in verse. I do not know the Sanskrit term corresponding toChinese words Kounghin, but cllc Book of the splendor of the shine of gold "is most likelythe Suvârna prabhâsa from the Nepalese collection ;this work indeed contains aextended piece , written entirely in verse. But what that can be use that we made the Gathas in the textsdeemed sacred, I will then help tonotice how the definition China confirms this that Isay morehigh alwayssingin therelation of the Gâthâs with the Gêyas. No return to this point, I am con-tries torepeat that here again we must see, not the liter of a special classof books, but the indication of one of the elements that enterin the composition ofthese very books .50 "Udân (read Udâna). Trî; iités on thenature andtheattributes of Rud-"dhas, in the form of adialogue between a Ruddharguru and a Tchêla. "(1) Asian girl. RechercheSj t.XVI, p. 422.(2) Landresse, Foe koue M, p. 322.

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OF INDIEN BUDDHISM.51I notice first that we must read tchâilaka, rather than tcliêla, a word which isthe name of a kind of clothing. The title of tchâilaka means, according to the Nepalese,the fourth of the five classes of which is composed home the body of religious bud-dhistes. The Tchâilaka is the one who is satisfied with asufficient piece of materialto cover his nakedness, and who rejects all other clothing as superfluous (1).Following the definition of the Udana, it is necessary to create a book of this kind, aReligious who is a hearer and a Buddhawho is Guru, that is to say tutorspiritual ;but the list of Mr. Hodgson offers no example of a book bearingthe title of f / ^ "w", and I didfound that title on any of the volumes we pos-seduce in Paris. We do not know sono specimen of this class of or-vrages, and heis so far more prudent to see it as one of theparts or one of the elementsments writings Buddhist, according tothe explication that I haveproposedfor the three previous titles . But I often encounter in the legends thatare partof the Divya avadâna, for example, as well as in theLalita vistara,expressiontidânam udânayati, which, according Tensemble of context, my pa-may offer this meaning, " hepronounces with emphasis apraise or words of"joy (2).» This special meaningfrom the word udâna, which is,to my friendbirth at least, foreignin classical Sanskrit , isas easily justifiableby the Pale texts of Ceylon than by the Sanskrit books ofNepal ;and someuncertainty that may remain on thechoice to be made between the two translations of"lyrics of joy 3>and " words of praise, "I havethe belief that Ido n't followvery far fromgrasp the real meaning. TheTibetan interpreters favor the se-conde translation ;because the expression by which theyreplace udâna means,according to theDictionary of Schroter,"praise, exalt, elevate (3j,"while thatMr. Turnour makes the Pali word udûnaby hymn of joy (4). What it inmaybe, ibelieve me in the right to say that

the term & ' udâna, rather loosely defined besides in the Nepalese list, cannot constitute a class of works originating in, and that seems the indication of the list. We must find Udânas in Buddhist books, as well as the other elements that I spent in reviewed above; but it is only in this sense that this term can serve as (1) Hodgson, Sketch of Buddhism., In Trans. of the Roy. Asian Soc., t. II, p. 245. (2) Kôtikarna, in Divy. avad., f. i. a. Pûrm, ihid., F. 17 b, 23 a and 25 h. Supriya, ibid., F. 47 and 58 a. Lalita vistara, f. 60a of my manuscript and pass. (3) See. Csoma, Analysis of the Sher-chin, etc., in Asiatic Researches, t. X, p. 477, where the term Sanskrit udâna is rendered in Tibetan by the words tchhed-du brdjod-pa, which we find explained thus: "To praise, to commend, to exalt, to extol, to laud," in Schroter, Bot. Dict., P. 98, col. i. Mr. Schmidt {Tibet. Deutsch. Worterb., P. 161, col. 2) translates this term as a ^ mr, a /) /) roMi? Er;, "aw <er. (4) Examined Pali Buddhist. Annals, in Journ. of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, t. VI, p. 526, and t. VII, p. 793.

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52: INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY title. Now let these Udânas take place in a dialogue between a Buddha and one of his disciples, it is very possible, though it will be not absolutely necessary; than the words of joy or the actions of thanks that I believe that they express themselves report to the kind and to the attributes of the Buddha, this is what is as easily supposed as little contrary to the interpretation that I proposed this term; finally, that we have gathered a certain number to form a special class, it is still possible, and it is even only from this way that the use of this term, in both that title of book is rigorously explainable. I do not have to hide however that interpretation of Buddhists Chinese does not accord here with the one that I proposed, and she seems to Rap- come closer of the Nepalese. "The word udâna, they say, means speak of oneself; this is understood when, without being questioned by anyone, the Tathâ- spoiled, by the caution guessing the thoughts of others, contemplates the spring of: all the living beings, and, on its own motion, the educated by the prédi- (fections; like in the Leng yan, where, before the meeting, he speaks of what "has rapport aux fifty kinds of demons, without expecting that A nan [Ananda]" the requests and asked; the same in the Mi tho king, where he speaks from himself to "Ghe lifoe iÇâripultra) without that nothing in has given the opportunity (1)» We find here some traces of the Nepalese explanation; but I do not know on which rests the definition of Chinese Buddhists; and the one that I just proposed is up now the only one that I have seen justified by the Sanskrit texts. 6 ^ "Nidda (read Nidâna). These are treatises in which are shown the causes of events; for example, how did Çâkyâ become Buddha? "Reason or cause, he accomplishes the Dâna {Dana] and the other Parmitas (Pâramitds); "and in note: *Paramita here wants to say virtue, the merit moral by which we arrived" Vons to us rid of the requirement fatal. Dana, or alms, is the first < mother of the ten cardinal virtues of the Buddhists; the words and the others do "allusion to the other nine virtues. > I will then not no longer see in the term nidda the title of a class special of works. It is found Nidanas in books Buddhist we possessed; but I do not find this title on any of these books, and the Nepalese list that I am analyzing at the moment does not offer more examples. It is therefore yet in the proper meaning of the word nidâna that he must seek the reason for the application as one can do in such or such part the writings Buddhist. This term, which is frequently used in the transcribed texts of the Nepal, means (1) Landresse, Foe loue ki, p. 322 and 323.... J

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .53 literally cause ^ origin, motive, and it designates in particular a category of named causes "the twelve causes, "which he will be spoken later, and that we can thus characterize in a way General : " The sequence of " Successive causes of existence. » If it is because a work deals of this subject so familiar to Buddhists that it is called a Nidâna, it will be by virtue of a sort of extension similar to that which I noted in examining the previous articles ; but the texts do not allow this explanation, and they suggest something else that I seem much more likely : is that the Nidânas, or the causes and reasons are a part that is located or that we can find in inspired books . And in fact, the Lotus of the Good Law offers us an example of the use we made of this term to describe the subject or the cause of miraculous appearances which strike the listeners of Çâkyâ ; it's even there the title of the first chapter of this work. I think therefore that when the list Nepali says that the Nidânas do part of the scriptures Buddhist, it does say that one of the elements which go into the composition of books forming the body of these writings, it is the Nidâna, or the indication of reasons and motives. The definition of Chinese Buddhists confirms point by point my explanation. "The word niddna, they say, means cause, reason for which, as when," in the King, he is someone who asks the question, and they said : it is such a thing ; as for the precepts, when there is someone who transgresses this (that they prescribe, one in takes a consequence for the future. So that the (Tathâgalâ give the reason why such and such a thing happens. All this is called "shovel because, due to which, as in the sacred book Hoa tching yu" phin, where it explains the cause of an event in which took place in the "previous generations (1)." This explanation does lead to it that I believe, no doubt about the true value of the word nidâna; us to see confirmed by the testimony of the Buddhists of Ceylon. 7 " (Ityukta. This is the source that is said with respect to (a thing) or in (conclusion. The explanation of some previous speech is an Ityukta. 2) This definition somewhat clear gives an imperfect idea of the class of books it designates. The list Nepali does not offer us any example of the application of the title 'Ityukta' to one work determined. We have therefore, to understand the value of another source that analysis even the word. This term means < said so, said as above ; > and he is used to indicate and close a citation, which he clearly separates from all that follows. We now see what he must be understood by the Nepalese definition ; he is allowed to suppose that if he (1) Landresse, Foe koue M, p. 322.

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54 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY there is a class of books that carry the title to ' Ityukta, these books should be composed of quotations from stories or borrowed from other books, or collected by the tradition ; because the formula "says so " supposes a narrator who only makes that report the lyrics of another. But the explanation that I have proposed for the art-previous key is also applicable here, and we must find in the books Buddhist pieces which suits the title of ^ Ityukta, is that these mortals cease to be placed in the mouth of the Buddha, or that someone of his people to be deemed the author. In a word, the Ityukta be one of the elements con-titles of Buddhist books , but it is not necessarily a class of these books. The definition of Chinese Buddhists comes to support [of this explanation. I This word, they say, signifies a 'primitive affair' when one relates what has "Harbort to the acts of the disciples of the Bôdhisattvas, during their stay on earth," as in the Pen sse phin of the Fa boaking, where he is a question of Bôdhi-"sattva Yo wang, who rejoiced in the under bright and pure as the sun and the moon, and in the law obtained by Buddha, who Deson body and of "his arm practiced the ceremonies, and is engaged in all kinds of austerities" to

get the Supreme Intelligence (1). *The expression to! primitive affairis quite vague ;but the following clarifications showthan the Chinesehear by ityuktaa story. Heyhas in our Lotus of the good law a cha-clown who offerssome analogy with the sacrifice citedby thecommentatorChinese ;this is the one where theBôdhisattva Sarvasattvapriyadarçana fact, withofmonument of a Buddha, the offering of his arm and his body (2).% ^ " Jâiaka (pronounce Djataka). These books deal with the actions of nais-((previous sessions. 3)This definition, which is in agreement with the meaning of the term Sanskrit is exactlyknow the books to which it applies. I say the books, though hedoes not existonly one in the Nepalese list and in the collection of Mr. Hodgson, which bearsand who deserves the titleof Djâtaka (birth) ;this is the volume called Djatakamdî, or the Garland of births, which passes foran account of the various ac-tions meritorious Sâkya previously At the time where itbecame Buddha. Thedefinition of Chinese Buddhists is notless accurate. "This word, they say,"means primary or previous births .It's when we tell the"adventures that the Buddhas and Bôdhisattvas experienced at the time of"their existence in a new land, etc. (3j."We can easily see that thesenumerous accounts, by which Çâkyamuni makes known his previous births(1) Landresse, Foe koue M, p. 322.(2)the Lotus of the Good Law, ch. xxii, f. 212 a sqq. of the text, and page 243 of the translation.(3) Landresse, Foe koue U, p. 322.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .55in his last life threatening, have been gathered toleave, and wein hasformed a class of books called the Births. It is there,we the seelater , what didthe Buddhists ofCeylon. Hemust therefore admit thatDjâtaka can be the title of a class moreor less number of treatises devotedto the account of the previous existences ofÇâkyamuni, and hethereTono place to do it,against the use thus defined of this term, theobjections that I exposedon theprevious articles . 11 does is notless true, however, than this term should have designate a class of books that because it existed,in the works deemedinspired,of stories relatedto the ancient existences of the Buddha. Hemust thereforeAgainrepeat herethis that Isaidon the occasion of Gêyas, the Gathas and theother divisions of the classificationNepali. The births are one of the ele-things that come inin the composition of reputedly inspired books . I add thateven admitting the existence of a classspecialof Djâtakas, this class does notshould not have aimportance equal to thatof Sûtras, because there arestories of former lives in the Sutras, while wedo not know yetof Sutras in the Djâtakas.O ""Vâipiilya. These books dealfromdifferent speciesof Dharma andwd'Artha, that is to say the differentmeans of acquiring the goods of this world" (Artha) and the future world [Dharma]. "Here again we have a categoryof books whose listby M.Hodgsondoes not provide us with anys specimen. This division does is notless real, and weinnote the indication on someof the volumes we have inParis.So theLotus of the good Law is a Maha Vaipulya Sutra, if in needbelieve a stance that does isnot, heis true, goneof this work, and who islike a kind ofpreface by the copyist. The existence of the title ofVâipulya sutrais moreover proven bya passage from the Lotus of the good law,where heis saida Buddha exposes the Sutrasvâipulyas (Ij.She is put beyond doubt bythe titles of several Sanskrit works collected in the Tibetan LibraryofKah-gyur, and that Csoma of Kôrös was translated by " Sutras ofbigextent (2).» I do not hesitate to make the term vâipulya by development,and I say that the Vaipulya sutras, or the sutras of development, form asub-division of the Sutra class , a sub-division whose title matches well,as well aswe the seelower, with the kind and the form of bookswhatkiss. I have

never seen this title on other works than Sutras, hence I concluded that the division said Vâipulya does not constitute, to properly (1) The Lotus of the Good Law. f. 15 has the text, and p. 15 of the translation. (2) Analysis. of the Sher-chin, etc., in Asiat. Researches, t. XX, p. 401 and 465.

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56 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY speak, a class apart, and that comes within that of the Sutras. here yet the definition of Buddhists China agrees with the explanation that I proposed. "This word, they say, means greatness of the law. These are the books of the law, of the large translation, including the doctrine and senses are detailed as space to the emptiness (1). > The words large translation (2) represent the term Sanskrit Mahayana, and in the fact the Sutras called developed are of the order of those that are called Mahayana or large vehicle. We found elsewhere in the explanation Chinese the direction own of the term vâipulya. 10 < "Adbhutadharma. [This division deals with] of events supernatural. "I do find, nor in the HSTE of Hodgson, nor in the collection that we have in Paris, no work bearing the title of Adbhuta. I do not think so not that it is, to properly speak the name of a division actually existing the writings Buddhist, and I think that in is from this section as the more large number of those I reviewed so far. There are Adbhutas or their miracles that are exposed in books religious, and Sutras in offer of frequent examples. We have therefore still here one of the elements who enter in the composition of the writings Buddhist, where the belief in power over-natural of Buddhas and of their followers certainly occupies a considerable place. These miracles must, because of this very belief, have a big importance to the Buddhists, and is mentioned in a passage of Lotus of the Good Law (3); but I repeat, it will simply not to raise this as to the height of the Sutra, since the story of the miracles done part the Sutras, and we can not say that the sutras are contained in the miracles. I add, to finish, that the explanation of Chinese Buddhists is (1) Landresse, Foe kom M, p. 3:23. (2) Mr. Schmidt has rightly criticized {Mem. of Acad. of Sciences of St. Petersburg, t. II, p. 10 ff) the translation given by MA Rémusat of the term yâna, which he gave by translation. {Foe koue ki, p. 9, note.) More recently, Lassen has proposed to sublimate that of way. the Triyâna, says this scholar, designates the three paths that spirits can take, according to the various degrees of their intelligence and of their virtue; and Buddhist works receive this title from Yana, following that their content is related to one or the other of these three channels. {Zeitschr. für die Kunde der Morgenland, t. IV, p. 494.) I look at this observation as any in fact based; however, as yâna still more usually means vehicle, means of transport I prefer the latter translation, especially since various parables, among others those of the Lotus of the good law, compare the various yanâs to the chariots yoked animals of various cash. (The Lotus of the Good Law, p. 47 ff.; comp. A. Rémusat, Foe koue ki, p. 10.) I add that the Tibetans hear the Yana word exactly the same way, and that the term theg-pa, by which they substitute, means the vehicle and we learn the testimony uniform of Csoma and Mr. Schmidt. It is this notion of vehicle, means of transport, that develops very well Wilson, according to the analysis of the Kah-gyur by Csoma. {Analy. of the Kah-gyur, in Journ. Asian Soc. of Bengal, 1.1, p. 380.) (3) The Lotus of the Good Law, c. ii, f. 28 b of the text, and p. 29, stanza 44 of the translation.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .5 *in all respects consistent with that of the Nepalese list, if it is not that she does more clearly highlight the value of own from the word adbhuta, which

means :<what" is wonderful, which has not yet taken place ... What the four troops "hear and which has never been heard, this who they believe and who did not "never believed, so called (1)."

Ho <Avadâna. [This division deals] with the fruit of works. "As much as he is easy to criticize the application that made the Nepalese list of titles reviewed in the nine items precedents, as it is impossible to contest that that A ' Avadâna is found on a large number of treatises, so much in the list of Mr. Hodgson in the collection of the Library Royal. Already, by examining the second class of Buddhist scriptures, that of the Discipline, I had the opportunity to report existence of these treated, who are more. Many still that the Sutras. They take care, in fact, as says the list Nepali, of the fruit of works ; but this definition does not give us not the meaning true of the word Avadâna, which means legend ^ story legendary, as well as hears Csoma de Côtôs, according to the performer tibetan of Kah-gyur (2). Those legends usually run on these two subjects, the explanation of the pre-paths by the past actions and the announcement of the prizes or i ^ penalties D-used for the future by present actions. This double object is, on these sees, clearly summarized in the definition of the Nepalese list, to which it don't miss as the literal translation of the Sanskrit word. He do not as me easy to make account of the explanation the Buddhists of China, which define this term as follows : "This word means comparison. It is when the Tathâgata, explaining the law, "borrows the metaphors and the comparisons to the éclaircir and make it "be heard more easily, as, in the Fa hoa king, the house of fire, the medicinal plants, etc.(3)."

"I do not find, on the one hand, that the texts Sanskrit of Nepal justify the meaning of comparison given to the word Avadâna, and on the other that the legends, which I was to even to read a number con-maple, make more use of the comparison or of the parable than the others Buddhist works, where this figure certainly plays the leading role. Thenote to which I borrow the opinion of Chinese Buddhists transcribes the term Indian in two ways, Pli o Iho and A pho tho na (Avadâna). The first transcription is, to all appearance, the representation of Sanskrit vada, including the meaning clean is "discussion, controversy, reply. > But there is no seems not the meaning of comparison. Without stopping further on this de-

(1) Landresse, Foe koue U, p. 322. (2) Analysis. of the Sher-chin, in Asiat. Res., T. XX, p. 481-4: 84. (3) Landresse, Foe koue M, p. 322.

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58 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY finish, I am suffice to do observe that the examples alleged for the support could be borrowed from Lotus of the good Law, which is located in effect the parabolic the burning house and that of medicinal plants. It is a proof more in favor of the conjecture that I have exposed more top touching the analogy more or less large that do it exist between the Fa hoa king Chinese and the Lotus of the good law of the Nepalese. i ^ o , Upadêça. These books deal with esoteric doctrines. "Mr. Hodgson has already disputed the correctness of this definition, in making notice that the tarnished à' Upadêça and of vydkarana, which are familiar to Buddhists of the Nepid, do not express more distinctly than those of Tantra and by Purimathe distinction that must exist between the esoteric doctrine and the exotic doctrine rrique (11. This criticism tells us that the term of Upadêça is synonymous with that of Tantra; and in themadeseveral of the works cited by the listing of Mr. Hodgson, with the title of Tantra, is brought under the category of Upadêças. I have however seen this name on any of the Tantras that I have examined, and I believe is needed as to the most large number of items analyzed completely the hour, yrecognize one of the elements of Buddhist scriptures rather than one distinct class of

these writings. The definition of Chinese authors confirms, this seems to me, this supposition. "This word, they say, means instruction, opinion." It is, in all the books sacred, the requests and responses, the speech "used to discuss all the issues of the law, as in the Fa hoa king the To; chapter Ti pho tha to, where the Bôdhisattva Tchi tsy talk to Wen chu" Sse li on the excellent law (2). > We see by then that the Buddhists of Chinese intend the word Upadêça in its proper sense, and that if this term has an application to a particular portion of books Buddhist, it is by a sort of extension that its meaning notice, instruction justifies enough. As for Tantra, which is joint, according to the list of Hodgson, this title of Upadêça, they form a distinct portion of the Buddhist literature on which I will return to in his place. It must now sum up in few words the results of an analysis to which I come to me deliver. 1 ° Of the twelve articles of which the list is composed Nepali, the same as that of the Chinese, two names, that of Stitra and that of Avadana, designate two classes of hvres or of treated ; a single, one of Upadêça, is synonym of another class, that of the Tantras ; and as the legends relate, as well as the Sû-

(1) Notices, etc., in *Asiat. Res.*, t. XVI, p. 422. (2 ^ Landresse, *Foe koue ki*, p. 322.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM . *59 tras, of the speeches of Buddha, and that the first do not differ from the latter only by circumstances unimportant in form, it is allowed, in a re- looking on the ancient sources of the literature Buddhist to do to return the class of legends to that of the Sûtras. We see that this result is agree with that to which we have arrived when we have examined the triple division of the Buddhist scriptures . 2® The other nine items are, no more divisions of the Nepalese Collection easy, but the names of the elements which go into the composition of books embraced by this collection. This result, however, does not can be adopted only with following distinctions : true when we talk about Gêyas, the Vyâkaranas, the Udânas, the Nidanas and the Adbhutas, he applies less rigorously to others articles, which should be considered under a double point of view. Through example, if he is demonstrated we can find in the books Buddhist of parts which suited the names of Gdthd ^ ^ of Djâtaka of Vaipulya and of Ityiikta ^ hedo is no less true that these names can also designate classes more or less significant than books. This observation applies in particular to title of Vâipulya, which we find attached to that of Sutra, to designate Sutras of great development. 3 » Finally, to the distinction in two classes of sûtras, which gives rise to the addition CiU term Vaipulya ^ namely, the Sutras simple and the Sutras de-veloppés, it should add a different category, one of Mahayana sutras, Where Sutras serving of large vehicle, and that the liters of the Library tibé-tain offer of many examples (1). the two qualifications can be sometimes gather on the same sutra, that will be so all together a sutra de-veloppé and a Sutra serving as a large vehicle ; but he is easy to design that they can attach themselves, each on their own, to distinct sûtras . This would be the place to examine in detail some of the books included under the three great divisions exposed above, if it was not necessary to exhaust previously all that remains to be said in general about the transcribed collection of Nepal. Now we find, in the oft- cited Memoir of Mr. Hodgson, two other divisions that it is important to recall here, in attaching an indication of a similar kind we provide Csoma of Kôrös in its analysis of the collective Tibetan tion. "The books Buddhist, according to Hodgson, are known collectively clothing and individually under the name of Sutra and under that of Dharma." We Ut in the Pudja khanda the following stanza : All this as the Buddhas

have" said is contained in the Mahayana Sutra, and the rest of the Sutras is Dharma(1)
Csoma, Analysis of the Sher-chin, in an Asian. Researches, t. XX, p. 407 sqq.

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60 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY "ratna (1). "I admit that I do not understand precisely the scope from this distinction between the Mahayana sutras and Sutras appointed collectively Dharmaratna. This latest title means literally the jewel of the law, 3 "and we know that the word ratna, placed the result of another term, refers to the Buddhistes that there is of more eminent among the beings or the things defined by this term. Should we seek here an allusion very vague, it is true, to an admitted division by the Tibetan interpreters of Kah-gyur, and which consists in making two shares of works contained in this collection, one called Mdo or Sutra, the other Rgyud or Tantra (2) ? I admit that I do not say anything to positive in this respect, and that is because that the division indicated by the text above does not appear sufficiently precise that I do not have not spoken at the beginning of my researches, although it was the most general of those that we need to Hodgson. But I should to acknowledge to what is the less informative, and what we advance good little in the knowledge of very diverse books that she embraces. The one indicated by Csoma de Côtô is certainly more interesting, in that it distinguished clearly the tantra, or ritual where the Buddhism is mingled with practical Śivaite, of all the other scriptures Buddhist, qu'ellesqu'elles be. By putting on one side, under the name of Sutra, all that is not Tantra, it places this second class of books at point seen under which we recognize that they must consider. This is, as to the present, all that must say about this distinction ; we will see the advantage later he is possible to draw from it. I only notice that this distinction, as a result of which the Tantras are put outside the collection of the Sutras, was not unknown to Mr. Rémusat, who expresses himself as follows : " Generally, we do not account for the Pradjñâ pramitâ and the Dhâranîs from the collections of books created, of which we mean all by the words of three collections (3). " Finally, and this is by there that I conclude this general description of the Col-buddhist election, the Nepalese, following Mr. Hodgson, detached from this collection in new works, which they call the Nine Dharmas, or the Nine Collections of the Law par excellence (4) ; they make a cult constant in these works ; but Mr. Hodgson ignore the reasons for this preference. These books are the following : 1 < * Pradjñâ pa-ramitâ, 2 ° Ganda vyûha. S * * Daça bhûmîçvara, ¥ Samâdhi râdja, o * » Langkâvalâra, (1) Notices, etc., in Asiat. Researches, t. XVI, p. 422. In the Quotations from orig.

Sanscr. authorities, Mr. Hodgson gives this passage as borrowed from Gima karandavyûha. { Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. V, p. 87.) It is possible that the Pûdjâ khai. ula is a modern book. (2) Csoma, Analysis of the Sher-chin, etc., in Asiat. Researches, t. XX, p. 412. (3) Foe koue ki, p. 109. (4) Notices, etc., in Asiat. Researches, t. XVI, p. 423 and 424. Page 103

OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .616 ° Saddharma pundarîka, 7 " Talhâgatha guhyaka, 8 ^ Lalilavistara, 9 < * Subaranaprabhâ (probably Suvarnaprabhâsa). Examination of the content of these works, which we all have in Paris, does not fully explain the reasons of choices that make the Nepalese. We include easily them preferably because Qui touches the numbers 1, 5, 6 and 8 ; because the Pradjñâ pramitâ, or the Perfection of the wisdom is a kind of philosophical sum where is located contained the part speculative the higher of Buddhism. The Langkâvatâra, and more exactly the Saddharma Lanykâva-tara, or the Instruction of the good law given to the island of Langkâ or Ceylon, is treated the same

kind, with a tendency more marked to the controversy. the Saddharma pundarîka, or the White Lotus of the good law, besides the parable that it contains, treats a very important point of doctrine, that of founding unity fundamental of three means employed by a Buddha to save the man of conditions of current existence. Finally the Lalita Vistara, or the development of games, is the divine and human story of the last Buddha, Çâkyamuni. But the numbers 2, 3 and 4, where the subjects philosophical occupy perhaps not as much space, have to my eyes much less merit; the repetition, the enumerations interminable and divisions Scholastic will dominate in some close exclusively. As for numbers 7 and 9, the Talhâgatha guhyaka and the Suvarnaprabhâsa, these are tantras of rather mediocre value. But this would not likely lose its pain that seek the grounds of preference who perhaps has no other. Because as of superstitious ideas, foreign to the content of the books themselves. He is time to pass the examination of some of the volumes of the collection of Nepal to which we have access, to discover, if possible, the main features of the history of Indian Buddhism. I say if it is possible, not with the childish desire to exaggerate the difficulties of this research, but with the just feeling of mistrust that I feel in entering. It does not a question here of concentrating on an obscure text, but isolated, the forces that give in mind the rigorous and patient job of analysis, yet least to pull of monuments already known the consequences new and worthy to take rank in history. The task that I impose on myself, although different, is also rude. You have to travel close of one hundred volumes, all manuscripts, compounds in four languages still little known, for the study of which we have not that the lexicons, I could say imperfect vocabularies and one of which has given birth to popular dialects with the same names are almost ignored. To these difficulties of the form, add those of the fund: a subject all at made new, innumerable schools, an immense metaphysical apparatus, a mythology without terminals; everywhere the disorder and a despairing wave on the

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62 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Questions of time and of place; then, the outside and from the small number of his-before one laudable curiosity attracts towards the promised results of this research, of all resolutions made, opinions arrested and ready to resist to the authority of texts, because they flatter themselves with rest on an authority greater than all the others, on that of common sense. Do I need to remember that for a few people, all the issues relating to Buddhism were déjà dé-cides, when we did not have yet read a single line of books that I analyze all at the time, when the existence of these books was not even suspected of that that it was? For the few, the Buddhism was a venerable cult born in Central Asia, and whose origin was lost in the night of time; for the others, it was a miserable counterfeit of Nestorianism; we had done of Buddha a Negro, because he was the frizzy hair; a Mongolian, because he had the eyes oblique; a Scythe, because he was named Çâkyâ. One in had even made a planet; and I will know not if some scholars would be like not still today to find this peaceful sage under the features of the belligerent Odin. Certainly it is allowed to hesitate, when to these solutions if vast we don't promise to substitute only doubts, or simple and almost vulgar. The hesitation can even go as far as discouragement, when we rotate on its not and that it compares the results obtained in time they have cost. However, I dare to count on the indulgence of serious men to whom these studies are aimed at; and everything in me leaving the feeling of my failure, with which I am more penetrated than ever, the hope of their benevolent attention

has given the courage to produce drafts, designed to open the way for re-looking for that, for he had not yet a large public, do not have one less in themselves a value indisputable for history of the mind human. SECTION II. SŪTRAS OR SPEECH BY ÇĀKYA. The general description that I come to give to the Collection of écritures Buddhist traces clearly the market that I must follow in reviewing which to me is still to make the main works contained in this collection. I showed that all the informations ^ give to us present the Sôlras as treaties which are attached the most closely to the preaching

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 OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .63 from Çākya (1). The Sūtras are discourses of a very variable extent, where the Buddha talks with one or various of his followers in various parts of the law, which are usually indicated rather than dealt with in depth. If he must believe the tradition preserved in a passage of Mahā karunapundarīka, book translated into Tibetan, that would be Çākya himself who would have determined the form of the Sūtras, when he recommended to his disciples to respond to the Religious who come would to them question: "This is what was heard by me one day when" Bhagavat (the Blessed One) (2) was in such and such a place, that his listeners (1) I have to remind here, a time for all, observation that Aete made in more than one occasion by MM. A. Rémusat and Schmidt: is that ÇdJīya is the name of the race (branch of the caste military) to which belonged the young prince Siddhārtha of Kapilavastu, who, having renounced world, was called Çākya, "the lonely Sakya," and who succeeded to the perfection of science which he had proposed as an ideal, took the title of Buddha, "the enlightened, the learned." » In the course of these Memoirs, I sometimes call Çdlyca, that is to say the Çākya, sometimes Çākya, that is to say, the recluse of the Çākyas; but I do not ever use the term Buddha alone without the title to precede the article, because as this term is, to strictly speaking, a title. We must expect to find this title explained in more than one way in the Buddhist books; and indeed, the commentator of the Abhidharma Hoca, work which it will be spoken later, the interpreter especially in ways that can give meaning to the suffix ta characteristic of participating past Buddha, from budh (to know). So it is explained by similarities of this kind: flourished like a lotus (Buddha vibuddha), one in which was fulfilled the science of a Buddha, what that is, to background, explain the same by the same; awake, as a man who comes from sleep (Buddhaprabuddha). On the taking even in a sense thinking: he is Buddha, because he educated himself same (budhyate). Finally we will see even a passive: he is Buddha, that is to say known, either by the Buddhas, either by others, to be endowed with the perfection of all qualities, to be issued to all the imperfections. {Abhidharma kôça vydkhyâ, f.2 & man. Soc. Asian.) This last explanation, which is the most bad of all, is precisely the one that prefers the aforementioned commentator. It seems to me that Buddha means "the learned, the enlightened," and that is exactly in this way the eutend a commentator Sinhala Djina alaiikâra, poem pale on the perfections of Çākya: Pâliyam pana Buddhohi kenatthena Buddha budjdjhi ta satchchânili Buddhoti ddinâ vuttam, that is to say: "In what sense do we say, in the text, Buddha? The Buddha has known the truth, it is for this that we call Buddha, etc." » (Fol. 13 a of my ms.) This commentary is, as we can see, only the beginning of a more extensive gloss, in which we had to find other explanations of the word Buddha. We can stick to this one; she seems preferable to the explanation of Lalita vistara: "It teaches the ignorant ones that wheel" called the wheel of the law; it is for this that the named Buddha." » (Fol. 228 b of my man.) The translation of Tibetans

holy perfect (Bhuddha-rgyas) is taken in the idea that we are made of?perfections of a Buddha ; this is not a translation, and the mutilated transcription of the Chinese, Fo(for Fo to), is perhaps even preferable. I must add that it is after this title of Buddha that the followers of Çākya are appointed by the Brahmans Bduddhas, that is to say Buddhists. The Vichī.ī purāija, the place to get the derivative of the word already formed Buddha explains in the deducting health immediately of the budh root : " Know (budhyadhvam), " cried the Buddha with " Demons he wanted to seduce. It is known (budhyate), replied his listeners. " { Vishnupurdna, p. 339 and 340. } (2) The word blessed to not make that part of the ideas expressed by the term of Bhagavat, in which we see Sakyamuni designated the most commonly in the Sutras, and in general in all the books Sanskrit of Nepal. It's a title that we only grant Buddha, where to be , which should soon the devenir. Je in the comment of a treaty of

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64 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY < r were such and such ; " In addition to finish, " that when he had finished " his speech, all the assistants rejoiced much and approved its " doctrine (1). " We do not own in Paris that the Karuna pundarika, treated different from the Maha Karuna pundarika, where is located the path that I have just to mention. I however doubt not of the authenticity of this passage, which we will find almost in the same form in the pale books. If, as I think it does not belong to the teaching of Çākya, at least it not should not it be formuch later, and it is one of those details that we can surely relate at the time of the first writing of the Buddhist scriptures . We saw, in addition to this that I have said about the class of sutras in general, he exist several species of treaties named with this title, including the one to simply name Stftras, and the other Mahāvâipulya sūtras , or sūtras of great development ; and I conjectured that it was mainly to these last ones that had to apply the epithet of Mahâyâna, " great vehicle, " which is attached to several sutras. It is important at this time to research until what point the examination of the sūtras, characterized by these various titles, explains and justify these titles themselves. We will soon have a large specimen of the vâipulya sūtras, or of great development : it's the Lotus of the good law of which I spoke already ; and in addition, I will send plus down in this memory mē.me, surces kinds of treated. But we have n't published yet no ordinary Sutra , to the exception of Vadjra tchhêdika, that Mr. I.J. Schmidt has translated on the Tibetan text (2), metaphysical, entitled Abhidharma kôra vyākhyâ, details which teach us the value true of this title, which is of as frequent use among the Buddhists as among the Brahmans. At the occasion the title of Blessed to be found attached by a text to that of Buddha, the aforementioned commentator recalls a gloss of the so-called books Vinaija, or of the Discipline, for prove that the addition of this title is neither [arbitrary nor superfluous. A Pratyêka Buddha (kind of Individual buddha of which he will be discussed below) is Buddha, and not Bhagavat. As he is educated by his individual efforts (svayambhi Uvdt), he can be called Buddha, enlightened ; cornit does not right the title of Blessed, because he has not fulfilled the duties of charity and of other higher perfections. That one alone, in fact, who have the magnanimity { mahûtmyam n } can be called Bhagavat. The bodhisattva (or Buddha future) which is arrived at this last ^ existence is Bhagavat and not Buddha, because he has fulfilled the obligations of a dedication sublime ; but it is not yet fully lit (anabhisambuddhatvdt). The perfect Buddha is at the both Buddha and Bhagavat. { Abhidharma kôra vydkhya, f.3 o of the man. of the Soc. Asiat.) We find however, there are exceptions to the principles laid

down by these definitions; Thus, in a Sutra of which I will give the translation below, we see a Pratyêka Buddha nicknamed Bhagavat, the Blessed one; but it is without doubt because that this character, which was represented as a Bodhisattva, that is to say as a Buddha future will be felt not the courage to end in favor of men the course of his trials, and that he be content to become Pratyêka Buddha; may-be not it receives like of Bhagavat that in memory of his first destination, that of Bodhisattva. (1) Csoma, Analysis of the Sher-chin, etc., in *Asiat. Researches*, t. XX, p. 435. (2) *Mem. of Acad. of Sciences of St. Petersburg*, l. IV, p. 1! 26 sqq.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .65 text which is only the translation of a Sanskrit treatise which M. Schilling de Cans-tadt owned a very faulty Tibetan edition, printed in so-called characters Randja and in vulgar letters. This treatise, which belongs to the class of books of metaphysics, only without doubt to get to know the outer form of a Sutra; nothing do we prove, however, that this will be not a modern summary of one of the editors of the Pradjnâ pramitâ, and this doubt alone "prevents us to admit it in the category of the Sûtras proper. It seemed to me that he had to do for this class of books that that I run for the Sutras great development, and he had to translate a few portions, in order to put under the eye of the reader the differences between these two species of treatises, and to support on the authority of the texts the conclusions to which these differences seem to me to lead. So I chose from the large Nepalese Collection, known as the *lîter of Divya avadâna*, two fragments where I recognized all the characters of the truths of the Sûtras, attaching myself, to make this choice, to the subject itself rather than to the title which wears these fragments in the collection above. The first relates to the time of Çâkyamuni Buddha, and makes known some of the processes of his teaching. The second is a legend of a purely mythological character, which Çâkyamuni recounts to make people understand the advantages of almsgiving, and show the big rewards that are attached to the practice of this duty. My translation is also literal that it was possible for me to make; I took the care to keep the repetitions of ideas and words, which are one of the characteristics of the most striking of the style of these treatises. We will notice without trouble that the premier fragment has a title which has no relation to the subject of which he is treated in the fragment itself; I will say more down the reason for the disagreement between the title and the bottom of the Sutra that I give here. SUTRA OF MÂNDHÂTRĪ (1)." Here's what I understood. A blessed day it was in Vaisali, on the edge of the pond Markatahrada (the pond of monkey) in the room named Kûtâgâra (1) Bimja avaddna, f. 98 b, *maa. Soc. Asian.*, F. 125 a from my man. It is important to compare this manuscript with that which has translated Mr. Schmidt from the Mongolian {*Mem. of Acad. of sciences of S. Petersburg.*, T. II, p. 15), with the legend of King Da-od (Tchandra prabha), such that the given M. Schmidt in his recently published collection {*Der Weise und der Thor*, p. 165, trad. garlic.), and with the passage translated bit exactly, in this as I suspect, by Klaproth in the *Foe koueki*, p. 246 and 247. More later I rapprocherai the present Sutra of Purinibbâna sulta of Sinhala, of which M. Tournour has already given fragments of the highest interest and translated with a rare

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66 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY (the room located at the top of the building). So Bhagavat having dressed before noon, after having put on his coat and his vessel, entered in Vaisali to collect the alms, and gyps ^ see walked through the city for this purpose,

he took his meal. When he had eaten, he stopped deramasser of alms ;and having put away his vase and his coat, he returned to the place where was located the Tchâpâla tchâyta (1), and after getting there, he looked for the trunk of a tree, and sat down near it to pass the day. There he addressed himself to the respectable Ananda :She is beautiful, O Ananda, the city of Vâiçâlî, the land of the Vrîdjis ; he is beautiful the Tchâyta tchâpâla, that of Seven mango trees, that of the many boys, the fig tree of Gâutama, the wood of Çâlas, the place where one places one's burden, the Tchâyta where the Mallas attach their hairstyle (^). It is varied the Djambudvîpa (3); the life there is sweet for the men. The being, whoever he is, O x \ nanda, who sought, understood, spread the four principles of the power supernatural, can, if it 's in pray, live either during a Kalpa integer, either until the end of the Kalpa (4). Now, Ananda, the four principles of the supernatural power belong in the Tathâgata ; these are : 1 ** the faculty produce such or such a design to destroy the meditation of desire; 2 ° the exactness. {Journ. As. Soc. of Bengal, t.VII, p. 991 ff.) We found that the Sutta Pali is more extended and richer in interesting details ; but we should not conclude from there that the Northern Buddhists have lost the memory of the events that make up the subject of this piece. Yes we had in Sanskrit the volumes of the Tibetan library entitled Mahd parinirvâmsurely [Cioma, Asiat. lies., t.X \, p.487), we will meet again, without any doubt, all the circumstances recounted in the Sutta. We can déjà voir how the book tibetan contain precious details on the death of Çâkyamuni, reading the large and beautiful fragment extracted by Csoma from Ciirus of volume XI of Dul-va, and translated with this spin that he carried in all its work. {Asian girl. Res., t.XX, p.309 ff.) I could not find in the collection of Mr. Hodgson the original of this passage ; but I do still no less firmly convinced that the Tibetan account of Dul-va is the literal version of a text originally written in Sanskrit.(1) The word Tchâyta is a term with a fairly extended meaning that I have believed it had to keep; he means any place dedicated to worship and to sacrifice as a temple, a monument, a place covered, a tree where one comes to worship the divinity. In this sutra, which the data are contemporaries of the establishment of Buddhism, there is certainly no question of these Tchâyta purely Buddhist, or of those monuments named in Ceylon Dhâtu gabbhas (Dâgabs), which raised above the relics of a Buddha or some other famous personage. Here is why the former commentator of the Parinibbâya Sutta warns that the Tchâyta of the Vâdjis (Vrîdjis) does are not the buildings Buddhist. (Turnour, Journ. As. Soc. Of Bengal, X.VII, p. 994.) (i) This place is mentioned in the Sutta Pali reminded all the time, and Mr Turnour the means as the Coronation Hall of the Mallas. {Journ. As. Soc. of Bengal, t.VII, p. 1010.) (3) We know that the Djambudvîpa is one of the four continents in the form of islands including the Buddhists, here imitating the Brahmans, believe the earth to be composed ; it is for them the continent Indian. (A. Rémusat, Foe koue M, p. 80 ff.) (4) This word, which means " the duration of a period of the world, " is still a notion which is common to Buddhists and Brahmans. We can see, on the various species of Kalpas and on their duration, a special memoir by MA Rémusat (/ oum. des Sav., year 1831, p. 716 ff.), and especially the statement that Mr. Schmidt has made of the theory of Kalpas (Mem. of the Acad. of S. Petersb., t. II, p. 58 ff).

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .67 supernatural power of the mind ; 3 ° that of the strength ; 4 ** the one that is accom-pagné of the own design to destroy the meditation of any exercise of the thought (ij). The four principles of the power supernatural, O Ananda, have

been sought, understood, spread by the Tathagata (2). It can therefore, if there is to pray, live either for a Kalpa whole, or until the end of Kalpa. That said, the respectable Ananda kept the silence. Twice and three times Bhagavat thus addressed the respectable Ananda (3) : It is beautiful, O Ananda, the city of Vaiçâlî, the land of Vrîdjîs, [etc. as above, up to :] The Tathagata can now, if we pray, live either for a Kalpa whole, that is to say up to the one of the Kalpa. (1) I do then, in the absence of uncommensurate, I flatter to have well made these formulas, which are the summaries of devotions that I have not seen elsewhere. (See the additions at the end of the volume.) (2) The title of the Tathagata is one of the highest of those that gives to a Buddha ; the testimony is unanimous in Sûtras and legends that Sakyamuni has taken itself in the course of his teaching. We can see the explanations that have proposed the scholars who are occupied with Mongolian and Chinese Buddhism, in particular M. Schmidt {Mém. of Acad. of science of St. Pétersbourg, t. I, p. 108} and MA Rémusat (Foe koue ki, p. 191). According to our plan, who is to consult first of all the Indian sources, the interpretations which we must place in the first rank are those found in the books of Nepal, or that we know from M. Hodgson and those which M. Turnour extracted from the books from Ceylon. The explanations that we should the two authors that I have to name are quite numerous, and I believe enough to dismiss the reader; he will see there by what more or less subtle methods the Buddhists have tried to find in this title the ideal of perfection which they suppose in a Buddha. (Hodgson, Enrop. Specul. on Buddh., in Journ. As. Soc. of Beng., t. III, p. 384. Turnour, Mahdvamsa, Introd., p. LVi.) Csoma, according to the Tibetan books, is of the opinion that Tathagata means "the one who has followed his religious career in the same way as his predecessors." (Csoma, Asiat. Researches, t. XX, p. 424.) This direction is also satisfactory in the report of the background that in one of the forms; he shows us in the term Tathagata a title by which Çakya wanted to authorize his innovations from the example of ancient sages of whom he claimed to imitate the behavior. The texts on which Mr. Hodgson leans give to this title a more philosophical meaning ; I will cite as the first : "Gone thus," that is to say, gone from such so that it will not reappear in the world. The difference which distinguishes these two interpretations is easy to grasp; the second is philosophical, the first is historical, if however one can express it as follows : that's a reason to believe that the first is the most ancient. Next the Buddhists of South Tathagata (Tathageata) means "the one who is coming as, for the same way that the other Buddhas its predecessors;" Or again Tathagata comes back to Tathagâta, "one that has market or which is party" like them. "It shows we can, without doing violence to the words, find the interpretation of Tibetans in the second of those that Mr. Turnour was borrowed Sinhala. However, if we admit the principle of criticism which I will do later for many applications, ie it must find the really ancient elements of Buddhism in it that have in common with the North and those of the South, it will be quite place to watch the release given by Csoma as the first and the most authentic. (See the additions at the end of the volume.) (3) Ananda was cousin -german of Sakyamuni and his servant beloved ; he had for brother Dêva datta, the mortal enemy of Çakya his cousin. (Csoma, Asiat. Res., T. XX, p. 308, note 21.) Among the curious information that gives us the Foe koue ki on this character he should consult a very detailed note from Mr. A. Rémusat. {Foe koue ki, p. 78 and 79.) The resemblance purely accidental of this name, which means joy, with the adjective ananta (infinite) had deceived M. Schmidt, who had

believed these two words synonym; s, and who was looking at the Mongolian translation of

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68 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY" Two times and three times the respectable Ananda kept the silence. So Bhagavat with this reflection: "May the Religious Ananda be enlightened by Māra the p-cher (1), since today, at the time when it is instructed to three times, the means of this noble manifestation, he cannot understand the topic. He should that this is Mara which the illuminated." So Bhagavat addressed himself thus at the Ananda respectacle: "Go, O Ananda, look for the trunk of another tree for you; sit; we are here too much cramped to stay together. Yes, venerable one, replied the respectable Ananda to Bhagavat; and having sought the trunk of another tree, he sat for there go the day." However Mara the sinner is restored to the place whence was Bhagavat, and there having arrived, he spoke to him in these terms: "May Bhagavat enter into annihilation - is lying full; here come for the Sugata (2) the time of annihilation complete. - But why, oh sinner, do you say thus: What Bhagavat between incomplete annihilation; here comes for the Sugata the time of the ane an-lisse-laughed out loud? - It is that, behold, O Blessed, the time same [as that was set] Blessed, is situated in Uruvilva (3), on the edge of the Nairamdjanâ river, title to 'Aynchmat (endowed with great age) as a repetition of the word Ananda. (Mongolian. Gram., p. 157) More bacon, in translating the texts Tibetan, Mr. Schimidt has well recognized itself the true value of the honorary title of Aychmat {Mém. of Acad. the sciences of S.-Pétersbourg, t. IV, p. 186}; as an EUCE remark only for the players that are in would take to the statement of the Grammar Mongolian, without the closer to the translation given by the same author of the Tibetan Vajra tchhédika. (1) Mara is the demon of love, of sin and of the death; this is the tempter and enemy of Buddha. He is often mentioned in the legends relatives to the preaching of Çakyamuni became an ascetic. (Klaproth, Fwe Tcoue ki, p. 247, Schmidt, Geschichte der Ob-Mongol, p. 311. Mém. of Acad. studies of S.-Pétersbourg, t. II, p. 24, 25 and 26.) In particular, it plays a major role in the past struggles that supported Śākya to send to the state Supreme of Buddha perfectly accomplished. (Croma, Life of Śākya in Asiul. Recherches, t. XX, p. 301, note 15.) The Lalita vistara gives curious details of his supposed conversations with Çakyamuni. {Lalita vistara, ch. xv Hi, f. 133 a from my man.} (2) Here is yet another new title from the Buddha. It to me seems here spoiled only can mean that of these two things: "who happened," or "who left." The first explanation is the most vrai-similar, although it agrees less well than the second with that which I have just admitted, according to Csoma, for Tathâgata. I therefore think that the word Svagata means the one who is "good or fortunately came." Mr. Turnour is of the opinion that this title signifies either the happy arrival, or the happy departure of Buddha. {Mahdvamso, Index, p. 24.} (See the additions at the end of the volume.) (3) Uruvilva is one of the places the most frequently cited in the Buddhist legends, because that it is there that for six years Śākya-muni be subjected to more severe tests, for send to the state Supreme of Buddha. It was a village located close to the river of Nairamdjanâ, that Klaproth found in the NUm-ljan, torrent is the flock the greater the Phalgu. We know that the Phalgu is a river that crosses the Magadha, northern Bihar ear, before to throw in the Ganges. (Klaproth, Foe koue ki, p. 224. Fr. Hamilton, The History, Antiquities, etc., of East India, t. I, p. 14.) The arrival of Çakyamuni in Uruvilva, after he had left the mountain

OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .69sitting under the tree Bodhi, at the time when he had to reach to the state of Buddhaperfect. As for me, I myself have visited the place where are located Bhagavat, and being therei , Tivé, I speak to him like this :Let Bhagavat enter into complete annihilation ;Here come to the Sugala the time of annihilationfull. But Bhagavatanswered :I will not enternet, sinner, in frustrationcomplete, as long as myAuditors will be not educated, wise, disciplined, skillful ;so muchthey do sau-They will not reduce by law all that will rise up against them as adversaries ;so muchthat they will not be able to doadoptto othersreasoning; so muchthan the Religious and the Devotees(1)of both sexeswill not accomplish the pre-ceptesof my law, in the propagating in the making accept by many ofpeople,in the spreading everywhere, until that its precepts aientété completelyexplainedto the Devas and to the men. - Buttoday, oh respectable, the Au-publishers of Bhagavat are educated, wise, disciplined, skillful ;they know how to reduceby law all that is against them adversaries; theycan get adoptedto others all their reasoning. The Religious and the Devotees of both sexesfulfill the precepts of reading law, which is spread, acceptedby many ofpeople, until it is completely explained to the Devas and to men. Here iswhy I say :May Bhagavat enter into annihilationfull: here comefor the Sugata the moment of annihilationfull.- Not so much of a hurry,O sinner,you do n't have any more nowa lot of time to wait. In threemonth, this same year , the annihilation will take place[duTathàgata] in the elementof Nirvana, where hedon't staynothing more of what constitutes existence(2j.ThenMâra the sinner made this reflection :It will therefore in the annihilation com-plet, theÇramana Gâutama (3) !And having learned this, happy, satisfied, joyful,transported, fullof pleasureand of satisfaction, hedisappeared in this very place ."So Bhagavat madethis reflection: What is the one that must be converted byBhagavat? This is Supriya, the kingof Gandharvas (4)and thebeggar Subha-by Gayâçîrcha, is one of the most interesting pieces of Lallta vistara. {Lalita vistara,f.131 a of my man.) Lemot Bôdhi is thename given by the Buddhists to the fig tree {ficusreligiosa) under which Śākya alleignil the Bodhi, or the inielligence, and in a manner more generally ^the II & E of Buddha perfectly accomplished, .the think that the name of Bodhi has been given to the fig treethat in memory of this event, and it is in my eyes a buddliic denomination rather thanbrahmanic.(1) The terms which are text are set Bhikchu (beggar or religious) and Updsaka (devotee). Ireturn on these termesdans the section of this memory on the bisc'pline.(2) See, in relation to EUCE expression, a rating that extent I forced to reject Alaend of volume. Appendix n " I.(3) The illre of Çrmana means < ascetic which overcomes its direction; " It is at the time Brahminicaland buddhist ; I revicndnii d. ^ ns theseclion of the Discipline.(A) The Gandharvas are the geniuses and musicians of the court of Indra, who are well known

70INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYdra (d). The maturity complete their meaning happen to them at the end of threemonth, this very year . It is easy to understand thatthe man who is ableto beconverted bya Çravaka (2) maybeingby the Tathagata, andthanthe one who iscapable of being converted by the Tathagataborncan be by aÇravaka. {(Then Bhagavat made this reflection :Why do n't I go into ameditation such that by applying my mind to it, after havingmade master ofelements of my life, I give up on life(3)? Then Baghavat entered into asuch meditation ,than by applyinghis mind, after having made master

of elements of his life, he abandoned existence. To hardly had he made himself master of elements of his life, a great tremor of earth was felt; meteors fell [from the sky], the horizon seemed all on fire. The timpani of the Devas sounded come into the air. No sooner had he renounced existence than six miracles appeared in the midst of the Devas Kâmâvatcharas (4). The trees, flowers, trees of dia-in the mythology brahmanic; they have been adopted and kept in the old pantheon of Buddhists. (1) Subhadra is the last religious which has been ordered by Çàkyamuni himself. It is in soften a question in the Suttas and in the Pali books of the Singhalais. (Tournour, Journ. As.Soc. of Beng.y t.VII, p. 1007 and 1011. Mahâvamso, p. 11.) I think that this is the name own that the Chinese transcribe as follows : Su pa to lo. (Landresse, Foe koue ki, p.385.) Hiuan thsang us learns that vii " century, there existed close to Kuçinagara a Stupa which bore his name. Fa hian, two centuries before him, named this wise Siupo. {Foe koue ki, p.235), and Klaproth asserts, according to Chinese books, that he was a Brahmin who lived to be 120 years old. {Ibid., P. 239.) I suspect that there is some inaccuracy in the translation that MA Rémusat has given the passage Fa hian on this Brahmane, and which is so designed : "Where Siu po, a long time To afterwards obtained the law. " It was not long after the Nirvâya de Çàkyâ that Subhadra seconverts to Buddhism, but of the living even Sâkyâ. I will therefore dare to hire the people who access to the Chinese text of Foe koue ki to check if we did could not translate : " Where Siu" Inches, in an advanced age, obtained the law. » The Sanskrit books of the North agree with the texts Pales of the South to represent to us Subhadra as very old when hereceived the ordination of Çàkyamuni. (2) The word Çrdvaka means listener; I will return in the section of the Discipline. (3) The term which is used by the text Djîvitasamskârdn adhichihûya, it is not clear; i have it translated conjecturally. The radical stha, preceded the adhi, has in the Sanskrit Buddhist the meaning to bless: this is abundantly proven by the Tibetan versions. (Csoma, Asiat.Res., t. XX, p. 425 et pass.) If this were the meaning of the term here, it would be necessary to translate: c After having blessed " The elements of my life, I renounce existence. " (4) I searched in vain, in the Sanskrit books of Nepal which are at my disposal, the meaning of this name, which designates the Gods of the region of desires. The Singhalese translate this word by a sensual, delivered to the desires of the senses, " and they derive it, with good reason, from kâma, " desire, "and of avatchara, "who goes. " (Clough, Singhal. Diction., X II, p. 828, col. 2, comp. P. 51, col. 1.) The spelling Kdmd watcharâ must therefore be abandoned, because it does not lend itself to any sense. (Schmidt, Mem. Of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, t.II, p.24.) Look for the numerous sub-divisions of the celestial stages, the Memoirs of M. Schmidt {Mém. of Acad. from sciences of S.-Pétersbourg, t.I ^p.89 sqq. ; t.II, p.21 ff.) And of A. Rémusat (Essay on focosmog. budih., in Journal des Savants, year 1831, p. 597 ff).

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM, .74 mantles, the ornamental trees were broken; thea thousand palaces of the Gods were shaken; the peaks of Meru fell into ruin; the musical instruments of Devatas were struck [and made sounds]." Then Bhagavat having come out of this meditation, at this moment pronounced the next stanza : The loner has renounced existence, which is similar and different rent, to the elements of which life is composed. Clinging to the spirit, collected, he To, like the bird born from the egg, broken its shell." A barely had he given to the existence, that hundreds of thousands of Devas Kâmâvatcharas, having accomplished their ceremonies, advanced in pre-presence of Bhagavat, for the view and

worship. Bhagavat they made a such education of the law, that the truth were seen by hundreds of thousands of Devatas, and that when they had seen, they returned to their palace." A barely had he given up on life, that the caves of the mountains and the pensions of mountains reached hundreds of thousands of Bichis. Those wise men were introduced in the religious life by Bhagavat, quileur said :Follow, oh Religious, this conduct. As it applies, in are devoting their efforts, they saw face to face state Arhatship (i) by the destruction of all the corruptions." He hardly had up to the existence, that of the Nagas, the Yakchas, the Gandharvas of Kinnaras, the mahoragas be met in crowds before Bhagavat, in order to see it. Bhagavat they made a such exhibition of the law, that this crowds of Nagas to Yakchas of Gandharvas of Kinnaras and of mahoragas received the formulas of refuge (2) and the axioms of teaching, until finally they returned to their homes." Then the respectable Ananda being released on the evening of his deep recueil-LEMENT, is returned to the place where is was Bhagavat, and there having arrived, after having hailed by the touching of the head, the feet Bhagavat of, it is kept standing next to him. There, standing, the respectable Ananda spoke to Bhagavat thus :What is the cause, oh venerable, what is the Because of the great earthquake of land ? -There are eight causes, oh Ananda, here are eight reasons a great tremor of Earth. And what are these eight causes (3)? The great land, ô Ananda, rests on the waters; the waters rest on the wind ;the wind on the ether. When, O Ananda, here arrives as above of ether blowing winds opposites, they stir the waters;(1) The title to ' Arhat is one of the highest degrees of the moral and scientific hierarchy of Buddhism; I will return in the section of the Discipline.(2) These formulas, called CARANA gamana, are in number of three :Buddham çaranam gatchhâmi, Dharmam çaranam gatchhâmi, Samgham çafanam gatchhâmi, that is to say . < I sought " A refuge with the Buddha, with the Law, with the Assembly. "(3) Compare this text to a note by Klapproth on the same subject, Foe koueki ^ i ^ . 217 sqq.

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not INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY the waters choppy make move the earth. This is, O Ananda, the first cause, the first due to a great tremor of earth." Yet another thing, O Ananda. A Religious gifted a large powerful supernatural session , of great power, concentrates its thought on a limited point of the earth and embraces the limitless expanse of water ; he made, if the desired move-see the earth. That Divinity gifted a great power supernatural, a great power, focus his thought on a point limited from the earth and embrace the unlimited expanse of water ; she does, if she belonged for, move the earth. Such is, O Ananda, the second cause, the second reason of a great tremor Earth." Yet another thing, O Ananda. In the time that a Dôdhisattva (1), being out of the remains of Devas Tuchitas, descend dans the breast of his mother, then, at this very moment , here is a big tremor of earth. And this whole world whole is illuminated with noble splendor. And the beings who inhabit in addition to limits of this world (2), these beings blinded and plunged in the deep darkness of darkness, where the two stars of the sun and of the moon, so powerful, so energetic, could not erase by their light this [miraculous] shine , these beings themselves are, at this moment, illuminated with a noble splendor. So the creatures, who took birth in these regions, seeing oneself in this light, have knowledge of the each of the other, and will say :Ah ! here are other born ôlre here ! Here are other beings born among us ! Such is, O Ananda, the third case, the third reason a large tremor of earth." Yet another thing, O Ananda. In the time that a Bodhisattva leaves the breast of his mother,

then, in this moment even, hethere is a bigearthquake ofEarth. And this world all around is illuminated with a noblesplendor.And the beingswho live in beyond the limits of this world [etc. as above, up to :]say to themselves :Ah !here are other beings born among us !Such is, O Ananda, the qua-trième cause, the fourth due to a large earthquake of land." Yet another thing, O Ananda. In the time that a Bhôdhisattva reaches thesupreme science , then, at this very moment , heyhas onegreat tremor ofEarth. And the world around everything is illuminated with a noblesplendor.And the beingswho live in beyond the limits of this world [etc. as above, up to :](1) We thus call a being who has only one human existence to go through before becomingBuddha. 11 will be discussed from a time of this liter in the course of this memory.(2)The ego Lôkânarika designates the beings who inhabit the intermediate region between the worldwhere we live and the worlds neighbors, including the meeting form that we call the great thousandof the three thousand worlds. (Schmidt, Mem. Of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences , t.H, p.54.)This region is where the Hells are located , which the Singhalese call Lôkdntara (Clough,Sing. Diction., T.11, p. ôll, col. '2, Cf. Journ. Asian., T.VIII, p. 80.)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .73say to themselves :Ah !here are other beings born among us !Such is, O Ananda, thefifth cause, the fifth reason for a great tremorof earth."Yet another thing, O Ananda. In the time that the Talhâgata fact turnthe wheel of the law, which in three towers are presentin twelve different ways(1),Then, in cennoment same, there areagreat earthquake of land. El this world allwhole is illuminated with noble splendor. And the êlres quihabitent to beyondHmites of this world [etc. as above, up to :]say to themselves :Ah !here is morevery beings born among us! This is, O Ananda, the sixth cause, the sixthBecause of a great earthquake of land."Yet another thing, O Ananda. In the time that the Tathagata having surrenderedMaster the elements of his life, renounces to life, then, in this moment even,heis a great earthquake of land. The meteors fall[from heaven]; the horizonseems allon fire ;the Dêvas timpani resound in the air. And this worldall entierest lit a noblesplendor.And the beings who live in the pastof the limits of this world [etc. as above, up to :]say to themselves :Ah !here isother beings born among us !Such is,O Ananda, the seventh cause, theSep-enth because of a great earthquake of land."Yet another thing, O Ananda. The moment is not far awaywhere will take placecomplete annihilationofTathâgata in the bosom of Nirvana, where hedon't staynothingof what constitutes existence. However, in asame time, hethere is a great earthquake of land.Of meteors fall [of heaven];the horizonseemsall on fire ; the Dêvas timpani resound in the air. And this world all around(1) I found relatively in this way to turn the wheel of the law,that is to say ofspread the docirinCj a passage from the Mémoire de Des Hautesrayes entitled :Research on thereligion defo which it directly relates: "Let those who ignored the four saints say"tinctions, that is, the four distinct degrees of contemplation, could not be delivered"of the miseries of the world; that to be saved you had to turn the religious wheel three times"of these four distinctions, or of the twelve meritorious works . " {Journ. As., T. VII, p. 167.) Thatamounts to saying, if I am not mistaken, that the four distinctions, considered under three aspectsdifferent, give the sum of twelve points of view of these four distinctions. The saintsdistinctions of Des Hautesrayes are probably the four sublime truths (Âryasatijâni) of whichit will be spoken below, and it is often mentioned in the texts of the three turns that must be givento these four truths,without which one can not arrive at the statesupreme of Buddha

perfectly accomplished. I suppose that the three aspects or towers are: \ °
 The determination of the term itself let us examine, a term which is one of the four truths;
 S "that of its origin; 3 » that of its termination. We found the details very precise on the
 term to make turn the wheel of the law, in a note from Mr. A. Rémusat. {Foe koue
 ki, p.28.) The only point that I think is questionable, it is the opinion in which is this
 scholar that this expression derives from the use which the disciples made CAK ^ has
 wheels for prayers if known at Us Buddhists the North. I think on the contrary that these
 wheels, which are all in fact unknown to the Buddhists of the South, have been invented
 to reproduce in a material way the figurative meaning of this Sanskrit expression, which
 is, as we know, borrowed from the military art of the Indians.

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74 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY is illuminated with noble splendor. And the beings
 who inhabit to beyond the limits of this world [etc. as above, up to :] say to
 themselves : Ah ! here are other beings born by n ^ ius ! Such is, O Ananda, the eighth cause,
 the eighth reason of a big earthquake .“ Then the respectable Ananda spoke to Bhagavat
 thus : If I understand correctly, O venerable one, the meaning of the language of Bhagavat,
 right here, Bhagavat, after having made master of the elements of his life, has given up
 on life. Bhagavat says : It is that, Ananda, is that itself. Now, O Ananda, Bhagavat, after
 having made maître des elements of his life, has given up on life. - I heard from the mouth
 of Bhagavat, being in his presence, I gathered from his mouth these pa-roles : The being,
 whoever he is, who has searched, including, spread the four spring-cipes of the power
 supernatural, may, if we beg him to live either for a Kalpa whole, or until the end of the
 Kalpa. The four principles beyond powers supernatural have been, O venerable, sought,
 understood, spread by Bhagavat. The Tathàgata can, if it 's in pray, live either during
 a Kalpa whole, is up to the end of Kalpa. In consequence, that Bhagavat consents to remain
 "during this Kalpa; that the Sugata stays until the end of this Kalpa.- This is a fault of
 your go, O Ananda, it is a bad deed, that moment where was produced up to three times the
 noblest manifestation of the thought of the Tathàgata, you do not have not able to
 understand the reason, and that it took that thou wert informed by Marathe sinner. What
 do you think of this, ô Ananda ? Is it that the Tathagata is ca-pable de prononcer a word
 that is twice? - No, venerable. - Well, well, Ananda. He is outside the nature Ananda, he is
 impossible that the Tathà-gata pronounces a word that is double. Begone, O Ananda, and
 all this that you find to Religious with the Tchàitya Tchâpâla, gather them all in the hall of
 the assembly (1). - Yes, venerable. And having thus responded to Bhagavat, Ananda
 gathered and made sit in the hall of the assembly, all he found of Religious gathered near
 the Tchàitya Tchâpâla. [Then he fit to know To] Bhagavat that the time to perform this that
 he intended to do had come." So Blessed is made to place o \ i was located the hall of the
 assembly, and y étant arrivé, it sat in front of Religious sur the seat which lui était
 intended ; and when he There was seated, he addressed himself thus to the Religious ; All
 the compounds, O reli- (1) The text uses the word Upasthâna Cala, that I translate with
 the dictionary Wilson giving to upasthâna the direction of assembly. Mr. Turnour,
 according to the Sinhalese authorities who are in his hands, says well this term : "The
 room or apartment which, in each Vihâra" or monastery, was booked to use staff of the
 Buddha. » { Journ. As. Soc. of Beng., t. VII, p. 996.) This meaning is also legitimate, and it
 is very well justified by the known meaning of prefix upa with the radicals stha and aces.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .75old, are perishable ;theydo not sustainable ;Onnecan rest there withconfidence ;their .condition is the change, so thatnot suitable forconceive nothing of what is acompound, that it does not fitno thereto please (1). This is why, O Religious, here or elsewhere, when I will no longer be, the laws whicexist for the utility of the temporal world , for the happiness of the temporal world ,as well as for its utility and its happy future, itbe after the have recueil-lees,understood, the Rehgieux thedo keep, preach and understand, ofso that the religious law has a long duration, that it is admittedby beau-blow ofpeople sheis widespread everywhere, until it is fully explainedto the Devas and to the men. Now, ôReligious, heexists for utilityoftemporal world , for the happiness of the temporal world , as well as for its usefulnessand his happiness future, the lawsthat the Religious after the have gathered,included,must be kept, preach and understand of way as the lawnun hada long time , that shebe accepted by many ofpeople,that it is spread everywhere, untilbe fully explainedat the Devas andto men. These laws are the four supports of the memory (2)the fourabandonedfull gifts , the four principlesof the power supernatural, the five senses, thefive forces,theseven elements constitutive of the stateof Bôdhi, the sublime waycomposed of eightparts (3). These are the laws, O Religious, which exist forthe usefulness of the temporal world , for thehappiness of the temporal world , as well asfor its usefulness and its happy future, and that theReligious, after thehave re-picked, included,must be kept, preach and understand of waythat the religious law has a long duration, that it is admittedby many ofpeople shethat iswidespread everywhere, until it is fully explainedofDevas andto men, -Let's go, ô Ananda, to Kuçigrâmaka (4).-Yes,venerable ;thus replied to Bhagavat the respectableAnanda.(1) The text used here the term difficultof SafasMra, which has several meanings ^ and betweenother those of design and compound; I will come back to this later in thesection of this Memoirdevoted to the Metaphysics.(2) See . the additions Ala end of the volume.(3)I believe that the eight parts of which this path is composedor celticsublime driving {Ārya ^ tārṅga), felt eight qualities of which I find the enumeration in the Mahāvastu :the sight, thedetermination, effort, action, life, the language, the thought, the meditation straight, or right and regular. {Mahāvastu, fol. 357 a of my man.) These qualities are all expressed by a term in the compo-sition which enters the adjective samyatch. Celtic enumeration belongs to all the schools Buddhist.(4)Kuçigrâmaka is the city that the texts pale Ceylon call Kusinara, and that Hsuanthsang, to view century of our era, known in Chinese / chi fled naTcie lo iranscription quisupposea prirailif Sanskrit Kuçinagara ; we the see also named Kuçinagari. The difference, atremainder, is of little importance, since it relates only to themol grâma, which designates aborough or a city located in a country of culture, but not fortified, and on nagara, name which oneusually gives to a city defended by some work or by a fort. What , at the time

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76INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY" Rhagavat heading towards the wood of Vâiçâlî, turned hisbody of apart on the right, and looked at the way in which look thee elephants (1).So the respectableAnanda spokethus to Rhagavat :It is not without a cause, thisis not without reason, O venerable, that the venerable Talhâgatas , perfectlyand completely Ruddhas, look to the right of the way thee elephants. What , O venerable, is the cause, what is the motive of this kind of rejection?gard ? - That is it, O Ananda, it isthat very. It is not without a cause, thisis not without reason that the Talhagatas perfectly and completely Ruddhas,turning their body from oneanother room right, looking for the way re-guard the

elephants. This is the last time, O Ananda, that the Tathâgata look Vâiçâlî (2). The Tathâgata, O Ananda, will no longer go to Vâiçâlî; he will go, to enter of Sakya, was a large town, has been able to become later a city closed. The Pali term Kusinara means to this that I think, <water from Kuçi or from the town abundant in Kuça "(poacynosuroides). This designation undoubtedly comes from the fact that this place was not Irès-remote of the river Hiranyavati, that the waters fertilized the campaign. Csoma de Corôs, who had been warned by the Tibetan word rîsa-tchan of the true meaning of kvçi, which it translates well into the English grassy, "Abundant in grass," was believed wrongly that Kuçinagarî was a city of Assam {Asiat. Res., T.XX, p. 9"}; but Klapproth has identified this error, showing that this place was to be located on the shore East of the Gandaki {Foe koue there, p.236}, and Wilson believes in recognizing the location the small town of Kesia {Journ. Roy. Asian girl. Soc, t.V, p. 126}, where we discovered an image colossal of Çâkia. (Liston, Journ. Asiat. Soc. Of Rengal, t.VI, p. 477.) Fr. Hamillon in a given drawing accompanied by an incomplete inscription. {The History, etc., of Eastindia, t. II, p. 357.}(1) Mr. Tumor we learn that, according to the Buddhists of the South, a Buddha, as a king sovereign, has the neck formed of a single bone, so that he is obliged to turn his body all around to see the objects that do are not located immediately in front of him. {Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Beng., t. VII p. 1003, note.}(2) I give here on this name some details that the lack of space prevented me from placing the first time he showed up. Vâiçâlî is a town formerly famous for its wealth and its political importance, of which the name appears often in the preaching and legends of Çâkyâ. It was located in central India, north of Pataliputra, and on the Hiraiiyavati river, the Gandaki of the moderns. (Klapproth, Foe koue ki, p.244.) Hiuan thsang tells us that she was in ruins at the beginning of the view century of our era. Wilson has seen this city should be the Vicûla ^ da Râmâyapa (ed. Schlegel, text, I.I, vs. 47, st.13; trad. lat., t. I, p. 150); but the Gàuda recension, such that the gives Gorresio, writes this name Vdiçâii (I.I, c. 48, st.14), as well as Carey and Marshmann (fiâmûj / ana, t. I, p. 427), exactly like the Buddhist books that I have under the eyes. Between these two spellings, I do not hesitate to prefer that of Vâiçâlî, which has for it the already ancient transcription of the Pali Vêçâlî. (Clough, Pali Gramm. And Vocab., p. 24, st. 2.) It is clear that if the time of the writing of books pale, this name was even pronounced Viçâlî and not Vêçâlî (for Vaisall) is the EIIT transcribed Visâlî in these books. The adoption of Tor-Buddhist thographer, which two editions of the Râmâyana offer us, and which also confirms the Vichii purâiia and the Bhâvagala (I.IX, c.2, st.33) has in addition the advantage of to stop the confusion pointed out by Wibon {Vishnu purâfia, p. 353, note) between the Viçâlâ, who is the same that Udjdjayaii, and the Viçâlâ (for Vâiçâlî) from Râmâyana. Long before one could be used of books bml dhiques for oclaircir the geography of this part of India, Hamillon had well since Vâiçâlî (which he writes Besala) must have been found in the country located in north of the Ganges, almost in front of Puma, and confining the Mithila. {Genealog. of the Hindus, Introd., p. 38.) That is enough, I think, to refute the opinion of Csoma, who was looking for Vâiçâlî on the site

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .77 in the Nirvana complete, at country from Mallas(1), in the wood of both This (2). "So one of the Religious at that moment pronounced the next step: It is there, Lord, the last glance cast on Vâiçâlî; the Sugata Buddha will no longer go to Vâiçâlî; he will go, to enter into the anéanlissement, the country des Mallas, in the wood

of the two Calas. “ As Bhagavat spoke these words :This is the last time that the Tathàgala looks at Vâiçâlî, the many Divinities who inhabited the wood near from that city shed tears. Ananda the Sthavira (3) then says :He should, O Bhagavat, that there is a cloud to produce this abundant rain . Bhagavat answered :What are the Deities inhabitants of the wood of Vaisall, which to cause my departure shed tears. These Divinities also made this news heard in Vâiçâlî :Bhagavat goes away to enter into complete annihilation ;Bhagavat will no longer go to Vâiçâlî. Having heard the voice of these Divinities, many hundreds of thousand inhabitants of Vâiçâlî came to meet in the presence of Bhagavat. This one knowing their spirit, their provisions, their character and their natural, they made a such exhibition of the law, that these many hundreds of a thousand living beings received the formulas of refuge and the axioms of teaching and annoyance. Some obtained the reward of the state of Çrôta âpatti (4) ;Allahabad, formerly Praijâga. (Asiat. Res., T.XX, p. 62 and 86.) Beside of this city was a garden, including a woman, named by Fa hian An 'pho lo, and by Ihsang An meou lo {Foe koue ki, p. 242 and 245), was donated to Çâliyamuni. Wilson, by a reconciliation that I do not allow to judge, proposed to see in the name of this woman, Ahalyà, the virtuous wife of Gàutama. {Journ. of the Roy. Asiatic Soc, t.V, p. 128 and 129.) I think, for my part, that the Chinese syllables An pho lo, or well Year mou lo are the transcription of the name of Ambapâli, famous courtesan of Vâiçâlî, of whom he is questioned in the captions, and on which M. Tournour has given us some very curious details . {Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Ben gai, t.VII, p. 999.) The Parinibbâna sutta of the Singhalese makes of this donation an extreme story ^interesting. I add here that Fa hian, to which the tradition of this last stay of Çâkyamuni in Vâiçâlî was well known, since the reports are little close to the words that our text says, with his exactitude ordinary, that Śâkyamuni on the point of entering into the Nirvana came out of Vaisall by the door western. This is perfectly true, since he was heading to the West, toward Kuçigrâma, which I believe to be the same city as the Kusindrâ of the Pâli Books. (1) The Mallas were the inhabitants of the country where Kuçigrâma was located , in the region that bathes the Gandakî. These are probably those who are mentioned by the Digvijaya of Mahâbhârata (t.I, p. 347, st.176), and which are placed at the foot of the Himalayas, in the part Eastern of Hindustan. (Wilson, Vûhnipur., P. 188, notes 38 and 52.) We know that this country, in particular the districts of Gorakpour, Beltiah and Baknih, still preserve today of very valuable traces of the former predominance of Buddhism. (2) Shorea robusta. (3) This word means old man; I will speak below, in the section of Discipline. (4) This term, as well as the following ones, Sakrta ageâmin, Anâgâmin, Bôdhi, etc., will be explained more down in the section of the Discipline.

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78 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY others, that of the state of Sakrta ageâmin ; the others acquired that of the state of Anâgâmin ; some, who became beggars, after being entered in the life religious, obtained the state of Arhat. Some understood that that is that the Intelligence {Bodhi) of śrâvakas ; the others, what Intelligence is of the PratyêkaRuddhas ; others, what is Supreme Intelligence of a perfectly ruddha accomplished ; others received the formulas of refuge and the axioms of the Law, in such way that this meeting men all entirely absorbed the Ruddha, immersed in the Law, drawn into the Assembly. Ananda the Sthavira holding his hands clasped in sign of respect, thus spoke to Bhagavat : Behold, O venerable, how Bhagavat, at the time when

he left for come to complete annihilation, established in the truths of hundreds of thousands of Gods ! Several thousands of rsis, out of caves mountains and the pensions of the mountains, is sontréunis here. These Rehgieux were introduced by Rhagavat in the religious life. As a result of their application, of their efforts and the sorrows they will have data, they have seen face to face the state of Arhat by the destruction of all the corruption. Many Devas, Nâgas, Yakchas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Mahôragas, have received therefuge formulas and the axioms of teaching. Several hundred of a thousand inhabitants of Vâiçâlî were established in the award from the state of Çrota âpatti ; some have it been in that of the state of Sakrîd ageâmin ; others in that of the state of Anâ-kid. Some, become beggars, after being entered in the ^ ie religious,* - have obtained the state Arhatship ; a few Others have been established in ies formulas refuge and in the axioms of teaching. "What is it so astonishing, O Ananda [resumed Rhagavat], that I have today-of hui fulfilled this duty of teaching, me who now know everything, me who ^ has the science in all its forms, which have acquired the libredisposition of this who must be known by the science Supreme, who am without desires, which does research nothing, which am free from any sense of selfishness, of personality, pride, of tenacity, enmity? I was, in the time past, hate, passion, delivered to the er-ror, not freed slave of the circumstances of the birth, of old age, of the disease, beyond death, the grief, the pain, of the suffering, concerns, the malheur. Etant in experiencing the pain which precedes the death, I made this prayer : May several thousands of creatures, after having abandoned the condition of masters house, and embraced the religious life under the direction of the rsis, after having meditated in their spirit on the four wealthy homes of the Rrahmâs, and up to the passion that drives man to pleasure, may, I say, these Thousands of creatures be reborn in the participation of the worlds of Rrahmâ and in become the many inhabitants I"

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .79 Immediately after having recalled this vow, Çâkyâ told his disciple Ananda the story of a king named Mândhâtî, it provides for in its old existences. This story, which is a little long to be reproduced in this moment will find its place better elsewhere. He is filled with circumstances while in fact fabuleuses, and has, in this respect, a too much resemblance to the Sutra of which I will give the translation. He is enough for me to say that this name of Mândhâtî, well known in history heroic of Brahmins, is now the title of the Sutra which it comes to reading a fragment, probably because that the compilers of books Buddhist have attached more importance to the legend fabulous that story traditional of the last talks of Çâkyâ. Perhaps also the preference that they have given here to the legend of the story does it come to this that the latest years of the life of the Buddha are recounted in detail in other books. What that in any case, the fragment that comes from reading has for us this kind of interest that attaches to a tradition in which the data are contemporary of the time of Çâkyâ. Despite the place that occupies the belief to be able to supernatural the Master, many of the circumstances of his human life are still let see. This is the reason that I did place before the Sutra purely fabulous Kana-kavarna. It is good to notice that this last piece, which is a real Sutra for the form, door, ? After the Sanskrit text and the translation Tibetan, the title 'Avadâna or legend : it's an argument for more in favor of the analogy that I have already noticed between the class of Avadânas and that of Sutras. KANAKAVARNA SUTRA (1). "Here's what I understood. One day Bhagavat was in Çrâvasti, To Djêtavana, in the garden of Anâlha pindika, with a grand assembly of Reli-gieux, with twelve hundred and fifty

Religious. He was respected, honored, revered and adored by the Religious and by the devotees of both sexes, by the kings and by the counselors of kings, by the men of various sects, by the śramanas, by the Brahmans, by the ascetics, by the beggars, by the Devas, the Nāgas, the Asuras, the Garuda, the Gandharvas, the Kinnaras and mahoragas. After having collected from many and excellent provisions divine and human, as in cloth that food, in beds, in seats, and in medicines for the ma-(the) Divya avadāna, f. 182 a from my man. Bk. h-gyur, Mdo section, flight. a or XXX, f. 76 h. Csoma, Anal, of the Sherchin, etc., in Asiat. Res., T. XX ;, p. 483.

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80 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY lades, Bhagavat was not attached to all these things than is the dropwater in the leaf of lotus. Also the glory and the renown of his immense virtue is they hang out so until ends of the horizon and in the intermediate points diaries of space : On this, the Blessed Tathagata, venerable, perfectly and completely Buddha, endowed with science and of conduct, well come, knowing the world, without a superior, ruling man like a young bull, tutor the men and the devas, Buddha, Bhagavat! The here is that, after have to itself even, and immediately (1), recognized, seen face to face and penetrated this universe, with his Devas, his Māras and his Brahmās, as well as the meeting of creatures, Çramaiias, Brahmans, Devas and men, made know [all that and] teach the good law ! It exposes the religious conduct which is virtuous at the beginning-ment, in the middle and at the end, of which the meaning is good, of which every syllable is good, which is absolute, which is accomplished, which is perfectly pure and beautiful ! "Bhagavat then addressed himself thus to Religious : If the beings, O Religious, knew the fruit of alms, the fruit and the results of the distribution of alms as I myself know the fruit and the results, certain-ment, were they currently reduced to their smallest, to their last bite of food, they not to eat passer to be given, without in having distributed some thing. What if they met a man worthy of receiving the alms, the thought of selfishness that could have been born in their spirit for the offended quer would certainly not stay there . But because that beings, O monks, do not know the fruit of alms, the fruit and the results of the distributivition of alms, as I myself know the fruit and the results, they missgent with a very personal feeling , without having given anything, given nothing, and the selfish thinking that is born in their minds there remains certainly for offend him. Why is that ? [Here it is.] € Formerly, O monks, in the time past, it there was a king named Kanakā-varna, beautiful, pleasing to the eye, amiable, endowed with the supreme perfection of radiance and of the beauty. The king Kanakavarna, O Religious, was rich, possessor of great riches, of great opulence, an authority without limits, a fortune and of goods huge, an abundant meeting choses précieuses, of grains, gold, Suvarnas, jewels, pearls, of lapis lazuli, of Çangkhaçila (2), (1) The expression that I translate here is drichtāiva dharmê : these words seem to me to mean € the condition or object being only seen, as soon as the object is seen, on these seen kid from the object. "I said , however, that this must be where the unique significance of these two words. When drtchia is opposed to its opposite addchta, it can mean the visible world , the current world , as opposed to the other world, the invisible world . (2) I can not find anything that explains this word Çangkhaçila (conch stone); he designates perhaps the mother -of- pearl that lines the shells.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .8tof coral, silver,of metals of prices, elephants, horses, cows and offerdsnumerous ;hewas finally master of a treasure and a perfect attic-
mentremph. The king Kanakavarn.a, O monks, had a city capital namedKanakavalî,
which was twelve Yôdjanas in length from east to west, andseven Yôdjanas ofwidth from
south to north. She was rich, prosperous, wealthy,abundant in all goods, pleasant and
filled with a great number of men and•of people. The king Kanakavarn.a had four to
twentya thousand cities and eighteen thousandKôtis (i) from towns, fifty-seven Kôtis
from villages andsixty thousand chiefsHeux of districtall rich, prosperous,
fortunate,abundant in all goods,pleasant and fulfilleda large number of men and of people.
The king Kanaka-varna had eighty thousand councilors ;its interior apartments containbut
twenty thousand women. The king Kanakavarn.a, O monks, wasfair, andheexercised the
kingshipwithjustice." One day as the king Kanakavarn.a is found alone, removed in a
placesecrecy and lying in the attitude dô the meditation, the mind and thereflection
follow-boasts it came tothe mind ;If I exemptais all the merchants of rights and of
taxes?if I affranchissais all the men of Jambudvîpa of all taxes and of all taxes?Having
therefore called the receivers, the great advisers, the ministers, thegar-diensdoor
attendants andthemembers ofvariousadvice itspoke to themthus :A starting from this day,
lords, I exempt the merchants of straight andof any tax ;I am doingof all taxes andof all
tax themen fromDjambudvîpa." Hegoverned well during of many years, when day broke
adisastrous constellation which announced that thegod Indra had to refuse duringtwelve
years of giving to the rain.So the Brahmans knowing the signs,knowinginterpret the
omens, expertsin the formulaswhich act on the land and in the air,having recognized the
announcement of this event in the movementsments of constellations of Çukra (Venus)
and the planets are rendered in placewhere is found the king Kanakavarn.a, and when
they were there arrived, they him address-rent the speech in these terms :Know, ohking,
that he comes fromlook like a constellationfatal that announcesthat the god Indra deny for
twelve years to give tothe rain. Having heard thesewords, the roise began to spread of
larmesenshouting :Ah !the men of myDjambudvîpa !Ah !my Djambudvîpa, ifrich, so
prosperous, so fortunate, so abundant in all goods, so pleasant, socompletedmen and
ofpeople itwill in some become desert and private people !Afterhaving thus lamented, the
king madethe following reflection :Those who are rich and(1)A Kôti is worth ten million.
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82INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYowners of a great fortune andgreat opulence will
certainlyment continue to live ;but the poor,but those who have little towealth,little food,
drink and other goods, how will they be able to survive?So this reflection he came to
mind :If I was collecting everything that there was to riceand other means of livelihood in
theDj imbudvîpa ;that I fisseto countand measure theeverything ;that once this operation
is completed, establishing an atticuniqu for all this that there has to villagesof towns,
towns, administrative centers ofDistrict of capitalsin the Djambudvîpa, I dodistribute
aequal portionto each of the men of the Djambudvîpa? Immediately the king called the
receivers,the great counselors, the ministers, the gatekeepers and the members ofvarious
councils, and spoke to them thus :Come on, lords,collect all that isfound in rice and other
means of subsistence in the Jambudvîpa ;countand measure all this ;anda time this
operation done,establish an atticuniqu for all that he hasfrom villages to cities, to towns,
from places chiefs ofdistrict, of capitals in the Djambudvîpa. Yes, sir, answered all
thosewhom the king had ordered ;and immediately theydid what was ordered to them.

They if then went to the place where is found the king Kanakavarna, and when they were arrived near him, they him spoke thus : Know, O king, that all that is was of rice and other means of subsistence in the Jambudvīpa has been Rasseemed, counted, measured and deposited in a single attic for everything that there has to villages of cities, boroughs, of leaders towns of District of capitals in the Djambudvīpa. The time set for it that the king wants to do is now come. So Kanakavarna having called all those who knew how to count, calculate and keep the scriptures, spoke to them thus : Come on, lords, count all the men of Jambudvīpa, and when you get counted, give them to each one equal portion of food. Yes, sir, answered those that the king had mandated ; and once they are set to count the men of Djambudvīpa, and is authorized to do the will of the king, they assigned to each of the inhabitants of the Jam-budvīpa an equal portion of food. the people lived like this for eleven years; but he had nothing left to live through the twelfth year. A barely a month of the twelfth year is was he passed a large number of men, of women and Children of both sexes died of famine and of thirst. In this time everything there was of rice and other means of subsistence in the country is found to be exhausted, except that it remained the king Kanakavarna a single small measure of food. i < However he came at this time in the universe Saha (1), a Bôdhisattva (1) See, in relation to this expression, a note that its extent forced me to reject at the end of volume. Appendix No. II.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .83 that since four Kalpas was reached to that dignity. This Bôdhisattva lives, deep in a thick forest, a son who committed an incest with his mother, and to Celtic view it made this reflection : Ah! what corruption ! They are corrupt them beings ! Does a man have to act like that with the one in the inside of which there lived for nine months, with that which he has sucked the milk ? I have had enough of these creatures enemy of the Justice, passionate for the illicit pleasures , delivered too of false doctrines, burning of desires culprits who do not know their mother, who do not like or the Gramanas, nor the Brahmans, who do not do not respect the elders of each family. Who would have the courage to accomplish, for the sake of such beings, the duties of a Bodhisattva ? Why not me be content I should fulfill these duties for my own benefit ? The Bodhisattva therefore sought a trunk tree, and when he in was found, he sat down next to him, his legs crossed, holding her body in a perpendicular position ; then replacing it in his memory he is set to reflect, by successively contemplating the five aggregates of the design, under the point of view of their generation and for their destruction, in this way : This is the form, this is the production of the form, it is the destruction of the form ; this is perception ; this is the notion ; here are the concepts ; This is the knowledge, this is the production of knowledge, this the destruction of the knowledge. Having contemplated thus successively the five aggregates of the design, from the point of view of their production and of their destruction, he was not long without recognizing that all which has to act the production to the law of destruction ; and arrived at this point, he obtained the state of Pratyêka Buddha, or of individual Buddha (1). So the blessed two Pratyêka Buddhas having contemplated the laws which he had just reached, pronounced in this moment the following stanza : " From the research arises attachment, from attachment is born in this world the pain : that the one who recognized that the pain comes from the attachment removed, as the rhino, in the isolation." Then the blessed Pratyêka Buddha made this reflection : I accomplished in the interest of a large number of creatures, works hard, and I have yet does the good of any being . To who

will I testify today of (1) Pratyêka Buddha's mol is the title the highest after that of Buddha; the Pratyêka Buddha is a being who, alone and by its own efforts, is managed in the Bodhi, or the intelligencetop of a Buddha, but who, in the words of Mr. A. Remusat, " not can operate as his personal salvation, and to which heit is not given to reach to the large movements of "compassion that benefit all the living beings. » (Foe koue ki, p.165.) Our legend confirms completely the data of this definition. I refer to the note from M. A. Rémusat for the full explanation of this term, which we will see more than once; and I only add that the Tibetans make and this title : " The one who is Buddha by himself. †

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84 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY ¹ a compassion? What is that which I ask alms de quelques food for feed me ? So the blessed Pratyêka Buddha, with his divine, pure and superior sight to that of man, embracing the totality of Jambudvîpa, saw that all the rice and that all the other means of subsistence of this continent were exhausted, except a small measure of food that was left to King Kanakavarna. And immediately he said this reflection : Why not testify I not my compassion for the king Kanakavarna ? Why do not I go in his palace to seek alms of some food for feed me ? So the Blessed Pratyeka Buddha springing miraculeusement in the air, walked in by virtue of his supernatural power, revealing his body and similar to a bird, to the place where the capital city was located from Kanakavatî. "At this moment King Kanakavarna had climbed onto the terrace of his palace, surrounded by five thousand advisers. One of the great officers noticed far the blessed Pratyêka Buddha who came forward, and at this sight he addressed himself thus to other ministers : See, see, lords, this bird with wings red whomoves to this side. But a second counselor continued : It is not a bird with wings red lords ; it's the Râkchasa, ravishing demon of energy the men who ran here ; he come for devour us . But the king Kanakavarna passing his hands over his face, spoke well in his great advisers : It is, lords, neither a bird with red wings , nor the Rakshasa abductor of the energy of the men, it's a Richi who comes here by compassion for us. By this time the Blessed Pratyeka Buddha stopped on the terrace of the palace of Kanakavarna. Immediately the king having risen from his seat to go in front of Pratyêka Buddha, bowed to his feet in the touching of the head, and it was as he sat on the seat that was it for ; then he addressed these words : For what reason, oh Rîchi, have you come here ? - To seek the food, great king. To these words, the king Kanakavarna is set to cry, and he cried, in the middle of a torrent of tears : Ah misery ! ah ! what is my misery ! Should that monarch and sovereign master of Djambudvîpa, I am out of state to give to a single Richi a portion of food ? So the Divinity that resided in the city capital city of Kanakavatî recited, in the presence of King Kanakavarna, the following stanza : "What is that the pain ? it's the misery. What is worse than the pain ? it is still the misery : the misery is the equal of the death." Then the king Kanakavarna summoned the man attendant to the guard the Gre-deny : Y he has in my palate something to eat, for I the gives to this Rîchi ? the guard replied : Know, O king, that everything that there was of rice and other means of subsistence in the Djambudvîpa is exhausted, except just one small portion of food that belongs to the king. Kanakavarna then made this

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .85 reflection : If I to eat, I will preserve the life ; if I do the eat not, I 'll die * Then he said to himself : That it to eat or I do the eat not, it will always, of all necessity, that I die ; I have had enough of this life. How in effect a such RICHY, a wise

ful of morality and talented conditions of the virtue? would he leave my palace today with its clear vase that by arriving there? Immediately the king Kanakavarna having met the recipients, the large councilors, * the gatekeepers and members of the various councils, spoke to them in these terms: Listen with satisfaction, lords: this is the last alms of a portion of food that makes the king Kanakavarna. May, by the effect of this root of virtue, to end the misery of all the inhabitants of Djambudvîpa! immediately the King taking the vase of the great Rîchi, placed there the only measure of food which remained; then lifting the vase between his two hands and falling to his knees, he placed in the right hand of Blessed Pralyêka Buddha. It is a rule that the Pralyêka Buddhas teach the law by the acts of their body, and not through their lyrics. In consequence the Blessed Pralyêka Buddha, after having received of King Kanakavarna his portion of food, miraculously leaped into the air, of the place even where it was. And the king Kanakavarna holding his hands together in sign of respect, remained motionless in the watching, without closing the eyes, until that its view could no longer reach." Then the king addressed himself thus to the receivers, to the great advisers, of ministers, to gatekeepers and the members of divers councils: Remove you, lords, each in your houses; will remain not well in this palace, you die there all of thirst and of hunger. But they answered: When the king lived in the midst of the prosperity, happiness and of opulence, so we gave ourselves to the King and the pleasure with him. How today that the king touches at the end of its existence, at the end of its life, could we abandon it? Then the king began to cry and to spread a torrent of tears. Next wiping his eyes it thus addressed [again] the receivers, the great advisers, the ministers, to gatekeepers and the members of the various boards: Remove you, lords, each in your houses; will remain not well in this palace, you would all die of thirst there and of hunger. On hearing these words, the ministers and all the counselors began to cry and to shed a torrent of tears. Then having wiped their eyes, they approached of the king; and when they were near him, waving his feet in the touching of the head, and holding their hands together as a sign of respect, they spoke thus: Forgive us, lord, if we have committed some fault; today we are seeing the king for the last time." However hardly the Blessed Pralyêka Buddha he had eaten his Portion of food, that immediately from the four points from the horizon rose four

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86 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY curtains of clouds. The winds cold is set to blow and drove the Jam-budvîpa the corruption which infected it; and clouds letting down the rain, down came the dust. That same day, in the second half of the day, fell a rain of food and of food of various species. These foods were the rice cooked, of the flour of beans roast, the gruaude rice, the fish, of the meat; those dishes were des préparations of roots to stems of leaves, of flowers, of fruits, Oil, of sugar, of sucrecandi, of molasses, lastly of flour. Then the king Kana-kavarna happy, joyful, delighted, transported, full of joy, of satisfaction and of pleasure, addressed himself thus to the receivers, to the great advisers, to the ministers, to the gatekeepers, to the members of the various councils: Look, gentlemen, here in this moment the bud, the first result of the alms which has just been made of a single portion of food; he going to get soon a different fruit. At the second day it fell a rain of grains, namely, sesame, rice, of beans, of Mâchas (1), barley, of wheat, of lenses of rice white. This rain lasted seven days, as well as a rain clarified butter, oil sesame, and a rain of cotton to precious clothes of various cash, a rain of the seven substances of price, namely: Golden, silver, of lapis lazuli, of crystal, of red beads, of diamonds, scams. Finally,

thanks to the power of King Kanakavarna, the mid-seriousness of the inhabitants of Djambudvîpa ceased entirely." Now, O Religious, if he rose in your spirits some doubt, some uncertainty which made you say: It was in this time and at this time a further [that Rhagaval] who was the king Kanakavarna, he will be not consider this topic in this way. Why cola? It's that it's me who at that time and to that time was King Kanakavarna. Here is, O Religious, in what way he should consider this topic. If the beings, oh Religious, knew the fruit from alms, the fruit and the results of the distribution of alms, as I know myself the fruit and the results, certainly, were they presently reduced to their more small, to their last portion of food, they not then eat without in having given, without in distributing some thing. And if they met a dike man to receive their alms, the thought selfishness that could have arisen in their spirit to offend him does not stay there - would certainly not. But because that beings, O monks, do not know the fruit of alms, the fruit and the results of the distribution of alms, as I know myself the fruit and the results, they eat with a feeling all staff, without anything given, distributed nothing; and the thought selfishness that was born in their minds certainly remains to offend him. (1)

Phaseolus radiatus.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .87" A previous action does not not perish; she does not perish, let her be good or bad; the society of the wise is not lost; what we say, what we do for the Āryas (I), for these grateful characters, do not never perishes. "A good deed well done, a bad deed badly done, when they have arrived at their maturity, are also a result inevitable." So that spoke Bhagavat; and transported of joy, the Religious, the Religious, the devotees of one and of the other sex, the devas, the Nagas, the Yakchas, the Gandharvas, the Asuras, the Garuda, the Kinnaras, the mahoragas and the assembly whole entire approved it as Bhagavat had said. "I quoted this song because it has to object to enhance the merit of the first descending virtues transcendental that the horn man must practice for at-dye to the perfection supreme virtue that appoints Danaparamiî or the per-perfection of the aum. ône. It is one of the topics that come up the most souvent dans the texts; we have in effect a large number of legends where alms is recommended, and where it is even established that it should go, to the one who exercises it, until the sacrifice of life; I have later opportunity to be to recover. In this moment, which we important is to consider the shape of Sûtras in the comparison to some other similar treatises in the Nepalese collection. And first I have noted that the most other treated which have the same title no different rent of one of Kanakavarna that by the virtues that are celebrated. As in notre Sûtra, Śākya it recommends the practice of duties, object of his teaching, and he to show the importance of the story of the merits of which it ensures the possession those who are there are conformed. The most often he support her doctrine of the account of the events which happened to him or to his disciples in a previous life, admitting, like the Brahmans, that all beings are condemned by the law of the transmigration, to pass successively through along series of existences where they collect the fruit of their good works or bad. The Sutras of this kind resemble much to the legends cleanly ment say, and they do dit lèrent that by the caractères extérieurs un important. A Sutra always begins with this formula: "Here is what was heard by" Me, " while that this formula lacks all the avadānas that I know. We must then say that the legend forms the fund and the proper matter of Ava-dāna, while it is only the accessory of the Sutra and that it appears there only for confirm, by the authority of example, teaching of the Buddha, teaching who is by

himself independent of the story made to support it. To share these difficulties (i) He will talk of this title in the section of the Discipline.

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88 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY rences, of which he would be possible to increase the number if we owned more than Sure, I think having repel here this that I advanced more squinting high the analogy of these two kinds of treaties ; and I do not hesitate to add that the observations to which give place the analysis that will follow apply to just about as exactly to the legends than to the Sutras. Before proceeding to the comparative examination of the books which bear the title of Sutra, I believe it is essential to make known, by a rapid analysis, one of the treaties of this kind we called specifically Mahayana sutras, or Sutras serving of large vehicle. He would have been easy for me to choose a larger one, but I would not have could hardly find a more famous and who should treat a subject more familiar to Buddhists of Nepal. I guess that when it in will read the extract is not me blame not only have the point reproduces the text in full. The Mahâyâna sutra of which I am going to speak has for liter Svkhavail vyîV / a, that is to say to say ((the Constitution of Sukhavalî, "fabulous land that inhabits the Buddhadivine Amitâbha. The place of the scene of the Sutra is Râdjagriha (1), in the Magadha; The dialogue has instead between Çâkyamuni and Ânanda. He opens with the expression of the admiration felt by the disciple in the view of the calm Dessens and to the perfection of the physical beauty of Buddha Çâkyâ. This last he said that when the Buddha should live a number incalculable de Kalpas or ages of the world, this calm and this perfection would remain without ever changing. To explain this wonderful advantage, Çâkyâ recounts that long before a large number of Bud-DHEAS he lists, it there was a Talhâgata named Lômêçvara r / hlja, who had among its auditeui s a religious appointed Dharmûkara. This Religious asked for a day to his master to instruct him, so that he could reach to the state Supreme by Buddha perfectly accomplished, and to represent all the qualities that distinguish a land of Buddha. The master invites his disciple to get to a idea itself ; but the Beligieux replies that he There can succeed alone and if the Tathâgata does not enumerate them to him. Lômêçvara râdja knowing the provisions of his disciple, exposes to him the perfections which distinguish the lands inhabited by (To) It is the name of the ancient capital of Magadha, where reigned Bimbisâra, father of Adjâtaçatru, and also that of the new town, which the latter prince built to the north of the first. (Klaproth, *Foe koue ki*, p. 26G and 207.) I should read the interesting remarks of which this famous city was the object of the hand of Wilson. { *Joiirn. Roy. Asian girl. Soc*, t. V, p. Loo and 131.) In recalling that Eâdjagriha had been the capital of Djarâsandha, one of the ancient kings of Magadha, contemporary of Kriclina, it refers to the description of the ruins of this city, which was given by a Djâinain the service of Colonel Macki-nzie, and inserted in two collections of which I can only consult ones, in \. { *Quarter. East. Muguz.*, July 18'23, p. 71sq.) This description, which is very detailed, proves what an incient traveler could do with curious discoveries in the provinces which has ruled the Buddiisine. See again *The Hutory*, etc., of East India, t. ! .. p. 86, and Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, t. 1, p. 136, note.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .89 qualre-twenty-one times a hundred thousand myriads of Kôtis do Buddhas. The Religious is withdraws, and after a while he comes back to tell his master that he has included the perfection of a land of Buddha. The Talhagala then invites

him to do the exposition himself before the assembly. The Religious responds by listing the perfections which he desires that the land he will inhabit be gifted, if he ever manages to the supreme state of a perfectly accomplished Buddha. This exhibition is done in a way negative; all the perfections are indicated therein by their con-milking, like here, for example: "If in the land of Buddha which is desired - he must be between the Gods and them a distinction other than that of the name, may I not reach the state of Buddha!" These wishes disinterested are expressed again in verse; and when the stanzas are over-mined, Bhagavat takes the floor again to develop the perfections of virtue and of merit which arrived the Bôdhisattva Dharmakara. Ananda asks then in Çākya if this Bôdhisattva so perfect has passed or to come, or well if it exists at the time when he speaks; to which Bhagavat replies that he exists at the moment even at the West ^ that he inhabits the earth of Buddha named Sukhavali (1), and that it bears the name (Ī) Amitābha. Then there is the description of the splendor of this Buddha, splendor to which he must give its name of Amitābha, "the one whose radiance is without measure." » Bhagavat has recourse to various comparisons to express how much he it is impossible to get an idea of the perfections of this Buddha. He then describes at length the Earth it occupies, and the congratulations to the inhabitants of that earth; is this wonderful abundance of beings who deserves this world the name of Sukhavatī, "the fortunate land." Bhagavat then takes the same topic in verse. He then lists in prose the advantages insured to the one who pronounces the name of this Buddha, who thinks of him, who feels some desire for the earth here. This subject then reappears in verse. Bhagavat goes to the description of the shaft of Bodhi under which sits Amilābha, and to that of Bodhi innumerable satvas who form the assembly of this Buddha. Two of these Bôdhisattvas, Avalôkilêçvara and Mahāsthānaprāpta (2), have left their fortunate stay to come and live in the world where Çākya lives. Ananda, when the praise of Bôdhisattvas of Amilābha is finished, expresses the desire to see this Tathāgata himself. (1) The name of Sukhavatī means "the fortunate land." Mr. Schmidt, according to the authorities that are unknown to me, identifies this land with the higher of the heavenly floors, we name Akariichiha. (Geschichte der Chi-Mongol, p. ZiZ.) The books that I have at my disposal do not say absolutely nothing of this rapprochement, which I would then check the accuracy. (2) I do not have any particular drop on this Bôdhisattva which is mentioned in the Vocabulary Chinese pentagon (sect. IX, iirt.m), in a caption translated by A. Rémusat {Foe koue M, p. 120), and in the Lotus of the good law, where he immediately follows ^ as here, Avalôkilêçvara, and where his name is written Mahāsthūma prāpta. (The Lotus, etc., p. 2.)

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90 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Similarly, and with barely the he has expressed, that as soon as Amilābha launches the palm of his hand a ray which enlightens of such splendor the land he lives, that the beings that inhabit the world of Çākya can see the Tathāgata Amitābha. Qākya muni then addresses the Bôdhisattva Adjita (the Invincible), who in our Lotus is Māitreya (1), for him ask if he sees all these wonders. This last, who responded positively to all the issues of Bhagavat, it demand in its turn if it has, in the world they live, of the Bôdhisattvas destined to be reborn in that of Sukhavatī. Bhagavat assures him that there is one considerable number, as well as in the world of Buddha Ratnakara which is located at the East, in that of Djyôtiçprabha, from Lôkapradîpa, from Ngābhîbhu, from Viradja-prabha and of many other Buddhas. The

book will end with the enumeration merit promised to those who listen to a such exposure of the law. This enumeration is done in prose and in verse. I must add that the hero of this treaty, Amitabha, there is sometimes called Amilâyus. As for the style, the prose is without-written ; the verses are overloaded with pale, practical forms and barbarians, like those of the Lotus of the good law (2). We are now in a position not only to compare between them the Sūtras , properly so called and the Mahayana, but to appreciate the nature of the similarities and the differences that approach or separate these treaties of those called Mahâ vaipulya or of great development. He is true that I could not put here, under the eyes of the reader, a Sūtra developed in its whole, and that I am often forced, in the discussion that will follow, for me refer to the Lotus of the Good Law which does not even appear ; but I can affirm that this gap is filled almost completely by the analysis that I have just to make the Sukhavativyûha. Nothing looks more in effect to a Mahayana Maha Vaipulya, and the difference of these two species treated is, in truth, that a difference in volume. (1) Mr. A. Rémusat thinks, according to the Chinese authorities, that Ajita (in Chinese A yi to) was one of the disciples of Śākyamuni pendant son existence human, where one has to conclude that it does will take the name of Mâurêja when he appears in quality desuccesseur of Śākya {Foe koueki, p. 33}; but M. Landresse has, I believe, recognized the true value of the word Ajita better than he takes for a simple title of Mâitrôya {Foe koue ki, p. 3:23, note). I will examine further down to how one can believe he has appeared, at the same time that Sakya, one or several Bodhisattvas in India. As for now, I am content to note that if Ajita was the human name of Mâirêya, it would place on to ask why this name was not the only one who seems in the developed sūtras, where this character appears as one of the listeners of the Çākyamuni. I result obviously the Lotus of the good law that Ajita is only an epithet. (2) Csoma de Cōros has already given a short analysis of this Sūtra. {Asian girl. Researches, t. XX, p. 439 and 440.)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .91 The community of title which exists between all these treaties, the sūtras, the Mahayana sūtras and the Mahā Vaipulya sūtras announcement, we should believe of the least of great similarities. However review of the texts themselves not con- does not fully confirm this presumption. A Sūtra of great development is certainly for the form a true Sūtra ; he starts and will end with the same formula ; he is, like the Sūtra that I will call simple, written in prose, with a mixture of more or less versified passages . He is in-core devoted to the exposure of some point of doctrine and legends which likewise serve as an example and authority. But aside from these traits ressemblance which the value don't can be ignored, we find differences nombreuses including the importance seems to me of much superior to the characters as a result of which the Sūtras vaipulyas are classified in the category of sūtras. Let's take this first he has to more outside in a book, so that he is written, and we will immediately struck by the difference that distinguishes the Simple Sūtra of the Sūtra developed. the first of these treatises is written in prose ; the second is in prose mixed with verse, to little close as the compositions brahmins named Tchampit, which I have remembered more high (1). Corn the analogy does not go further, because the poetic part of a great Sūtra is only there repetition, under a different form of the part written in prose ; except a few details qu'amène naturally exposure poetic, there are not many more in the versified passages than in the prosaic passages, and we may at very few exceptions , remove the first without

mutilating the work where they are found. This arrangement, peculiar to any great Sutra, deserves to be compared to the definition given by Chinese Buddhists of the term Gêya, which means, according to them, "doubled song", that is to say which responds to a text "previous, and who there repeat for to manifest the meaning ; he is of six, of" Four, of three or of two sentences. I refer to this as I said previously of this definition (2) ; it is enough for me to notice here that the sanctions in some way the introduction of a small number of poetic stanzas in the body of sūtras. The proportion of those stanzas with the text written in prose, as she is fixed by the Buddhists of China, we prove that do not have had in view the developed sutras, since the parts versified of these sūtras equal, when they do the beyond not, the written parts in prose. At the con-milking, the definition Chinese applies exactly to simple sutras in which in fact meet few stanzas which have no other (1) Forth above, First Memory, p. 13. (2) Above, Second Memorial, sect. I, p. 46 sqq

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92 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY' destination than to reproduce a portion of text in a form more precise or more ornate. But here we will see that at long intervals, to the great poetic developments of Sutras developed, which come back regularly after each part written in prose, and who have to effect to bring in fragments a kind of poem in the middle of a work of which this poem is only the repetition. Under this report, the Vâipulya sutras, which are thus composed, deserve their title of developed. I do not hesitate to believe that they are at this point later to those which REN-Trent the best in the definition, that is to say the Sutras ordinary. They don't, it seems to me, that to apply in a more general way a principle already laid down in the theory of a Sutra, such as that from Kanakavarna. the development is here a sure clue of posteriority ; and without attaching to the Chinese definition an exaggerated value, we can say that between the two classes of Sutras who we occupy, the most authentic, and consequently the oldest, are those where in the simplicity of the form meets the merit of a perfect agreement with this definition. If these observations are correct, they we provide from the outset a character - be certain with the help of which we can divide the sūtras into two classes : the first formed by the sūtras properly so called, they are the simpler and very probably the oldest ; the second comprising the Grand Sutras development, they are the most complicated and starting from the most modern. Of these it still results that if the Sutras appointed by the Buddhists of the North fundamental texts pass to preserve with more of loyalty than the other books the deposit of the word of the Buddha in the wording that has been made, without doubt by the hands various and to the times successive, it must attribute the existence of two classes of Sutras that I come to report. To this sometimes exaggerated developmental character of which it has just been question is in addition one another which completes the separation, in what looks the form, the simple sūtras of the great sūtras. The stanzas introduced in the first of these treaties do not stand out, as to language, of body even of the treaty that is written in prose. The worms and the prose are also Sanskrit ; but here it is quite different with the developed sūtras : the poetic parts of these treaties are written in a Sanskrit almost barbaric, where appear confused the forms of all the ages, Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit. I already have indicated this fact when I compared the value of translations performed in Tibet, - in the Mongolia and in China with the original Sanskrit of Nepal. This that indicates to the way the more clearly a different wording, and he agrees with the development of pieces poetic where the remark to testify

OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .93that these pieces at least do not start from the same hand as the simple Sûtras. Nothing in the books that characterizes this difference in language allows us to give the slightest light on its origin. Should we see the job of a style popular who would have been developed later in the preaching of Śākya and which is intermediate between the Sanskrit regular and the pale, dialect entirely made derivative and obviously posterior to Sanskrit ; or well there should we recognize that the shapeless compositions of writers whom the Sanskrit was no more familiar, and which will have endeavored to write in the language learned, they knew evil, with the freedom that gives the habitual use of a dialect popular little stopped ? Between these two solutions, of which, in my opinion, the second is a lot more likely than the first, it would be up to history to decide ; but his direct testimony we miss, and here we are reduced to induction that we provide the facts fairly rare that we have known so far. Now these facts, we do not find any in the collection of Nepal : his essentials and, to embrace the question as a whole, to consult for a moment the collection Sinhalese and the traditions of the Buddhists of the South. What we there are learning is that the texts sacred were written in Pali, that is to say in a dialect derived from first degree of the learned idiom of the Brahmans, and which differs very little from the dialect that we find on the more ancient monuments of the Buddhists of India. Is it in this dialect that the portions are composed poetical of the great sūtras ? Not at all ; the style of these portions is a language unqualified where an incorrect Sanskrit is bristling forms which are entirely made pallid, and other popular in the sense the more general of this word. There are a part of name geographical to give to a language of this kind ; but includes in the same time that such a mixture is able to produce in the places where the Sanskrit was not studied in a scholarly way , and in the middle of people who did had never spoken where who were aware that the dialects derivatives in degrees more or less distant of the primitive strain . I am therefore inclined to believe that this part of the great sūtras must have been written outside of India, or to express myself in a way more precise, in the regions located below the Indus or in the Kachemire eg country where the language learned of Brahmanism and of Buddhism was to be grown with less than success than in central India. It seems to me although difficult to Nepal say impossible, as the jargon of these poems has been able to produce at a time when the Buddhism it was blooming in Indostan. So in effect, the religious had the choice that between these two idioms : or the Sanskrit is the language that dominates in the compositions collected at Nepal ; or the Pali is the dialect that we found on the old ones Buddhist inscriptions from India and which been adopted by the Sinhalese Buddhists .

94 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY I come to say that the Sanskrit dominates in the Buddhist compositions of North : it is a fact that the discovery of the Nepalese collection put out of doubt, but who, any doubt it is, can not be advanced sans quel-what restrictions. In what Sanskrit are these books written ? Is it in the style epic, this style at the times noble and simple of the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata ? Is it in the rich and colorful language of dramatic compositions ? Is this in the monotonous idiom and a little dull of the Purānas ? Or is it in the compact, but obscure prose , commentators ? We understand easily which use the critical history would one answer yes, it was possible to give to such or such of those four questions. But the answer does not can be affirmative on any of these points, because the Buddhist books are not written in any of these styles. They are composed with

Sanskrit words under-wind caught up in new acceptances , and especially combined by virtue of alliancesunusual that astonish a reader familiar with theworks of theliteratureof the Rrahmans. The language has,among the Ruddhists, followed the march of ideas ;and as their conceptions differed appreciably from thoseof the Rrahmans,their style has become very different from the stylescholar of these. This observa-tion applies strictly to the collection canonical any integer ;the only onesexceptions that it encounters are found in books whichis present witha more modern character , or which are attributedto more or less authorsknown. These booksor look a lot like the Purânasbrahmanic, orare written in the style of commentators and in a Sanskrit quite okay. Heresults from therethat over the Buddhist compositions depart the time whenhave been written books marked with the character ofinspiration, plus theysebring closer to the classic style of the Rrahmans ;whereas that more they backto these times, unless they look like models range we have con-Serves the literature Orthodox (1).It is in the class of booksinspired that will put theSutras, thealonehares of which wewe have to occupy ourselves at this moment, and that isalso theirstyle(1) In orlliodoxe calling the literature of the Brahmins, I am up to the point of view of India, andI think that there is nothing in the use of this expression which is contrary to history, sincetaken to its origin, the Buddhism was unorthodox, in that he denied the authority of the Vedas Brahmanics. I wish that this observation could I put away the judgment severe thatMr. Schmidt has brought against this opinion, when relying on the huge expansion that has takenand preserved the Buddhism, he said "while in fact contrary to the philosophy and almost laughable "the use of these expressions of orthodox and d: heterodox, "which is used with a lot of" Gravity of the English, and that Repellent with both of naivety of French scholars and German. "Mr. Schmidt has no more indulgence for theNaming sects that has sometimesapplied to the Buddhists, and which he declares no less absurd. {Same. of the Academy of Sciencesfrom St. Petersburg, till, p. 45, note.)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .95which offers the most large number of these traits ownto the Sanskrit of Buddhism. Theyare written in avery simple prose , and where thesentenceshave in general littleof development. Weit sees from far away in far appear fewstances consa-createdto the maxims moral orphilosophical stanzaspresumablyvery old, butwhowill have no one betterstylethan the works wherethey are found. These books have a popular color that strikesat the firstview, and shapedialogued who dominates usually they give the appearanceofconversations that actually took place between a master and his disciples.Hethere is, in this respect, almostno distinction to be made between the sim-ples and the Sutrasdeveloped,the least in what looks the part comparable of these two classesof books, that is to say the dialogue andthe story written inprose. Only the developed Sutras have a style more extensive and more diffuse ;the proposals are always periodicandthe periodsoften huge,which is very rare in theSimple sutras .I dontcould, without entering into the details techniquesgive a precisionmore rigorous to the description than Ijust to make the styleSanskrit of the Sutras.I do not believe, however, that I am exempt from producing theproof of my feelinglie, but I find that these proofswill be not here to theirsquare.The studyof Buddhist Sanskrit will certainly have moreof interest when hewill be possibleof the compare to pale

of books of Ceylon. I already have gathered many materials for this comparison, and I hope to be able to bring together one more still a large number. Here the results of the general of this study is that the traits themselves by which the Sanskrit Buddhist be distinguished from the Sanskrit Brahman are all found in the Palifrom Buddhists of the South ; than these traits, which relate to the meaning of words, but especially the syntax is summarized dans des idiolismes and the turns populaires, and that thus the books of North, although composed in the learned idiom of Brahmins are related to the way the more intimate to the books of the South, written, as we know, in a dialect popular derives from Sanskrit. This conclusion will, I hope, be admitted without difficulty, when it is recognized that these analogies of style are mainly noticed in the passages devoted to the expression of beliefs and the traditions common to the Buddhists of the North and those of Ceylon. The outer shape of the two species of sūtras whose existence has just been noted earlier We provide yet other characters quite done worthy of attention. So this who, under the report of the shape, distinguish a Sutra of great development, like the Lotus of the good law, of a Sutra simple, such as that of Kanakavarnaque I translated above, it is the develop-

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96 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY mentet the broadcast. The Sūtras ordinaires are, in relation to books such as the Lotus, written with a remarkable measure. The traits main of Sūtras developed there find themselves in general ; but these traits there are only indicated, and always in a concise manner. The Buddha is usually in acity the center of India, in the middle of une assemblée of Religious who listened tent ; this assembly, made up of a number of listeners generally considerable, is increased sometimes from the crowd of gods with whom talks Çākya, by virtue of his supernatural power. But we do not find, in this indication of the place of the scene and the setting simple Sūtras, nothing qui rappelle the broad and tedious developments which open a large number of sūtras developed, and of which we see an example in the Lotus of the Good Law. That we compares, indeed, with the beginning of this last work, that of the Sutra of Kanakavarna, and we will understand on what is the difference that I have purpose of report. In the Sūtras extended, as the Saddharma pūdarīka, the Samādhirājya, the Saddharma Langkāvatāra, the Lalita Vistara, the Gandavyūha, the Buddha does not meet a meeting that will be composed of a number ordinarily ment exaggeration of religious and of Religious, of Dōvas of all the orders, and especially of Rōdhisattvas, personnages dont their merits are not no less innumerable that their names are complicated (1). The presence of the Rōdhi-sattvas in the preamble of the great Sūtras is in particular a peculiarity very characteristic, and that these separated from un manière entirely made trench Simple sūtras. He is not said in any of the simple Sūtras or Avadānas that I know a single Rōdhisattva has never attended to an assembly where Çākya taught the law ; and the Rōdhisattva that we find them more frequently cited, Maitreya, that is to say the one that should succeed to Sakyamuni (2), as Buddha, not seem ever to my knowledge, that there where he must be in the system of all the Buddhists, namely among the Tushitas gods (3), of the remains of which he will descend a day on the earth, for it to accomplish its existence last mortals such, rise to rank of Buddha savior of the world, and then enter into complete annihilation of Nirvana. Yes I have well understood the Sūtras and the (1) M. Schmidt has given, according to the Mongolian books, a very good description of the preamble of a developed Sutra. { Ueber einige Grundlehren des Buddh., In Mém. of Acad. science of St.

Petersburg, 1. 1, p. 242, 243.) (2) We can see in a note of Foe koue ki (p. 33 and 34) the summary summary of the legend on the coming future of Maitreya in quality of Buddha. (3) The Tuchitas, or joyful gods, are also known to the Brahmans, to whom the Buddhists have probably borrowed the name. In the Buddhist cosmogony, they inhabit the fourth of the six heavens superimposed above the earth, which together form the world of desires. (A. Remusat test on the Buddhist cosmogony, in Journal des Savants, year 1831, p. 610.)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .97 Sanskrit avadânas which are at my disposal, there can exist at the time of the land a Buddha and a bodhisattva, because as the bodhisattva is a Buddha in power, the coexistence of these two characters produce the coexistence of two Buddhas living at the same time in the same world, that that does seem not admit the Buddhists, at which the unity of the living Buddha is one a dogma as firmly established as was the unity of God among the Jews. It's here at least what seems to me to result of this maxim that I find in the Saddharma Langkâvatâra : " He is impossible, it can not be done, has said Bha- "gavait, that he naitse à both in a same universe several Tathâgatas (1). " The name of Bodhisattva, which means literally " the one who possesses the essence " Of the Bôdhi, or of the intelligence of a Buddha, " is the As for the man than the practice of all the virtues and the practice of the meditation have matured, following the expression of all the schools Buddhist, for the acquisition of the state supreme of a perfectly accomplished Buddha . The man who will feel the desire to achieve in this state no can achieve it by the sole efforts of his will ; he should he has, during of many lives, deserved the favor of or from various of these elders and gigantic Buddhas, in the reality of which the Buddhas believed heists ; and that's only when he is in possession of their favor that he go, in one of the heavens that rise above the earth, wait, under the title of Bôdhisattva, the moment of his coming into the world. Down on the ground, he is still Bôdhisattva, and is not yet Buddha ; and that's when he has La-made all the tests, done the homework the most high, penetrated by the science the truths the most sublime, it becomes Buddha. So he is able to deliver the men of the conditions of the transmigration by their teacher charity, and in their showing that the one who practices during this life the duties of the corporation and tries to arrive at the science can one day arrive to the supreme state of Buddha. Then when he has thus taught the law, he between in Nirvana, i.e. in annihilation full, where takes place, following the more old school, the final destruction of body and of the core. One could suppose however (and it is by there that I conclude that that I to say about this subject) than the presence of Bôdhisattva Maitreya to the assemblies of Çâkyâ is only momentary, and that it has nothing in contradiction with the dogma of the unity of the Buddha, in that it is the result of a miracle. It is obviously by this species to the ultima ratio of religions oriental he should explain it ; and in fact, if the gods come down from the sky for to make visible in Çâkyâ ., as the believe the Buddhists, can Maitreya good also figure, (1) Saddharma Langkâvatâra, f. 59 6.

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98 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY as well as the wants the Lotus of the Good Law (1), the number of listeners of this wise. Let us therefore admit that it is by virtue of his supernatural power that he sometimes give up, to come to the earth, the sky of the Tuchitas gods, one other passage of the Lotus itself represents as his usual stay (2). However, the simple sutras which, like the developed sutras, attribute to Bôdhisattvas a superhuman

power, not say no, and that I am the remark-docks all at the time, that Maitreya has never attended the meetings of Śākya. If so they leave in the sky the future heir of the sage, this is probably not that they recoil before a miracle, it is rather that they reproduce a tradition different from that of the developed sūtras. Here I think at least the difference is all the more worthy of attention as the point to which it relates has less of value in itself. NS will say as much of the presence of these myriads of Bôdhisattvas, of which arrival miraculous occupies both of sites in the last chapters of the Lotus of the good law. Like the Buddhists of the North design of infinities universes located at ten points from space, they thus increase to infinity the number of Buddhas and of the Bôdhisattvas who coexist in the same time; and so that these Bôdhisattvas can hear the sermons of such or such of these countless Buddhas, hence their suit of more single act of their powers supernatural. But here again I noted a difference is found between the Simple Sutras and the Developed sutras. These myriads of worlds which the big Sutras populate the space, these numerical exaggerations, or despite their drought we find a vague sense of the infinite grandeur of the universe, are entirely made foreign to those of the simple sutras that I have read. From there comes that these last treatises do not show us, as does the Lotus of the good law of the Buddhas and especially Bôdhisattvas arriving in crowds from all the dots of space to assist with the preaching from Çākya muni. The editors of these treatises, besides their inclination to believe in miracles, however had more than one opportunity of telling scenes of this kind, and the tradition they provided all the elements of accounts analogous to those which we read in the last chapters of the Lotus. And do not mention one example, the preamble to the Simple Sutra of Kanakavarna, preamble in which are listed all the beings whose Śākya receives the homage, not to say any of the names of the Bôdhisattvas introduced at the beginning of the Lotus, nor does he speak of this crowd of similar characters who figure in some chapters of this last treatise. (t) Chap. I, p. 2 and pasà. (2) Chap. XXVI, f. 245 a, text, and p. 279, trad.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .99 This remark also applies to the formula which ends this same Sutra. simple; they are seen, no more than in the preamble, the slightest trace of the presence of these characters who appear infrequently on the scene of Developed sutras. The comments that come to give place the supernatural listeners who miraculously attend the assemblies of Çākya touch on the times in the form and to fund Sutras developed. These Bôdhisattvas in effect not be shown not only in the framework of the treaty framework that could conceivably to the rigor as having been added after the fact, but they take part to the events of the preaching of the Buddha. Their presence or their lack in the text therefore the funds even for books whence is the remark, and he is well evident to see that this alone does not draw a line deep demarcation between the Ordinary sutras and the Developed sutras. The comparative examination of these two classes of books will we get to even to report several others who will, if I'm not mistaken, throw of day on the history of the Sūtras and in the same time on one of Northern Buddhism in general. Corns since I talked about Bôdhisattvas, that I be allowed to mention here two of these characters who appear in the first row, not only in the Lotus of the good law, but in the more general number of sūtras developed. I myself already sufficiently explained touching Mâitrêya, including the presence of the assemblies Śākya was certainly a thing unknown to compilers of the vast collection of sūtras simple which carries the title of Divija avadâna. However the Mâitrêya's name appears in these treatises; that is, I

have said morehîut, acharacter of themythology of the future, the future Buddha . the namesof the two wise men of whichI'm going to talk about are the contrary very fact foreign tosutras ofDivya avadâna ;theytheredo not appeareven a single time. Thosenames are those ofMafidjuçrî andAvalokiteśvara of which are one and the other ofBôdhisattvas. In our Lotus of the good law, Mañjuśrî is a listenersfrom Çākya ;it is the first city among the Bôdhisattvas who sit in the assemblydescribed in the first chapter ;it is the one to which Mâitrêyaasks the explanationtion of the difficulties that stop it. The Lotus of the Good Law represents Mandjuçrîas an eminent Bodhisattvaby thescience andby the virtue that filledall the duties imposed on his condition under countless previous Buddhasin Çākyaamuni ;But the rest, this book will teach us nothing that the make con ^be born more particularly, and heis clear that in speaking as a personalfamous swim elsewhere.And the fact, little of names are also often cited among the Buddhists ofNorththan that of Mandjuçrî, after however thename of Çākya, and perhaps

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400INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYalso that of the second Bôdhisattva of which I speak just now.So theCihinois, who, as I havealready makes sense,follow ingeneral thetraditionof the North, have a very special veneration for Mafidjuçrî , which is alsoshared bythe Tibetans andby ^theMongols.The relationship of Fa hian useven provides on this characterainformation of any interest :pre-firstly, in what she doesback at least to IV "century of notreère thecult of which Mandjuçri was the object ;secondly, in thisthat she gives toto thinkthat existenceof Mandjuçrî is linked byof links which we are stillunknown to that of a considerable portionfrom the collection of the North, the Pradjnapâramilâ, of which hewill soon be question. Here the transition even that importantto quote. After having reported the tributes he had seen pay to the towers, it is that is to say to the Slûpas of Çâriputra, of Mâudgalyâyana andof Ananda, quisubsis-were still of his time in the Madhyadôça, that is to say in India cen-trale.Fa hianadds :"
Thosewho have a master of A pithan make their((tributes to the Apithan; those who havea master in factofprecepts"on honor themprecepts. Every year heyhas a department of this kind, and((each of them in its turn. The devotees in my hoyan {Mahâyâna) render((tribute to Pan jopho lo mi {Pradj'hâ pâramilâ), in Wen tchu sse li(vs {Mahdjiiirl) and to Kuan Chi in {Avalôhitêçvara) (I)." I have no doubt thatby theA term pi than we do should hear the Abhidharma, as was wellseen M. A. Rémusat, and that the preceptsdonot designate the Sutras, a distinction whichbelongs to the early ages of Buddhism, andwho isperpetuated duringthat is developed the various schoolsborn philosophersthe breast of this cult,the one is connectedespecially to the sutras, or topreceptsemanated from themouth ofGākya himself, the others following the Abhidharma or the collections ofmetaphysical extracts of Sutras, or to unemanière more generalof the predictioncation even Buddha. A side of these two classesof texts that I spokefully in my description of the Buddhist collection in general, Fa hianBuddhist placewhich followed the Mahayana, or books used to greatvehicle andthat made a cult in the Perfection- of thewisdom.I havealreadysummarily indicated , and Iwill show laterin detail,as the title ofPradjhâ pramitâ is the generic nameof booksdevoted to thehautemétaphysique, and it me enough in this moment to say that the treaties togetherunder this title are in fact, as the 'thoughtFa hian, works serving aslarge vehicle.But thisheimportedto call back isthat theSutrasdeveloped are also called Mahâyânas, and that this titlebornapplies,to my(I) Foe koue ki, p.101.

OF INDIAN BUDDHISM . *101 knowledge, only a single des Sûtra simple from the collection of Divyaavadâna ; this Sûtra is the Dânaâdhikâra, small treatise a page on the thirty-seven ways in which we must exercise charity, which has a very poor value and has a simple Sûtra as Title (i). Now is not this a fact worthy of attention? to see the name of Mandjuçrî, which Fa hian represents to us in some sort like the boss des sectateurs Mahayana, quoted in the books, in the Sûtras which, according to the double testimony of the tradition and the monumental monuments, this title applies of Mahâyâna? And this reconciliation does he explain not to a certain extent opinion of Csoma de Côtos, for whom Mandjuçrî is a mythological character, the kind and the beautiful ideal of the wisdom (2)? All us do therefore to recognize that there is some relation between this per-ringtone and part of the collection known Buddhist under the title of Pradjnd Parramila at which he must join those of the sûtras developed where his name is found cited, not for did that he be the author of these books, but simply to establish that they have been written since the time where we had started to attribute to this character a role, either real or imaginary. This is not here the Instead of searching that the could be this role; this point will find its place in the sketch that I will draw of the history of Indian Buddhism . Heenough for me in this time to have shown that the Simple sûtras do never speak of a Bôdhi-sattva named Mançjuçrî, Bôdhisattva who, on the contrary, plays in the sûtras developed a role very important and have added this feature back to features already numerous which distinguish the vâipulyas sûtras of those that other clues urge me to look at it as anterior. What I just to say to Mañjuçrî apphque is not less rigorously to the second of the Bôdhisattvas of which I wanted to talk, to the one we call Avalô-kilêçvara. This name is not mentioned a single time in the Sûtras, or in the Legends of the avadâna çataka, nor in those of Divya avadâna, while he figure in first rank in our Lotus of the good law. He is named the second, at once after Mandjuçrî, in an enumeration of the Bôdhisattvas who serve introduction to this work; and in addition, a chapter whole, the xxiv®, having for title : " The perfectly happy story , " Is devoted tout entier to the glory of this holy personage. He must agree that this story appears well m-(1) Divya avadâna, î. 275 b, man. Soc. As. (2) Tibet. Gramm., P, 193. Already M. Schmidt, prior to Csoma, considered Mandjuçrî as the source of divine inspiration . {Geschichteder Ost-Mongol, p. 310.) Since then he has more recently still marked its role in the cosmogony metaphysics of Buddhism septen-trional. {Ueber einige Grundlehr. of Buddh., in Mém. of Acad. of Sciences of St. Petersburg, t. I, p. 100.)

i02 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY dioere, even in the midst of mediocrities that fill the last chapters of the Lotus of the good law ; and the presence of such piece in a book where nothing does the ad does not itself a fact easy to explain. Everything becomes clear, if we think to the high role assigned to this Bôdhisattva the Buddhists from the North. The Tibetans it look like the boss of their country; the Mon-gols adopted the legends that celebrate his faculties supernatural, and the Chinese him also make a cult special. Mr. Schmidt has cleverly insisted on the role that this Bôdhisattva joue in the history of Buddhism septen-trional, in particular in the Tibetan and in the Mongolian (1). Mr. A. Rémusat written, from various Chinese texts, a curious note on this great Bôdhi-sattva, and he has shown the influence that exercises, according to the Buddhists of the North, on the preservation and perpetuity of their faith {%. I will have occasion, in my Historical

sketch , to come back to this famous character ;I noticed out ONLY lie herethat in us therepresentative as associated with Mandjuçî in the cultthat it makes thefollowers of the Abhidharma, Fa hian authorizes us to shootof thepresence of his name in theSutras developed onkids cons-quences than those which have just been explained earlier in relation toMandjuçrî.The names of these two Bôdhisaitvas, in thelegends of whichdominatethe elements in some closeexclusively fabulous, lead me naturally Toreportone anotherset of designs in one ordersimilar,of whichthe absence takes placealso noticein the Sutras the simplest, butwhich is seized of many footsteps in the developed sūtras. I want speak of this system of superhuman Buddhas and Bôdhisaltvas , called Dhyûiii Buddhas and Dhyâni Bôdhisaltvas ^ which was not very generally known before the research of M. Hodgson (3).I could refer to first Memory of this scholar for what looks this part of Buddhism north ;it's(1) See the observations of this author at the end of his History of the Eastern Mongols(p. 424),and especially those he has recorded in his first memoir on a few points fundamentals of Buddhism. {Same. by f Acad. des sciences de S.-Pétersbourg, t.1,p. 110 sqq)The only point on which I would move away from his feeling is the opinion where he is that Ava-lôkitêçvara must have been one of the listeners of Sakyamuni. (Ibd., T.I,p. 244; tII,p. 13.) The remarks developed in my text tend to prove that this name is all in fact foreigner the Sutras that I appear emanated the most direct of the preaching of Çākya, and that I believe to be the oldest.(2) Foe Jioue ki, p. 117.(3) Mr. Schmidt states that they are very often mentioned by the Buddhists of Mongolia; and in the fact Pallas {Sammlung. hist. Nachricht., T.He, p. 86 and 87) and M. Schmidt {Geschichte der Ost-Mongol, p, 473) had quoted, although with some alterations, the names of the five Buddhas superhuman. {Same. of Acad. studies of St. Petersburg, t. I, p. 95, note 7.)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .back in this Memoir, if still nine , despite everything what we have gathered since, that the reader will find the clarify the more specific about the theory of Buddhas and celestial Bodhisattvas , such that hear the Nepalese (1). It is however essential that I present here the main features of this system, in order to put the reader in state to appreciate the difference, to my very deep sense, which distinguishes the books in which he to show those whence it borrows does not appear .In the Memory that I just to mention, after having asked until what point the four great sects between which is currently divided the Buddhism of Nepal, and of which it will be spoken more relate adopted the divisions many of the popular Pantheon , Mr. Hodgson establishes that the religion practiced of this country distinguishes clearly the wise men of human origin , who have acquired by their efforts and their virtues the rank of Buddha, of another class more raised of Buddhas including the kind and origin are purely intangible. The first, we called Mâm tchi Buddhas or Buddhas humans are a number of seven ; it is these characters, celebrated in the legends, which Çākya muni is the last (2). The second are called Anupapâdakas, that is say " without parents," And Dhyâni Buddhas, that is to say " Buddhas of the contemplation." The school theistic of Nepal assumed that Adi Buddha, or Buddha essential, existing by itself, Intini and omniscient, created, by cinq acts of his contemplative power , these five Buddhas, collectively named Pantcha Dhyâni Buddhas. Each of these divine Buddhas received at birth the double energy of science and of contemplation to which he owed existence ; and by This dual power each of them gave the day to a Dhyâni Bôdhisattva, who is with regard to the generator Buddha as a son To with

regard to his father. Those Bôdhisattvas pass to be the true ones authors of the created world ;but the works they produce are perishable. Three of these creations have already ceased (t) Asiatic Researches, t.XVI, p. 440 sq. It is purpose that I limit and this summary; we know that Mr. Schmidt has expressed a different opinion concerning the Dhyâni Buddhas , on which I will come back in time.(2) The seven Buddhas, three former belong to the earlier ages to the world's live; the next four have appeared in our present system ; Çâkyamuni is the fourth, and Mâiréya must succeed him . {Sapta Buddha dôtra, in Asiatic Bes., T.XVI, p. 453 sq. ; corap. with Schmidt, Mém. of Acad. des sciences de S.-Petersbourg, t. I, p. 105 and 106.) M, Schmidt is of opinion that these three Buddhas may have appeared in the period of increase of this system. {Mem., Etc., t.II, p.65.) We have shown (Asiatic Bes., T.XVI, p. 455) that the worship specially returned to seven Buddhas taken from the innumerable crowd of the ancient figures of this name was not a feature of Nepalese Buddhism . I added that we will find also in the Buddhism of the South; but I have to adjourn this that I have to say on this point tomorrow where I will deal with the predecessors of Çâkyamuni, for the historical sketch of Buddhism.

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404 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY "to exist ; one of which we are part of is the fourth, that is to say, what is the work of the fourth Bôdhisattva, named Avalôkitêçvara or Padmapâni (I). This is what explains the particular cult of which this Bôdhisattva is the object of the from Nepalese and Tibetans, who go quelquefois jusqu'à the to concern like the Supreme and unique God . Finally, and for short, here is the double list of these Buddhas and of these Bôdhisattvas divine, fruit of the contemplation of a primitive and ideal Âdibuddha.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .105 gnage of this text is at my decisive eyes ,and I do not hesitate to believe that the system discussed earlier can exist as well with the design of the Nature with that of God, especially when given in the first part the attributes that recognizes the other. The Lotus of the good Law provides, in favor of this opinion, more of an argument of great weight. He must first admit that it is a book that not contain anything that don't may confess school naturalists such as we there present the excerpts and the analyzes of Mr. Hodgson (1). We do not find the slightest traces of the idea of God, or of any higher buddha to the last of the human Buddhas, at Çâkyamuni. There, as in the simple Sutras, it is Çâkyamuni which is the more importantly, the first of beings ;and although the imagination of our compiler gifted with all the perfections of science and of under admitted in the Buddhists ; though Sakya revealed already a mythological character , when it declares that he there is for a long time that he fulfills the duties of a Buddha, and he must then fill long-still time , despite his death next, which one do not destroy his eternity ; qu'on en fin it represents creating of his body the Buddhas who are like the images and ideal reproductions of his mortal person , nothing goes Çâkyamuni is not named God; nowhere he not receiving the title of Adibuddha; nothing goes his works and his acts of heroism, as well that they call, do not offer the slightest relationship with these developments through which, following school theist, the five named Buddhas Dhyâni come out of an eternal Buddha and absolute. Well , this book where the idea of God, and to speak like the Buddhists of the Nepal, the idea of an Adibuddha is sound known (2), offers the traces clear of belongs to a separate world like her. The first year is that of abstraction, of the absolute itself , of being in oneself; it exists as such only in the first world, in that of the void :is

Buddha in the Nirvana. The second kind is the manifestation of the Buddha to the breast of the power and of the sanctity; it appears in the second world: it is the Dhyâni Buddha. The third is its manifestation in a form human; it appears in the third world: it is the Mânuchi Buddha. In this way the Buddha belongs to both the three worlds, for he is essentially unlimited. M. Schmidt supports this theory with a remarkable passage from Suvârna prabhâsa, which I do not have unfortunately not the text, but who must, I do not doubt that it was originally composed in Sanscrit. I have so far met, in the books that are at my disposal, no text that has a direct relation to this doctrine, on which I will come back to when I speak of the Buddhas prior to Çâkyâ. I can however already say that it is, according to me, go a little further, that represents this theory as the expression of pure Buddhism and as clean in all the schools, except that of Nepal. I do not fear to claim that she is unknown, as well as the Buddhas whom she takes care, to the Buddhists of Ceylon, and the oldest form of Northern Buddhism. (1) What, from orig. Sanscr. Author., In Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. V, p. 71 sqq. (2) Schmidt we learn, in addition to a passage from his memoirs that in must say so many books Mongols, where the existence of the five superhuman Buddhas is frequently

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io ^INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY system of Buddhas superhuman in this way of the xxii "chapter, where we let's learn that the Buddha Amilâbha, that is to say the fourth of the Buddhas of Jacontemplation is contemporary, in one another universe however, of Çâkyamuni, the one and only Buddha of our world (i). And as for complete the notion expressed by this passage, a couplet from the xxiv "chapter represents us Avalôkitêçvara, the Bôdhisattva reputed to be a son of this Amilâbha, standing beside the Buddha's father, who is the West ruler of a ideal world like him (2). I still recognize one another trace the beginning of xxvi "chapter where the Bôdhisattva Samantabhadra miraculously comes to attend the assembly chaired by Çâkyamuni, for him testify his satisfaction. Car Samantabhadra is none other than the first of the Bôdhisattvas, or the son of first of Divine buddhas of the island cited above. These texts, I there repeat, support this opinion, that the theory of the five superhuman Buddhas can belong to a different sect than that of theists, in other words, that this theory is not necessarily related to the design of a Âdibuddha, such as the admittance these. Corn whatever he can be of Celtic opinion which I do not hesitate to stop me, the point principal of the present discussion does is no less firmly established; and this point is that one of the developed sutras, the most estimated of Nepal, bears the manifest imprint of the ideas to which misstain this system. Now he is good time of the say nothing of all that I am to describe does not exist in the simple sutras of Divyaavadâna. The idea of an or of several Buddhas superhuman, one of Bôdhisattvas créés by them are conceptual It is as foreign to these books as that of Im dibuddha or of a God. Mr. Hodgson, he is vrar, has cited two pieces very curious extracts of Divyaavadâna, who establish positively the existence of Adibuddha, supreme type and recalled, and that one of the Âdibuddha of Nepal is cited no part. (Mem. Of Acad. des sciences de S.-Péter & bourg, t. I. p. 97 sqq. and 212 ff.) This author has well since the notion of a supreme God represented by Adibuddha was foreign to primitive Buddhism; and he has refuted with success, although a little severely, the theory that Mr. Ab. Rémusat was established on the existence of this notion borrowed from theistic Buddhism of Nepal. {Ueber einige Grundlehr. of the Buddhs, in Mém. of Acad. of the hereemes of S.-Pétenbutirg, I. II, p. 3 ff.) I do not think he can no longer be doubted on this

point since Csoma de Cijros established, by the auloril of books libél.iins, that the i croy; ince to a Ādibuddha not aviiil not been introduced to; ins India v "nlr; .thebefore the tenth century of our era. {Note on the Au / a chakia, d.inà Jonrn. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. II,p. 57 ff. Anal, of the Slwrchin, etc., in Asiat. Researches, t.XX, p. 488.}(1) The Lotus of the Good Law, ch. xxu, f. 220 has the text; p. 251 of the translation.(2) i, ôLotus of the good law,ch.xxiv, f.233 b and 234 a of the text; p.267 of the tetra-dviGliioiii.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .I0fideal of the human Buddha Çākya (I),and who would thus bring upuntilSutras and the avadānas that I examine the concepts that in my eyes,do not appearfeels that in other works of which he will be discussed later. But I have in vain looked for these two passages in the of them copies of Divyaavadana who are h my disposal.I conclude from there,or that the manuscripts consulted by Mr. Hodgson are more complete than the ours, and that they may contain some works of a character different from those who occupy the most big place, Where that the title taken from the Divya avadāna has been applied to these two fragments, by one of those typographical transpositions of which M.Hodgson got already complained on the occasion of the memory even when it the inserted a. In any way that this difficulty is explained , I persist to say that the reported designs just now are all in fact foreign to the Sutras of the aforementioned collection. Some attention that I brought to the reading of these treaties, I would not have been able to discover the slightest trace of this vast mythological apparatus where the imagination to play in through the spaces infinite, the medium forms and of numbers gigantic. I There have never met that the Buddhas, renowned human, which Śākya is the last ;and I haven't even seen anywhere that they would give Celtic qualification of human Buddhas , both the conception of a Buddha who does would not a upstart man of more high degree of holiness out of the circle of ideas which constitute the fund even the Sutras simple. In a word, the Buddhas prior to Çākya do not in any way have the divine character of the Buddhas of the contemplation ;they are like him the men of son of Brahmins or of kings ;and stories which they appear have a such resemblance to those where Çākya plays the first role, in the hearing, if ever it 's at old, his disciples could have told him, like the Latin stove , mutalo nominede te fabula narralnr.Of all the traits that I have reported in the during this discussion, the one that i just developed earlier is undoubtedly the more important, because he key to fund kid of the doctrine. Whatever interpretation we ingives it differs from the way the more settled the Sutras developed others Sūtras, and he is added to the various clues that allowed me to do the second category of books very different from the class of First, despite the community of title. Other details could undoubtedly be gathered here in favor of the distinction on which I insist ;but none will be one too greater value than those that I viens'd'exposer. I am Suffice to indi-quera single, which I do not attach no of great importance, because it(1)What, from orig. Sanscr. Auihor., In Journ. Asiat., Soc. of Bengal, t. V, p. 72 and 82.

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108 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY can, as I will say, be the result of interpolation. I wantspeak the formulas or magical spells, called Mantras or Dhāranīs, who belong in own to the part of the literature Buddhist named Tantra, of which he will be spoken in a sectionspecial. These formulas, where what-ques meaningful words are lost among a crowd of syllables unintelligible, have found a place in the developed sūtras, and the Lotus of the good law in particularment to a chapter devoted to the charms that Bōdhisattvas

promise 'to the one who will have the Lotus itself (1). We design easily a time accepted the belief at the ease of such formulas, he has been able to get introduced after blowing the books also estimated that the Sūtras developed of the Mahāyāna. But he is allowed to wonder why these formulas were not also slipped into the Sūtras which I call simple. Now I have examined with a very close attention all the treaties of two collections of Divya avadāna and of the avadāna ṣalaka ; and the most striking trace of Dhāranī or of formula magical that I am there have met is found in the legend of Çārdūla karna, legend from which I will borrow some relative passages to castes, and that I suspect to be more modern than many other legends of these two collections (2). We must therefore look as established that the Mantras and the Dhāranīs are all in fact foreigner to the simple Sūtras, while that in REN-against more traces or fewer in the developed sūtras. What that is the cause of this fact, it is to him only a significant difference it is important to joint to the other characters that I have gathered higher. Thus, and for me summarize the Sūtras that I look as primitive, that is as the most rapprochés de the preaching of Śākya have stayed in sheltered from the double influence exerted on the developed sūtras by the system the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas celestial, and the class of Tantras, or more specially of dhāranīs, that is to say the formulas which belong to this class of books. How is it possible now to understand the existence of these two categories of sūtras ? It seems to me that the aforementioned passage by Fa hian and the results of my research on the old schools between which is shared the Buddhism of the North provide an explanation very satisfying of this difficulty. Fa hian attests in twenty places of his relationship that he existed of his time of many schools, peacefully living together with each other under masters distinct, and usually in the monasteries separated. The followers of the Mahayana are among others frequently mentioned, and distinguished by (1) The Lotus of the Good Law, ch. xxi, f. 207 b of the text, p. 238 sqq. of the translation. (2) Çārdūla karna, in Divya avadāna, fol. 218 a, man. Soc. Asian girl.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .109 there even of the Religious given over to the study of the sūtras, or, as it is translated according to Fahian, precepts. There is in fact more easy to understand existences simultaneous of several Buddhist schools, and the testimony of Chinese traveler is here fully confirmed by that of the philosophical texts what we let's talk more lower in the section devoted to the metaphysical of Buddhism, and where we will see a sect of Sautrāntika, or Cultist of the Sūtras. But one time recognized this as the Sūtras Simple have belonged at a school, they Sūtras developed at a time, for example at school of Mahayana, so numerous in IVth century of our era, it still remains to be researched if these two schools are also old, that is to say if they are due to only fact of the writing of the Buddhist scriptures in three large classes, made that we will say more later, belongs to the first time in the history of Buddhism. It is there, is thesees, the real point of the question, the point actually historical. Because if we succeed in establishing that the developed sūtras are contemporaries of the sūtras simple, and then he will have to put them some and the others in the same rank, among the sources who's he is allowed to tap the knowledge of Buddhism primitive. Let it become possible at the con-milking to show that these two classes of books belong to the ages different, and he is hardly necessary to say that one of them will be placed a greater distance than the other of the time where was for the first time written by writing the doctrine of Qākya. If among the books of Existing Nepal today in France, there was a history of Buddhism, or only a

summary chronological from main events that have marked the origin and development, the question that I just asked could without doubt be resolved by direct way. For the story of Buddhism we lack so far to little close completely; and when he is about to determine, as is here the place, the relative epoch of two works or two schools, it is up in a sort in a vicious circle, following deduce some historical data from the analysis of works including we ignore the story. The study of texts themselves, however, is the only guide that we have had to follow to get out of these obscurities; and we know what lights have often thrown on facts entirely ignored from history examination comparative of ancient texts. Also, despite the silence that keep the books buddhists that I have consulted on the differences that distinguish the sūtras developed simpler sutras, and on the question to know if they have been the one and the other written at the same time; despite even the presumption that this silence creates in favor of the opinion that represents these two species of books as belonging also to the first period of the drafting of

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410 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Buddhist scriptures, I do not hesitate to believe that the Vâipulya sūtras are posterior to others, or in other words, that the simple Sūtras are more close of the preaching of Çākya muni than the Sūtras developed. The reasons that I then give in favor of this sense are of two kinds: the one, which are intrinsic, resulting of the study even of Sūtras ordinary, compared to developed sutras; the others, who are extrinsic, are provided to me by some facts belonging to the general history of the Buddhist Indian dhism; I return I exhibit the second in history of the collection Nepal and to the comparison that I will do with that of Geylon, and I attach myself here only of a few. I will start by answering an objection you may want to take to the classification tant of times cited the writings Buddhist in three great classes, the Sūtras or precepts, the Vinaya or the discipline and the Abhidharma or the metaphysical. Why, one might say, Developed sutras, which already carry, of the confession of all the world, the title of Mahayana (great vehicle), not apparliendraient-ils pas to the class of books con-sacred to the metaphysical? Why no -one would not Sūtras the most simple the class of true sūtras, the first class of scriptures inspired? In a word, what reason prevents watch these books as emanated from same degree of the preaching of the last Buddha, and as written all also at the same time? The reason I do not fear no advance it, is that who in the silence of history, would prevent placing on the kidrank the Letters of Saint Augustine and the Epistles of Saint Paul; and if we are auto-laughed, to reject this comparison which does not cross that in the form of this that Saint Augustine quotes Saint Paul at all times, and it does us leave not a single moment in doubt on the milk of anteriority of the apostle in his regard, I would say that the Christianity of Saint Augustine is much more the Christianity of Saint Paul than the Buddhism of the Sūtras developed is that of the Sūtras ordinary. I pray in addition the player of carefully weigh the eigenvalue of this liter of Vâipuhja snra, or Sūtra developed, in opposition to that of Sūtra properly speaking, from Sūtra, in a word, without any epithete. If the Sūtras of this last species were called somewhere abbreviated Sūtras, I would conceive that we could pretend that they suppose an earlier class of similar books, which they will be that the extract. For who would ever dare to advance, after having read the Sūtras of Dyvia avadāna and such developed sūtras that we will choose, only one of safe that is the extract of a Sūtra vâipulya? He me looks good more natural to conclude from this qualification even from developed than the treaties

which the bear is distinguished from other Sutras by development of matière qui there are continues. Rien is more accurate in

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .Meffect as this title ; nothing does that better know the true nature of these works, which are in a way doubled by Celtic exposure poetic, or rather by this paraphrase in verse which extends the fund. I already have recognized in this circumstance a clear sign of posteriority ; I refer to this as NSI said above, in speaking of the outward form of our two classes of Sû-tras. I only repeat here that this character seems to me to give a great weight in my opinion on the posteriority of the developed sūtras against ordinary sutras .But the fact of a poetic paraphrase which is the simple repetition of the text is not the only one Index of development that is possible to report in the vâipulyas sutras. I leave of side the various editions of the Prajñā para-milâ, these almost monstrous sutras , where here seems we have taken to task to achieve the ideal of the distribution ; I'm there will come back more later. I take one another Developed Sutra , the Gandavyûha, which does part of the nine Dharmas, that it tells about those books that are in N ^ pale the object of a veneration particular. Then I propose to a reader versed in the knowledge of Sanskrit, and gifted with garlic their onesturdy patience, to read the first fifty leaves of this Treaty, and to say then if him seem that such work be a book pri-mitif, a Hvre old, one of those books by which the religions are based, as a sacred code , in a nutshell ; if he it recognizes the character of a doctrine that does is still in its early stages ; if he it grab the trace the efforts of prosély-tism ; if he there meets the struggles of a new belief against an order previous ideas ; if he discover the society in the midst of which try it preaching. Where I myself gravement trunk , or after one such reading, one of which I invoke the testimony will trouver dans this book another thing that the develop-ements of a doctrine complete, triumphant and who thinks without rival ; something other than the peaceful and monotonous conceptions of the life of the cloisters ; something other than the vague images of an ideal existence which with calm in the regions of the absolute perfection, far from the hustle and bustle noisy and not-sionnée the world. Now that that I say the Ganda vyuha applies almost rigou-owing to the other great sūtras, to Samādhi rādja, to Daçabhûmiçvara, for example. And in the other developed sutras, such as the Lalita vistara and the Lotus of the Good Law or seems something more seizable and to more real that the virtues ideal for Bô Jhisatvas, which is traced the life of Śâkyamuni and which are reported to beautiful parables give so high idea of the preaching of the last Buddha, in those Sûtras, I say, the traces of de-development are so often recognized that we are any moment trained to suppose that these books will do that work at leisure on a theme already existing.

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112 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Oh well, it is here that seems clearly the difference and anteriority of the Sû-simple tras on the vâipulyas sūtras ; all that lack in the second to located in the first. The ordinary Sûlras we show the Buddha Çâkyamuni preaching his doctrine in the middle of a Company who, to judge by the legends in which he plays a role, was deeply corrupted. Her preaching is above all moral ; and although the metaphysical are that is not forgotten, it will certainly occupies less great site that the theory of virtues imposed by the law of the Buddha, virtues between which the charity, the patience and the chastity are unquestionably in the first row. The law, like Çâkyamuni calls him, is not in these books dogmatically exposed ; she is there just indicated, the more often unemanière wave,

and presented rather in its applications than in its principles. To infer from such works a systematic exposition of the belief of the Buddhists, it should in pos-to seduce a very large number ;still is he not sure that we could get to draw by this means a table Complete themorality and of the philosophy buddhist ;because the beliefs appear there for virtually into action, cer-some points of doctrine are reminded of each page, and that others are hardly mentioned, or do they are not at all. But this circumstance, which is for us an imperfection true, was well as its benefits under the point historical perspective. a sure indication of the authenticity of these books, and it proves that no work routine has tried to the complete after blow, nor of the set, with additions later, the level of pro-sandstone that certainly made the Buddhism in, the course of time. The sūtras developed have, as in the doctrine, a advantage marked on the sutras simple ;because the theory it shows more advanced in the double report the dogma and of the metaphysics ;but it is precisely this particularity that makes me believe that the Vâipulyas sutras are subsequent to the simple sutras. These last Niers we are attending to the birth and to the first developments of Buddhism ;and if they do not contemporaries of Sakya itself, they we have at least very faithfully preserved the tradition of his teaching. From treaties of this kind have no doubt could be imitated and compounds after stroke in the silence of the monasteries ;but even admitting that we do have more than the imitation of books original, any reader of good faith who they will study in the Sanskrit manuscripts of Nepal will be forced to agree that they are still more closer to the preaching of Çākya than the Sutras developed. It is there the point of even that I want to establish in this moment that the matter from put in shelter of any dispute ;How that is the date on which from Research subsequent need a day set the Sutras the simpler than they

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .113 back to the time of the first disciples of Sakya, or they descen-tooth as low as the time the last Council of the North, no matter; they report that seems to me exist between them and the developed sutras will not change not ;the distance between the each other alone will be able to increase or decrease. If, as I have Instead of the believe the comments above are based, I'm in right to say that what he isade common among the developed sūtras and simple Sutras, is the framework, action, theory of moral virtues ,one of the transmigration of rewards and punishments, of causes and effects, subjects that also belong to all the schools ;but these various points are treated, in the one and in the other, with differences of proportion entirely made features. I have shown how the framework of the Sutras developed was larger than that of the simple sutras ;that of the first is almost without terminals ;that of the second is restricted to limits of the probable. The action, though the same of hand and on the other, is not accomplished in the Sū-very developed for the same listeners as in the simple sutras ;it's always Çākya muni who teaches ;but instead of these Brahmins and of these merchants he converts in the Sutra simple, these are in the Sutras developed, Bôdhisattvas fabulous like the worlds from which they come out, who just attend to his teaching. The scene of the first is India, the players are the men and some lower deities ;and except the power to do the miracles that have Sakya and his first disciples, which it pass seems natural and plausible. On the contrary, all that the imagination may design huge in space and in the time is still too re-tight for the sūtras scene developed. The actors are there these Bôdhisattvas imaginary, the virtues endless, the names without end and that born can pronounce, with bizarre and almost ridiculous titles ,

where the oceans, the rivers, the waves, the rays, the sun, mate of these the more childish and the less instructive to the qualities of a perfection without merit, because it is there without effort. Here too over there nobody to convert; while the world believes, and each is of course to become one day a Buddha, in a world of diamonds or lapis lazuli. Here is all of this that over the Sutras are developed, the more they are poor in historical details; and that the more they enter before in the doctrine metaphysics more they move away from the company and become foreign beware of what is happening there. Do is it not enough for us to believe that these books have been written in the countries and to the époque so the Buddhism had reached to all its developments, and to ensure all the plausibility desirable to the opinion that I have sought to establish, namely anticipation of Sutras ordi-8

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414 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY naire, who reported of time and in countries where the Buddhists encountered his adversaries at all times, and was obliged to contend with them by the preaching and by the practice of virtues moral? I agree that in order to share knowingly this opinion, the reader would need to compare a definite number of Sutra simple to other developed sutras, such what is the Lotus of the good law; for the time is not distant perhaps where these monuments curious appear in the read-miere. In the meantime, I believed that I had to expose the results that gave me the perusal of six hundred sixty and fourteen pages of Divya avadana. I do not really believe come forward saying that if we are should not find an Exposure entirely made full of Buddhism, there will be at least the story faithful to his early efforts, and as the exact picture of his establishment the breast of the company Brahmin. It is there, if I do not mistaken, which give to the sūtras and to legends an interest that would not have of books where the beliefs would be more fixed and exposed more dogmatically. In such Sutra shed light on an important strong point in the history of Buddhism, namely, its sport with the Brahmanism, point on which the purely speculative treatises keep a silent almost full. And this circumstance is enough to it alone to establish that these Sutras have been written when these two religions lived one close to each other; all of the same as the presence of some religious bud-dhistes in several dramas Brahmanical proves that these dramas have been writings To a time when he existed Again in India cultists of Buddha. We see it, the study of the Sutras, considered under this point of view par-culier, brings a new confirmation in favor of opinion which to me the did look like the monuments the more rapproché de the preaching of Çàkyamuni. She sliced addition of a so definitive an issue that has renewed recently, that of .; .see what is the more elder of Brahmanism or Buddhism, and one has wanted to resolve in favor of the latter worship by the reason that the monuments epigraphic the oldest that one is REN-against in India belong to Buddhism and not to Brahmanism. Without enter at this hour into the examination of each of these monuments, which have not yet been studied, according to me, with a focus or a sufficient criticism, I will say that of the existence of ancient Buddhist inscriptions written in Pali, and even from the anteriority of these inscriptions to respect of monuments brahmin of the same order, written in Sanskrit, we should have concluded, not that the Pali is prior to Sanskrit, which is impossible, not that the Buddhism is prior to Brahmanism, which does is not less, but that the

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM sentiment and the processes of history occurred and rather applied to the Buddhists than among the Brahmans. It would still be necessary to recognize that these processes have not taken from them for many major developments since we do not have the continued history of Buddhist India any more than that of Indian Brahmanic. Can we say now in presence of formal testimony of sacred texts of Nepal, which seems the company Brahmanical all whole, with its religion, its castes and its laws? Will we pretend that the company including its books attest the existence was originally Buddhist, and that the Brahmans, who later on became the masters, have borrowed some elements to which they have given the form below which we find in laws of Manu, and in the epics of Bâmayana and Mahâbhârata? Or much imagination? Are we that the names of Gods and soon caste Brahmin, including the Sûtras North are filled, there have been introduced after stroke? And by whom? For the Buddhists, without doubt, to be given the honors of a superiority, or at least of an equality with regard to the Brahmans, that they would have been con-server in India; Where perhaps by the Brahmans, to do reassemble their existence at a time most high than that where they have seemed really? As if, of a hand, the editors of the Buddhist had had interest to show the Buddhism being detached from Brahmanism, if the Brahmanism would not have existed in fact of their time; and as if, on the other, they would have permitted the Brahmans to come after stroke drag their name odious among the names of Sakya and of its disciples. We don't may in effect get out of this alternative: the Sûtras who note the existence of Brahmanic society were written or around the time of Çâkyâ, or very long after him. If they are contemporaries of Çâkyâ, the society they describe existed then, because we do not could conceive why they would have spoken with both of details of a so-a place which would not have been the one where Çâkyâ appeared. If they have been written for a very long time after Çâkyâ, we do include not more how the gods and personal medley Brahmanical are involved one if big place, since long after the Buddha, the Brahmanism was deeply separated from Buddhism, and that these two cults had only one piece of land on which they could be counter, that of the controversy and of the war. But it's enough, I think, reason on simple hypotheses, especially since the monuments which give rise to these different assumptions will soon be in my hand the subject of a special examination. With a small number of facts and a great employ of the dialectical tick it is easy to arrive at the most bizarre and most con-milking in common sense; what if I could convince me that the controversy serve in General to highlight something other than the passions or the vanity

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416 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY of the one who gets drunk, I find in the subject that I key in this time the subject of a long and laborious but the reader will prefer without doubt that I it shows by some lines on how to view the Sûtras, and I add the legends, we are considering the company in the middle of which was born and spread on Buddhiism. He cannot enter into the plan of my work to raise one by one all the indications which attest that at the time when Çâkyâ muni was traveling India for there en-seigners a law, the company Brahmin was reached in his more high degree of development. It might as well translate in full the Divya avadâna and the one hundred legends of Avadâna çataka, so many are the proofs of the factas I advance, so many times they are repeated in the sûtras and in the legends of these voluminous collections. But he is always possible, and it is here necessary to point out a few of traits characteristic of the

company in the middle of which Sakya is shown completing its mission. I will therefore attach myself in through-ticular to two point which is the known, is afflicting very close in India, religion and political organization ;and I will show with some extracts that the editors of Snras and Buddhist legends from the north us learn about these two major elements of the company, as it existed in India to Çākya time .The Deities which the names appear in the Sutras of the Nepalese collection ease are :Narayana (1), Siva, Varuna, KUVERA, Brahma (2) or Pilâmahâ (3), Çakra or Vâsava(4), Hari(5) Where Djanârdana (6), Çamkara (7) who is only one another name of Çiva , and Viçvakarman (8). After these Gods, well known in the Brahmanic Pantheon, comes the rank of lower Deities, such as the Devas, the Nâgas, the Asuras, the Yakchas, the Garuda, the Kinnaras, the Ma-hôragas, the Gandharvas, the Piçatchas, the Dânavas and other bon siou geniuses evil which the names will meet at tout instant in the legends and in the sermons of Çākya muni (9). At the head of these secondary Deities figure Indra, usually named Çakra or Çatchîpati, the husband from Çatchî (10). (1) Avadâna çataka, f. 53 a. (2) Kôtikarna, in Divya avad., F. 1. Pûrna, ibid., f. 20 6. Mditrakanyaka, f. 327 b. Passed praddna, f. 178 a. Avad. that L, f. 6 b, 31 b, 49 6, 55 b, 80 b, 112 b, 169 b, 242 b. (3) Mditrakanyaka, in Divya avadâna, fol. 327 b. (4) Avadâna çataka, f. 31 b. (5) Pûrna, in Divya avad., F. 20 b. (6) Mâitrakanyaka, ibid., F. 327 b. (7) Pûrna, ibid., F. 20 b. Mâitrakanyaka, ibid., F. 327 b. (8) Mâilrêya, ibid., F. 28 b. (9) Pûrna, ibid., F. 20 b. Açôka, ibid., F. 66 o. Prdihârya, ibid., F. 69 b and pass. (10) Pûrna, ibid., F, 20 b.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .117 Of all the gods, it's the one that the name comes the most souvent dans the Su-tras and in the legends. He usually appears there at Gākya muni, with which he has frequent links, and he receives liter of Kâuçika, title he wears in the Brahmanic Upanichads dos Yêdas. His name appears with that of Upendra, one of the oldest epithetes of Vishnu, in the formulakid by which the legends express that a Religious has reached the rank known as the one of the Arhats, formula which is thus conceived : " He becomes one of those who deserve "that the Dêvas, with Indra and Upêndra, there respect, the honor and the " Greet(1)." All these Deities are those of the people in the middle of which lives Çākya with its religious, they are, of the hand of all the castes, the object of a cult constant and exclusive; is their demand children(2); the browserst threatened with peris the crave to get out of risk (3). But their power is not recognized as absolute by the Buddhists, and she is less than that of the Buddha. Çākya, in fact, is represented saving the naufr. ige of merchants who have vain-is lying invoked these Gods (4); and as to the power that the people they suppose to give Desenfants, here as the editors of the Sutras in dispute existence : <t It is an accepted maxim in the world, that these are the Toprayers addressed to the gods which born the son or the girls ;but this "is not ;because otherwise everyone would have a hundred son, all monarchs Sou" Verains (5)." The subordination of the Gods AGAINST the Ruddha is expressed and in a way regularized in the following passage :g: It is a rule that ((when the blessed Buddhas conceive a worldly thought , to the same "instant Çakra, Rrahmâ and the other devas are aware of the thought "from Blessed (6).y> Also we see, in more of a passage, Çâkra, rindra des Devas, as it is usually called, come and assist Çākya muni in its businesses (7). The legend of Çākya muni, which is found drowned among the diffuse developments of Lalita vistara, recounts that when the young son of King Çuddhâdana, who had not yet assumed the religious character , was led at the temple of the Gods in Kapilavastu, the insensible statues of Çiva, Skanda, Nârâyana,

Kuvêra, Tchandra, Sûrya, Vâiçravana, Çakra, and those of Lôka-(1) SvPRIYA, in Divya avad., F.46 a. Avad. çat., f. 39 h, 148 h, 150 o.(2) Kôtikarna, ibid., F.1 a. Mditralcanyaka, ibid., F.327 b.(3) Pûrna, ibid., F. 20 b.Dharma rutchi, ibid., F.114 (? Samudra, in Avad. Çat., F.190 b.(4) Dliarmarutchi, ibid., F. 114 b.(5) Kôtikarna, ibid., F.1. Avad. çat., f.6 b, 49 b.(6) Mâitrêya, ibid., F.30 b.(7) Açôka, ibid., F.67 a. Prdtihârya, ibid., F.79 a and b. Avad. çat., f.14 b.Kapphina, in Avad. çat., f.211 a.

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118 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Palas is levèrenttoutes of their seat, to gobow to the youngmale (1).And it 's not justto the superiority of the Buddhathat the gods areforced to pay homage ;a simple Religious, Pûrna, madealso feelits puissanceà a Yakcha, who was watching in the care of a forest of wood of sandalwood(5).One other Religious, Upagupta, contemporaryof king Açôka (3), triumphed by hispower irresistible Mara, the sin incarnate, who fled to Brahmato implore his help; Brahmâ answers him : " Without a doubt my strength is " Immense, but it does not equal that of a sonof the Tathâgata ;" And the God con-seille for Mara to make an act of faith in Buddha (4).Finally, theworship that wereturns to the Gods is less meritorious toeyes of Çâkyâ that thepractice ofmoral virtues. I find, at thissubject, in an Avadâna, a passage that placesfulfillmentdesdevoirs that the morality imposed over theobjectsthemost revered ofBrahmins and thepeople, namely, Brahma, the sacrifice, the fireand the Domestic Gods, and which at the same time shows the nature of the attackswhich the Gods of India werethe object of the share of Sakya. " One day when Bhagavat was in Çrâvastî, in Djêtavana, in thegardenfrom Anâtha pindika, headdressed the Religious thus :Brahma, O Religious, iswith the families in which the father andthe mother are perfectly honored,perfectly revered, served with happinessperfect. Why is that ? Is that,for a sonof family, a father and a mother are, according to the law,Brahmâ him-same. The preceptor, O Religious, is with the families inthat the fatherand mother are perfectly honored[etc. as above].Why is that?It is that, for a son of a family, afather and mother are, according to the law, thetutor himself.The fire of sacrifice, O monks, is with the families in(i) Lalita vistara, ch. viii, f.68 b of my manuscript.(2) Pûrna, in Divya avad., F.20 a sqq.(3) I say Açôka, without distinguishing whetheris of Kâlâçôlia or of Dharmâçôka do not wantgive to the. tradition of the North more of precision she did was truly. I will establish in effectin my Historical Sketch which the texts of the North generally confuse in a singlecharacter the two Açôkas that distinguish the texts faded the South. See, meanwhile, aproof of this factin thecollection by M. Schmidt. {Der ^ Weise und der Thor, transl.,p. 218.}I only add here that, for the Singhalese, the Açôka of which heis question in the text would beKâlâçôka.(4)Pâmçu pradâna, in Dkya avad., F.178 a and h. The same fact is told, althoughterms a little different, with a legend of the Uligerun Dalai, which is identical to the funds tothe one from which I am extracting this passage, and which M. Schmidt translated . {Same. of Acad. SCIENCE of S.-Petersburg, t. II,p. 28.} This legend is located more complete and with more in detail in thecollection of Tibetan legends {DerWeise und der Thor, p. 386 ff), that is,so we hadlong since learned from Mr. Schmidt, the Tibetan original of the Mongolian Uligerun Dalai . (Forschung.Mongol, und Tibet., P. 175.)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .ii9which the father and the mother areperfectly honored [etc. as above].Why is that ?Is that, for a sonof family, a father and a mother are,according to the law, the fire of the sacrifice itself. the fire[domestic], O Religious,is with thefamilies

in which the father and the mother are perfectly honored [etc. as above]. Why is that? Is that, for a son of family, a father and a mother are, according to the law, the fire household itself. The Deva [without doubt Indra], O Religious, is with the families in which the father and the mother are perfectly honored [etc. as above]. For what that? It is that, for a son of family, a father and a mother are, according to the law the Deva itself (1). "The testimonials that I just to summarize mark clearly the report of Gods Popular from India with the founder of Buddhism. It is obvious that Gākyamuni found their cult already existing, and he did not invent it. He has been said, and the authors of legends have been able to believe that Buddha was SUPREME laughing, in this very life, to the greatest of the recognized Gods of his time in India, to Brahma and to Indra; but he has not created these gods, not more than Çiva and the others, for the pleasure to make them the ministers of his will. The powers supernatural which he said he was gifted enough certainly to the execution of all that he was doing performed by Indra and by the other deities lower; and I have the conviction intimate that if Çākya would not have met around him a Pantheon any populated gods which I have given them names, he would have had no need to invent it to assure to his mission the authority that the people could refuse to a man. Because, this is good important to note, Çākya does not come, like the Brahmanic incarnations of Vishnu, to show the people a God eternal and infinite, down on the earth and preserving, in the mortal, the power irresistible to the Divinity. This is the son of a king which is actually religious, and who has, to be recommended to of the people, that the superiority of virtue and of his science. The belief universally admitted in India, that a great holiness is necessarily accompanied by supernatural faculties, this is the only support he was to find in the minds (2); but this was an emergency huge, and that it gave the means to be creating a past trials and of virtues for just proud of its mission. This past, however, was not exclusively divine; the buddha had, as well as all the beings, rolled in the circle eternally mobile the transmigration; he had gone through several existences in the animal bodies, (1) Avadāna çataka, f. 79 6. (2) Benfey, Indian, p. 200 and 201, taken from the Encyclopédie d'Ersch and Gruber.

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120 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY of the damned, of men and of Gods, by turns virtuous and criminal reward thought and punished, but little accumulating in some of the merits that were the making pleasant to the Buddhas under which he lived, and him assure their blessing. In this system, you see, Sakya no reports of any God; he binds all of himself and from the grace of an earlier Buddha, whose origin is not more Divine as the own. The Gods have nothing to do here; they not creating more the Buddha they did prevent themselves from, since it is in the practice of the virtue and to his self personal he owes its more than divine character. Far from there, the gods will be that of beings endowed with a infinitely greater power laughing at that of man, but like him subject to the law fatal to the trans-migration; and their existence does not seem to have any other reason that the need that the imagination feels to explain the creation of the universe, and to populate the infinite spaces it designs to beyond the world visible. Here there is therefore no place to put the issue to know if the Gods mentioned in the Sutras and in the legends of Nepal are prior to Buddhism, or if they have been invented by the founder of this doctrine. For whoever reads only of these treaties, the fact that the Indian Pantheon existed at the time of Çākya will not have to not be the subject of any doubt. He will no longer be allowed to say that the Brahmins have borrowed from the Buddhists their

deities, and that excluding the only Buddha, they have admitted all the other characters of which is composed the Pantheon Buddhist, because the opposite is the truth. This is Çâkyamuni, or if you will, are the editors of the legends that have found and accepted, almost entirely, the Brahmanic Gods, with this only difference (difference capital, it is true) that they submitted a Buddha, that is to say the most wise of men. That is, I repeat, a point that can no longer be disputed. This which remains to be studied, it is firstly the extent and the nature of borrowings made by the Buddhists from the Brahmans, secondly the report of these Brahmanic Gods with those who own to cultists of Çâkyamuni, and that we see staggered in a way in the various worlds inhabited by the intelligences greater than man. It will be necessary to note, by the perusal of all the materials Buddhist from the North, if the legends on Çiva and to Vishnu, for example, were all also widespread. To the time of the first establishment, or at least in the first centuries of Buddhism. We include, without that insist more, the importance of this research; she must throw a day new on the historical succession of Brahmanic beliefs, at the same time as it must be used to fix, of a more precise, the time at which have been written the legends buddhi-ques where we in draws the elements. I will only cite, as an example from

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .121 results we should wait for the study of the Sutras considered under this point of view, a fact that deserves to be verified on texts more numerous than those that we own; it is that no hand in the treaties of Divyaavadâna, I did not find the name of Kṛichna. Does this mean that the legends relating to this character, now so famous in India, were not yet widespread among the people, or that his name had not yet taken place with other Brahmanic Gods? I would certainly not dare to affirm it, but the subject is well worthy of all the attention of the critical; because of two things one: where Krishna was worshiped in India with the character almost divine that it assigns the Mahâbhârata, when Çâkyamuni appeared and when his sermons were written; or his divinity was not yet universal-ment recognized at time of Sakya and the first apostles of Buddhism. In the first case, it will need explain the silence, that keep the Buddhists to his regard; in the second, he will recognize that the monuments literary of the Brahmans or Kṛichnaplaya so large role are after the prédication of Śâkyamuni and to the writing of books that has the right to look like the written authorities the most ancient of Buddhism (1). But in one as in the other case, it must have acquired the certainty that no work bud-Dethics does not cite Kṛichna among the Divinities, in my opinion, Brahmanics, admitted by Çâkyamuni himself. What he can be of the general solution of the problem indicated at ^ time this circumstance that the name of Krishna missing in all the Suretrast that I have read agrees with other indices, to represent us the Indian religion, such that these treaties offer it to us, in a day a little different from the one under which we show the Puranas Brahman. I do not hesitate to say that the Brahmanism door there a more ancient character and more simply as in the collections that I just to mention. This difference should-it be attributed to the action of Buddhism which would have a choice among the Deities worshiped by the Brahmans? or is it for this that the Sutras reproduced a tradition anterior to that of the Purânas? I confess that between these two assumptions, it is the second which seems to me to be by far the most true. similar. The Sutras seem to me to be contemporaneous with a time when the Vêdas (i) I have no way of expressing

myself more precisely on this curious question . I recall only that the high reason Colebrooke he had already inspired doubt the antiquity of the cult of Kṛichna, and which this scholar was very close to declaring posterior to the ment of Buddhism the development of fables and legends that have made a God da son of Dēvakî. {Miscell. Essays, 1.11 ^ p. 197.) It may be found later that the extension considered maple that the cult of Krichiia took was only a popular reaction against that of the Buddha, reaction which has been directed or fully accepted by the Brahmins.

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422 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY and the legends there attached constituted the fund of Indian beliefs . I do not lean on these mentions of the Vêdas, which one notices almost on each page there are simple sutras ; because this fi ^ it only proves the ant-erioiilé of one against the other. I am much more struck by the role than plays in the Buddhist sūtras a famous deity also in the Vedas and in the Puranas, but that certainly encounter less of rivals in the first than in the second. I want to talk about Indra or Çakra, as he is called, of this God, hero of the Vêdas, who appears to him alone more often in the sūtras than all the other Gods gathered together. I do not do n't want to conclude that the Buddhist Sūtras are contemporaneous with the Vêdas Brahminists ; well in hand, he will have, according to me, a distance enormous between these two classes of books. I only mean that the Brahmanism, such it seems in the Sūtras, offers certainly a statesman middle of reli-Indian gion, state which is approaching more of the somewhat bare simplicity of Vedic beliefs that of exuberance d'èveloppennels which override the Purânas. I don't then help thinking that at time when have been written the Su-tras, or to express myself in a way less exclusive, at the time of which the Sutras we have preserved the memory, the mythologie indienne not had not yet enrich-shit about this luxury of fables that sometimes their point of departure from the Vêdas, but who do will have however found so far in whole as <jans the Puranas. The details that the Sutras give us on the status of the company Indian intime of the preaching of Gâkya are much more many and more important than those who concerning the religion and cetteredifférence is easy to understand. In fact, the drafters of these treaties did not have to talk about beliefs popular accidentally, and still more for the refute that for the display ; while they could not go under Silence the company to middle of which had appeared Çâkyamuni, and hemet at every step. Under in this report the sūtras are almost all of remarkable interest , and it would be not extract anything that renfermenten this genre the most curious these treaties, without the result entirely. However, I will report here the most common features. more characteristics, those which express the best of form true of a society. India was subject to the regime of castes, and these castes were those of Brahmins of Kchaltriyas, the Vaisyas, the Sudras and the Tchândâlas, without talk about some other sub-divisions of the lower classes. This is a point that, according to the remark from Mr Hodgson, no Buddhist author has never contested (1). The names of these castes are mentioned at all times, and their existence (1) Quot. front orig. Sanscr. Auth., In Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t.V, p. 31. From 1830,

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .423 is so good established, that it is admitted by Çâkyamuni himself, as well as by her disciples, and that she does not become the object special observations that when it is an obstacle to the preaching of the Buddha. The Brahmins are those whose the name will represent the most often; they appear in almost all the Sutras, and

always their superiority on the other castes undisputed (1). They are distinguished by their knowledge and by their love for the virtue. One in sees that, reached the rank of Rîchis or of wise, live in the middle of forests (2), wherein the mountain caves (3). They there indulge in rough penances, the one lying on beds bristling with sharp points, or on of the ash ; the others holding, during their whole life, the arms raised above their head ; a few seated, in full sun, in the middle of four fiery blazes (4). They recite the Brahmanic Mantras and they teach aLUES disciples (5). This is their noblest function, that which is proper to their caste. The The sūtras offer us several examples of Brahmans educated in the sciences. Indian, and they thus teach us what these sciences were . I will not quote only one of these passages, because it is the more characteristic of all. a Brahmin of Çrāvastî had raised his son elder in the knowledge and in the practices Brahman. He him had taught the four Vedas, the Rîch, the Yadjus, the Saman and the Atharvan (6) ; he he had learned the practice of sacrificed fices that we famous for oneself, or that we do celebrate to others, as well as the reading of the Veda, that one studies oneself, or that one makes study with a disciple ; and thanks to this teaching, the young man was become a Brahmin. M. Schmidt had, according to Mongolian writers , established this point as a fact henceforth sheltered of any dispute. {Same. of Acad. of Sciences of St. Petersburg, t. I, p. 119.} (1) I will cite among others the Sutras and Avadânas entitled : Çârdûla karna, Brahmana Darika, Stvî Brahmana, Indra Brahmana, Dharma rutchi, Djîjôtichka, Sahasôdgata, Chandra prabha, Saîgha rakchita, Naga Kumara Pâîiçu Pradana, Rûpavalî, Mâkandika, Chandra, and in i'Avad. that. Upôchadha, Sôma, Râchfra pala, Subhûti. (2) Pûrna, in Divya avad., F. 23 a and 24 a. Rûpavatî, ibid., F. 215 a. Subhûti, âdJUsAvad. çat., f. 221 a. (3) Prâti hârya, in Divya avad., F. 74 a. (4) Pâmçu pradâna, ibid., F. 174 o. Vîtâçôha, ibid., F. 205 a. Rilpavatî, ibid., F. 215 a. (5) Mâitrêya, ibid., f. 29 a. That is positively affirmed from Çâriputra, son from Tichya, Brahmin, living in Nâlanda near Râdjagriha : Gurukulê Vêdamantrân adhîyati, "he bed the" Mantras of Vêdas in the house of his spiritual tutor . " {Mahdvastu, f. 264 of myman). We can see from this example (and I could cite many others like it) that it is not not correct to say, as did Mr. Schmidt, that the former Sfitras Buddhist does cite not the Vêdas, and do not even make the slightest allusion to them. {Same. of the Academy of Sciences of Saint-Pétersbonrg, t. U, p. 43.} But this assertion can be true when talking about the sūtras developed, which, according to the remarks set out above, are much more empty of detail historical. See also a further indication of the Vedas in the analysis of the traducUon Tibetandu Vinaya by Csoma. {Asian girl. Res., T. XX, p. 85.} (6) Tchûdâ pakcha, in Div. avad., f. 276 b.

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124 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY accomplished. The father wanted in doing so of his second son ; but the child does could learn or to read nor to write. His father, renouncing to give him these first miers elements of any instruction, the set between the hands of a Brahmin responsible for making him learn the Veda by heart. "But the child does not succeed either under this new master. When we Om said to him , he forgot Dhûh ; when we told him Bhûh, he forgot Ôm. the master says so at father : I have a lot of children to educate, I don't then oc-cuper exclusively from your son Panthaka. When itell him Ûm, he forgets Bhûh ; and when I tell him Bhûh, he forget Om. The father then made this reflection : The Brahmans do not all know the Veda by heart, nor do they all know read and write ; my son will therefore be a simple Brahmin by birth (1)." These last months are very remarkable ; the Text uses of expression Djâti Brâhmana ^ a Brahmin by birth, " opposed to

that of Vêda Brâhmana" Brahmin of Vêda; »And this expression is all the more worthy of attention, it shows the true role of Brahmins in the company Indian ; it was really a caste who is perpetuated by the birth, and that the birth was enough to place above of all the others. The Sûtras show us therefore the Brahmins under the same day as they are the monuments of the Htlé-Brahmanic erasure ; and the correctness of the Buddhist treatises on this important point. so much extends up to from minute details in appearance, right down to the costumes ; because it sees in a legend, the God Indra is hiding under appearance of a Brahmin at the waist high, which leads to the hand the baton religious and the vase to draw in water (2). At the moment when the Buddha, who is still only Bôdhisattva, will descend on the earth, for it born in the family of the king Çuddhâdana, the legend tells us that "of the sons of the Devas, of the troop of Çuddhâvâsas, is rendered in the Jambudvîpa, and that hiding their (divine form), they took the costume of the Brahmins and began to study" The Brahmanic Mantras (3). "We find in the Sûtras, as well as in the poems étranger- Indiens in Buddhism, the Brahmins filling at the kings the functions of Purôhitas or of priests servants, as the Brahmin Brahmâyus at the king Çagka (4). Others do the job of panegyrist and praise the kings for to obtain in return gifts." Here was at Bénârôs, during the reign of Brahmata, a Brahmin who (1) Tchûdâ pakcha, in Div. avad., f. 277 a. (2) Rûpavatî, in Divya avad., F. 213 a. (3) Lalita vistara, f. 9 & from my man. (4) Mâilrêya, in Divya avad., F. 29 o.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .125 was a poet. The Brâhmanî his wife said to him one day : Here the time cold arrived ; will tell the king something which it is pleasant, so to get what we guarantee against the cold. The Brahmin went into effect in this design, and found the king who went out mounted on his elephant. The poet says to himself : who of the two shall I praise, from the king or from his elephant ? Then he added : This elephant is dear and pleasant to people ; leave, therefore King, I'm going to sing the elephant (1). D And he pronounced in honor of this dignified animal a stance which the king is so satisfied that grants the Brahmin the property of five villages. A few do the profession of astrologer, and predict the future of children according to the theme of their nativity (2) ; they are even the Brahmins who attend at the birth of Siddhârta, son of Çuddhâdana (3), and it is a great Bîchi, named Asita, who predicts to the king that his son will be or a sovereign monarch, or a blessed Buddha (4) ; so much he is true that the Buddhists recognize of the way the more formal anticipation of the caste Brahmin to regard of the founder even of their belief, by Çâkyamuni Buddha. A few Brahmins, in the time of distress, indulge in agriculture and lead the plow (5). Finally we see a number which, similar to the Beligieux Buddhist and other beggars, support their life in way of alms distributed to them by the heads of the family (6). It is impossible to born not recognize these traits the Brahmanic caste such that the law of Manu describes it ; but these traits, which in the summary that I just to make are emaciated and without life form with the details variés who they accompany in the Sutras an animated picture of the first from Indian castes. He is not allowed to doubt that, of the confession of Buddhist themselves, this caste was not constituted with its prerogatives and its power. ciency, before that Sakyamuni had begun to spread in India his doctrinal trines of reform. To the testimony alleged earlier in favor of celtic (1) Stuti Brâhmana, MA., F. 35. (2) Rûpavâlî, ibid., F. 214 a. Lêkuntchika, dans rad. çat., f. 234 a. (3) Lalita vistara, L 56 o and 57 a from my man. Divya avadâna, i. 193 o. (4) Lalita vistara, i. 58 a sq. from my man. I have no doubt that this Asita not be the wise Brahmin

of whom Fa hian speaks and whom he calls A i. {Foe koue ki, p.198, and Klaprotli, ibid., p. 208 ff) Without the Lalita vistara, he would have been much difficult to find under the transcription clii Qoise A i the Sanskrit Asita. We know, in the lists of ancient Brahmanic sages, a Riehi from the name to 'Asita; but also that I have so far found no renseignement qui us the make positively know, I'm out of state to say if it is the same as that which pailent the Buddhists. I only meet his name in the Bhàgavata Puràna. (L. VI, ch. Xv, st.12 o.) It does not not more likely that the Asita mentioned by the Lalitavistara is the genius who, according to the Brahmins preside at the planet Saturn. (5) Indra Brdhmana, in Div. avad., f. 36 a. (6) Kôtikarna, ibid., F.7 a.

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126 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY assertion it in will be added still more as we go in our research, and that is to design that I the leave out in time. It in is however one that I born then go here in silence, because he meseem some of the most convincing proofs of the anteriority of the Brahmins to respect des Buddhistes. This is the job that make all the text sanscrits of Nepal, and in particular the Sûtras (i.e. those that i have reasons for declaring the most ancient), the word of Brahma tcharya, to designate a way General the duties of the viereligieuse a Buddhist, and in particular the chastity. If this term wererarely employee, it will be not even thing easier than to explain the presence of texts Buddhist where we expect Drait to place Buddha tcharya, expression exists also, but that means exactly the Buddhism, and that is to just close synonym of Buddhamârgja ^ cethe path of the Buddha. " But no term is also common in the Sûtras; heeven appears in the most important of the formulas, in the phrasing by which one who is feeling the provision to be doing Buddhist expresses before Çàkyà, or before one of his disciples, the vow he made entering into the religious life : " May we, O Bhagavat, under the discipline of the law good fame, come into life religious, receive the investiture and become Religious ! May we, Lord, accomplish under Bhagavat the duties of <L Brahma charya ! Then Bhagavat their répons dit avec his Voice of Brahma : " Come, children, fulfill the duties of Brahma charya (1). " This term gets no doubt a sense a little more extensive in sentences as the following : " They will spread my law religious [Brahma tchanja], Said the Buddha; to my adversary, who is the sin, answer with the same formula : " Your law religious is widespread, it is admitted by " a lot of people, she is become immense. " Yâistârîkam té Brahmacharyam, bhiidjanyam, prithubhûtam (2). I would say much of this formula : " So that the religious law (Brahma tcharya) subsists for a long time (3). " In all these passages and in many other similar ones that I could quote here it is evident that the term Brahma charya is taken in a sense (1) Supriya, in Divya avad., F.46 a. Prâti hârya, ibid., F.77 and 78 a. Dyo lichka, ibid., L X kdb. Kanâkavarm, ibid., f.U9 a. Sahasôdgata, Ma., F.151 a. Saihgha rakchita, ibid., f.169 a and b. Nâga kumâra, ibid., F.172 a. Vitâçôka, ibid., F. 207 o. Çârdida karna, ibid., F, 119 ". Chûdd pakcha, ibid., F. 277 b. It sees in noire texte the sound of the voice of Śâkyamuni signed df ^ by the end of voix de Brahma, that which is a proof new the fact that I plan to establish. A Celtic evidence doil to join one that furnishes the Brahma patha word kôcida, "skilled in the" way of Brahma, "that the Lalita visfara gives to Çàkyamuni when he was still only Bôdhisallva. {Lalita vistara, f.6 a from my man.} (2) Mndhâtri, in Divya avad., F. 99 6. (3) Id. Ibid., F. 102 a.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .127 special, in that of "life" or " lawnun, " meaning that does not exclude, I admits it, that of " chastity, " but which is more comprehensive. Now, to

be admitted with this meaning by the Buddhists, it had to have lost its meaning primitive cation, the one it has in the monuments Brahminists, "the state of Brahmacharin, or of Brahman completing his novitiate; "he was that the Buddhists would have forgotten the value of this title of Brahmacharin, which means and don't can mean that "he who walks in the Veda. "Than a Brahmin designates by this title his son or his pupil; that the law of Manu devoted Celtic de-nomination and outlines at length the duties of the novitiate, including the first and the more severe is in effect the vow of chastity, nothing is more easy to understand. But for the founders of Buddhism to adopt this term it had to be that they do not give more attention to its meaning first, that of Brahman novice and that the word could be used with impunity with the meaning of "one who undertakes this a religious novitiate. » It was finally necessary he was almost popular in Celtic acceptance before Çakyamuni, so that the latter could, without fear of confusing its law with that of the Brahmans, to make use of it expanded and all in fact remarkable that I come from report. Let us move on to the second caste, to that of Kshatriyas. It also existed from time from Çakyamuni, and it was from her that the kings came. The Sûtras, okay with the Brahmanic authorities, call king a Kshatriya on the forehead which has been made the royal consecration (1). Çakyamuni himself was a Kshatriya, because he was son of Çuddhâdana, king of Kapilavastu (2). When the future Buddha, who are not still that Bôdhisattva, examines with the Gods in what time, in what world in which country and in what family he is it appropriate that he descends on the earth to fulfill his last mortal existence, the author (1) Lalita vistara, f. 10 sqq from my man. (2) This city is certainly the most famous of all those who are mentioned in the Sutras of the North, and in general in the Buddhist books of all schools. She was the residence of Çuddhâdana, king of the Çakyas; and it is in a garden of pleasure that independent as Siddhârtha, from Çakyamuni, came into the world. Klapproth, in a very substantial and strong note interesting, has determined that it would be located on the banks of the Rohini River, one of the affluent of the Râplî, and not far from the mountains that separate the Nepal the district Gorakhpour of. {Foe koueki, p. 199 sqq. Wilson, Journ. Roy. Asian. Soc, t.V, p. 123.} When our legends (and this is quite rare) speak of the position of this city, they are in vague terms; so the legend of Rudrâyana says of Çakyamuni " that he was born on the side of Himavat, on the edge of the river "Bhâgîrathi, not far from the hermitage of Richi Kapila. " {Dûya avad .. L 411 b of my man.} The Bliâgîrothi being the Ganges in the most large part of his course, he should look for Kapi-lavastu much more to the west, or more to the south than the place the routes of travelers Chinese: the expression of the legend does must therefore be taken as an indication approximate. Fa hian teaches us that time his trip to India, this town was deserted and had more than ten houses. {Foe koue ki, p. 198.}

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128 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY of the legend of Çakyamuni succinctly sets out the reasons for his choice, and here's what he tells us in what affects the family. ((Why, O monks, the Bôdhisattva is it considering the family in which he must be born? It is that the Bôdhisattvas not born not in the breast of abject families, like those of Tchândalas, the players flute, the manu-facturers of tanks, and the Puchkasas. Here there are only two races in the middle of which they are born, the race of the Brahmans and that of the Kshatriyas. When it's spring mainly to the Brahmans whom the world bears witness of respect, it is in a family of Brahmins that the Bôdhisattvas descend to the earth. When on the contrary, it is mainly in the Kshatriyas that the world testifies to the respect, then they are born into

a family of Kchattriyas. Today, O Reli-gieux , the Kchattriyas obtain all the respect of the people ;it is for this that the Bôdhisattvas are born among the Kchattriyas (1)."Here are the shows, the existence and the superiority of the first two castes is well clearly admitted, and that in what book? In one of the nine canonical books the north, in the lives even of Sakyamuni Buddha. And this kind of theme by which are determined in advance the limits between which ones should be included the choice of Bôdhisattva is applied with rigour to all the Buddhas fabulous or real who preceded Sakyamuni, since in it is very little that the legends give birth in a caste other than that of the Brahmins and the Kchattriyas. I do not insist on this point that in the most general of consequences of this text, that of the existence of two first castes, and in particular of that of the Kchattriyas ;i'm there will come back to the time when I will examine the political influence of the preaching by Çàkyamuni on the organization of the company Indian. The Sûtras give us less detail?ies on the Kchattriyas than on the Brahmins, by a double reason. The first is that the Brahmins are the real opponents of the Buddhists, and that it is to the convert that Çàkyamuni attaches himself ;the second is that the Kchattriyas seem to have favored laughed at in a special way an ascetic who came out of the same caste than them. The Sutras and legends are filled with the marks of benevolence that Çàkyamuni received from Bimbisàrà (2), king of Magadha, from Prasênadjit, king of Kôçala, and (1) Lalita vistara, f.13 6 of my man. I will note in the Historical Sketch the names of Kings contemporaries of Sakyamuni in there adding details which these names are found accompanied in the legends. The combination of these details forms a unique picture in the history of India old, to the seventh or the sixth century before our era.(2) It is not easy to determine, from our manuscripts, what should be the spelling of his name clean, which plays a large role in the legends on the life and preaching from Çàkyamuni. We could bring together as many authorities for the spelling Bimbasdra as for

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .129 of Rudrâyana, king of Rôruka. One day when Çàkyamuni was going to a cemetery to save by a miracle the fruit of a woman that her husband had been dying at the instigation of the Brahmins, "he was in Rajagrîha two youth ((people, one son of Brahmin, the other son from Kchattriya, who were gone out" outside to play together. The young Kchattriya had a faith deep, "but he was not no even of the young Brahmin (1)." Not all the kings of central India were equally favorable, however. in Çàkyamuni, and telui of Râdjagrîha, Adjâtaçatru, for a long time persecuted the Reli-gieux, and fit all his efforts for the drive out of his kingdom, defending to his subjects to have no relation with him (2). In the rest, what he had either of reasons for which the Kchattriyas appear less often than the Brahmins in the Nepalese Sutras, these books do we have no less conserved some specific features not only to establish the existence of the second caste, but do know some of his prejudices and of his habits. The kings, who came from the Kchattriyas caste, were in possession of an unlimited power, and he borndoes not seem that their will met other obstacles that the privileges of caste. One in sees that the ministers encouraged the despotism by the advice themore violent. The King of Rôruka (3) had need money ;his two prime ministers told him a day : "Hein is" A country as of the seedsesame, which does not give its oil, to "less than do the press, we do the cutting, we not the burns, or that we not the" Grinds (4).» I will quote below, in speaking of the struggles of Çàkyamuni against that of Bimbisàrà. I consulted, in order to get out of this small difficulty, the Tibetan versions of Kah-gyur, and they seemed to me to settle the question in favor of the spelling of

Bimbisâra. This name it is translated gzugs-tchanshing-po "the essence of the being who has a body. » This title, littleLight itself, was given to the young prince by his father Mahapadma, in memory of this atmoment where the child came to the world, the body of the queen his mother shines as the disk ofsun at its rising. {Hdulva, vol. ka or i, fol. 5 a.) The use of the suffix tchan after gzugs indicates a possessive ; It is therefore Bimbi and not Bimba that the Tibetan interpreters have had in front of them .I add that the spelling of Bimbisâra is that adopted by the Buddhists of the South, thus that it can see in the Mahâvailisa Mr Turnour.(1)Djyôtichka, in Divya avad., F.134 a.(2) Avadâna rat., F. 36 a.(3) So far I have not found any precise information on the position of this town. The legend of Rudrâyana, who was converted to Buddhism by the influence of Bimbisâra, king of Râdjagrîha, tells us that Rôfuka was to the east of this last town, and that it rivaled by its riches with the famous Pâtaliputra, the Palibothra of the Greeks, after the invasion of Alexander. {Div. avad., f.306 a.) It does should not être fort away from Râjagr. ha, and it is probably in the eastern part of Bihar that should the look; but I ca n't find any-Jour'd'hui on our cards that row with the name offers some analogy with that of Rouka. I do not have any information on this locality.(4) Rudrâyana, in Divya avad., F. 315 a.9

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SOINTRODUCTION TO HISTORY the Brahmans, an act of this violent despotism , of which the king of Kôçala is the author. It is the order that, on a mere suspicion, he gives to mutilate his own brother in him being cut off the feet and hands (1). We can assume that the king had the right of life and of death on their subjects, or at least that heenough of their decision for that the culprit was at the time running. I 'm going quote, to Celtic occasion, an example which proves that, in the case even of a justly punishable crime , their will alone was consulted. The text that goes to follow will also have the advantage of making us appreciate the true character of the Buddhist legends." It is had to Mathura (2) a courtesan named Vasavadatta. Her maid be made a day with Upagupta to buy him perfumes. Vâsavadattâ him said To his return : He seems, my dear, that this merchant perfume you please, since you always buy from him . The servant he replied : Daughter of my master Upagupta, the son merchant, who is gifted with beauty of talent and of sweetness, spent his life to observe the law. In hearing these lyrics, Vâsava-datta conceived love for Upagupta, and finally she sent him her maid to tell him : My intention is to go find you ; I want to indulge in the pleasure with law. The maid acquitted from his commission to Upagupta ; but the young man the charge of responding to his mistress : My sister, he is not time for law of me see. Now he had to, to obtain the favors of Vâsavadattâ, to give five hundred Purânas (3). So the courtesan imagined that [if she refused, is that] he born could not give the five cents Purânas. This is for -What it it sent to new his servant, so for him to say : I don't ask not to the son from my master a single Kârchâpana ; I just want to deliver me to pleasure with him. The maid acquitted again from this new commission, and Upagupta him replied to the same : My sister, he is not time for law of see me ." However the son of a master craftsman was came to settle at Vâsava-dattâ, when a merchant, who brought five hundred horses from the north that he wanted to sell , entered in the city of Mathura, and asked what was the most beautiful courtesan ; he was told that it was Vâsavadattâ. Immediately taking five hundred Purâças and a large quantity of presents, he is made in the (1) Prâlihârya, in Divya avad., F.75 o.(2) Maihurâ TST almost as famous in the legends of Buddhists that in the books of Brahmans. This city, which is located on the right bank of the Yamunâ, was visited, at the commencement of the fifth century by

Fa hian, which are found on Buddhism flourishing. (Foe koue ki, p. 99 and 102.) (3) See, on this word and on that of Kârchâpam which comes below, a note which has been rejected © at the end of the volume, Appendix, no III.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .131 courtesan. So Vasavadatta, driven by the greed, murdered the son from the chef of craftsmen, who was at home, threw his body in the middle of the garbage and delivered to the merchant. At the end of some days, the young man was taken to des-under the rubbish by his parents, who denounce the assassination. The king gave immediately order the executors to go cut to Vâsavadattâ them hands, the feet, ears and thenose, and to the left in the graveyard. The executioner executed the order of the king, and abandoned the courtesan in the place indicated. "However, Upagupta heard of the torment which had been inflicted on Vâ-savadattâ, and immediately this reflection he came to the mind : This woman has long ago desired to see me for a sensual purpose [and I did not consented to what she melives]. But now that the hands, feet, the nose and ears it has been cut it is time that my way, and it pronounced these stanzas : "When her body was covered with beautiful ornaments, that she shone with ornaments of various species, the best for those who aspire to emancipation and who want to escape to the law of the Renaissance was to do not go see this woman." Today that she has lost his pride, his love and his joy it has been mutilated by the edge of the sword, that its body is reduced to its own nature, he is time to see it. "So, sheltered under a parasol carried by a young man who accompanied him in quality of servant, he is returned to the cemetery with a move collected. The maid of Vasavadatta had remained with his mistress by attachment for her old kindnesses, and she kept the crows from approaching her body. [Seeing Upagupta] she told him: Daughter of my master, the one to which you got me sent several times, Upagupta advances in this direction . He is without doubt attracted by dying of pleasure. But Vâsavadattâ hearing these words answered him : "When he my private will of my beauty, torn by the pain, jetty to earth, all soiled with blood, how will he be able to experience the love the fun?" Then she said to her maid : Friend, pick up the limbs that have been separated of my body. The servant 's meets immediately and hid under a piece of cloth. At the moment Upagupta arose, and he is placed standing before Vasavadatta. The courtesan the seeing and standing in front of her, said : Son of my master, when my body was whole, that it was done for the pleasure, I have sent to several took my servant back to you, and you answered me : My sister, he is not time for Law of me see. Today that the sword took away my hands, my feet, the nose and the ears, that I am thrown in the mud and in the blood, why are you coming? And she pronounced the following stanzas :

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132 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY "When my body was sweet as the flower of the lotus, he was decorated with ornaments and clothing precious, it had everything that attracts the looks, I have been unhappy enough that she could n't see you ." Today why are you coming contempler- here a body including the eyes can withstand the view, what left the game, the pleasure, the joy and the beauty, inspiring terror and who is defiled with blood and with mud? (Upagupta he replied : I not am not come near law, my sister, attracted by love of pleasure; but I have come to see the true nature of mid-serable objects of enjoyment of human (1). "Upagupta then adds some other maxims on the vanity of pleasures and the corruption of body ; his speeches are the calm in the soul of Vâsava-dattâ,

who dies after having done an act of faith in Duddha, and who will be reborn immediately among the Gods. I have quoted this whole piece, although it does not relate to the previous discussion. I feel that by a single stroke, the punishment of Vāsavadattā condemned by the sovereign will of the king. I will add only here that the legend is not contemporary with Çakyamuni, because it is found in a text which, as I'll see another hand, is certainly posterior to the time of Açôka (Kâ-lâçôka). For the traits that I've mentioned, I enajouterai two others that we are pe-enter into the habits of the royal caste long enough. A Brahmin of Tchampâ (2) had a daughter of great beauty. The Astrologers he predicted it would in day two sons, one of whom would be a sovereign monarch, the other a religious eminent by his holiness. Emboldened through this prediction, the Brahmin went to present his daughter to Bindusâra, king of Pâtali-puttra, who accepted it and made it enter in the appartement des women. At the seen of the young girl, the wives of the king reading the empire that its beauty could give on the mind (I Bindusâra, resolved by the to do pass for one wife of the caste abject barbers, and taught him to take care of the beard and the hair of the king. "The young girl soon became skilled in this trade, and each time she (1) Pâmm pradâna, in Divya avad., F. 175 b. The collection of Tibetan legends published re-recently by M. Schmidt reproduces the contents of this story; but in abridging many, he himself takes off a portion of its interest. {Der Weise und der Thor, p. 385, trad. garlic.} (2) Tchampâ is a formerly famous town which already plays an important role in the Editions of Mahabharata. Fa hian the visited at the beginning of v ^ century. {Foe koue M, p. 328 and 329.} It is probable that it was situated, if not on the site of Tchampapour or Tchampe-nagar, a neighboring town of Bhâgalpour, at least not far from there. (Wilson, Jomn. Roy. Asiat. Soc, t.V, p. 134.)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .d33 began to fulfill its office with of the king, this last was going to bed. a king day, who was happy with her, it offered to him to grant the grace that would like, and asked him: What favor do you want? Lord, replied the young girl, may the king consent to unite with me. You are from the barber caste, him says Bindusâra, and me i ama king of the race of ks.atriyas who have received the anointing royal; how is it possible, that thou hast trade with me? I dontam not of the barber caste, she continued; I am the daughter of a Brahmin who gave me given to the king for he made of me his wife. - Who hath solearned the trade of barber? said the king. - They are the women of the interior apartments. - I don't want more, said Bindusâra, that you do this job in the future. And. The King declared the young girl the first of his wives (1). "An another legend, that of Aśoka, son and successor of Bindusara, we offer an exampleno less curious about the power of the prejudices created by the castes. Tichya rakchitâ, one of the king's wives, had conceived an incestuous passion for Kunâla, son the king and of another of his women; but she had been re-push. Determined to beavenge, she takes advantage of a serious illness and reputedly incurable, which threatened the days of the king, to seize without reserve of his spirit, and get a few days use exclusive of the power Royal. I extract now from this legend what affects our topic." Açôka, seeing that his illness was incurable, gave the following order: Done come Kunâla; I want the place on the throne; what do I need from the life? Corn Tichya rakchitâ having heard the words of the king, made this reflection: If Kunâla up on the throne, I am lost. She therefore said to King Açôka: I myself support of you make the health; but hebe that you interdise doctors hushed the palace. The king forbade we should leave enter any doctor. For her part, the

queen they said to all :If he shows up at you a man or a woman who is at-complexion of the same evil king, take care of me the to see. Now he happened that a man of the caste of the Abhîras (the pastors) was reached of this same disease. His wife went to find condition of his husband to a doctor, which he answered :May the sick come and find me ;when I have re-known his condition, I him will indicate the suitable remedy . The Abhira be made in Consequently at the doctor, who he drove in the presence of Tichya rakchitâ. The queen introduced him to a secret place and there was put to death. When the Abhîra had been killed, she made him open the belly, looked there and saw in his stomach a huge worm . When the worm went back, the excrement of sick he came through the mouth; when he descended, these impure matters took their course (1) Pâmçu pradma, daas Div. avad., f.183 6.

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134 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY by in low. The queen was present at the worm of pepper crushed, and he did die not ;it it was given to even unsuccessful the pepper long and ginger. At last is the touch with of onion ;immediately the worm died, and it descended by the way slower. The queen then went to say to the king :Lord eats of onion, and you will be restored. - Queen him répondit leroi, je suis un Kshatriya, how pourrais-I eat of onion?-Lord said the queen, it's like medicine that you have to take this substance in order to save your life. The king ate of the onion, and the worm died, and it went out through the lower lanes (1). "I do not have needed to do notice that the scruple which prevented the king Aśoka to eat of onion, though also dominant among the Buddhists, has its source in the Brahmanic defense formulated by the law of Manu (2). But he is important to note that the fact narrated everything to time happens after the legend, at a time when King Açôka was already fully converted to the Buddhism ;and though the established prejudice on the existence of the caste still exercised on his mind a too powerful empire !The passages that I come from report are sufficient to make known the true position of first two classes, that of the Brahmans and that from Kshatriyas, in the Indian company . Other texts fix, with a precision little near equal, the position of the lower caste, that one sees delivered to Trade in agriculture and finally the professions servile. I will not stop not reported here the names of all the castes cited in the sūtras; gold-political organization of the company Indian, in the time of Śākyamuni, is sufficiently determined by the names of the élites that have appeared in the passages cited above. I'm content with recall here, according to the Sutras, the double principle on which rested the existence and the perpetuity of castes. The first of these principles was the obligation which each one found not to marry that with a woman of her own class. This rule was if universally allowed the time of the predication of Çiikya, that the spots applied to each moment in the sūtras and in the legends of Divya avadâna. All the time that it is about a marriage, the text adds the ordinary formula : " He took a woman in a family equal to the own (3) » The story of Çākya munî provides us with a very curious example. The young prince, who was pressed to marry, had declared that the consideration of the caste would not stop it not, and he would indifferently take a wife from among the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, the Yàçnyas or the Sudras, if it was a one answered in kind of (1) Kundla, in Divya avadâna, f. 200 b. (2) Mânava dharmasâstra, l.v, if. 5. (3) Tchûd pakcha, in Divya avad., F. 281 het pass.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .435perfectionheis silent(elm.The Brahmin who exercisedthefunctions ofpriestof families withof King Çuddhâdana was in charge of looking for the wifeaccomplished that wished the prince, and hethe found in the home of a craftsman ofKapilavastu, named Dandapàni.As a result, theking Çuddhâdana himdidto ask her daughter for the young Çâkyâ. But what does Dandapàni answer ? "Sei-"gneur, the princehas been brought up in his house in happiness ;and ofmore,"It's a lawof family among us, that our fdles will be data"marriage to one who knows the business, and not at a time. But the prince does not"knowsnoprofession ;hedo not knowhandle neitherthe sword,nor the bow,orthebecause-"quois,etc. (1)."The king stops before this objection, and Gâkyâ is obligedto show the knowledge he possesses in all the arts, knowledge atnumber which sontcomprises those that relate to the liberal arts, asthe study of ancient vocabularies (Nighantu), thereading booksHoly,fromVedas, the Puranas, the Itihasas,the treaties of grammar, explanation ofterms obsolete, the reading, the metric, the ritual, astronomy (2).The second principle of the conservation of castes wasthe inheritance of profes-sions, and this principle was no less generally respected than the first.Lq son of the merchant followed the profession of his father (3); the son of the butcherwas a butcher, because that his father andhis ancestors had been before him(4).Respected byall the classes from the Brahmin to chandala, the twoprinciples that Ijust to remind formed the basis onwhich was the buildingof the society of which the Mânava dharma çâstra has preserved for us the plan and the picture.It was in the midst of a society thus constituted that was born, in a familyof ks.atriyas, one of Sakyas of Kapilavastu, which is claimed to result from the an-tick breedsolar power of India, a young prince who, renouncing the world toageof twenty-neufans, is madeReligious under the name of Çâhjamuni ^ or ofÇramana Gâutama. His doctrine, which according toSutras wasmore moral thanmetaphysical,at least in hisprinciple (5), was based on aaccepted opinionas a fact, and on a hope presented as a certainty. Thisopi-nion is that theworld visible is in a constant change ;that thedeath succeeded to thelife, and thelife to the dead ;that man, like all that(1)Lalita vistara, c. xii, f.79 b, and 80 a of my manuscript. A similar circumstance occursfound reported in one of the Tibetan legends of the collection recently published by M. Schmidt. {Der Weise und der Thor, p. 334 and 335, transl. garlic.}(2)Lalila vistara, c. xii, f. 87 a.(3) Kôtikarna, in Divya avad., F.i and pass.(4) Id. Ibid., F. 5 6.(5) This fact has not escaped to Mr. Benfey. {Indian, p. 201, extract from the Encyclopédie d'Ersch anderubate.)

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iSQINTRODUCTION TO HISTORYsurrounds, rolls in the eternal circle of the transmigration ;he will passively by all the forms of life, from the most basic to themore perfect ;that the place it occupies in the vast scale of living beingsdepends ondeserves actionswhich he accomplishes in this world ;and that thus the manvirtuous must,after this life, to be reborn with a divine body , and the culprit witha body ofdamned ;that therewards from heavenandthe punishments of hellhave a time limited, as all that is in the world ;that the timedepletes the merit of virtuous actions, all of the same that clears the fault ofbad ;and that the law fatal change back on the land and the God andthe damned, for the set of the new one and the other to the test and they dobrowse the following new of transformations. The hope that Çâkyâmunibrought to men, it wastheopportunity to escape the law of the transmi-gration,by entering in thishecalled theNirvana, that is to say, annihilateis lying. The definitive sign of this annihilation was death ;but onepre- signthe

cursor announced from this life the man predestined to this supreme deliverance ;it was the possession of unlimited science ,that he gave the order net of world, as it is, that is to say the knowledge of physical and moral laws ;and for all say in a word, it was the practice of six transcendent perfections dantes :the alms of the morality of the science, of energy, of the Patience and of the charity. The autorité sur which the Religious of the breed of Çâkyâ supported his teaching was all personal ;she was formed from two elements, one real and the other ideal. The first was the regularity and holiness of his conduct, which the chastity of patience, and charity formed the main features . The second was the claim that he had to be Duddha, that is to say enlightened, and, as such, to have a science and a power superhuman. With his power he worked miracles ;with his science, he represented, in a clear and complete form, the past and future. By there he could relate all that every man had done in his previous lives. laughing; and he thus affirmed that an infinite number very had long ago achieved like him, by the practice of the same virtues, to the dignity of Buddha, before to enter into complete annihilation . He represented finally to men as their savior, and he promised them that his death would not wipe out his doctrine, but that this doctrine was last after him a great number of centuries, and that when his salutary action had ceased, he a new one would come into the world Buddha, which he announced by name, and that before down on the land he had, say the legends, sacred himself in the sky, in quality of future Buddha (1). (1) Lalita vistara, î. 25 a from my man. Csoma, Life of ShaUya, in Asiat. Res., T. XX, p. 287.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .137 This is that we learn the Sutras of the position and designs of Sakyamuni in the middle of the company Indian; and it is there , if I 'm not mistaken, the form the most simplest and most primitive under which presents his doctrine, as long as it is still, as in these treatises, only in the state of preaching. Than other books from Nepal, such that the various editions of the Prajñâ PA-râmitâ, offer us a more regular system and which kiss a lot more big number of questions than those indicated in the Sûtras, that do must not surprise us ;but it 's not here the place to compare the Budrdhisme developed the Prajñâ with the Sutras ;what we imported in this moment is to fix, according to this last class of treaties, the position in which Sakyamuni was found in the middle of the Brahmins of ks.atriyas and other castes. It is clear that he presented himself as one of those ascetics who from the time the more anciens parcourant India preaching the morality the more respected of the company they affect to the despise more ;it is even by placing oneself under the tutelage of the Brahmans whom he was entered into the religious life. The Lalitavistara us the watch in effect be making, to get out of the paternal house , with the most famous Brahmans, to draw their school the science he seeks (1). When he has obtained his masters that that they can teach him , when the most skilful has him even associated with exercise of his duties as tutor, Çâkyâ surrenders ,as all the ascetics in to harsh mortifications, to along and rigorous abstinence ;and the Lalita vis-tara, who recounts all the details of this part of his life, naively ends his account by this' instructive reflection : "It was to show the world the "spectacle amazing actions (2)." Çâkyamuni, or the lonely of the race of Çâkyâ, does not stand out , To the origin, other solitary race Brahma lunch ;and we 'll see later , when I gather the evidence of struggle he was obliged of support against the other ascetics its rivals, that the people, surprised persecution which he was the object, sometimes asked to its adver-sary what reasons they had for the both to hate, since he was only one Beggar like them. He is no less evident than the philosophical

opinion by which he justly-trusted his task was shared by all the classes of the society :Brahmins,Kchattriyas, Vâiçyas and Çûdras, all also believed in the fatality of the trans-(1) Lalita vistara, ch. xvi, f.125 b sqq. of my manuscript. It is put first in the discipline of Alara Kalama, and then under that of Rudraka, son of Rama, who lived close to Rajagriha. The Pali books name the first of these Brahmans Alâra Kdlâma. (Turnour, Journ. Asiat.Soc. of Bengal, t.VII, p. 1004.)(2) Lolita vistara, f.135 & of my man.

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38INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY migration, the breakdown the rewards and the penalties, to the need and at the same time to the difficulty of definitively escaping the perpetual conditions. slightly changing of a very relative existence . Until then the lonely of the race of Çâkyas was not in opposition with the company Brahmin. Kchattriya by the birth, he was become an ascetic, like some others, and in particular Viçvâmitra, had done before him (1). Heaven kept, in one of the names that he wore, the trace of the essentially religious bond which linked his family to the Brahmanic caste ; he was called the Çramana Gâutama, or the ascetic Gâu-acetamide, probably because that Gautama was the name of family priestly of the military race of Çâkyas, who in quality of Kchattriyas did not have an Cêtre neither of tutelary saint in the way of the Brahmins, but who had been able to take, as well as the law Indian permits, the name of the ancient wise to the race whose director belonged spiritual (2). Philosopher and moralist, he believed for the most truths accepted by the Brahmins ; but he was separating them the time he was to take the consequence of these truths and of determine the condition of salvation, purpose of the efforts of man, since it substituted was killing the annihilation and the vacuum at Brahma unique in the which substance his adversaries brought in the world and man. I will now extract from the Sûtras the passages which seemed to me to be natural to throw the most day on the following points : the position of Çâkyas and of his followers towards the Brahmins and other ascetics in general ; the goal than Çâkyas and Religious is proposed in common ; the struggles that the leader suffered out against his adversaries ; the average conversion of that he employed, and the action which his teaching was to exercise in the long run on the Brahmanic system of castes. These various topics are often mixed between them in the same (1) In addition Vishvâmitra, including the legend is well known by the Râmâyajja, the ancient Itihâsas that cite commentators des Vêdas, or the processed form of appendages species in these old books, speak of a warrior of the race of the Kurus became Brahmin. {How, on the Nirukta, ire, pt. 49 b of my manuscript.}(2) Look in the Foe koue ki, p. 309, a memo in which I myself have tried to explain this difficulty. The analysis of Csoma we learn that Maudgalyayana in addressing the Çâkyas de Kapilavastu, told them " Gâutamâh " or " Gâutamides. » {Asian girl. Res., T. XX, p. 74; and Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. II, p. 386 ff.) Mws this only proves that the âkyas pre-born the name of Gâutamas. The origin of this title is still unknown, and the explanation that I propose is still only a conjecture. A curious fact, although it does not advance us much on the issue of urigine is that our days yet, it is in the district of Gonikpour, that is that is to say in the same country where Çâkyanmni was born, a branch of the race of Radjpouts, who takes the name of Gâutamides. {History, etc., of East. India, t. II, p. 458.} Bro. Hamilton, to whom we should the knowledge of this fact, has gathered regarding these Radjpouts Gâutamides the details a little confused. He does not explain how a family of Kchattriyas can claim to come from a saint brahmanic.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .IS9passage, and we do not expectwithout doubt to in find here a classification Me-thodic ;the point that heimportant to establish, it is the impression that results, forany impartial reader of the study of the Sûlras, considered under these various pointsof view.One of the facts that thereading of the Sutras and the legends of the Divya avadâna metthe best in light isthat Çâkyamuni and his Religious wereplaced atmiddle of the company Indian, on the same level as theascetics of anotherorigin. This assertion, for being not expressed in a way as if so,do is notless at bottom does itdemonstrates that the most obviously the studyof the Sutras. I recalled earlier to what discipline Çâkya had submittedto penetrate themysteries the most secret of the science Brahmin. Noof teachers in the teaching which heis placed successively does not findhis insubstantial claims , and thelegend of Lalita vistara even teaches usthat one of these Brahmins shares with him his title of tutor (i). Fivesome disciples of this Brahmin are so struck by the progress of Çâkya,they leave theirold master to attach himself to the new ascetic (2).Heistrue that when, exhausted byan abstinence excessive Śâkya is obliged to takesomefood andto give upfasts too prolonged, thefive disci-ples, shocked by this infractionà the rule abandon to go alone withof Benares continue their life of mortifications (3) ;but Sakya 's found(1) Lalita vistara, L 129 a and 6 of my man.(2)Lalita vistara, (.139 6 of my man. The Mahâvastu cites the names of these first fivedisciples who are called "of good caste. " It 's not without interest for the comparison with thetranscripts that give the Chinese. (Foe koue ki, p. 310.) The first quotedis ÂdnâtaKâuijdinya: the Chinese the call A jo tchhinju chiao, and very bieo say that A jo (Âdjiàta)gicite knowing, and that Kdundinya is the name of family of the Brahmin; we know in fact aBrahmanic family of Kâundinyas. The second is Açvadjit, among the Chinesepepi, or according to Hiuanthsang, A chyplio chy. {Foe koue ki, p.267.) His name is exactly as " master of the horse. " "This religious was of theÇâkya's family . The third is Bhadraka or Bhadraka, among theChinese Po thi.Some éloigaée that this transcript appears to be of the original, without doubtbecause it goes to through the middle of the pale, she does is not less made very probable bythe translation of " little sage "that give the Chinese. The concept of small is in effect in theBhadruka ka suffix . It says that this character was also of the family of Śâkya, and itfind the legend of his conversion auBuddhisme in the avadâna çalaka. (f. 214 b.) The fourthis Vâchpa, that the Chinese know under the name of Daçabala Kdçyapa; but they him givealso the name of Pho crazy, who do can Eire other thing that Vdclipa, of aulantplus that Pho crazy istranslated into Tibetan as Rlangs-pa, which is exactly the meaning of Sanskrit vdchpa (steam); thisReligious held to Çâkya by his maternal uncles. The fifth is Muliârâta, or rather Mahâ-nâma, as Csuma writes . {Asian girl. Reseurches, t. XX, p. 293.) The Chinese transcribe exactlythis noui Ma ha nan {Foe koue ki, p. 203); theylai still give that of Keou li that tseu, "the• iroyal prince Keou li." Mahanama was the son eldest of the king Amitôdana and cousin -german ofÇâkya. {Mahdvasta, f. 356 a from my man. Csuma, Asian. Reseurches, t. XX, p. 293.)(3) Lalita vistara, i.139 & of my man.

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140INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYmore later, and for his perfections physical and moral the nou- keycalf and the converts for ever to his law(i).Hetherehas in all thisnothingwhich could not also have happened to an asceticbrahmanic, andÇâkya , all Kchattriya that hewas,is put by the legendexactly on the same footing as a Brahmin. Other texts we do seehis disciples barely distinguished from thosewho later becametheir

adver-violent series. Between several passages that I could invoke, I will quote a single, which shows us a more zealous supporter of Çākya muni distributing also his alms to Buddhists and Brahmans, and saying to the guardian from the door from his house : " Do not give entry to the Tīrthyas (2) (these are the " Ascetics brahmanic), during the time of the Assemblée of religious, "having in his head the Buddha, will be busy in taking his meals ; my intention (is not to receive the Tīrthyas until after the Assembly (3).» And the difference that exists between these two species of ascetics, the Brahmin and the Buddhist, is pretty little trench for only the view of Kassapa, that is to say of one of the pre-(1) Mahāvastu, f. 356 a from my man. The place where Çākya found his first five disciples is very famous in the legends; is called R / chipatana Mrigadāva, "the place where are fallen" the Richis in the Wood of antelopes. » Here is how the Lalita vistara exposes the origin of this denomination : In this time it is had to Yārā. iasi, in the wood of antelopes in place named Richipatana, five hundred Pratyēka Buddhas who lived there . Having heard the news, they "arose in the air to a height of seven spans, and entering in the item dice the light, they "vanished similar to meteors. That it there was in their body bile, phlegm, "of flesh, bones, muscles and of blood, all this was consumed by the fire, and their pure bodies "fell to the ground. We then say : The Richis have fallen here ; from there then came a what place the name "of Richipatana, the fall of the Richis. » (Lalita vistara, f.12 bet 13 a.) The same text gives a poor explanation of the name of Mrigadāva, <Antelope wood . " The here: Abhaya-datlārtcha tasmin mrigiīh prativasanti, "the gazelles will live in possession of this security, "as if mrigadāva were formed from the elements that are found in datta, namely dd, and invasanti, know how . Fa hian, at the beginning of the fifth century of our era, visited this famous place ; he the names in the relationship "the Park deer of the Immortal. " {Foe hoe ki, p.304.) By the Immortal we must understand a Pratyēka Buddha, who on learning that the son of King Çuddhōdanawould become Buddha, entered himself in the Nirvana. This is, as we see, our legend very slightly transformed. (2) The term of Tīrthya, or Tīrthika, or even Tirthakara, means literally "the one who <made the pilgrimage to the sacred ponds . » This is the title by which the Buddhist books designate in a manner generally the ascetics and the Religious Brahman. I am afraid that Mr. Schmid has confused the word with one of Tārka, v. reasoner, sophist, "when he was believed to claim that the Sanskrit word Tārka was written by the Mongols Tirtika. {Same. of Acad. from St. Petersburg sciences , t. II, p. 44 and note.) I don't see why the Mongolian Tirtika newould not be simply the transcription of Sanskrit Tīrthika. Mr. Schmidt is, I think, more happy when he reduces the Mongolian word Tars or Ters to being only an alteration of these two words without-writings; only, it is from Tīrthika that it must be drawn. This remark seems to me to nullify all the hypotheses by which it has wanted to find the Parsees in the Ters authors Mongols. (3) Nāgara avalambikā, in Divya avaddna, f. 38 o. Svāgata, ibid., F. 86 b.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .141 my dearest and most fervent disciples of Çākya, the keeper that take for a brahmin beggar and him close the door (1). This equality almost complete the two orders is expressed in the way the more clearly by the formula which returns to each line of primitive sutras : Çramana Brāhmana ^ that is to say the Çramanas and the Brahmans, formula according to which the only advantage that to give the Buddhists, is to be appointed the first (2). Çākya is under-wind represented traversing the country, surrounded by the Assembly of Religious, and followed a crowd of Brahmans,

of merchants and of masters house (3). A formula often repeated, and that has to be to express the extent of the science of the Buddha, contains these words: "Knowing the creatures, including the Çramanas and the Brahmins (4). "These facts and others seem to prove that the Buddhists and Brahmins lived together in the same country; they call this title to the story of Indian Buddhism, and are certainly previous of many centuries to the separation violent that forced out of the Hindooslans the beliefs that are attached to the preaching of Çâkyamuni. The goal that was proposed to the lonely of the race of Sakya does not less clearly establish by the Sutras. He wanted to save the men in the detaching of world and in their teaching the practice of the virtue. For this purpose, it was looking to the convert to his doctrine, and to get to the disciples who could spread and perpetuate it after him. Encouraged by example of its virtues and by the remembrance of the trials that he told them he had gone through in previous heartedly, his disciples imposed themselves the most hard sacrifices to arrive, like him to the perfection of the sanctity. It is not uncommon to see who renounce to the life, in the desire and the firm hope to arrive one day * at the state supreme of Buddha perfectly accomplish. Their dedication, however, is more selfless than that of the Brahmins, who indulged in harsh penances, to share in a different life the residence of Indra or that of Brahma, because the perfection to (1) Nâgara avalambikâ, in Divya avadâna, f.38 b. Klaproth has already found that it exists at the time of Sakyamuni several Brahmins the name of Kâryapa, which are often cited in the legends, knowledge, Makâ kâçyapa, Uruvilvâ kâçyapa, Gayâ kâçyapa and Nadî kâçyapa. Following the texts consulted by Klaproth, these last three Kâçyapas were brothers, and we must distinguish them from Mahâ kâçyapa. (Foe koue ki, p. 292.) It is necessary to add the Daçabala Kassapa, otherwise named Vdchpa, which we have parlet out to time by listing the five first disciples of Sakya, of which he was a part. At the death of Śâkyâ this last Kassapa was one of the four most major listeners of Sakya which existed in India. (G soma, Asiatic Researches, t. XX, p. 315.) (2) Supriya, in Divya avad., f. U a. Prâti hârya, ibid., F. 74 a. Dliarma rutchi, ibid., F. 113 a. Djyôtichka, ibid., F. 137 a. (3) Supriya, in Divya avad., F. U a. Kanaka varm, ibid., F. U 6 b. Avad. cat., L 81 b, 101 a, 106 b, 120 b, 122 a, 127 b. (4) Rûpavatî, in Divya avad., F. 212 a.

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d42 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY which aspires the ascetic buddhisle do should not raise him alone, and that is for in doing share the benefit with other men that he the research environment des plus difficult trials. The Sutras and the legends offer us more than one example of this tendency of Buddhist conversions, a tendency which places almost on the same rank, except the goal, the followers of Buddha and the worshipers of Brahma. When the dying Açôka leaves the empire of the earth, of which he believed the master, to the Assembly of Religious of the Buddha, he exclaims that he does not perform this act of generosity for in gathering the fruit, or in Indra's sky, either in the world of Brahma, but to get the reward deserves his faith in Bha-gavat (1). A young Brahmin, who retired at the end of a forest, to be delivered, in the interest of living beings, to an extraordinary penance, give his body in graze a tigress starved, who had to put down. At the time to consume this heroic sacrifice, he exclaims: "As he is it true that I abandon the life, nor for the monarchy, or for the enjoyment of pleasure, or to the rank of Indra, nor for that of monarch sovereign, but good for (to arrive at the supreme state of Buddha perfectly accomplish (2).» We find in a different Sutra, one of Chandra prabha, an allusion

to a legendlike, one of the female of the tiger, of which there must a dual translation to M. Schmidt, executed after two Mongolian works, Uligerûn dalai and Altangerel (8). In this same Sutra, the king, at the time of abandoning the life, takes the Gods to witness that he accomplishes a also great sacrifice, not for obtain the rewards that are usually expected, rewards which are the state of Brahmâ, that of Çakra, or that of sovereign monarch, but to become one day a perfect Buddha. Here, as in many other texts to show to both the likeness and the difference of Buddhism compared to Brahmanism. The belief in the sanctity of suicide for a goal religion is the even from share and else, by let her rest on this antique sentence of reprobation, brought against the body by oriental asceticism. And the fact, if the life is a state of pain and of sin, if the body is one prison where the soul languishes captive and miserable, what better use can we make than to get rid of it yourself? And with what ardor the ascetic only should it not be porter à this sacrifice, if he believes himself frap-Procher and more quickly the goal high promised to see efforts! It is there, we can not {} Açôka, àans Divyaavad., { 'I \ i a. (2) Rûpaiali, in Divyaavad., F. 115 6. (3) Mongolian. Gramm., P. 192 sqq. The story of Uligerûn dalai is naturally reproduced in the German translation of the original Tibetan collection published by M. Schmidt. {Der Weite under Thor, ^ . 21 ff)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .145 Undoubtedly, the meaning of these immolations volunteers to consume yet our days under the chariot of Djagannâtha. The Buddhist legends where I find the examples are reported, it is true, to the times very fact mythologiques; and he is allowed to suppose that only the place has in these times distant that because it would have been difficult to rencontre the same during the first centuries of the establishment of Buddhism. However, what he can be the facts themselves, the trend of legends of this kind do is not less identical with one of the ideas that grow fanatic sectarians has to torture and to be killed for Vishnu the benevolent, or for the implacable Devi. In our legends, the goal is different; he even the state, this difference is all full for the benefit of Buddhists, since the sacrifice that is required the ascetic is still for the benefit of all mankind (i). But this difference could easily disappear of eyes of the people before the indelibility of the mind and the means; and zeal with wherein the Buddhist monks exalted of such sacrifices were enough for them to share with the other ascetics that the pratiquaient aussi the respects of the multitude. that which seems to support this supposition, it is the nature of reproaches that, following our Sutras, the Brahmans addressed to Sakyamuni and to his disciples. I know that these accusations are reported by the Buddhists who have been able to choose between those to whom they were the more easy to answer, while they had to silence them objections purely philosophical objections well otherwise serious, that the commentators of systems Brahmanical du Sâmkhya and the Nyayado to the followers of Çâkyamuni. But I repeat, there is question of legends relating to first sermons of Çâkyamuni, and not of a system Order which is defended with the weapons similar to those with which we the at-tackle. Also, whenever the drafters of the sūtras would purposely pass in silence the controversy including the Çâkyamuni's opinions must have summer to object of the share of Brahmans, there reproaches less serious that they put in the mouths of their opponents may always have been theirs facts, a bit philosophical in either the reason. One of the grievances that usually animated the Brahmanic caste against the Buddhists is that these, Hvrés like herat the ascetic life, and signaling in respects of the people by the regularity of their conduct, removed to

Religious from. other sects a part of tributes and of their profits were coming back before. We will see later six Brahmans, who wanted try their powers supernatural against that of Çâkyâ, to complain loudly (1) This distinction has not escaped to Mr. Benfey. {Indian, p. 199, col. 2.)

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144 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY the wrong that they did since he had embraced life religious. one other legend, that of Dharma rutchi, reproduces these complaints ; but she in "postpones the subject and the authors at a very mythological period, under Kchêraamkara, one of the fabulous Buddhas prior to Çâkyâmuni. A merchant, who had amassed in vast wealth in a travel on sea, would enlarge and adorn the Stupa, or the monument of this Buddha. <r. But the Brahmans who inhabited "the city, being all together, be surrendered to the great merchant and her" Said : You know, merchant, at a time when the Buddha Kchêmamkara had ('not yet appeared in the world, we were so for the people one" object of respect, and that when he was born, it's him who got the hom-" Magi of the Multitude. Today he is entered in the annihilation" complete, it is to us that the world owes its respect ; this gold comes back to us" Therefore of right (i). "From such words must have been pronounced since the death of Çâkyâmuni ; and this is because they have been in effect that the legend of the reports, in the placing in a past prior to historical times . They don't show Not less, in our opinion, one of the points of view from which the ascetics of all the orders envisioned the appearance and development of the new sect , which was coming compete with them for the material advantages of a profession if lucrative in India. One other criticism plus grave without doubt because he came from the classes the more respectable of the society, it was the blame with which we welcomed the most conversions operated by Çâkyâmuni. He was criticized for admitting parnvi his followers of repulsed men of all for their crimes or for their misery. But I must content myself with indicating here that kind of blame ; I will have opportunity to talk about it in detail later, when I examine the nature conversions effected by Çâkyâ and the effect produced by these very conversions . If the objectionsque, following the Sutras, the Brahmans opposed to Sakyâ and to his disciples were not very philosophical, the struggle they supported against her will was no more ; because the legend us the show dispu-as with him who would operate the miracles the more convincing. I think neces-sary of translate, for the most big party, a sutra relating to this subject, who will understand, better than anything that I could say, on what ground the Brahmans, following the tradition Buddhist, struggling with Sakyâmuni and with its first sectarians. " At that time resided in the city of Râdjagrîha six masters who did not didn't know everything, but who imagined they knew everything ; they were : Perrana Kâçyapa, (1) Dharma rutchi, in Divya avadâna, i. 120 a and h.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .145 Maskarin son of Gôçâli, Saiîidjayin son of Vâirattî, Adjila Kêçakambala, Kakuda Kâtyâyana, Nirgranha son of Djfiâti (1). Now these six Tîrthyas, gathered and seated in a room of recreation, had all the talk and maintenance sui-vants: You certainly know, lords, that when the Çramana Gâutamahad not yet appeared in the world, we were honored, respected, revered, adored by the kings, by the ministers of kings, by the Brahmans, by the householders, by the residents of cities and by those from campaigns, by the heads of trades and by the merchants ; and that were received various shake, like the garment, the food, the bed, the seat, the medicines for the sick and other things. But after

that the Çramana Gâutama appeared in the world, it is he who is honored, respected, revered, worshiped by kings, by the Brahmins, by the ministers of kings, through the masters of the house, by the inhabitants of the cities and the countryside, by the rich, by the heads of trades, and by the first among the merchants ; it's the Çramana Gâutama who, with the Assembly of its Auditors, receives various emergency, such as the clothing, the food, the bed, the seat, the drugs of-

(1) This piece curious to is reproduced with some variations in the Tibetan collection including Mr. Schmidt has to publish a translation German. {Der Weise und der Thor, p. 71 ff) See again the names of these six Brahmin ascetics cited by Csoma de Coros in his notes on the life of Śākya. {Asian girl. Res., T. XX, p. 298 and 299.) It is very interesting to compare this that M. Rémusat tells us about these heretics; we will see by then how the texts Buddhist chi-nois contain materials precious, and with what care this orientalist prominent had studied. {Foe koue Here, p. 149.) The first is called, according to the Chinese, Fou lan na kie cha; it's exactly Pūrai.ia Kāçyapa ; it was from his mother that he got his second name, which means "the" descendant of Kāçyapa. "The second Brahmin is Mo Ma li kiu che U; it is Maskarin, son of Gôçali : it is likely that this name has gone through a form faded; otherwise we could not explicate the absence of the s in the Chinese transcription. The third is Chan the ye pi lotchi > it is Saiidjayin, son of Vâirattî : Mr. Rémusat has approached very close to these two names. the fourth is A khi to Mue che khin pho lo; is Adjita Kêçakambala, or Adjita, which had to clothing than his hair. Mr. Rémusat has guessed Kambala. The fifth is Kia lokieoutho kia tchin yan; it is Kakuda, of the Kâtyâyana family . The sixth is Ni kian tho jo thi tseu; it is Nirgrantha, son of Djfiâli : here again I find a trace of pale origin in the absence of two r. Mr. Rémusat explains this proper name perfectly : " Ni kian tho means free of ties : f. it is the common title of heterodox religious; this one got the name of Jo thi from his mother . > This legend is famous in all the schools Buddhist, and we found an extract in the exposition of the barman religion given by Bro. Buchanan, after San Germano {Asiat. Res., t. VI, p. 267 ff.) M. Schmidt believes that there is no doubt that these six masters represent the six main philosophical schools of the Brahmins. {Same. of Acad. of Science S. of Peters-town, t. II, p. 44.) But nothing proves that this coincidence between the number of six masters and the existence of six sects Indian or other chose qu'un report accidental. I only have to add avant de conclude that the memory of Pūran.a and the other master has left a few traces in the Buddhist tradition ; because on the occasion of the word preceptor, the Dharma kôça vyākhyâis expressed as follows : " There are two kinds of masters, the false and the true; the false like Pūraiia and the "Tothers, the real one, that is to say the Tathâgata. > {Dharma kôça vyākhyâ, f. 6 man. Soc. As.) 10

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146 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY ted to the sick and other things as well ; our profits and our honors we are entirely and completely removed. However, we are endowed with a power supernatural, we know talk about the science. The Çramana Gâu-tama also claims to be gifted with a supernatural power , he claims to know dis-cuter on the science. He agrees that the one who knows how to discuss struggles with the one who to know as much as him, in operating, the means of its power supernatural of miracles superior to what that man can do (1). If the Çramana Gâulama operates, the means of its power supernatural, a single miracle higher than that the man can do, we in do two ; if in operates two, we in do four ; if he operates in four, we as will eight ; if in operating eight, we in will sixteen ; if

he operate sixteen, we will do thirty-two. Finally, we will do two times, three times as much of miracles that the śramaṇa Gautama to be operated in by means of his supernatural power. May the Çramana Gâutama only advance to halfway, we will not move forward only halfway not more. Come therefore wrestle with the Çramana Gâutama in art to operate, by means of a supernatural power, miracles superior to his that man may do." However Mâra the sinner made the following reflection: More than once, more a time I myself was attacked at śramaṇa Gautama mais jamais I have been the (1) The term which is used here The text belongs to own the Sanskrit Buddhist; the manuscripts to give with some variations: Ullarê manuchyadharmê riddhiprâdhâryam vi-darçayilum, or well Vltarimanuchyadharme, etc., or even Anuttarimanuchya .. etc. If we read uttarê, it will be necessary to translate word for word: "to show a transformation supernatural in the superior law of man; "if we read nltari (an unusual form), we will say: it make it appear a supernatural transformation in the law of a superior man, > and I add that the nltari lesson will change little in this last sense; it will only be " a man without a superior "that we will have to say. The lesson the more ordinary in our manuscripts is that à'uttari; it is also those that follow the text faded in Cojlan. The first of the two translations that I come from to propose seems to me to be confirmed by the Tibetan words of the version of this text: Mihi tchhos-bla-mahi rzu-hplirulj n miracles of the higher law of man. » This meaning is expressed in other terms in the caption published by M. Schmidt: Miki bla-mahi tchhos-kyi tchho-liphrul-lahdjug-go, ^ nivunl M. Schmidt; in der magischen Verwandlungskunst aus der Lehre des Lama (Oberhauptes) der Menschen. {Der Weise und der Thor, Tibetan text, p. 58, and trad. garlic., p. 71.) This translation seems to me to introduce wrongly the term Lama, who is a design enough modern and specific to Tibetans. It is true that the word Lama {bla-ma) means superior, as the Sanskrit M / fan he replaces: this is a point that I do not dispute; i only ask if in a legend that the elements are contemporary Śâkyamuni, we do not replace the superior vno by that of Lama. The Tibetan expression, interpreted literally, seems to me give this meaning: "Entered into a metamorphosis of the law of the superior of man," meaning that returns without doubt in it: "Entered a legal metamorphosis (i.e. who is the Condition) of one who is superior to man. "I followed the last sense, some wave that it is still, because it is approaching the more of the original expression; but I myself allowed in my translation a bit of freedom to make the most thought clear. (Cf. Spiegel, Kammavak. p. 38.)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .147 destroy (1). Why not me I would not a weapon of the Tîrthyas? Having taken this resolution it put on the figure of Purâna, and having soared into the air, he produced apparitions magic flames, light, of rain and lightning; and he spoke thus to Maskarin son of Gôçâli: Know, O Maskarin, that I am gifted with a power supernatural, that I know talk about the science. The Çramana Gâulama claims that he is endowed with supernatural power, that he knows discuss the science. He agrees that the who knows talk about the science struggle with the one who to know as much as him [etc. as above, up to:] So let's go and fight with the Çramana Gâutama in art to operate, by means a power supernatural of miracles superior to that the man may do." Mâra the sinner took then the figure of Maskarin and held the even lan-pledge to Samdjayin, son of Vâirattî. (^); this is how that they were abused one by one the other. "This is why each of them is said to himself: I got the power supernatural. Purana and the five other masters, who imagined

they knew everything, be surrendered to Bimbisara, nicknamed Çrênya (3), the king of Magadha; and having approached him, they spoke to him thus: Know, O king, that we are gifted with a supernatural power, which we know how to discuss on the science. The Çramana Gâutama also claims that he is gifted with supernatural power, and he can talk about the science. Hebe that one who knows discuss the science fight with one who in know so much than him [etc. as above, until:] So let's fight with the Çramana Gâutama in art to operate at means a power supernatural miracles superior to that the man can do." That said, Bimbisâra Çrênya, the king of Magadha, spoke thus to the Tîrthyas: Yes you want to become corpses, you just have to strive for supernatural power with Bhagavat. [Some time later,] Pûrana and the five other masters, who not knowing everything imagined they knew everything, having encountered on the way Bimbisâra Çrênya, the king of Magadha, repeated to him what they already had him (1) The text says: Na kadâ tchid avatârô labdah; it can also be translated: "I have never been able to find the opportunity." The premier sens me seems preferable; it is the one that the Pradjnâ paramitâ gives the terms avatâra and avatârana: we could very well justify it by authorities Brahminical. (2) I have abbreviated this passage, which in the text is the literal reproduction of the previous paragraph, give way, except the names own. (3) The Tibetan translation of the legends relating to the Discipline teaches us that the king Bimbisara had received the title of Çrênya or of Çrênika, because he was expert in all the arts "(Csoma, Anahjs. Of the Dulva, in Asiat. Researches, t. XX, p. 46.)

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148 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY said; but Bimbisâra answered in these terms to the beggars Tîrthyas: If you repeat me a third time the same thing, I will kick you out of country. The Tîrthyas then made Celtic reflection: The king Bimbisara is an auditor of Çramana Gâutama, let's leave Bimbisâra there; corn Prasênadjit, king of the Kôçala, is impartial; when the Çramana Gâutama goes to the city of Çravasli, we will go there, and we will be there will provoke to operate, by means of his power over-natural, of miracles superior to what can be the man. Having said these words, they withdrew. Then Bimbisâra said to one of his people: Go and splint quickly a good char; I will go up, because that I want to see Bhagavat, in order to make it hon-neur. Yes, lord, replied the servant; and having promptly harnessed a good tank, it is made to Bimbisara, and having approached, he said to him: here is harnessed the good chariot of the king; the time set for this that the king wants to do is come. So Bimbisâra being mounted on this great chariot pulled out of Râjagrha and is directed to Bhagavat in intent to see, so for him to do honor. As long as the terrain allowed him to use his chariot, he stepped forward from this way; then in being lowered, it went walking in the hermitage and there lives Bhagavat. Being immediately stripped of five badges of the power Royal, that is to say the turban, the parasol, the dagger, a fly swatter made of atail yak and of the shoe various colors, it walked towards Bhagavat, and having approached him, he bowed his feet? in the touching of the head and sat down of side. Bhagavat seeing the king Bimbisara sitting of hand, began to instruct by a speech relating to the law; he made him receive it, he excited his zeal, he the rem-fold of joy; and after having it from more than an educated way through speeches relating to the law, after him have been received, after having excited the zeal and having filled him with joy, he kept the silence. So Bimbisâra, after having rented Bhagavat and showing his assent to him, greeted his feet in the touching with his head and withdrew from his presence." Then this reflection came in the spirit of

Blessed :In what place an-ciens buddhasperfectly accomplished have they operated largemiracles for themany creatures ?The Deities responded well to Bhagavat :Formerly, se-gneur, theancient Buddhas perfectlyaccomplishedoperated largemiracles for the good of creatures. Bhagavat has the view of the science ;is to Cravasti that the ancient Buddhas perfectly made haveoperated ongreat miracles for the good of creatures. So Bhagavat spoke thus to the res-pectable Ananda :Go, O Ananda, andannounces the following to the Religious :theTathâgata must go and browse theKôçala campaigns ;that whoever wants therego with the Tathâgata lava, couse and ringwormhis clothes. Yes, venerable !

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .149Thus replied the respectable Ananda to Bhagavat ;and heannounced to the Religiouswhat that Bhagavat he had said,and in the same terms. The Promised Religiousrent atrespectableAnanda to do so.“ Then Bhagavat, whomaster of himself, calm, freed, consoled, disciplined,venerable, devoid of passion, benevolent, was surrounded by aprocession of wise menwho sharedwith him these same merits ; who was like the bull surroundeda herd of cows ;like the elephantin the midst of her young ; like the lionamong the animals of the woods ;like the Râdjahamsa in the midst of swans ;like Suparna (Garuda) among the birds ;like a Brahmin inmiddle of his followers ;like a good doctor in the midst of his patients ;like a brave man in the midst of his soldiers ;as the guide among the travelers ;as the head of thecaravan among the merchants; like a bosstrades among the inhabitants of a city ;like theking of a fort in the middleof hisadvisers ;like a sovereign monarch in the midst of histhousandchildren ;like the moon in the midst of the Nakchatras (lunar mansions) ;likethe sun surrounded by its thousands ofrays; like Virûdhaka (1)in the middleof the Kumbhândas ;likeVirûpâkcha (2) in the midst of the Nâgas ;like Dha-nada(3)in the midst of the Yakchas; like Dhrîtarâchtra (4) in the midst of the Gan-dharvas ;as Vêmatchitra the mid Asuras ;like Çâkra in the middleof the Gods; as Brahmâ in the midst of Brahma kâyikas ;which looked likethe Ocean in motion, to a lake full of water, to the king of the elephants who would bepeaceful ;Bhagavat, I said, stepping forward with a gait which hisfeel goodcontrolled did not disturb the calm(5), and with themany attributes of a(1)This is the God whom the Chinese transcribe thus the name; Pi leou le tcha or Pi lieou H; they theresees with reason the meaning of "increased size , "but this is probably the magnitude physi-sique that it is a question here ;because we know that the Kumbhândas are deformed gods . This God residesin the fourth heaven floors on the Mount Meru, the side of noon. (Rémusat, Foe koue U,p. 139 and 140.)(2) The Chinese transcribe this name as follows :Pi lieou po tcha or Pi lieou pho tcha; but the drowningMA Rémusat, which I provide these transcripts do give not thereal meaning. WordVirûpâkcha means "the one who has eyes misshapen. "This God resides in the Fourth Heaven of MountMeru, the side of the West. (Rémusat, Foe koue ki, p.140.)(3) Dhanada, or the God of wealth, has also a different name, that of Vai? Vana, which seemsoften in the Buddhist legends, and that the Chinese transcribe Pi cha mcn, "the glorious. "This God resides in fourth heaven of Mount Meru, the side of the north. (Rémusat, Foe koue ki, p.139.)(4) This name is thus transcribed by the Chinese :Thi thf. Or laï to, or Thi ta lo tho, "the protector"of the Kingdom. y> Heseems that the Chinese transcription leave an original pale and not Sanskrit.This God resides in quatrièmedes heavens story on the Mount Meru, the side of the east. (Remusat,Foe kove M, p. 139.)(5) The expression used here in the text is still special in Buddhist Sanskrit :Sudântâirindiiyâir asamkchôbhîtêryâpathapratchârah, literally "advancing into

theway of a de-f walks unmoved by his well-mastered senses. " Wilson gives however Iryn with the direction

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150INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Buddha whodo not merge (i), walked, followed by a large assemblyof Religious,towards the town of Çrâvaslî. Accompanied by hundreds ofthousand of deities, hereached the end of his journey at Çrâvaslî, where heis fixed,settling in Djêtavana, in the garden of Anâtha pindika." The tîrthyas learned that the śraman.a Gâulama had made to Cravasti;and to this news theyalso went to this city.When theyhad arrived, theyspoke thus to Prasênadjit, king of Kôçala :Know, O king,thanwehave asupernatural power , which we know how to discuss onScience. The Çramana Gâutama also claims to beendowed with a power sur-wandering about, in speaking of a Religieuxmendiant; but this term has certainly, in theBuddhist Sanskrit , a more extensive significance , for example that of "way of being," Posture. î We see in effectmore low that it has four îryû patha or waysto be, and that these ways are thewalking, the action to be taken up, to besit and belayer. It in factin the legends a particular merit to Çâkyamuni, and themol ñnjâ formthe main element of two epilheles which appear in the series of titles of the Tatliâgata :Praçdn-têrydpatha, " which is the way of approach calm, " and Sandinjâpata tcharyâviçêcha mmanvâgaia,€endowed with the practice of various kinds of postures. >{Lolita vistaia, f.222 a from my man.)The Chinese also know thevalue of this term, which is otherwise transcribed,at leastdefined in a passage from a note by Mr. A. Rémusat, relating to the discipline. {Foe Jcom M, p. 60.)The Singhalese also know thisexpression, and Clough ladeñes as follows : "T A bother"terra expressing existence, either sitling,standing, reclining or walking. {Singhal. Diction.,t. II,p. 70, col. 2.)The texts pale we apprennentqu'Ai; anda came to the perfectiond'Arhatat a time when he was not practicing any of the four îryd patha, that is to saythat he was neitherlying, neither sitting, nor standing, nor walking. (Turnour, Examin. Of Pali Buddh. Ann., In Jonrn.Asian girl. Soc. of Beng., t.VI, p. 517.) The translation that I give here does not prejudge anything on the meaningthat may be in other passages this term, including the present grade fixed sufficiently to signifi-general fication . I find some in the Mahâvastu (f.265 a from my man.) An example that provesit applies to other characters as the Buddha, and that in fact a job quite common.The first time that Çâriputra, who is not yet a convert to Buddhism, meets aReligious, he exclaims :Kalyânâ pnnar iyam pravradjilasya îryû, "She is beautiful in fact, de-twalk of the Religiex. "As the Religious in question is represented walking through Râdjagrîha,the translation of this word by step is certainly the most exact here . (See the additions, atthe end of the volume.)(1) We still have here a term difficult all tomadespecific to Buddhists, it is theterm âvênika, which is commonly found attached to Dharma. I have so far not met anywherethe explanation of this word and this is conjecture that I translate as I do, the takingto a derivative of the word AVENI, c which does not form a braid, or who do are confused not to the"how many rivers are uniting in a single. > That which to me suggests that inter-tion, that is a portion of avadâna çataka (f. 4 a), where it is matter of three spare thememory that do not merge .These reliefs are probably the superior means thathas the Buddha to remember thepast, to know thepresent and plan for the future; andno doubt that by smrlti (memory) hemust be understood the spirit in general, as well as themakeusually the Buddhists. The Buddha, in fact,has a distinct knowledge of the threeparts of the period, including the show will be confused

not in his mind. In a different place of Avadāna çataka (f. 7 a), it speaks of the five terms distinct {dvēnika) which will meet in a woman of an enlightened nature ; this second passage does not present anything that contradicts the sense that I think I can deduce from the first.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .i51 natural, it claims to know discuss the science. He suitable that the one who knows how to discuss struggle with the one who knows as much as him, in operating, by means of its power supernatural miracles superior to that man can do [etc. as above, up to :] Let us be so allowed to fight with the Çramana Gâutama in Taitto operate, by means of a power supernatural miracles superior to what man can do." That said, Prasēnadjit, the king of the Kôçala, thus spoke to the Tîrtliyas : Go and wait until I have seen Bhagavat. Then Prasēnadjit said to one of his people: Go, and splint promptly a good chariot ; it will go up to go see today same Bhagavat, in order to make him honor. Yes, lord, replied the domes-tick ; and having promptly harnessed a good chariot, he is made from Pra-sēnadjit ; and having approached him, he said to him : Here is harnessed the good chariot of the king ; the time set for this that the king wants to arrive. Then Prasēnadjit, king of Kosala, being mounted on this great chariot pulled out of Çrāvastî and headed Bhagavat, with the intention of seeing it, in order to do him honor. As long as the ground permits to douse of his chariot, he stepped forward in this way ; then in being lowered, it entered to foot in the hermitage. Then ruler of side which is found Bhagavat, he approached it ; and having greeted his feet in them touching his head, he sat to side. There Prasēnadjit, the king of Kôçala, spoke thus to Bhagavat : The Tîrthyas, lord, provoke Bhagavat to operate, to means of its power supernatural, the upper signs in this that the man can do. That Bhagavat agrees to demonstrate, by means of his power on-natural miracles superior to that the man can do, in the interest creatures ; that Bhagavat confuse the Tîrthyas ; he satisfy the Devas and men ; that rejoice the hearts and the souls of people of good !" Having said that, Bhagavat spoke thus to Prasēnadjit, king of Kôçala : Great king, I do not teach the law to my listeners by telling them : Go, oh Beligieux, and operate before the Brahmins and the masters of the house that you meet there, with the help of supernatural power, miracles superior in this that the man can do ; but here's how I teach the law to my Auditors : Live, oh Religious, in hiding your good works and by showing yours in." Twice and three times Prasēnadjit, king of Kôçala, made to Bhagavat the same pray, by sending it to him in the same terms. But it is a law, that the Blessed Buddhas must, while they live, that they exist, that they are and that they are found in life, perform ten essential actions. The buddha blessed does not enter into complete annihilation as long as another has not learned from his mouth that he must one day be a Buddha ; as long as he does not have

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152 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY inspired one another be a pensée capable of born not turn away from the state supreme of a perfectly accomplished Buddha ; as long as all those who must be converted by him will have not been ; as long as he did not exceed three quarters for the duration of its existence ; as long as he did not confide [to others] the deposit of homework ; as long as he has not designated two of his Auditors as the first of all ; so much it does has not been seen falling from the sky of devas in the town of Sâmkâçyua (1) ; as long as, gathered to his Auditors by the great lake Anavatapta (2), it has not developed the fabric of its previous actions ; as long as has not established in the truths

his father and his mother (3) ;so much that he did not make a great miracle in Çrâvastî. So Bhagavat made this reflection :Here is an action that the Tathagata must necessarily accomplish . Convinced of this truth, he spoke thus to Prasênadjit, king of Kôçala :Go, O great king ;in seven days from here in presence of a large crowd of people, the Tathagata will operate, by means of its power supernatural miracles superior to what man can do, and this for the sake of creatures.€ Then the king Prasênadjit spoke thus to Bhagavat :If Bhagavat consents, I will do build an edict so that the Blessed there operates its signs. However Bhagavat made this reflection :In what place are the perfect Buddhas made have they done great miracles for the good of creatures ? The Deities replied to Bhagavat :Between Çrâvastî and Djêtavana ;it's in one place between these two places which the ancient Buddhas perfectly accomplished have performed great miracles for the good from creatures. Bhagavat(1) The traveler Chinese Fa hian recounts in detail the legend to which he is actually referring here, and A. Rémusat the growing in of excellent notes. {Foe koue there, p. 124 ff) Sâitikaçya is a city formerly known to Brahmanic authors. The Râmâyana (liv.I, ch. lxx, st.3 b, Schlegel; and ch. lxxii, st. 3 b, Gorresio) cites this name as it is written here, and Wilson thinks he takes the rest in the Vichnu Purana. (p. 390, note 5.) The Buddhists of Ceylon call this city Samkassa, as a result of an alteration peculiar to Pali. (Clough, Pali Gramm. And Vocab., p. 24, st. 4 b.) At the beginning of the 5th century of our era, Fa hian extended this name to the kingdom, or more exactly in the district of which Sâilikâçya was the capital ;but in the 7th century view , this district, following Hiuan Ihsang, had already changed his name. A. Rémusat places Sâilikâçya near Far-rakhabad, and Wilson close to Manpury. {Journ. Roy. Asian Arch. Soc, t. V, p. 12a.) The ruins of this city once famous have been found in 1842 by Mr. Al. Cunningham, the location of village of Sâikassa, which is located on the northern bank of the Kâlînadî. {Journ. Roy. Asian Arch. Soc, t. VII, p. 241.) The name and geographical conditions are here agreed.(2) This lake is, as has been established Klaproth, the same as the Ravana brada {Foe koue ki, p. 37), and the name that it gives our legends confirms the explanation that I had already proposed the name which he wears in Pali, Anavatatta, and among the Chinese, A neou tha. The legend of this miraculous Çâkyâ's journey is recounted in detail in the Tibetan dul-va analyzed by Csoma de Coros. (Asiat. Res., T. XX, p. 65.)(3) Fa hian made allusion to this legend fabulous. {Foe koue ki, p. 124 and 171. In Rémusat, ibid., p. 129.) It is also reported in substance in the Mongolian Ssanang Setzen. (Schmidt, Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen, p. 15)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .155 thus welcomed by keeping the silence the proposal of Prasênadjit, king of Kôçala. Then the king seeing that Bhagavat him gave his assent, he spoke thus :In what place, lord, should I do build the building from miracles? Between Çrâvastî and Djêtavana, O great king. So Prasênadjit, king of Kôçala, having praised and approved the words of Bhagavat, greeted his feet in them touching his head, and withdrew." Then the king Prasênadjit thus spoke to Tîrthyas :Know, lords, than in seven days by the śramana. a Gautama must, to help in its power over-natural, operate miracles superior to what man can do. So the Tîrthyas made this reflection :Is this that for seven days the Çramana Gâutama is capable of acquiring faculties that he does not possess ? or will he flee? or else does he want to try of himself to a party ? Then this thought they came to the mind :Certainly the śramana. a Gautama does not lack, and certainly as he will not acquire not the faculties which it does not yet possess ;the Çramana Gâutama wants to

try of himself to a party ; and we, for our part, we try to us to be one. So decided, they called the beggar named Raktākcha, who was skillful in the magic, and he told the story in detail, in him saying, Know, O Raktākcha, that we provoked the Çramana Gâutama to make use of his powers supernatural ; or he says that in seven days from now he will operate, by means of its power supernatural miracles superior in this that man can do. Certainly the śramana. a Gautama wants to try to be to a party. You, however, also seeks to make us supporters among those who follow the same religious rule as us. The beggar they promised to do this that they him were asking. He is made so in a place where there were a lot of Tīrthikas, of śramanas, of Brahmins, ascetics and of beggars ; and when he there arrived, he they told the matter in detail, in their saying : Know, lords, that we provoked the Śramana. a Gautama to make use of its powers supernatural. Now he says that in seven days from now he will operate, by means of his power supernatural miracles superior to that the man can do. Certainly the śramana. a Gautama wants to try to be to a party ; you, however, you must also do alliance with those who follow the same ruler religious than you ; hence that in seven days from here you would go out of Çrāvastī. The meeting he promised to do what he asked. " Now here were five hundred Richis who resided on a certain mountain. The Raktākcha beggar is Rendita the place where is ces Richis were ; and when he there arrived, he they told the matter in detail [etc. as in para-previous graph , up to :] Hence that in seven days from here you were going to Çrāvastī. The Richis promised him to do this he them asked.

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154 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY" It is had in this time a Religious, named Subhadra, who possessed the five knowledges supernatural ; he lived in the city of Kuçinagarī, and passed the day with the great lake Anavatapta (1). The beggar Raktākcha went to the place where Subhadra was ; and when he there arrived, he him told the story in detail [etc. as above, up to :] It is necessary that in seven days from now you the Rendes to Çrāvastī. But Subhadra replied : He is not well you have caused the Gramana Gautama to make use of its powers supernatural. Why is that ? The following : my residence is at Kuçinagarī, and I spend the day with from the great lake Anavatapta. However, the Gramana Gâutama has a disciple, named Çāriputra, who a novice named Tchunda ("2), and this Çāri-putra passes also the day with the great lake Anavatapta. Mais the Deities themselves who inhabit this lac do not believe they have to testify [to me] so much respect only to this Religious. in here an example. When I walked through Kuçina-Gari for there to collect the alms, and that I received enough to make my meal, I myself go to the large lake Anavatapta. But the deities of the lake do not go to draw it out of the water for me and do not come to offer me. Tchunda, obeying the orders of the master, takes the rags which it gets covered, and returns to the great lake Anavatapta. So the Divinities who inhabit it, after having washed these rags, sprinkle their bodies with the water which they used for this purpose. Ge wise, which the disciple has one disciple of whom we are not even, the equal is the one you have provoked to work miracles superior to what man can do. You do not have well done of the cause to show his powers supernatural ; because I know well that the Gramana Gâutama is endowed with great superhuman faculties and it has a great power. Raktākcha answered him : So you take the side of Gramana Gâutama ; he will be not that you to come. Also, said Subhadra, I account not not go to Grāvastī. " Prasônadjit, king of the Koçala, had a brother named Kâla, handsome, pleasant to see, gracious, full of faith [in the Buddha], good and endowed with a virtuous heart. One day he went out by the door of the

palace of Prasênadjit, one of the women locked up in the house Royal, who is found on the terrace, having seen the young prince, threw in the bottom one garland of flowers, which fell on him. The world is made up of friends, enemies and the indifferent. We went to tell Prasê-(1) This does could have held that under a miracle if Lelac Anavatapta is in reality the Ràvana brada.(2) The word that I translate by novice is Çrâmanêra; I will come back to this title in the section to read discipline. Tchunda was one of the first disciples of Śākya; at the time of his death, he going for a of his four listeners the most educated. (Csoma, Asiat. Res., T.XX, p. 315.) On finds its name cited by the Pentaglotte Vocabulary, in the listing gold characters res-pectables, sect. XXI.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .155 nadjit : Know, O king, Kala that comes to seducing a woman of apartments interiors. The king of Kôçala was violent, angry, cruel : without more extensive re-seeks it gave immediately to his guards the order following : Go fast, cut to Kala the feet and the hands. The king will be obeyed, replied the guards ; and soon after they cut off the feet and the hands- the prince, in the middle same of the street. Kala uttered the cries violent, and he felt a pain cruel, stinging, de-boring and terrible. In seeing Kala, the brother of the king, ainsimaltraité, the crowd of people are put to cry. Pûrana and the other ascetics also came in this place, and friends of young man said to them : Here is the time to act, sei-generators; make call to the truth of your belief, to restore Kâla, the brother of the king, in its first state. But Pûrana answered : This one is an Audi-teur of Çramana Gâulama; it's in Gâulama de le restore as it was previously, in virtue of the law from Çramanas. So Kâla, the brother of king, fit this reflection : In the misfortune and in the cruel distress where I am fallen, Bhagavat must help me ; then he pronounced the following slance : " Why the master of worlds not knoweth not the state heath in which I fell? Adoration to this being devoid of passion, which is full of mercy for all the creatures ! " Nothing escapes to the knowledge of the blessed Buddhas (i); it's why Bhagavat thus addressed the respectable Ananda : Go, ô Ananda, take your clothes, and making you accompany by Religious in quality of Servi-tor, go to the place where Kala is, the brother of the king ; then remitting to place the feet and the hands of young man, say these words : Between all the beings as those who have no feet that those who have two or more, both those who have a shape than those who don't do n't have, so many who have a consciousness that those who do not have it, or who do not a consciousness or absence of consciousness, the Venerable Tathagata, perfectly and completely Buddha, is called the first being. Between all the laws, so much those that are accomplished than those that not the are not, the detachment is called the first law. Between all the assemblies, the troops, the crowds, the meetings, the Assembly of Auditors of the Tathagata is called the first Assembly. Now that your body, by the effect of this truth of Celtic Declaration of truth, become again as it was before. The respectable Ananda having answered : Lord he will be made well, took his garments, and making ac-to accompany by a Religious, in quality of servant, he went to the place where is (1) The text is here an expression special in Sanskrit Buddhist : Asammôchadharmâno Buddhâh. It is only by conjecture that I give this translation.

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456 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY was Kala, the brother of the king; then when he there was come, he put the feet and the hands of the young prince, and uttered these words : Between all the beings [etc. as above, up to :] the venerable Tathagata, perfectly

and completely Buddha, is called the first being. Between all the laws [etc. as above, up to :] the detachment is called the first law. Among all the assemblies [etc. as above, up to :] Assembly of Hearers of the Tathagata is called the first Assembly. Now that your body, by the effect of this truth, of this declaration of the truth, becomes again such he was before. A penalty these words were they pronounced, that the body of the prince resumed his original form ; and this was of such a kind, that by the powerful proper session of the Buddha and by the divine power of the Devas, the young Kâla lives at the same time the reward of the state of Anâgâmin, and manifested faculties supernatural. He retired then in the hermitage de Bhagavat, and he was put to him make the duties of the servants. And since his body had been put to death ceaux, his name was changed to that of Gandaka, the servant of the hermitage. Pra-sênadjit, the king of Kośala, sought by all the means possible to make it back ; but Kâla him says : You need not to me ; I do not want to serve as Bhagavat." But the king Prasenajit had done to build between Çrâvastî and Djêtavana a building, for Bhagavat to make his miracles ; it was a Mandapa, including the four sides were a hundred thousand cubits long ; a throne there was prepared for Bhagavat. The auditors Tîrthyasavaient also made constant build an edifice for each of the other ascetics. When the seventh day was come, the king made clean up the land that separated Djêtavana from the building dedicated to Bhagavat, by removing the stones, the gravel and the garbage. We there spread a cloud of incense and of perfumed powders ; we set up umbrellas thereof flags and banners ; we watered the ground with water of scent, is the same as of various flowers, and it rose to place in place of stands made of flowers. "Now on the seventh day Bhagavat having dressed himself towards the beginning of the day, took his coat and his vessel, and went in Çrâvastî- to be collected of alms. When he had, while traveling the city, gathered food, he made his meals ; and having stopped to pick up the alms he put away his vase and his man-water ; having then washed his feet outside the Yihàra, he entered it to them to bed." Then the king Prasenajit, accompanied with a following of several hundred, of many thousands of hundreds of thousand of people are made to place where the building dedicated to Bhagavat was built ; and when he got there, he sat on the seat which he was intended. The Tîrthyas, also accompanied a large crowd of people are surrendered to their side in their building ; and when they there were arrived, they sat each on his seat, and thus spoke to Prasê-

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM . 157 nadjit, the king of Kôçala : Know, O king, that we have arrived ; where is now the Çramana Gâutama ? Wait a moment, replied the king ; Bhagavat will come soon . Then Prasênadjit called a young man who was NOM mait Uttara : Go, he said, find Bhagavat ; and when you have approached him, say hello in our name, in the touching of the head, the feet of Bhagavat ; wish him little of pain, few illnesses ; wish him the ease in effort, resources, the strength, the pleasure, the absence of any criticism and the contacts pleasant, and talk to him like this : Here is, lord, what he said Prasênadjit, the king of Kôçala : The Tîrthyas, lord, have arrived ; the time set for this that wants to Bhagavat is come. Uttara promised the king to obey ; and having returned to the place where he was Bhagavat it approached him, and after having exchanged with him the pleasant words and benevolent of the conversation, he sat of side ; then he spoke thus, of his square, to Bhagavat : Prasênadjit, the King of Kośala, welcomes, in the touching of the head, feet of Bhagavat. He he wants little of penalties, few illnesses ; he wishes him ease in the effort, the means, the strength, the pleasure, the absence of all reproach and pleasant

contacts.- What the king Prasenajit be happy,O young man ;and be it as yourself !- Behold, Lord, what said Prasê-nadjit, the king of Kôçala :The Tîrthyas, lord, are arrived ;the fixed time for this that wants to Bhagavat is come."Gela said, Bhagavat responded well to young Uttara :Young man, I'm there am going to the field.And heless Uttarade suchso, that the young man, rising of the spot even where it was, left in through the air, as if directing the side where is found Prasenajit. The king saw the young Uttara who was coming in through the tines ; and from he had seen it, he addressed thus to Tîrthyas :Here is Bhagavat who vient d'opérer a greater miracle that that the man can do ;operate-in soone also in your turn. But the Tîrthyas replied :Great king, here has an immense crowd of people ;how will you know if a miracle is operated by we or by the Çramana Gâutama ?" Then Bhagavat entered into a meditation such, as soon as his mind there was delivered, we saw come out of the hole in which to spot the lock [of the door] a flame that going to fall on the building intended to Baghaval, the put in fire all whole. The Tîrthyas saw the building of Bhagavat which was the prey to flame S and at this sight they said to Prasênadjit, the king of Kôçala :The building where Bhagavat must do his miracles, O great king, is all around the prey of flames ;will therefore turn it off. But the fire before that water would have moved, died of himself without having burned the building ;and this took place in the own power of the Buddha and by the divine power of the Devas. By this time the king Prasê-nadjit said to the Tîrlîias :Bhagavat is coming to operate, to the help of his power supernatants

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158 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY tuelle, a miracle superior to what man can do ;operate-in therefore also in your turn. But the Tîrthyas replied :Great king, here is a crowd here immense number of people ;how will you know if the miracle is operated by us or by the śramana. a Gâutama ?" Then Bhagavat made appear a bright light like gold, which fill the whole world of noble splendor. Prasênadjit, the king of Kôçala, lives the universe whole illuminated by this noble splendor, and at this sight he said even a time to the Tîrthyas :Bhagavat just operated, to the help of his power supernatural, a mid-squeegee higher than that man can do ;so also operate one in your turn. But the Tîrthyas replied :Great king, here has an immense crowd of people ;how will you know if the miracle is operated by us or by the Çramana Gâutama ?" Gandaka, the servant of the hermitage, having brought of the named continent Utlarakuru one foot de Karnikâra (i), came the place in front of the oî Bha- building gavat had toto do his miracles. Ratnaka, the servant of the hermitage, having brought the Gandhamadana a foot of Aśoka (2), came to the place behind the building where Bhagavat was to perform his miracles. So Prasênadjit, the king of Kôçala, spoke to Tîrthyas :Bhagavat has just operated, to help of his supernatural power tural, a greater miracle that that man can do ;operate-in therefore also in your turn. But the tîrthyas he gave the same answer that he had already given. " Then Bhagavat put his two feet on the land with intention ;and immediately took place a great earthquake of land. This great thousand of the three thousand worlds (3), this great land was shaken in six different ways :she stirred and trembled, she fidgeted and shaken, she leaped and jumped. The part eastern stooped down, and the western woman rose up ;the twelve o'clock is lifted, the North stooped ; then the opposite movement took place. The center is raised, the extré-moths sank ;the center is lowered, the ends are lifted. The sun and the moon shone, shone, lighted up. From various appearances and wonder The girls were seen. The Divinities of the atmosphere spread over Bhagavat from (1) Pterospermum

acerifolium. This is again a miraculous journey, as well as that of Rat-naka. We know that Utlarakiiru isa four Dvîpas or continents shaped islands that recognize the Buddhists; Utlarakuru is to the north. The Baddhistes have certainement em-borrowed from the mythical geography of the Brahmans. (Lassen, Ind. Aller., T. I, p. 511.) (2) Jonesia Asoka. The Gandhamadana is a mountain located south of Meru, or even aof the septchâiïies of Bhârata varcha. We can see at theTable of Vichiju purâija Wilson 'svarious applications of this ethnic. It's still a loan that the Buddhists have made toBrahmins.(6) See, on this expression and on the system of the world among the Buddhists, the scholarsclarification from Mr Schmidt. (Mem. Of the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, t. II,p. 53 ff)and the Special Report by Mr. A. Rémusat. {Journ. des Savants, year 1831, p. 670 sqq.)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .159divine lotus, blue, red, white, and that the powders of Aguru (i), Sandalwood, ofTagara (2) of sheets of tamala (3), and of flowers divine of Mandarava (4). Theymade the heavenly instruments resound , and caused a rain of clothes to fall .“ Then the Rîchis made this reflection :Why has held this large tremorsment of earth ?This idea occurred to themthe mind :Without doubt thosewho follow thesame religious rule that we will have provoked today by the Çramana Gâu-tama to douse of its supernatural power . Convinced of this, thefiveHundred Richis set off for Çrâvastî. When they are put in the way, Bhagavatblessed the way of how they achevèrent the same time thetravel (5). Theysaw from afar Bhagavat adorned with thirty-twocharacteristic signs of a greatman, who looked like the law clothed in a body ;in the fire of the sacrifice that wewould have sprinkled with butter ;to the wick of a lamp placed in a golden vase ;to a mountain of gold that would have walked ;to a pillar of gold that would be enhanced withvarious gems ;they saw, in a word, the Blessed Buddha, including the large andHigh intefligence, pure and without blemish, is manifested in the outside ;andhaving seen it,they were filled with joy. In efect, the possessionof the peacedo not talk tothe man who practices the Yoga sincetwelve years a happiness tooperfect ;thepossessionof a child does not giventhat muchto him who has no son ;the viewof a treasure does not provideas much to a poor person, the anointingroyal does notgiventot as much to the who desires the throne, that does provide thefirst sightfrom a Buddha to beings atthat the Buddhas past have donegrowfromroots of virtue. While these rsis be surrendered to the place where is was Bhagavat ;and when they were there arrived, having welcomed by the touching of the head the feetofBhagavat, theyis held to side ;and from the site where theyis standing upright, they himspoke thus :May we, Lord, under thedisciplinedof thelawgoodfame, embrace the life rehgieuse and receive the investiture and therank ofReligious !May we, having become beggars in the presence of Bhagavat,fulfill the duties of the old religious !Bhagavat then said to them,of his voicewho has the sound of that of Brahmâ :Approach, O Religious, accomplish theduties of the religious life !And atscarcely had he uttered these words, when theysefound them shaved, covered with religious clothing , carrying in their hands the vase whichis Ends beak of a bird, havinga beard and a hair ofseven days, and(1) Aquilaria agallocha.(2)Tabernœmontana coronaria.(3)Xanthocymus pictorius.(4) Enjlhrina fulgens ? It is the Mandara to which this name is given .(5) I do 'm not sure I grasped the meaning of this phrase : Ekâyanô mârgô'dhichthital) .,Should we translate more simply :€ Bhagavat blessed the wheel on which theyall were advancing< together? "

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leOINTRODUCTION TO HISTORY with a decent interior of Religious who would have received the investiture for a hundred years. Come closer, they said [again] the Tathàgata ; and shaved, the body covered with religious clothing, feeling the truths carry the calm in all their sense, they kept standing then sat down with the permission of the Buddha (1). Then Bhagavat, honored, respected, revered, adored with such homage that in make the men and gods ; surrounded by venerable figures like him ; followed by seven kinds of troops and a large crowd of people ; Bhagavat, I say, is returned to the place where is found the building high for him ; and when he there was come, he sat in front of the Assembly of Religious, on the seat which it was intended. As soon as the body of Bhagavat is échappèrent des rays wholite all of the building a color light golden. In this moment Lûha sudatta, the master of the house, having risen from his seat, having rejected on one shoulder his upper garment and placed on the ground his right knee, pointed his hands together in sign to Bhagavat of respect, and spoke to him thus : That Bhagavat moderates his ardor ; I will fight with the Tîrthyas in art to operate, using a power supernatural miracles superior to that man can do ; I confound the tîrthyas by the law ; I will satisfy the Devas and men ; I will fill with joy the hearts and souls of good people . -It 's not you master of the house, who has summer provoked by them to do from miracles, but well me who have been. It 's me who have, to the help of my powers supernatural, work superior miracle to what that man can do. He born would n't be suitable that the Tîrtliyas could say : The Çramana Gâutama has not to operate miracles superior to what man can do, the powerful ciency supernatural that has one of its Auditors, a householder, who do ora white garment (2). Go sit down, master of the house, on your seat iLuha Sudatta be sat in effect on its seat. The prayer he had expressed on was also by Kala, the brother of the king ; by Rambhaka, the servant of the hermit (1) I do 'm not sure to hear this passage, which is located a denial that was not in the Version Tibetan, such as the give a passage history of Purna, which will be translated below: Nâiva sthitd Buddhamanôrathèna, which seems to mean: "They only remained not standing" in accordance with the desire of the Buddha. "The release Tibetan is expressed as follows : Sangs-rgyas-dgungs-pas lus-gzugs-bkab-par-g> jur, \ e which seems to mean : "With the permission of the Buddha, they" covered their bodies. "(2) It is there an expression while in fact characteristic, and who do may well understand that if one is reminded that the Ueligieux Buddhists had to wear a garment dyed in yellow at means of an ocher earth . This detail is exhibited with great interest in the famous drama of Mrttchtchjikan. (Act. VIII, p. 213 and 216, ed. Cale.) The text designates the color in question by the word kachdya, " yellow brown, " the same qu'emploi our Buddhist legends. We see by our sutra that the white was the color of the clothing of people lay, compared to the des Rehgieux, which was yellow; and this transition throws the light on a story of the history Sinhalese, according to which a king who wants to degrade the Religious' guilty the remains of their coat

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .161 floor ; by the mother of Riddhila (1), devote who served a Çramanâ ; by Tchunda, the servant of a Çramana, and by the Nun Utpalavarnâ (2). "Then the respectable MahâMâudgalyâyana (3) having risen from his seat, having rejected on a shoulders his upper garment, and resting his knee on the ground straight, directed towards Bhagavat his hands united in sign of respect, and spoke to him thus : May Bhagavat moderate his ardor ; I will fight with the Tîrthyas in art to work, by means of a

supernatural power , miracles superior to that that man can do ; I will confound the Tirthyas by the law; I will satisfy them Devas and men ; I will fill the hearts and souls of the people of yellow and their orders to be white fabrics white. (Turnour, Journ. Asiat. Soc. Of Bengal, t. Vf, p. 737. Upham, The Mahāvansa, etc., t. II, p. 91.) MG de Humboldt had already done the same remark on the occasion of some monuments of Javanese Buddhism ; and he had very judiciously conjectured that the white was to be the color of the laity, as opposed to the yellow color, which is that of the Religious. {Ueber die Kawi-Sprache, t. I, p. 250.} (1) I have not come across this name elsewhere ; my two manuscripts are so faulty, that I would be tempted to suppose that Rmdhila is a vicious spelling of Mhula, the son of Yaçôdharâ. We know in fact that this was one of the first women who embraced the religious life. {Asian girl. Res., T. XX, p. 308, note 21.} However, I did not think it necessary to change the text. (2) This name means : "The one that has the color of the blue lotus. "It is probably the same as the Nun of whom Fa hian speaks , and whom he calls Yeou pho lo. MA Rémusat was well recognized in this transcription the Sanskrit vtpala. {Foe koue ki, p. 124 and 131.} The recently published collection by M. Schmidt contains a curious legend about this Religious. {Der Weise und der Thor, p. 206 ff.} It would seem, from a note by Csoma {Asiat. Res., T. XX, p. 308, note 21.} that Utpalavarna before being Nun, was the third wife of Śākyamuni. But in a different location of the Life Śākya Csoma designates his third wife with a name Tibetan which means : "Born of the gazelle. » {Ibid., P. 290.} The Singhalese also know this Religious and Dipavamsa in quotes two of this name among the women which were converted the first to Buddhism. (Turnour, Journ. Asiat. Soc. Of Beng., T. VII, p. 933.) One of these two women may have been Çākya's wife , when he had not yet left the world. (3) This Religious is, with Çāriputra, the first of Çākya's disciples . I write his name Māudgalymjana, contrary to the authority of the Tibetan version of Saddharma puṅḍarīka, which reads this word with an nga instead of a dga, and also contrary to the opinion of Csoma, who believes, I do not know on what basis, that this term means the Mongolian, thus making up the existence of this name of people until the sixth century at least before our era. {Asian girl. Researches, t. XX, p. 49.} Lassen has already sufficiently done justice to this singular hypothesis. {Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenland., T. III, p. 158.} The authority of the Tibetan version of Saddharma and the opinion of Csoma is already contradicted by this one fact, that in the Tibetan version of Vinaya vastu, I find this proper name written in Tibetan from the following: Mohu-dgal-gyidrank, "the son from Mohudgal, "that that is a transcript sufficiently accurate to Mudhala. {Hdul-va, t. kha or ii, f. 64; t. da or xr, f. 55.} I met a spelling still nearer theirs in the Tibetan legends published by M. Schmidt : Mdu-dgal-ya-na. {Der Weise und der Thor, text, p. 92.} Let us add that the spelling of text faded supports one that I prefer. In fact, the name faded from Ilfo ^ I / ana result of the contraction of DGA in gga. If the original had had nga, the Pali would have had nothing to change, and he would have written Mongaldna. It is however fair to say that the DGA confusion and to nga is extremely easy, as for the pronunciation only for writing. B. Hamilton has already noticed that the current name of the town of Monghir, which he transcribes, from the natives, Mungger, is written Mudga giri in an ancient inscription found at the scene. 11

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j62 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY good. - You are able, O Maudgalyayana, to confuse the tirthyas by the law ; but it is not you who have been provoked by them to work

miracles, it is myself who have summer. It is I who must, by means of my powers supernatural, to work miracles superior to what man can do, and this in the interest of creatures ; it's me who owe to confuse the Tîrthyas, meet the devas and the men, filled with joy the hearts and souls of People of good. Go Maudgalyayana, you sit on your seat ! And MahâMâudga-lyâyana went there sit down indeed. " Then Rhagavat addressed himself to the king of Kôçala, Prasênadjit, and said to him : where quest, O great king, that the Tathagata operates miracles superior to that can man do, and this in the interest of creatures ? Immediately Prasênadjit, the king of Koçala, he rose from his seat, having rejected on a shoulder his upper garment, and resting his right knee on the ground, directed towards Rhagavat his hands united in sign of respect, and he spoke thus : It is I, lord, who prays Rhagavat to work, by means of his supernatural power, miracles higher than what that man can do ; Rhagavat that operates wonders in the interest of creatures ; he confused the Tîrthyas ; he satisfied the Devas and the men ; that he fills with joy their hearts and souls of people well !" So Rhagavat entered into a meditation such, as soon as his mind to it was delivered, it disappeared from the place where he was sitting, and that rushing is in the air of side of the west, it there appeared in the four attitudes of the decency that is â-to say that he walked, that he stood, that he sat down, that he lay down. Here he reached then the region of the light ; and he not there was no sooner reunited than glimmers various escaped from his body, blue, yellow, red, white glow {History, Antiquities, etc., of Eastern India, t.II, p. 45.) Our Religious is the same sage as the Chinese name Mou kian lian, following the spelling of Mr. A. Rémusat. {Foe koue ki, p. 32.) He passed for having been one of the disciples of Śākya who had acquired the more high strength surnatu-real. {Sumâgadhavad., F.6 a.) The great geographer Ritter in has done a craftsman, and was appointed" The Maze of the high antiquity Indian; " I do and not believe that this reconciliation is serious. {Erdkunde, t.V, p. 821.) Klaproth is mistaken like Csoma, when he advanced that the Sanskrit form of this proper name is Manggalyam; but he has the merit of approaching, with the Chinese aid, of the true meaning of the name that was the Brahmin, author of the race which was from Maudgalyayana. {Foe koue ki, p. 68, notes a.) It patronymic derived in effect A & Mudgala, where Von recognizes mudga, the phaseolus Mungo; here again, in this popular name, nga replaces the Sanskrit dgâ. The Harivainça quotes a Mudgala, son of Viçvâmitra, who may have been the head of the famille à which belonged Maudgalyayana (Langlois, Harivamm, 1. 1, p. 123 and U8); and in the list of the twenty-four Gôtras, or Brahmanic families, which gives the great Diction-naire of Râdhâ kant deb, we find the name of Mâiidgaltja, that is to say "the descendant of" Mudgala. » {Çabda kalpa drnma, t.I, p. 813 and 814.) When the legends speak of this person-swimming, they are always precede the name of the epithet honor of Maha, " great; > but when it is Sakyamuni that it address the word, it will actually ever use that title. I noticed the same distinction in what key the name of Kassapa.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .163 tasks, and others having the bend " beautiful skin tones of the crystal. He fit appear in besides numerous miracles ; of the partie inférieure her body gushed from flames, and of the upper escaped a water rain cold. What he had made in the West, it the opera also at noon; he the repeated in the four points of space ; and when, by these four miracles, he had testified to his powers supernatural it came back to sit on his seat ; and as soon as he was seated there he addressed thus to Prasênadjit, the king of Kôçala: This supernatural power, O great king, is common to all the listeners

of Tathāgata." A second time again, Bhagavat thus addressed himself to Prasênadjit, the King of the Kôçala : Who asks, O great king, that the Tathāgata operate, the medium of the power supernatural that he is clean, miracles higher than what that man can do, and that in the interest of creatures ? Then the king Prasê-nadjit having risen from his seat [etc. as above, up to :] spoke to him thus : It is I, Lord, who make the Bhagavat operate, by means of the power supernatural that it is clean, miracles superior to what man may do, and it is in the best interests of the creatures. That Bhagavat confuse the Tîrthyas ; he would satisfy the Devas and the men ; he fills with joy the hearts and the souls of people well ! " At this moment Bhagavat conceived a thought socialite. But it is a rule that when the blessed Buddhas conceive of a worldly thought, all beings, to the ants and the other insects are familiar with their spirit the thought of the Blessed ; but when they conceive a higher thought toward world, this thought © is inaccessible to Pratyêka Buddhas themselves, at more for good reason it is in the Çrāvakas. Now Çakra, Brahmâ and the other Gods made then this reflection : In what intention Bhagavat he has conceived a thought socialite ? And immediately this idea occurred to them the mind : It is because he wants to operate of great miracles in Çrāvastî, in the interest of creatures. So Çakra, Brahmâ and the other Gods, as well as several hundred of thousand of Gods, knowing with their minds the thought of Bhagavat, disappeared from the world of the Devas with as much ease as it would put a man strong in étendres on closed arms, or to close his arms extended, and came to be placed in front of the Bhagavat. There having done three times the turn of the Tathagata, in the letting to their right, Brahma and other Gods saluted his feet by the touching of the head ; and going to move to his right, they there sat down. Çakra and other Gods, after him have witnessed the same respects, went to place to his left and there sat down. The two kings of Nâgas, Nanda and Upananda, created a lotus with a thousand leaves, of the size of the wheel of a chariot, entirely of gold, whose stem was of diamond, and came to the show to Bhagavat. And Bhagavat sat down on the peri-

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iU INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY carp of the lotus, the legs crossed, the body right, and replacing the memory in front of his mind. Above this lotus he in created a another ; and on this lotus Rhagavat also appeared to be seated. And the same in front of him, behind him, around him, appeared the masses of blessed Ruddhas, created by him, which amounting to the sky of the Akanichthas (1), formed an assembly of Ruddhas, all created by the Happy Nothing. Some of these Ruddhas magic walked, others are standing upright ; the former were seated, the latter lying ; some reached the region of the light, and producing miraculous appearances of flames, of light, of rain and lightning ; several were asking questions, others answered and repeated these two stanzas : " Begin, get out [of the house], apply yourself to the law of the Ruddha ; and weave the army of the dead, as an elephant knocks down a hut of reeds." The one who will walk without distraction under the discipline of this law, escaping to the birth and to the revolution of the world, will put a term to the pain (2)." Rhagavat arranged everything of such so that the whole world could see without veil this crown of Ruddhas, all the world, since the sky of Aka-nichthas to the little ones children ; and it was held by the own power of Ruddha and by the divine power of the Devas." At this moment Rhagavat addressed himself thus to the Religious : Be aware of it conquered, O monks, the miracle of this mass of Ruddhas which amounted regularly the one above the other will disappear in an instant. And indeed, the Ruddhas immediately disappeared . After

having thus testified to his powersupernatural session , itfound himself on theseatthe previously occupied , and immediately hepronounced the following stanzas :"
 The insect is shining so that no does not appear the sun ;but as soon as the sun israised,
 the insect is confused by its rays and no longer shines (3).(1) This is the name of the
 eighth of the superimposed heavens of the fourth contemplation. This word, whichshould
 read like this,and not Aglianichta, as we havewritten according to the PentagloUe
 Vocabulaire,literally means "one that does not the more small, " that is to say " the
 greatest. » {Foe koueU, p. 146. Schraidt, Mem. of Acad. of Sciences of St. Petersburg, t.
 I, p. 103.)(2) These two maxims are famous in all the schools Buddhist, and we the
 retrou-let's see word for word in that of the South among the Singhalese; I will then seek
 to establish that it "have been primitivementconçues in Pali, and of theretranslated into
 Sanskrit. Csoma in has given the La-duction after a Tibetan version , which differs from
 themine for the second line :Dhunîtamrityunah sânyam nadâgâram iva kundjarah.
 "Defeat of the army of the master of the dead (the"passions), which resemble to an
 elephant in the remains of mud (the body). " Or well :"
 Conquer your passions, like an elephant tramples everything under its feet in a muddy lake . »
 Inot think not that the original Sanskrit to lend to any of these two translations, and I think evenwe could find
 one that I proposed in the release Tibetan. (Csoma, Asiat. Res.,t. XX, p. 79.)(3) My two
 manuscripts are very faulty here ; I looked for the meaning the most likely.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .165€ From even these sophists spoke, during which
 theTathâgatanot saying anything;but nowthan the perfect buddhaTospoken onsophistnot
 said anythingin theworld, and his listener is silent like him."NextPrasênadjit, the king of
 Kôçala, thus spoke toTîrthyas :Bhagavathas just performed, by means of his supernatural
 power , superior miraclesthis thatthe mancan do ;operatealso your turn.But
 theTîrthyaskept the silent at these words, not thinking to leave. Two times the king Pra-
 sênadjitthey held the same language. Thenthe tîrthyas is pushing thesome theothers, said
 to each other :Get up, it's up to you to get up ;but none of themdid not get up."But in this
 time is found in this Pantchika assembly(1),the big onegeneralof Yakchas. This reflection
 himcame tothe mind :Here areimpostorswhowill torment a long timeagain Bhagavat and
 the Assembly of Religious. Fullof this idea, hearoused a great storm accompanied by wind
 and ofrain, which madedisappear the building intended for the Tîrthyas. These,affected
 by the storm and bytherainbegan to escape in all the directions. Several hundreds of
 thousandof living beings, driven by the rain violent, is rendered in place where if
 Trouvillesaw Bhagavat ;and when they there were arrived, having saluted his feet in the
 touchingwith their heads, they sat down to the side. CornBhagavat disposes of all thingsit
 does fell not even a drop of water on this meeting. So theseMany hundreds of thousands
 of beings living did hear these words ofpraise :Ah Buddha !ah laLaw !ah the
 Assembly !ah what the lawis goodfame !And Pântchika, the general of the Yakchas, said
 toTîrthyas :And you,impostors, take refugesowith Bhagavat, with the Law, withthe
 Assembly of Rehgieux! But they cried out as they fled: We aretake refugein the
 mountains ;we seek an asylum with Desarbres, the walls andhermitages." Then Bhagavat
 pronounced, on this occasion, the following stanzas :"
 Many men, driven out by thefear,seek an asyuminin the mountains and in the woods, in thehermitages,
 andwithtrees con-Holy." But it's not the best of asylums ;this is not the best refuge,and
 this is pasdans this asylum that is déUvré of all the pain."The one, on the contrary,

whose seeks a refuge to the Buddha, of the Law and of the Assembly, when he sees with the wisdom the four truths sublime, (1) See the additions at the end of the volume.

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166 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY "Who are the pain, the production of the pain, the annihilation of the pain and the way that leads to it, and the track formed by eight parts, ways sublime, salutary, which leads to Nirvana," This one knows the best of asylums, the best refuge; from that there is upstart, he is issued to all the pain. " Then Pûrana made the following reflection : The Çramana Gâutama will take me away my Auditors. Full of this idea, he fled in saying : I will expose you the substance of the law, and it is started repeat those proposals heterodox : The world is perishable ; he is eternal ; he is perishable at the times and eternal ; he is neither perishable neither eternal ; the soul is the body ; Another thing is the soul, the other thing is the body. Such were, for they say in a word, the hetero- proposals doxes which he communicated [to his disciples]. So one began to say : The world is perishable. A second resumed : He is eternal and perishable ; the soul is the body ; Another thing is the soul, the other thing is the body. So that delivered the discussions, the quarrels, divided opinions, they are set to play between them. Pûrana himself was afraid, and he took the escape. At the time when he was going away, he was met by a eunuch, who in the light recited this stanza : (To Where do you come from, the hands and pendulous, similar to a ram Black which we would have broken the horn ? Ignoring the law promulgated by the Djina, read pitches as the ass of Kola (Kalinga?). Pûrana answered him : The moment of departure has come for me ; my body has no more strength or vigor. I have known the beings ; they have in sharing the pleasure and the sadness. The science of the Arhats is [single] in this world, without veils ; I'm in good distant. Darkness is profound ; one which the dissipated falls in the desire (I). Tell me then, to be vile, or is located the pond with water cold ? The eunuch resumed in its turn : Here, O the last of Çramanas, the cold pond, which is filled with water and covered with lotus ; Is it that you do the see not, wicked man ? You, you are neither a man, nor a woman, resumed Pûrana ; you have neither beard nor udders ; your voice is choppy like that of a young Tchakravâka ; also you do we call Vâta-hata (beaten by the wind) (2). (i) Then the beggar Pûrana, having tied a full jar to his neck of (1) This last sentence is certainly altered ; I myself am attached to the translating all in fact literally. This affects fortunately pa " the general meaning of the words that say Pûran. at the time when it is decided to leave the life. I think that the pond to water cooler is a former pressure similar to that of the forest cold, as we see still cited in the legends, when there is talk of carrying a dead person to the cemetery. This pond is the one in which Pûrana wants to drown, project that it is indeed running. (2) I admit that I do not understand this allusion ; the word Vâta-hata Isan epithet from Tcha-kravâka, name of VAnas casarca?

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .167 sand, rushed into the cold lake and there found the death. However the others beggars, which it sought, having rencontré dans thea courtesan path, he addressed this issue : Woman, have n't you seen, coming this way, a certain Pûran. a wearing of the belt of the law and carrying a vase, according to the custom of those which is held in the cemeteries ? The courtesan answered : Sentenced to the abode of torments, condemned to Hell, your Pûrana, which runs its hands dangling, perish with his feet and his white hands (1). Woman, said the beggars don't do not speak so ; this is not

well said to you :he fulfill the law the loner who is dressed in the belt of the law. How can he be wise, resumed the courtesan, the one who, bearing the signs of virility, to walk naked in the villages, of eyes of people ? Whoever follows the law covers the front of his body of a garment ; [if] the roid it him cut the ear with the sword (2). this Then the beggars are headed for the pond to water cooler ; and there they saw Pûrana Kâçyapa dead and having had its day. They took it out , and having its square in a different place, they went away." However Bhagavat produced a magical figure of Buddha, who wore the thirty-two characteristic signs of a great man, who was shaved and covered with religious clothing . Now it is a rule that the blessed Buddha discuss with the figure magic they have created. But if it is a Çrâvaka who produced a magical figure , this figure speaks when the Çrâvaka speaks , and it is silent when he is silent. When only one speaks, all the magical figures created by him speak at the same time. When a single guard the silence, all the guard also. Bhagavat on the contrary makes a question to his magic figure , and this figure gives the solution ; because this is a rule for the Venetian Tathâgatasrable, perfectly and completely Buddhas." When this great crowd of people had been thus favorably willing, Bhagavat, who knew the mind, the provisions, the nature and the nature of all those who surrounded him, they made a show of law proper to them to penetrate the four sublime truths , so that among these many hundredtain of thousands of living beings, each received eagerly and understood therefuge formulas and teaching precepts (3), the others saw face to face the reward of the state of Çrôta âpatti, that of the Agamin Sakrîd and that (1) Is here an allusion to the pallor of those members in the dead? (2) Pûrana was therefore a naked beggar , and the words " clothed with the belt of the law " are a mystical expression indicating her nakedness. (3) There is a here four words that I have omitted, because they break obviously the sentence, which they pa-raissent have introduced as a gloss in a text ; here they are : Mûrdhânah kchdntayôlâukikâ agradharmâh.

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168 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY of the Anâgâmins. Some being entered in the religious life, obtained the state of Arhat, by annihilation of all the corruptions ; others did create the seeds that were to one day to produce the Intelligence of the Çrâvakas, or that of the PratyêkaRuddhas. Finally, this meeting all entirely fut absorbed in the Ruddha, diving into the Law, drawn into the xvth Assembly. When Rhagavat was so disposed this meeting of men, he got up from his seat and is retired." They are happy themen who in the world, seeking a refuge with of the Ruddha ; they will succeed to Nirvana, for the price of the respect they him have testified." Those who will return, do were it only a few honors in Djina (1), chief of men, after having lived in the various heavens, will get the stay imdeadly (2).)) The success of Sakya excited however the jealousy of his opponents, and one finds in the Divya avadâna more than a trace of feelings of joy with which the Rrâhmans welcomed hope of these defeated. A legend already mentioned provide mean example of which I have made more top hint, but only in passing. Çàkya had predicted to a merchant that he would have a son who devaitse to Religious Buddhist. A Rrâhmane, whom the merchant knows Sult, interpret this prediction in an insidious way ; and the trader, scratched of the future, wants to abort his wife, who dies as a result of his attempts. When the Rrâhmans of Râdjagrîha learn that this woman is dead, they are spread through the city and go into the streets and on the squares, recalling the prediction made by Çàkya, accusing him of lying and helplessness session, and thus ending their speeches : vs Now, there you go this women " dead: that's one the transports at the cemetery of the cold forest;

the one who" Does not even have the root of the tree, how could he have branches," the leaves and the flowers ?(3)" This does not prevent the Ruddyha from saving the child as the mother carried in its bosom ; but for us to such de-(1) See . additions to the fm the volume.(2) Prâti-hârya sûtra , in Divya avad., F. 69 b sqq. man. Soc. Asian., F. 88 a sqq. from my man. Bkah-hgyur, sect. Hdul-va, vol. da or xi, p. 230 sqq. Csoma, Asian. Res., T. XX, p. 90. The version Tibetan differs notably from the Sanskrit text , Ei for more copy of Kah-gyur that the contained here is very badly printed and almost illegible. This difficulty, joined to the fact that the Tibetan I was less familiar than the Sanskrit me deprived of the use of Celtic release. The end of this piece is obviously altered in our two manuscripts ; in addition, it contains references to the ideas that do not reappear elsewhere : it is, of all the sûtras, the most difficult that I still have met.(3) Djiyôtichlca, in Divya avad., F. 131 o.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM . 169 tails are a proof of the kind of hostility with which the Brahmans and in general the Beligieux of the other sects welcomed the pretensions of Çâkyamuni. At this useful text I think to add another that shows us how far went sometimes the resentment of the Brahmans against the lonely of the Sâkyâ race . " When," says the Legend Mëndhaka, Bhagavat had made great miracles in the city of Çrâvastî, the Devas and the men were filled with joy, the hearts of good people were filled with satisfaction. So the Shoot-thyas, of which the power was broken, retired in the regions neighboring the [central India] ; some are rendered in the city of Bhadramkara (1) and there established. There these Beligious learned that the Çramana Gautama was heading towards the city ; and troubled by this news, they are saying the each other : We have been driven out once the Madhyadêça by the Çramana Gautama ; if he comes now here we are in chase certainly same ; let's look for away to avoid this misfortune. Being rendered in the room where the people go ask for help, they themselves began to shout : Justice ! justice ! Immediately the people said : What is that it ? Let's see what is happening ; and he said to the Tîrthyas : Why these cries ? We see you perfectly happy, and we let's not see what misfortune you can complain about. Lords, replied the Tîrthyas, he is of a misfortune how will swoop down on us. The Çramana Gautama walks, striking the edge of the lightning, and depriving the fathers of their children, and the wives of their husbands. Now, lords, if he comes here, he will have to leave the place at the moment even where it will establish. Bestez, cried the people, you must not go away. But the Tîrthyas replied : No, we do not stay, because what you do not want us to hear. Speak, said the people, we will listen. He must, then said the Tîrthyas, that after having brought out all the people from the country of Bhadramkara, we abandon the city, we pass the plow over the pastures, we overturn the field limits, we cut the trees and flowers to fruit, and we poison the fountains. Sei-gneurs, cried the people, stay, we will carry out all that you order. The Tîrthyas retired, and soon we had taken out all the people of the country of (i) I have so far not found anything in the legends which indicates in which part of India you have to look for this city ; it's probably north or west of Kôçala. I do not know positively what is the old form of the current name of Bahrain, which is that of a district or a town north of Aoude and east of the Devha (Dvivâha) river ; maybe she is not another than Bhadramkara or Bhadrakara, of which Bahrain may well be a provincial alteration . At remains, the name of Bhadrakara is already known in the geographical nomenclature of India ; Wilford has extracted a list of names of people who made part of Brahmâi. uia purâna. The Bhadrakâras there are included the number of

the tribes inhabiting the Madhyadêça or India plant. {Asian girl. Res., T. VIII, p. 336, ed. Hold.)

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i70INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYBhadramkara ;thetown was abandoned ;the plow was dragged over thepastryrages,the terminals of the field reversed, the tree flowers and to fruitscut,and poisoned waters." In this moment Indra, the Indra of the devas, wasthis reflection :Hençwould benotsuitable for me to souflrir that we do should render not theduties ofthe hospitalltality to Bhagavat, to the one who during three Asamkhyêyas ofkalpashas been able, inthrough a hundred thousand difficult works , fulfill the duties of the six perfections, andwhich is managed by the science supreme. Bhagavat, which is superior to all theworlds, which is universally winner will therefore well go a con-very deserted !Why do n't I deploymy zeal, so that Bhagavat, accom-wrapped in the assembly of his disciples, experience the touch of happiness ? Right awayhegives the son of devas, masters winds, the order that follows :Go to thecountrywhere is located the cityof Bhadramkara, anddry them outwaterspoisonsounded. Hethen give the sons of the Devas, masters of the rain, the following orderbefore :Fill the springs with life-giving water . He said to the Devaswhich formthe following of the four great kings [of heaven] :Go and settle in the countrysideof Bhadramkara. And immediately the sons of the Devas, masters of the winds, witheredthe poisoned water ;the sonsDevas, masters of the rain, filled withinvigorating waterthehollow, the fountains, thewell,theponds andthe lakes. TheDevas who form the suite of the four great kings [of heaven]settled inall the country where the city of Bhadramkara is located , and the countryside becamerich and flourishing. However, the Tîrlhyas, united with the inhabitants of thecity,sent spies into the country :Come on, they said to them, and see what isthe state of the countryside. Arrived close to Bhadramkara, the spies saw the cam-extraordinarily flourishing loincloths ;and on their return they told theTîrthyas :Lords, we havenever seen themcampaigns as rich, not so floristhealth. TheTîrthyas direntalors to the people :Lords, he who changes like thisfor you the objectsmaterial change much as your provisions.- For-what that ? -Be completely devoted to us , or else you willsee forthe last time,we are leaving. thepeople they answered Stay, lords; thanyou madeso theÇramana Gâutama ?It is aReligious beggar, and youare also Religious who live on alms. Does hewill kidnap youthealms which you sontdestinées ? TheTîrthyas replied :We will stay atcondition that it will be agreedthat no one will see theÇramana Gâutama, andas one who is rendraauprès of śraman.a be sentenced to a fine ofsixtyKârchâpanas (4). thepeople consented to it andaccepted theconvention.(1) It is possible, from the observations made in the rejected note to Appendix No. III,assess

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .171Some time after, Bhagavat having crossed the country, came into the cityof Bhadramkara, and hethereestablished in the pavilion of the south." Now hethere was at that time in Bhadramkara the daughter of a Brahmin fromKapilavastu, which was married to a man ofcountry. From the top of the enclosure[who surroundedthecity],she saw Bhagavat in the dark ;and she didthisreflection :The here this blessed joy of the family ofÇâkyas, who, afterhaving abandoned his house ^ andthe royalty is, entered in the lifereligious ;thehere today in the darkness !If hethere was a ladder here , I would take alamp and iwould go down. At this moment Bhagavat, knowing the thought thatstood in the mind of this woman, created

miraculously a scale. Aus-so early the women, satisfied, joyful, delighted, having taken a lamp and being down by the ladder, went to the place where is was Bhagavat. When she there had arrived, having placed his lamp in front of Bhagavat and having greeted his feet in the touching of the head, she sat to hear the law. So Bhagavat, con-born what were the spirit, the provisions, the nature and natural of this woman, him fit the exhibition of the law own to make penetrate the four truths sublime, of such kind that it is felt of the faith in the formula by which is seeking a refuge to the Buddha. Bhagavat then added :Go, young woman, make yourself at the place where remains Mëndhaka, the master house ;and when thou shalt find, announces him that you come to my hand, and postpone him these words :Master house, it is to your intention that I come here ;and you, you firm the door of your home !Is it appropriate to receive a host like you do? And if he answers you :I am held back by the agreement drawn up between the people of the country, you will tell him :Your son ' door attachéesur the kidneys a purse which contains one hundred gold coins ; if hein taking a hundred or a thousand rooms, the scholarship is replaced always folds ;it never runs out ;and you cannot give sixty Kârchâ-panas to come and see me !" The young woman who responded to Bhagavat it would what he ordered, left immediately and went to the place where someone he had indicated that Mëndhaka remained . When she was in his presence, she told him spoke thus :Bhagavat send me towards you. The merchant replied immediately :I greet the blessed Buddha. Mansion, takes the young woman, here's what that said Bhagavat: It is to your intention that I came here; and you, you firm the door from your house !Is it appropriate to receive a host like you do? Young woman said the householder, the people is agreed that no this amount to about sixty pennies, weighing each 11.375 grams, that is to say to little close CHF 3 40 cents, with a light fraction in more.

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472 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY would not go to see the Çramana Gâutama ;the one who will go to him will be condemned to a fine of sixty Kârchâpanas. Master of the house, replied the young woman, here's what that says Bhagavat :Your son carries attached to the loins a purse which contains one hundred coins gold ;if it takes a hundred or a thousand rooms, the purse is rewarded fold always ;it never runs out ;and you don't can give sixty Kârchâ-panas for come see me !The master of house is said then to himself :No one knows because Bhagavat only knows everything :I am going to go there see. Having therefore left sixty Kârchâpanas at the door from his house, he went down by the scale that it had indicated the daughter of the Brahman, and he is headed for the place where Bhagavat was . When he there was come, who praised his feet in the always edge of the head, it sat down across from him to hear the law. So Bhagavat, knowing what had in mind, the provisions, the nature and the naturalness of Mëndhaka the master 's house, it was exposure of the proper law to do pene-trer them four truths sublime, of such so that after having heard the master of the house lives face to face the reward of the state from Çrôta topatti. When he had seen the truth, he said to Bhagavat :Lord, the body of people who live the city of Bhadrakara he will receive the laws as those that I have just to hear? Master of the house, replied Bhagavat, the whole of the people, after have gathered in crowds to you, the will. So Mëndhaka the master of house left Bhagavat, after having saluted his feet by the touching of the head, and went to his home. Having then done stand in the middle of the city a heap of Kârchâpanas, it recited this stanza : "That the one who can see the Djina victorious of the passion of the sin, freed of all

bond, incomparable, merciful and pure,run quicklywith a heartconstant and well established ;I will give him the necessary money .((At these words the people cried out :Master of the house, it is therefore a happiness than the sight of Çramana Gâutama ? Yes, a happiness, repliedMêndhaka. Yesit is, said the crowd, thepeople alonehas made an agreement, that the people ofnow break :who can the in prevent ? Having thus declared non avenue theconvention, the inhabitants began to leave [thecity]. But as theyis pressed the one against the other, theycould not go out. So the Yakchabringing the lightning, taking pity on the crowd intended to be converted, castthe thunder andshot down aportion oframpart. Several hundreds of thousandinhabitants then came out, some urged on by a natural eagerness , theother excitedby the ancient roots of virtue that were in them. Beingmade from Bhagavat, they saluted his feet and sat down in front of him (i). "(1) Mêndhaka, in Divya avadâna, f. 61 a sqq.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .173thepass that I come to mention the last I naturally leads to talkof the means which Çâkyâ employed to convert the people to his doctrine. Thoseways were thepreaching, and,according to the legends, the miracles. Let usfor a moment of side the miracles thatdoes not equal better than those thatthe opposed theBrahmins. But the preaching is a means everything to factworthy of attention, and which, if I am not mistaken, wasunheard of in India before thecoming from Çâkyâ. I have already insisted, in the first section of this Memoir, onthe difference of Buddhist teaching compared with that of the Brahman.This difference is entirely in the sermon, which was to effect ofput to the scopeof all truths that were previously the sharing ofprivileged castes. It gives Buddhism a character ofsimplicity,and,in the report literary mediocrity that the stand of the way the moredepth of Brahmanism. She explains how Çâkyamuni was trained toreceive the number of its listeners men that rejected the classesthe highest in society. It gives an account of its successes, that is to say of thefacilitated withwhichto spread his doctrine and is multiplied his disciples.Finally shegives the secret of changes capitals that the spreadofBuddhism was to bring to the Brahmanic constitution , and persecutionthat the fear of change could fail to draw on theBud-dhistes, fromday when they would have become strong enough to put in jeopardyapolitical systemmainly based on existenceand theperpetuityfromcastes. These facts are so closely related to each other, itSimply that the first isthat isproduct,so that theothers are, with the time, developed amanneralmost necessary. But the external circumstances have been promotingthis development ;spirits have been able to be more or less happilyprepared; the moral state of India, in a word, may have seconded the eagerness of thepeopleto listen to the teachings of Çâkyâ. This is what theSûtras who wemaketo assistoffirst time in thepreaching of Buddhism canonly uslearn, andit'sthesubject on which heimportant to stop in thismoment our attention.I said earlier that themeans employed by Çâkyâ to convert thePeople Asa doctrine was also the superiority of his teaching, the brightness ofits miracles. Theproofs of this assertion are found on every page ofSûtras, and I often seerepeated this speciesof maxim : " The miracles"operated by asupernatural power attractvery quickly thecomputer men((naries (1)." In this way meet always the feelings of benevolence(I) Sahasôdgata, daM Divya avadâna, f.156 a....^

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174INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYand from faith arousedamong those whocome to listen, or only to see theBuddha, the influence of virtuous actions that theywere

completed in the previous existences. This is one of the favorite themes of legends; here, indeed, say, a single conversion which will be prepared by the kindness of the auditor of the Buddha himself feels for him and for his doctrine; and Çākya is pleased to recount at length in front of his disciples the actions they had done in the past to have deserved to be reborn of his time attending to his preaching and to be touched with benevolence in his favor. This benevolence, or for to say more clearly, this species of pleasure, is the big mobile of conversions the most inexplicable, moreover; it is the link by which Çākya connects the pre-feels new that his doctrine introduces a past unknown that he explains in the interest of his preaching. We understand without hardly the action that should be exercised a similar means on the mind of a people in whom the belief to the law of the transmigration was also generally accepted. By starting from this belief, on which he was leaning to authorize his mission, Çākya appeared rather to expose the past than to change the present; and there is no doubt that he does get is used to justify the conversions that condemned the prejudices from high castes to which he owned by the birth. But this motive of the grace is primarily religious, and it is for those the legendary have been and without doubt have had exaggerated the job after blow and when the Buddhism was acquired an importance that he certainly had not yet at the time of Çākya. Some more reasons humans have been likely to act on the spirits, and encourage the spread of a belief that the debut announce only one of these sects which have of all time was so numerous in India and of which the Brahmanism tolerate the existence in the scornful. These patterns are individual. Where generals; NS will bring back some that are borrowed from the sutras and to legends from the collection often cited in this research. I spoke above about the son of a Brahmin whom his father had wanted, but in vain, to give an education in accordance with his birth, and which had not been able to even learn to read or to write. This young Brahmin, remarkable thing, is located great to be a Buddhist, and he learns much faster a religious follower of Sakya this as are the ways of virtuous actions, and that the theory of the origin of the destruction of causes successive of existence. This teaching is enough to inspire him with the desire to embrace life. This desire expresses the formula reported above. The only one precaution that takes the young man is to do not take the suit of Buddhists in the city even where he is known as Brahmin; but he asked his master to retire in the country, and it's here he will deliver

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^OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .475 the dual exercises spiritual who must give him the science of the Law, know the meditation and reading (1). A conversion of this kind is perfectly natural, real, and he seems he has always been more easy in India to kiss the convenient role and independent of the ascetic than to remain in the company, where the heavy yoke of the caste connects man during all the moments of his life. Also I looked at the confession of the legend as very valuable for the history of early days Buddhism; he has proven to us that the doctrine of Çākya was become, probably fast enough, a kind of easy devotion who recruited among those who frightened the difficulties of the science brah-pot holder. At the same time that the Buddhism attracted to him the Brahmin ignorant, he greeted with an eagerness equal the poor and the unhappy of all the conditions. The curious legend of Pūrna, which he will be discussed below, in provides an example. Pūrna, son of a merchant and a slave, returned from his seventh trip on sea; he had amassed the wealth immense, and his brother elder, wanting to establish it, him speaks thus: "My brother, tell me a man rich or a merchant that I could ask the girl for you." Pūrna answers him: I do not desire

the happiness of the senses; but if you me "give your permission, I will embrace the religious life. Blur ?resumes"his brother, when we had to the house no means of existence, you have"not thought of kissing herlifereigious ;why would you go in today-
 €today(2)? » HeIt was therefore accepted that the poor and those who had noway of life could beto beggars, andtheBuddhism,forincrease the number of its followers, had only to take advantageof this provisionfromspirits.Here is yet a further proof of this fact. An ascetic of thecastebrahmanic, explainingAsa way theprediction that Çākya had made ona child who was not yet born, expresses himself thus :“ When Gâtama said it :” The child will embrace the religious life in my lawhehas said true ;because when" Your son will have more or what to eat, or what will clothehe will go nearof"Śraman.a Gautama to be done beggar (3).» This passagedon't remind usDoes shovel not the player unhappy with the comedy Indian who, disgusted with theGameby the bad fortune that it continues, will decide àrenoncer the worldfor to become a Buddhist Religious, and who exclaims :” SoI will walk head up onthe main road(4)? ” This sort of predestination of pauvresà adoption(1)Tchûda pakcha, in Divija avadâna ^ L 277 a.(2) Pûrna, in Divya avadâna, f.17 6.*(3) Djyôtichka, ibid., F.id a.(4) Mritch tchhakati, act II, p. 83 the text of Calcutta. Wilson, Hindu Theater, t. I, p. 56.

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476INTRODUCTION TO HISTOIKEof the new doctrine is represented at every moment in theSutras and inthe legends.One of the Tibetan stories translated into German by Mr. Schmidt,but originally composed on Sanskrit originals , shows us a Godwho aspiresto himselfmake Buddhist religious,and who complains that his conditionhigh it makes it difficultfulfillmentof his desires."I want to make myself"Religious, he said,and practice theholy doctrine ;but heis difficultem-" Stir the lifereigious,ifwereborn in a high raceandillustrates ;"this is easy,on the contrary, when one is of a poor and low extrac-
 (tion (1)."A great and sudden misfortune is often also, for those who experience it,a pattern deciding to leave the world and of themselves do Religious Buddhist. Whenthe young Kala, brother of Prasenajit, king of Kośala, was mutilated by orderof the king,and that he is miraculously healed by Ananda, hereread in the hermitageofRhadgavat and destinedto theserve (2). Wehavea consecrated legendall whole the story of woes Svâgata, the sonof a merchant, who,after being dropped to the last degree of the lower and of the misery is con- turns to Ruddhism inpresencefrom Çākya muni (3).The ease with which thislast admitted to many of his disciples therepulsed menby thefirst class of the society India was of the share ofRrâhmanes and theother ascetics, onefrequent subject of reproaches ;andwe see, in thelegendeven whovientd'être cited the tîrthyas to laugh bitterly of Rhagavat,the subject of the conversion Svugata. CornŚākya be happy to answer :”RSamantaprâstMikam me {• àsanam. "My lawis a lawthanks for“ All (4) ;and what is a law of grace for all ? It is the law underwhich(1) Der Wehe imd der Thor, p. 40 and -il, trad. German.(2) Prâti hârya, in Divya avad., F. 75 b.(3) Svâgata, Mi., î.SS b.(4) I believe to translate by using the word prasûda because that the idea of grace is the one whoresponds the best to one of the jobs the most ordinary of Sanskrit prasûda and of its derivatives. Thisterm means in general : favor, benevolence, approval; the Tibetans the make ordinaryby a word that wants to say faith. I would not have hesitated to keep this interpretation, if it did notdid not leave in the shade the very remarkable meaning which I assign, according to a great number oftexts, to prasâda. The Buddhist books have , moreover, to express the idea of faith,a wordclean, that of rraddhd. The term prasdda

seems to me to have a double meaning, according to the subject to which it applies. Absolutely speaking, it means benevolence, favor. Relatively and seen in the men who come to meet the Buddha, Prasada expresses this feeling of benevolence they feel for him; in this case it seems to me necessary to keep the word of benevolence; CARCE is not yet faith, this in not is that the beginning. Considered in the Buddha, prasada is the favor with which he welcomes those who come to him, and from there comes that the Buddha is called prasadika, "gracious, favorable." "The remarkable formula that has given rise to this note should therefore be translated as : " My law is favorable, gracious for" All, " which is exactly the direction that gives my release. This special meaning of the word

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .177"such miserable beggars as Duragata and others make themselves Religious (1)."Lyrics remarkable that the spirit has supported and spread the Buddhism, he still animated in Ceylon at the beginning of our century, when a Reli-gieux, disgraced by the king for having preached before the miserable caste and despised of Rhodias, he would answer, almost as he would have done the Buddha Çâkyamuni himself : " The religion should be the very common of all(2)."We can still count among the number of causes who were to bring to Çâkyas of many proselytes the despotism of kings and the crainte qu'inspiraient their violence. The legend of Djyôtichka provides a striking example . Djyôtichka was a rich character and that one supernatural power filled with inexhaustible prosperity. The king Adjâtaçatru made several attempts to be adorned with his possessions, but none succeeds. These were so many warnings for Djyôtichka, who formed soon at the project to beto Religious in the following of the Buddha, a project he carried out by distributing to poor all his goods(3). At last, if you have to believe the legends, the greatness of the rewards Çâkyas promised for the future to those who were embracing his doctrine was the cause powerful conversion the more many and the faster. the prasada is expressed, if I am not mistaken, in a perfectly clear way in the passage Next: " The king, in themselves walking in the garden, lived the Blessed Prabôdhana, this Buddha" perfectly accomplished, favorable, and made to seek his favor, etc. " (Avad. Çat., f.41 b.) The words of the text are prâsâdikam, prâsâdanîyam, to which the two words would respond. Latin propitium, propitiandum, and of which my translation gives only a very weak comment to the side from the beautiful conciseness of the original. I believe that the Tibetan translation mdzes-ching, dgah bar mdzad, that is to say "graceful, made to rejoice, " only makes a way imperfect the 'meaning which results from the bringing together of the two derivatives of this single term prasâda. {Bkash-gyur, sect. Mdo, vol. ha or xxix, f. 68 b.) Would it not seem that the Tibetan translator derived prâsâdanîya from prâsâdana, "Action to testify his favor? » But this derivation seems less regular to me than that which derives prâsâdanîya from the causal form of pra-sad.(1) Svâgata, in Divya avad., F. 89 a. The text plays here on the term of Svâgata, " the welcome, *which is the name of the hero of the legend, in the changing in one of Durâgata ^ " the unwelcome, " namely that it gives frequently in the course of the story, each time that it happens to be shared his misfortune to those in the midst of whom he meets. The term I translate as miserable beggar, is krôdamallaka ; I did not find the other direction for this compound as one of " who " carries a bag in side " of Kroda (flank) and malla, quidans the Sanskrit of Ceylon means bag, satchel (Clough, Singh. Dict., t. II, p. 524, col. i), or even the Sanskrit mallaka (pot, vase). The meaning of the most ordinary pork (krôila) and lu Ueur (malla) does not have me provided of translations satisfactory. In another legend of Avadâna

çataka, glue of Bhadrîka, this term is written kôttamallîka (f.216 a), which means maybe beggar of town. The Tibetan translated by sprav-g-bo (beggar). This version, without giving us the meaning of krôda, justifies my interpretation. {Mdo, vol. ha or xxix, f. 363 b.}(2) Davy, Account of the Inland of Ceylon, p. 131, and Forbes, Elev. years in Ceylon, t.I, p. 75, note.(3) Djyôtichka, in Divya avad., F.140 b.12

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178 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY collection titled Avadâna çataka, to which I have already done more loans, is composed exclusively of captions, written after a model unique, and of which the object is to promise the dignity of Buddha perfectly accomplished to the men who had testified at Sakya as the respects the most vulgar. I am going to quote one which will suffice to make others judge. "The blessed Buddha was the object from respects, the tributes of worship and the worship of kings, the ministers kings of men rich, the inhabitants of the cities, the leaders of trades, leaders of dealers, the devas, the Nagas, the Yakchas, Asura, the Garuda, the Gandharvas, the Kinnaras and of the Mahôragas. Honored by the Devas and by the other beings who come to be listed, the blessed Buddha, full of wisdom, endowed with great virtues, which received the religious garment, the vase with alms, the bed, the seat, the medicines for the sick and other things necessary for life, and who now had to teach in a perfect way the men and devas, which, taking advantage of the appearance of the Buddha, seized the opportunity of drink the essence of the meals; the blessed, I say, found with the Assembly of its Auditors in Çrâvastî, in Djôlavana, in the garden of Anâthapindîka. At the time when Bhagavat had not yet appeared in the world, the king Prasenajit honored the demigods in their offering of flowers, of incense, the guir-moors, of perfumes and of substances creamy. But when Bhagavat had appeared in the world, the King Prasênadjit, converted by the preaching of the Sutra titled Dahara Sutra (î), had faith in the teaching of Bhagavat. So the heart full of joy and contentment, having approached Bhagavat three times, he then honored in his offering of lamps, incense of perfumes, garlands and the sub-creamy tances. Now it happened one day that the gardener of the hermitage, having taken a lotus which had to open, went in Çrâvaslî for the wear to King Prasênadjit. A man who followed the opinions of the Tîrthikas saw him, and he says: "Hey! this Lotus is it for sale?" Yes, replied the gardener. This response inspired then not the desire to buy it; but at this moment Anâtha arose in this place pindîka, the master's house, who offered to the lotus the dual the price in was requested. The two buyers are set to bid one on the other, till at last that finally they went up to a hundred thousand pieces. So the gardener did this reflection: "The master of the house Anâtha pindîka is not a light man; it is a serious character: he should that there is here a motive [so that he insists-(1) The term Dahara Sutra, which I thought necessary to keep, seems to mean "the Sutra" of the child; "Only would it not a mistake to Dahra Sutra, "the Sutra of the fire?" See the additions, at the end of the volume.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .179 so much]. That is why, feeling a cloute rise in his mind, he asked to the man who was following the views of the Tîrthikas: "For whom do you bid?" For the Blessed Nârâyana, replied the passer-by. And I bid for the blessed Buddha, resumed the master of the house. What is it that you call Buddha? said the gardener. The master house is then put to him explain in detail the qualities of the Buddha. The gardener then said to him: "Master of home, and I too will go address my homage to Bhagavat. The

master of home taking so with him the gardener, is returned to the place where Blessed is found. The gardener lives the blessed Buddha, adorned with the thirty-two signs characteristic of a big man and including them members were ready from eighty secondary marks, surrounded by a splendor that extended to the distance of a breaststroke, spreading a radiance that surpassed that of a thousand suns, like a mountain of jewels that would be in motion, fully perfect; and to no sooner had he seen it than he threw his lotus in front of Bhagavat. The lotus does not quite touch the ground, taking once the size of the wheel of a chariot, it stopped above Bhagavat. At the sight of this wonder, the gardener, like a tree that we could not cut the root, fell to the feet of Bhagavat; then putting his hands together in sign of respect, after having thought carefully, he is set to decide this prayer: May I, by the effect of this principle of virtue, of the conception of this thought, of the offering that I have made of this present, may I, in the world blind, private conductor and of guide, become a Buddha, to become the one who does to cross [the world] to beings who do not have not crossed it, which delivers those who have not been delivered, which consoles the afflicted, which leads to complete Nirvana those who have not reached it! Then Bhagavat, knowing the succession of works and that of the motives which directed the gardener, let see a smile. This is a rule that when the Blessed Buddhas come to see to laugh, then escape from their mouths of blue, yellow rays of light, red and white; the one descends down the others go up in top. Those who descend into low, returning to the depths of Hell: Saïidjîva, Kâla-Sutra, Samghâta, Bâurava, Mahârâurava, Tapana, Pratâpana, Avîchi, Arbuda, Nirarbuda, Atata, Hahava, Huhava, Utpala, Padma, Mahâpadma (1), fall cold in those of these Hells which are scorching, and hot in those which are (1) It must compare this list of sixteen Underworld, which the eight first are hot and eight last frozen, with the list given by Mr. Landresse according to the Chinese. The names of the eight the former are very likely translated, and not transcribed; at least it is according to the definition that accompanies each of these names that I believe can propose the synonym next: Samdjîva is the Siang ti yo, Kâlasûtra is He ching ti yo, Samghâta is Touy ya tiyo,

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180 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY cold. By this are calmed the various kinds of pain suffered by inhabitants of those premises of misery. They then do their reflections following: Could it be, friends, that we came out of the Underworld to be reborn elsewhere? To be born in them the grace Bhagavat operates a miracle; and to the sight of this miracle, the inhabitants of Hell say among themselves: No, friends, we do not get out of this place to be reborn elsewhere; but here is a being that we had not seen before; it is by its power that the various species of pain that we tormented are allayed. Feeling the calcine reborn in their souls at the sight of this miracle, these beings, completing atone for the action of which they had to be punished in the Hell, are metamorphosed in Dêvas and in men conditions in which they become vessels capable of receiving the truths. Those of these rays which amounted to above, is making homeless Dêvas Tchâturmahârâdjikas, Trayastriṃśas, Yâmas, Tuchitas, Nirmânaratis, Paranirmita vaçavartins, Brahma kâyikas, Brahma purôhitas, Mahâbrahmâs, Parîtlâbhas, Apramânâbhas, Âbhâsvaras, Parîttaçubhas, Apramâna gubhas, Çubliakrîtsnas, Anabhakras, Punyaprasavas, Yrihalphalas, Avrihas, Atapas, Sudriças, Sudarçanas, Akanichthas (1), make these resonant lyrics: This is Râurava is Kiao wen tiyo, Mahârâurava is Ta kiao i ven tiyo, Tapana is Tchao tchy tiyo, Pralâpana is Ta chao tchy ti

yo Avîichi is Wu Kian ti yo. The eight names following are the transcriptions; I complete here the synonymy started in the note of Foe koue ki, to which I send back. Arbuda is scou to, Nirarbuda is Ny lay feou to, Atata is icha tcha, Iahava is Hiao Mao po, Huliava is ' Eou heou, Itpala is Yo po lo, Padma is Po teou ma; in Mahâpadma answers Fen to li, transcription of Pundarîka, " great white lotus . " {Foe koue ki, p. 298 and 299.}(1) On the twenty-three orders of Divinities inhabiting the celestial stages which, starting from the Four great kings and the gods who are their subject, amounted to above the earth, see the re-researches of MM. Schmidt and A. Rémusat. {Same. of Acad. des sciences de S.-Pétersbourg, t.II, p. 24 sqq. A- Rémusat, Essay on the cosmogr. for Buddhists, in / our ". des Savants, year 1831, p. 609 and 610, and p. 668 ff.) But it is especially interesting to compare this list to the one that Mr. Hodgson has long been exhibiting, according to Buddhists in Nepal. {Sketch of Buddhism, in Transact. of the Roy. Asian Soc. t.H, p. 233 and 234.) The list of Mr. Hodgson up between the Akanichthas, that is to say the highest of all the Gods, and the Sudarçanas, ten, or according to others, thirteen floors, of which I have not found the slightest trace in the Sutras that I look at like the older ones. These are the skies of Bôdhisattvas which seem to me to be an invention modern analogous to that of the Adibuddha, or perhaps even a special product of Buddhism Nepalese. That it there was for certain is that the list of vocabulary Pentaglotte not know anything of EUCE addition of ten or of thirteen heavens, and it embraces, from the section XLIX to the section HIM inclusively, the same series given by our SiJtra, except the last article (the stay of Mahêçvara) added by Vocabulary. Here you just have to do suffer the most largely many of the articles in these five sections have very considerable corrections, the Sanskrit words and being, as usual, reproduced with extreme inaccuracy. That which ends ensure all the desirable authenticity at the list of our Sûira is that it is, except a few different names, and apart from a single item in the list Sinhalese such as the giving Upham according to the authorities for the most spoken. {The Mahâvansi, etc., t. III, p. 135 ff) See on the names of these Gods a special note, Appendix, no IV.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .481 passenger, that is misery, that is empty ; and they make these two hearstanzas : "Start, get out [of the house] ; apply yourself to the law of the Buddha ; annihilate the arméede the death as an elephant overturns a hut of freeds." The one who will walk without distraction under the disciplined of Celtic law, échappant à the birth and to the revolution of the world, will put an end to the pain. Then these rays, after having enveloped the universe formed by the great thousand of the three thousand worlds, come back behind Bhagavat. If the Buddha desire to explain an action accomplished in a time past, the rays come dis-to appear behind his back. If it's a future action that he wants to predict, they disappear grow in his chest. If he wants to predict a birth in Hell, they disappear under the plant of his feet ; if it's a birth among the animals, they disappear in his heel ; if it is a birth among the Prêtas (souls of the dead), they disappear in the thumb of his foot ; if it is a birth among themen, they disappear in his knee ; if he wants to predict a Balatchakravartin royalty, they disappear in the palm with his left hand ; if it's a royalty of Tchakravartin, they disappear in the palm of his right hand ; if it is a birth among the Devas, they disappear in his navel. If he wants to tell someone that he will have the Intel-ligence of a ÇrâvaKa, they disappear in his mouth ; if it is the intelligence of a Pratyéka Buddha, they disappear in his ears ; if it's the sciences supreme of a Buddha perfectly accomplished, they disappear into the protuberance of his crown his head." Now the rays [which had just

appeared], after having made three times the tower of Bhagavat, disappeared in the protuberance which crowns his head. Then the respectable Ananda bringing together the hands in sign of respect, spoke to Bhagavat : "A mass radii varied, mixed with a thousand colors, just to get out of the mouth of Bhagavat, and it was lit completely all the items of space, as the sun would do when it rises. (Then he headed the following stanzas : " No, it is not without reason that the Djinās, who triumphed over the enemy, which are free from lightness, which have up to pride and discouragement, and who are the cause of the happiness of the world, let see a smile similar to yellow filaments of the lotus. Hero ! O law which with your intelligence know the right moment ,

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182 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY dai <^ ne, oh Gramana, oh you Indra des Djinās, deign with the farms, excellent and nice words the hero of Solitary dispel the doubts that are high in the mind of your Hearers given over to uncertainty. (No, it is not without motive that the perfect Ruddhas , that these chiefs of world, who are also full of strength as the ocean, or the King of MON-tagnes, let see a smile. But for what reason these sages full of constancy they let see that smile ? It is there that that wants to hear your mouth this great crowd of creatures. " Bhagavat then said to Ananda : It is good that, O Ananda : it is this same ; it is not without motive, O Ananda, that the venerable Tathāgatas , perfectly and completely Ruddhas, let see a smile. Do you see, O Ananda, the manmage that this gardener has just addressed to me full of benevolence? - Yes, Lord.- Well , O Ananda, this gardener, by the effect of this principle of virtue of the design of this thought of the offering that was made of this pre-feels, after have practiced the intelligence of the Bōdhi, in which he must to practice during three Asamkhyōyas of Kalpas après avoir accomplished entirely the six perfections that are made manifest by the great mercy, this gardener, I say, will become in the world a perfectly accomplished Buddha under the name of Padmōtama a Ruddha gifted of ten forces of the four intrépidities, of the three supporters of the memory that do not merge , and finally of the great mercy. Now what is here the offering of a present is the benevolence that this gardener has tried for me. " So that spoke Rhagavat, and Religious transported of joy approve vèrent this that Rhagavat had said (i). " the subject than the previous excerpts have made known touches so closely to the question of the influence exerted by the preaching of Çākya on the system of caste, we have seen already in mind Brahmin reproach to Sakyamuni of cher-dear too low to his disciples. A similar reproach was inspired, without any doubt, by the feeling of hurt pride ; he in cost to the first caste of see the men of low birth elevated to the rank of ascetics that she was, legally speaking, the privilege to little near exclusive of of Vir the tributes and to the admiration of the multitude. The expression of this feeling would prove, if he was still in need of the make, what roots deep the division of the people in never-separated castes had thrown into India, at the time when appeared Çākya. For we, who have not ever been a moment in doubt anticipation from Rrâhmanism to with regard to Ruddhism, there reproaches that the Rrâhmans (1) Avadâna çataica, f. 16 a sqq.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .183 addressed [at Sakya we learn at once and how it is conduis in the presence of principle absolute caste, and how its opponents were welcoming its usurpations. This double instruction is found, under a form perfectly clear, in a legend that I will analyze and of which I translate the parts the more features. One day Ananda, the servant of Sakyamuni, after having traveled long the campaign, meet a young FDLE

Matangi, that is to say, of the tribe of Tchân-dâlas, who drew of water, and asks him for a drink. But the young girl, fearing the soil with his touch, warns him that she was born in the caste Mâtanga, and he does it is not allowed to approach a Religious. Ananda him then responds : " I am not asking you , my sister, neither your caste nor your family ; I you" Just ask for water, if you can give me(1).» Prakriti is the name of the young girl, who according to legend was destined to convert to the doctrine of the Buddha, is immediately feels in love with Ananda, and she told his mother the desire she has to become his wife. The mother, who foresees the obstacle that the difference of the castes must put to this union (because Ananda was of the military race of the Çâkyas and cousin of the Buddha), the mother, I say, has used the magic to attract the Religious in his house, where awaits him Prakriti adorned with her more beautiful clothes. Ananda, driven by the force of charms the Mastangi put into use, is made in effect in this house ; but recognizing the threat that the threat it remembers Bhagavat and invokes him in tears. As soon as the Buddha, which the science is irresistible, destroyed by the charms contrary the charms of the Tchândâlî, and Ananda quietly comes out of hands of two women. Prakriti however not be discouraged not ; she thinks about address himself to Çâkyamuni , and will wait for him under a tree, near a from doors of the city by which he must come out after begging to get his meal. Sakyamuni is present in fact, and he learns from the mouth of the young girl the love she feels for Ananda and her determining where she is of the track. Taking advantage of this passion to convert Prakriti, the Buddha, by a series of questions that Prakriti can take in the sense of his love, but what he does knowingly in a way all religious ends by opening to the light the eyes of the young girl and by him inspire the desire to embrace the life ascetic. This is how he asks him if she agrees to follow Ananda, that is that is, to imitate him in his conduct ; if she wants to wear the same clothes than he, that is to say, the clothing of religious persons ; if it is authorized by his parents : issues that the law of the discipline requires that we address those(1) Çârdûla karna, in Divya avadâna, f. 217 a. Page 90

184 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY who want will make beggars Buddhist. The young girl responds to any affirmatively. Sakyamuni requires in addition the formal consent of the father and mother, who come in effect telling her that they approve of whatever she wishes ; and it is then that distinguishing the true object of his love, the young girl recognizes his first mistake, and declares that she is decided to enter into the life religious. While Sakya, for the preparation to receive the Law, sets of the for-magic mule (Dhâranî) which purifies man of all his sins and of soiled-lures he contracted in the miserable lives to which he was condemned the law of the transmigration (1). I now let the legend speak ." The Râhmans and the masters of the house of Çrâvaslî learned that a young girl of the Tchândâla caste had just been admitted by Bhagavat to life religious, and they are set to do between them the reflections following : How? 'Or' What this girl of Tchândâla will be able to complete the duties imposed on the Religious and to those who the following ? How does the daughter of a Tchândâla could she enter into the houses of Brahmins, of Kchatriyas, heads of family and the men rich (2)? Prasênadjit, the king of Kôçala, also learned this news, and having made the same reflections as the inhabitants of Çrâvastî, he has made harnessed a good char sur lequel he went ; and surrounded by a large number of Brahmins and of masters house, all inhabitants of Cravasti it went out of the city and this directed toward Djêtavana, where is located the hermitage Anâthapindika (3).» The text us then represents the King entering in the

hermitage with the Brahmins, the ksatriyas and masters house, and surrendering to Bhagavat. Each one, when approaching him, told him the name and the family of his father and of his mother. So Bhagavat knowing the thoughts that had arisen in the mind of the king and of his suite, called the Assembly of its Religious, and made them tell the former existences of the King of Tchândâla. He then exposed the story of a king of this caste, named Triçangku (4), who lived in a thick forest located on the edge of the Ganges. "This King, O Religious, remembered the Vêdas, that in a previous existence he had read with the Angas, the Upânghas, the Rahasyas, with the Nighantus, the (1) Çârdûla Tarna, in Divya avadâna, f. 219 a. (2) The collection Tibetan to Mr. Schmidt contains a caption extremely curious where there approaches of the same kind are made by the high castes on the occasion of the investiture that Çâkyâ provided grants to of miserable beggars. {Der Weise und der Thor, p. 283, transl. garlic.} (3) Divya avadâna, f. 220 a. (4) The name of Triçangku is already known by the traditions Brahmin, and in particular by the beautiful episode of Râmâyana. (Ed. Schlegel, l. I, ch. Lxvii sqq., And transl. Lat., T.I, p. 175 sqq., ed. Gorresio, ch. lix sqq., t. I, p. 231 ff.) The legend of the prince is, also reported by the Vishnu purâna (Wilson, p. 371, note 7) and by the Bhâgavala purâna. (L. IX, ch. Vu.) Despite the

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .185“ Kâitabhas, with the differences that distinguish the letters from each other," finally with the Itihâsas who form a fifth Veda (1)." This king had a son named Çârdûla karna, to whom he taught everything he had learned himself in a previous existence. When he saw it perfectly skilled in all the ceremonies, master of the mantras of the Veda that he had read in full, he thought to marry a young, virtuous, educated girl beautiful. He there was then in Utkatâ, capital from a district north of the forest of Triçangku, a Brahmin named Puchkarasârin, who enjoyed the income of this district, which had him been conceded by the king Agnidatta. He was from a noble family of Brahmins, and could say the name of his father and mother until the seventh generation. He possessed the Mantras and had read the three Vêdas with all that depends on them, and the Itihâsas who form a fifth Veda. This Brahmin had a daughter named Prakrîti. Triçangku formed the purpose of the request for his son Çârdûla karna, and it went to a wood, so there wait for the Brahmin who was to come there for recite the Brahmanic Mantras. <Triçangku, the king of the Tchândâlas, soon lives" the Brahmin Puchkarasârin, who resembled at the rising sun, that shone with <fsplendor as the fire, which was like a sacrifice that surround the Brâh- manes, like Dakcha surrounded of his daughters, like Çakra in the middle" of the crowd of Devas, like, the Himavat with its medicinal plants, "like the Ocean with its jewels, like the moon with its Nakchatras, like "Vâiçravana among the troop of Yakchas, as Brahma, finally, to meet her" of the Devas and the Devarchis (2).> He immediately came forward to meet her and said : "It is I, Lord Puchkarasârin ; Be the welcome. I will tell you what bring me, listen. With these words the Brahmin Puchkarasârin answered thus to Triçangku, the king of the Tchândâlas : He is not you not allowed, O Triçangku, "to employ with a Brahmin the salvation from Lord. Lord Puchkarasârin said Triçangku, I can use with a Brahmin this species" Hello. "Then he request to Puchkarasârin his daughter Prakriti for the young Çârdûla karna. The Brahmin did not quite hear this proposal, than transported of fury, the eyebrows furrowed, the neck swelled by anger, the eyes out of the head it replied to Triçangku : "Out of here miserable Tchândâla. differences which are noticeable between these three accounts, a common

tradition serves as their basis; this tradition is that Triṅṅku which appartenait à the family of Ikchvakides, was deprived of the royal dignity by the curse Vaçichlhides or of their father, and changed in chandala. It is also the only point by which the legendary Buddhist is linked to the story of the Brahmins. The Buddhists made Triṅṅku a king of the Tchândâlas; it's still there a loan made to the Brahmanic tradition. (1) Divya avadâna, f. 220 b. (2) Çârdûla karna, in Divya avadâna, f. 221 b.

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186 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY i How one who eats the dog, like you, dare he speak so to a Brahmin who has read the Veda? Insane! you don't know Prakṛiti, and you have (of yourself) a very high opinion! Do not rest no more time here, if you don't want to bring yourself bad luck. You're a chandala, and me I am from jla" caste of Dvidjas. How dare you, miserable, ask for the union of the most noble with being the more vile? The good, in this world, unite with the good, the Brahmins with the Brahmins. You ask for one thing impossible by wanting to ally it with us, you who are despised in the world, you the last of men. The Tchândâlas unite here below with the Tchândâlas, the Puchkasas with the Puchkasas, and so do the Brahmins, the Kchat-triyas, the Vâiçyas and the Çûdras, each in their caste; but none share it does not see the Brahmins allying themselves with the Tchândâlas. > To this speech, which in the beginning is in verse, and that I have somewhat abbreviated, Triṅṅku answered thus: "He are not between a Brahmin and a man of another caste the difference which exists between the stone and gold, between the darkness and light. The Brâhman in effect is released or of the ether or of the wind; he did not split the earth to appear at day as the fire which escapes of the wood of the Arani (1). < The Brahmin was born from a woman's womb, just like the Tchândâla. Or see-read therefore the case that would make that one must be noble and the other vile? the Brahmin himself, when he is dead, is abandoned like a vile object and impure; he is with him as with other castes: where is the difference then? "Triṅṅku then continues, reproaching the Brahmins for their vices and their passions; he blames with strength the ways they employ for the satisfaction, and among others hypocrisy with which they dare to claim to be pure, in committing themselves more black, "When they want to eat from the meat, here is the way they use: they kill the animals pronouncing this using Mantras, because they say the sheep as well immolated go straight to heaven. But if it is the way to heaven, why so these Brâhmanes do they immolate not also with Mantras them and their women, their father and their mother, their brothers and their sisters, their sons and their daughters (2)?" No he is not true that the holy water and that the Mantras make up the sky the goats and sheep; all these inventions are employed by these wicked Brahmins to satisfy their desire to eat of the meat (3). (1) Premna spinosa. (2) This argument seems familiar to opponents of Brahmins, because there the finds reported by the Viçnu purâna, in the chapter relating to the heresy of the Djâinas. (Wilson, Viçmpur., P. 340.) (3) Divya avadâna, f. 122 6.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .187 The Brahmin seeks to defend recounting the myth of the origin of four castes, that the tradition made born from four parts of the body of Brahmâ; and when the chandala he has responded, Puchkarasârin he asks if is versed in the Brahminical sciences. So the king Triṅṅku the satisfied on this point by a list detailed of the Vedas, of their divisions of sacrifices and other objects which the knowledge is usually reserved for only Brahmins. While this piece is a great interest, and it proves that the Buddhists knew

nothing of this who was doing the education background Indian. For by fire, however some consequences historical, it should know exactly the time to which he has been drafted; because if he is posterior to the events that have forced the Buddhists to leave India, he no longer amazing it contains, touching the literature and science Brahman, of such diverse information and also precise. But he is not not at this time to gather the lights that can throw on this particular object the legend of which I just to make a few extracts; he matter from show how Çâkyamuni ^ freed of obstacles that raised in front of him the divisions of the Indian society divided into castes hierarchically distributed. Its avowed aim was to save them from miserable conditions of existence that they hang in this world, and of the sub-milk at the Law fatal to the transmigrating I fitting that the practice of the Under secured for the future to human well the stay of the sky and the enjoyment of a better existence. But this happiness did not pass in the eyes of anyone for final: to become God was to be reborn in order to die one day; and it's at the necessity of the revival and of the dead that he had to escape forever. As to the distinction of caste, she was in the eyes of Sakyamuni an ace-tooth of the existence of man here below, an accident that he recognized, but which could not stop it. This is why the castes appear in all the sūtras and in all the legends that I read, as a fact established, against who Sakya not done a single objection policy. This is so true, ique when aman attached to the service of a prince wanted to embrace life religious, Sakya do there received that after that the prince yhad given his assent-is lying. A legend of Avadâna çatakawe provide an example just made characteristic: <tGo, ô Ananda, said Çâkyamuni to his servant, and say to king Prasênadjit: Grant me this man who is at your service; I will make him kiss "Religious life. Ananda went accordingly to the place where is found " Prasênadjit, king of Kôçala; and when he had arrived, he spoke to him in the name " De Bhagavat: Grant, Lord, to Bhagavat the permission to receive this " Man in religious life! When the king knew that he was of Bhavyarûpa,

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188 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY" He granted the Religious what he asked him (1). "This respect of Çâkyamuni for the royal power has even left its traces in the modern Buddhism; and it's one of the rules fondamentales de ordination of monks, he answer with the negative to this question: "Are you in the service of the king (2)? " In a further légende on sees the King Prasênadjit of Kôçala, who sends to Rajagriha a messenger, to invite Bhagavat to come in the midst of his people to Grâvastî. Here is the response que Çâkyamuni made to the sent; v If the ((King Bimbisara me the permits II will go to Prasênadjit (3). "Çâkyamuni therefore admitted the hierarchy of castes; he even explained it, as were doing the Brahmins, by the theory of punishment and of reward; and every time he educated a man in a vile condition, he born was not missing to attribute the baseness of his birth to the sinful actions that this man had committed in a previous life. Convert a man, whoever he was, it was thus for Sakya him give the means to escape to the law of the transmigration; it was the face of the vice of his birth, absolutely and relatively: absolutely, in the putting on the way to one day achieve annihilation final, OII, as the say the text, stops the law of the Renaissance; relative-ment, by making him a Religious, like Çâkyamuni himself, who was coming to take rank, according to his age, in the assembly of the Auditors of the Buddha. Sakya opened so indiscriminately to all the castes the way of salvation, that the birth previously closed to the largest number; and he the equal made between them and before him, in their conferring the nomination with

therank of Reli-gious. In this last respect hewas going overfar than the philosophers Kapila andPatafidjali, who had started a work in little close similar to that qu'ac-later complained the Buddhists. By attacking as useless theworksordered by the Veda, and by replacing them with thepracticeof asceticismindividual, Kapila was put to the scopeof all, inprinciple at least, if not inreality, the title of ascetic, which until then wasthe complement andtheprivilege topretty much exclusive of lifeof Brahmin. Çākya did more :hewas able to give toisolated philosophers the organization of a religious body. Here is locatedthe explanationof these two facts,ease withwhich has been in the principle to spread theBuddhism, and the opposition that the Brahmanism has naturally made to its pro-sandstone. The Brahmans had no objection to address to him , so muchhebe confinedborn to work inphilosopher to the future deliverance of man, to himto assurethe postage that I referred to earlier as absolute. But theyborncould(1) Avadāna çatāka, f.42 b.(2) Kammavākya, p. 6 and 17, eds. Spiegel.(3) Avadāna çatāka, f. 1 35 a.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .d89admit thepossibility of this current deliverance , of this emancipationrelative, who did tended to nothing less than destroy,in agiven time , thesubordination of castes, in which squinted the religion. This is how Çākya-providedattacked in his base theIndian system , and why ithad to happena moment when the Brahmans, placed at the head of this system, would feel the needcare ofproscribe a doctrine which the consequences could they escape.I do not believe that this moment had yet arrived at the time when theSutras that I analyzed moretop have been written ;or rather I think that these sūtras, towwhatever time theyhave been written, we have preserved an earlier tradition.greater than the violent separation of the Buddhists from the Brahmans. These treatiesshow us Çākya exclusively occupied in forming disciples, adepts,of imitators finally of his lifemoral and exemplary.What heseach beforeeverything is to surround oneself with disciples who spread his doctrine and who convertfeel themmen to lifereligious,just like hetheconvertedhim-same. These disciples hethe take, or rather itthe receiving of all thecastes :Brahmins, warriors, merchants, slaves, all are equally eligible forhiseyes, and the birth also keeps well be a merit that being a titleexclusion.We see now, ifl 'm not mistaken, how heyou have to kill this famousaxiom of Oriental history, that the Buddhism has erased any distinction of caste.The writers whohaverepeated this assertion have seen checked by the constitutionPoliticsfromnations among which prevails today the Buddhism. This verificationhowever, meets a capital exception ,Towhichwe did not do asufficient attention ; because ifthedistinction of castes is unknown to nationsBuddhists of Tibet, the Barma and Siam, she does is not less very solid-ment established in thepeople whowas the first adopted onBuddhism, in theSinghalese. I me refer to this testimony also unanimous qu'irré-cusable of travelers (1).Gela not want not say that there is the caste buddhi-ques divided into Brahmans, Kchattriyas, Yaiçyas andÇûdras ;thenumber oforiginal classesIndian is notably reduced to Ceylon ;the mosthigh yare to some close unknown, and there, as in India, there is or Brahmana orBuddha ;it is may be one and the other to thetimes. It does is not less truethat the existence of castes among a Buddhist people is a factvery-remar-quable,one of those who,as has just indicated Tolfrey (2),show(1) Valentia, Voyages and Travels, t. I, p. 488, in-4o. Davy ^ Ace. of the inter. oflCeylon, p. IH.Forbes, Eleven yearsin Ceylon, t. I,p. 70 and 72. Upham, Maliâvansi, etc., t. III, p. 331. We findin these authors lists of castes still existing in Ceylon.(2)Valentia, Voyages, etc., t. 1, p. 496.

190 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY the most obviously that the Buddhism and Brahmanism have an origin common, in other words that the doctrine of Çākya was born in the midst of a society including the principle policy was a distinction of castes. But how this principle has been reconciled with the spirit of the doctrine of the Buddha, that is to say, what concession one has made to the other? This is how it must have happened—sees the things, judging at least by the effects. The priesthood has ceased to be hereditary, and the monopoly of religious things is out of the hands of a privileged caste. The body in charge of teaching the law ceased to be perpetual by the birth; he has been replaced by an assembly of Religious in celibacy, which is recruiting indiscriminately in all the classes. The Religious Buddhist, finally, who takes everything from teaching and of a sort of investiture, has replaced the Brahmin, who does not owe anything to the birth, that is to say to the nobility of its origin. This is undoubtedly a fundamental change, and this is enough to explain the opposition that the Brahmins have made at the spread and to application of the principles of Buddhism. It is that in effect the Brahmins were disappearing into the new order of things created by Gākya. Of a moment that the birth does enough more to the place above the other castes, the moment that, to exercise an Action religious on the people, he had to submit to a novitiate, receiving a nomination that do their giving no more of rights at the last of the slaves, and be placed in a hierarchy based on age and the know, alongside the most despised men, the Brahmins did not exist most of it. On the contrary, the existence of other castes was by no means compromised by the Buddhism. Based on a division of job, that perpetuated the birth, they could survive under the protection of the priesthood Buddhist, to which they all indiscriminately provided Religious of ascetics. As much as the Brahmins must have felt aversion for the doctrine of Here, both men of the lower classes had to welcome him with eagerness and favor; because if this doctrine lowered the first tiers, she relieved the latter, and she assured from this life to the poor and to the slave this that the Brâhmanism does it promised even not to each other, the advanced-stage of weaning, in the religious relation, the equal of his master. The preceding observations sufficiently explain the remarkable fact of the coexistence of Indian castes and of Buddhism on the soil of Ceylon. He does not need to suppose, as did the illustrious G. de Humboldt, that the distinction of castes had on the character of the Sinhala one share less deeper than on the Indians of the continent (1); because we would not miss (1) Ueber die Kawi-Sprache ^ t. Ij p. 87.

OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .491 no evidence to establish that the military caste is also jealous in Geylon than elsewhere of what it owes to the birth, and the Singhalese kings have shown, in more than one occasion, that they had little understanding of the principles of equality to whom the Buddhist priesthood owes its existence, and to which it attaches to conserve the deposit. Here there is more: the military caste, that of the Kchatriyas, is always, in the lists Singhalese, called the first, even before the one of the Brahmins. There will recognize the influence of Buddhism, which, in removing to the Brahmanic caste the superiority it held of the birth, has naturally left the field open to the military caste. But this influence, which could promote the movement of major divisions of the company, such that had organized the Brahmins, did not annihilate these divisions, nor completely destroyed the mind on which they are based. The castes continued to exist; single-ment the divisions that in are eff ^ and have become purely

political of religious that they were previously. The example of the island of Ceylon allows us to suppose that the phenomenon of the coexistence of Buddhism and the caste was also produced in India too of times ancient, and read the full Sûtras confirm this SUP-position. To accredit his doctrine, Çâkyamuni did not need to do call for a principle of equality, little understood in general by Asian peoples. The germ of an immense change was to be found in the constitution of this Assembly of Beligieux, out of all the castes, who renounced the world had to live in monasteries, under the direction of a chief spiritual and under empire of a hierarchy based on age and the know. the people received from their mouths an entirely moral instruction, and here there was no longer a single man that his birth condemned for ever to ignore the truths spread by the preaching of more enlightened of all the beings, of the Buddha perfectly accomplished (i). Also, by rereading with attention to the previously analyzed legend of Triçangku, I see in the form controversy of this piece a few grounds of suspect he does should not be ranked among the productions the most ancient of Northern Buddhism. The part from this legend that reports to Beligious Ananda reminds us of a tradition that is certainly ancient. The story of Triçangku, in contrast, has had to be added, or all at least developed after the fact. the large number of bits written in to which is composed of legend is still in my eyes an index of posteriority; in this respect, this (1) See on this subject the excellent observations of M. Schmidt. {Same. from Acad. the science of S.-Petersburg, 1. 1, p. 252.)

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192 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY treated looks a lot more like a Sutra developed only an ordinary legend. So I would be inclined to believe that he does not belong, in full at least, at the pre-dication of Çâkyamuni, but that he is the number of these books who have been Redif ^ Gs in the rest of the cloister, at a time when the Buddhists enjoyed quite from leisure to gather and comment on their religious traditions. What he may be one of these observations, I do not think not minus our previous legend in Yadjraçutchi, treated pure controversy, directed against the institution of castes and composed by a Buddhist scholar, named Açvaghôcha. We owe MM. Wilkinson and Hodgson the publication and translation of text of this little book, to which is attached a defense of castes by a Brahmin who was still living in 1839 (1). Açvaghôcha is the famous Religious including the name is translated in Chinese by Ma Ming (voice of horse), and which, according to the list of the Japanese Encyclopedia, was the twelfth patriarch of Buddhists since the dead by Çâkyamuni (2)? or good is it a more ascetic modern bearing the same name as him? It is this that I do not know decide. All that we learn Mr. Hodgson is that he is cited in Nepal as a Mahà paridita, and he is the author of two strong works estimated, the Buddha tcharîla kâvya, and the Nandimukha sughôchaavadâna (3). It is enough for us that the treatise on controversy which it says the author is attributed to a Religious known, so that he sort of the category of canonical books, to which belongs the legend analyzed more high, and so that it is placed in the class of works bearing the names of other teachers, more modern class in general than that of treatises we suppose emanated from the preaching even of Sakya. In this respect I would could dispense me to talk about here, since I have to take care later treated with the authors are known. I believed, however, that the advantage to do kiss with a cutlook it that we know of the objections that the Buddhists addressed the Brahmins against the system of caste made up for the lack of order, relatively few serious in reality, that I allow myself here. The objections of Açvaghôcha are of two kinds: the one are borrowed (1) The Wvjra soochi or

Refutation of the arguments upon which the Brahmanical institution of caste is founded, by the learned Buddhist Ashwa Ghochu; also the Tunku by Soobojee Bapoo being a reply to the W% IJRA soochi, 1839. 8vo% printed in India, but without name of place. The translation and the warning occupy 100 pages; the text, lithographed in rather large characters devanâ-garis, in a GO. The translation of the Treaty of Açvaghôcha had already appeared in the t.III of the Trans. of the Roy. Asian girl. Soc, p. 160. The use of the word Vadjra me gives to think that this treaty is modern *(2) A. Rémusat, Mém. Asian., t.I, p. 120 sqq. Everything that was said in the £ ssa on the Pali (p. 55) of possible identity of the name Chinese Ma Ming with the name Sinhala the prince Mahindu Kumara, do can subsist today, one knows whether positively that the word of Bôdhisatva is not a proper name, but the title of a living Buddha. (3) Transact. of the Roy. Asian girl. Soc, t. III, p. 161, and Wujra soochi, p. 6, note.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .193 to the most revered texts of the Brahmans themselves ; the others lean on the principle of equal natural of all the men. The author shows through of quotations from of the Veda, of Manu and of the Mahâbhârata, that the quality of Brahmin is neither inherent in the principle that lives in us, nor in the body in which lies this principle, and it does not follow either of the birth, nor of the knowledge or practices religious, nor to the observation of duties moral, nor of the con-birth of the Yêdas. Since this quality is neither inherent nor acquired, she does not exist ; or rather all the men may have : because for him the quality of Brahmin, it is a state of purity similar to dazzling whiteness. *cheur de la fleur du jasmine*. He insists on the absurdity of the law which denies the Will have the right to embrace the religious virgin, under pretext that his religion, to him, it is to serve the Brahmans. Finally his philosophical arguments are directed mainly against the myth that represents the four outgoing castes of the four parts of the body of Brahma, in his head, in his arms, his belly and of its feet." The Udumbara (1) and Panasa (2), he said, produce "The fruit that are born from the branches, from the rod, from joints and "roots ; and though these fruits will be not separate them one from another, and "we cannot say : This is the Brahmin fruit, this is the fruit Kchattriya, ((this one the Vâiçya, that one the Çûdra, for all are born from the same tree. He ((does not have so not four classes, it there is only one (3). "Between the legend of Triçangku and the Treaty of Açvaghôcha, here is, as we can see, a notable difference. In the second, the subject is considered under a point of view as philosophical that it can design a man from the East ; in the first, he is indicated in a way general rather than dogmatic. In one and in the other However, the point of capital is the appeal made to all the Classes by the Buddhism, that the admitted all also in the viereligieuse or, in terms more general, to the cultivation the highest of the spirit, and that brise ainsi the real barrier that in the system brahmanic, the holding all under the yoke of the caste to which the privilege of the birth ensured that the knowledge and of teaching. I looked through the observations previous to make appreciate the true character of the sūtras that I believe the oldest. After having given some plausibility to this opinion, that those of these treatises which bear the title of Vâipulya are posterior to those who do not carry, that is to say to the sūtra same as I have just analyzed, I tried to establish the seniority and the authenticity simple sutras by examining the various facts that they reveal to us about the state (i) *Ficus glomerata*. (2) *Artocarpum integrifolia*. (3) Wujra soochi, p. 11 and 12 of the translation, p. 10 of the text. 13

\ UINRODUCTION TO HISTORY of the company Indian in the midst of which they have been written. In ignorance where we are still on the date of the various parts from the Nepa- collection, I said, in the first section of this Memoir, that all the Sutras were passing to emanate directly to the preaching from Çâkyamuni : from where he results that at stick to the testimony of the tradition and to the form even of these treaties, which is that of a conversation between the Buddha and his disciples, he should them look all as equally old. Examining the Sutras and Legends of two large collections of Divyaavadana and Avadanaçataka, who come take more of hundred fifty different treaties, not justify not this supposition. It has seen more top that Sakyamuni himself boasted of knowing the past and the future as well as the present, and he loomed of this supernatural science to instruct his Auditors what they had done in their previous lives EXTERIOR and the fate that they were waiting in the lives to which the future they still condemned. As long as he is content to predict to them that they will become (AES Religious distinguished by their holiness, or even the Buddhas as perfect that he, his predictions are 4) had instructive for us, and they did us provide no help for criticism and examination of 'tradition who attributes all the sūtras indiscriminately to the founder of Buddhism. But when he speaks of people who are really historical, when he sets the date of their future appearance, his predictions acquire a new value, and they we prove that the Sutras where the meeting are after, to the fundas for the form, to the events which are announced in advance by divination which the critic does not recognize not the authority. This remark is based on Uque several treated of the collection from Nepal, notably to a Sutra which it will be subject to all the time, and which face the name of a king famous in the story of Buddhism. This king is Açôka, including Çâkyamuni, in more than one place and especially in some Avadânas, speaks as if he was to be born long after him. I the repeat, of like predictions we learn at Two indisputable facts : is that the book where the meeting is posterior laughing not only at Sakyamuni, but the events and the characters of which Çâkyamuni predicts future existence. Thus, without prejudging anything about the time which have been written the Sutras, and as we entenant | to a description generalized rule of this class of books, it is evident that it must be divided into sūtras where it

OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .195 is only a question of contemporary characters of Çâkyamuni, and of the Sutras where he is spoken of characters who appeared more or less long after him, either that the date could in être fixée with precision, is that happens to know only this unique point, to know that they are posterior to Çâkyamuni. This is an element of history of which we appreciate the importance, when I have gathered all that my readings provided me on history of the collection of Nepal. However, it should be noted right now that indications of this kind are Gères the developed sūtras, which does not prove that these Sutras have been written before the time of the characters recalled by the mentions of which I come from speak, but what is exclusively due to the character of the great sūtras, where he no longer a question of a human event, and which are filled by the fabulous story of these

gigantic and wonderful Bôdhisattvas, in the contemplation and the description of which he has lost the simple primitive and the practical good sense of ancient Buddhism. But it is not still, and here remains to be seen if of what a book bears this title of Sûtra it has a result that it must be classified from full rights in a category that the research that precede have demonstrated the existence, 1° that of the Sûtras where the events are contemporaries of Çâkyamuni; 2° that of the Sûtras where he is spoken characters that are posterior; 3° finally that of the sûtras of great development where he is almost more question of human events. He is obvious a priori that the title alone of a work is not, in the eyes of the criticism, a guarantee sufficient of his authenticity; because we understand without difficulty that a forger could have imitated the form of books canonical, to take the fruit of his designs personally. I do not intend, however, to speak here of these falsifications that the critics, in my opinion, too inclined to assume, although she has no other proof that the possibility of their existence. I have only in sight, in this moment of books where the changes that the passage of time brings to all the things human have been successively to glide. It would be to deny all the likelihoods that of support that the Buddhism has remained at the shelter of changes of this kind. Well at the contrary, I dare assert that the study thorough and compared to this belief, such that it exists among the various peoples of Asia who have adopted prove it has past, like all the religions by des révolutions who have modified and sometimes altered the primitive character. But if the Buddhism (and I mean here especially designate that of the North) has developed, extended, regularized; if he even admitted to his ideas and the beliefs that is in law to regard as étrange-manage to its primitive institution, it is allowed to believe that some of

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496 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY works placed our days among books canonical bear the traces more or less recognizable changes which I assumed earlier the possibility. From the commencement of this study, and when Mr. Hodgson had at its disposal that the renseignements anciens and traditionnels did not have another opportunity to compare with the original texts, the judgment is sure that the heading in his research he had indicated the precautions that the critique devait take to arrive at the assessment complete and just as a belief so ancient and so vast. Such wise warnings can not be lost to the criticism, and they need to put in guard against the consequences that one would be tempted to draw from the existence of a title antique, found on a book that can be modern. I repeat the title learns absolutely nothing to drive regarding the authenticity of the book that the door; because of two things one: where the book was intended to highlight some- Some of these ideas that will have to undergo a system that changes little important; where the beliefs which he used expression were of nature to seriously change the character of the system. Good in one as in the other case, the author had to give to his work the form of books whose self-authority was universally and since long recognized. These reflections, that it is enough for me to indicate briefly, apply from a man rigorous to some of the books in the Nepalese collection. I am justified in believing that the reading and, I should say, the exact translation of this collection while whole, give the medium of the extend to a number of or more considerable than those that I will indicate. But he would have too few years and as a great fund of patience to run properly a review of this kind. I therefore preferred to a review fast and necessarily superficial of multiple volumes analysis accurate and sufficiently detailed of a limited number of treaties that the first blow of eyes seemed to me suspects. Among the treaties that I come from designate it is two to which the title of

Sutra was probably only applied after the fact, or, which amounts to the same, which, despite its title of Mahayana sūtra, or Sutra serving of large vehicle not peuvent prétendre to be classified in many Sutras primitive, nor even the Sutras developed. They all carry two the As of Gīma karandavyūha or Kārmida vyūha, that is to say, "Construction of the basket of qualities" of the saint Avalōkitêçvara; but one is written in prose, and the other in verse. The editorial staff composed in prose forms a manuscript of sixty seven slips, where hundred thirty-four pages; the poem has a hundred ninety five leaves, or three hundred ninety pages, of a lesser extent than that

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .-197 of the other manuscript (1). Here seems obvious to me that, despite the differences that exist between the two books, one is only the development and the paraphrase of the other, and I think that the more former of the two is the writing in prose. It is this that we learned already the first of listings reported by Hodgson in his Memoir on the Literature of Nepal. This list defines as it follows these two treaties: "Karanda vyūha, of the species of Gāthās, history of Lōkêçvara" Padmapani in prose; and Guna karanda vyūha gāthā, development from the pre-ceeding treaty to (2).» I will give the analysis of the most extensive, that is the poem; then I will indicate the passages where they differ from the other treaty. As, with a few exceptions, in the Sutra in prose which is neither in the poem, the analysis of one necessarily includes that of the other. Besides, the Karanda prose manuscript is so incorrect that it would have been much more difficult to give a perfectly exact extract, than don't it would be to translate fully the poem. The book opens with a dialogue between a scholar Buddhist Djayaçrī and the King Djinaçrī who questions him. Djayaçrī announces that that he is going to expose to him has been taught by his master, the Religious Upagupta. He said that the great king Açōkais being made in the hermitage of Kukkuta ārāma, asked the sage Upagupta that should be understood by the Triratna, or the Three precious objects. Upagupta responds by exposing to him the perfection of the Maha Buddha, or the great Buddha, which was born from a portion of each of the five Dhyāni Buddhas (3); that of the Prajñā, called the Mother of all the Buddhas, and nicknamed Dharma, or the Law; and finally that of the Samgha, or of the Assembly, considered under a point of quite mythological view, and named the own son of the Buddha. This is what we called the Three precious objects, objects which deserve a special worship, at length exposed. Upagupta goes on to say that once the blessed Çākya-muni taught to the two Bōdhisattvas Mailrēya and Sarvanivarana vichkambhin the perfections of St. Avalokiteśvara, in starting by the miracles that accompanied the latter, when it came down to the underworld to be converted the sinners, then in to come out and carry in the universe Sukhavatī, including Amitābhais the Buddha. Gākyamuni exposes that being born formerly as a merchant, (1) The manuscript of Guna karandavyūha, composed in prose, belongs to the Library royal: that of the poem is part of the library of the Asian Society. (2) Hodgson, Notices of the languages, etc., in Asiat. Res., T. XVI, p. 428. (3) In this passage, the great Buddha is represented as arising from the meeting of the five Buddhas, who do can be here than in the contemplation: this is the least the only way of which I can hear the stanza where this Supreme Buddha is defined as follows: Tat yat liādi-samudbhūtō dharmadhātusvarūpakah pantchabuddhāni çasamdjāto djagat ças Tai Mgatah. {Guvakaranda vyūha, f.3 b, man. Soc. Aslat.}

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198 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY under the empire of the old Buddha Vipac̣yin, he heard of the mouth of this Blessed is the account of the qualities of Avalokileçvara. He said comment, to the origin of things, appeared under the form of a flame Adibuddha, the primary Buddhaitif, nicknamed Svalnjamhhû, c: being existing by itself, » And Adinâihay" The first sovereign. " It is the is engaged in the meditation called the Creation of the universe. Of his spirit is born Avalôkilêçvara, which is also absorbed in a meditation-like and creating of its two eyes the moon and the sun, of his Mahôçvara forehead, of his Brahmà shoulders, of his heart Narayana, and of his teeth Sarasvalî. Avalôkilêçvara track then each of the gods he has created the limits of his authority, and entrusts them in particular the Defense and the protection of the buddhist faith. The narrator infers from this story the great superiority of Avalokileçvara ; he in fact the first of all beings except Adibuddha, and goes to say that " all the Buddhas themselves take refuge with faith with " From him.)) Çâkyamuni then relates that under the ancient Buddha Çikhin he has been a Bôdhisattva named Dânaçûra, and he has learned of the mouth of the blessed what are the merits of Avalokileçvara. The long enumeration of its virtues brings some passages similar to those that contain the chapter xxiv of Lotus of the good law, to those in particular where are indicated the various roles that takes Avalokileçvara in the plan to convert the beings, appearing for the one in the Figure of the sun, to the other under that of the moon, and thus of main deities (1). The saint is shown teaching the law to the Asura, in a cave of Djambudvîpa, called Vadjra kukchi, and their re-controlling the reading and study from Karandavyûha, of which he exalted the efficacy. Çâkyamuni continues his story by saying that under the ancient Buddha Viçvabhûit has been a Richi having the name of Kchântivâdin, and he heard from the mouth of this Buddha all that is to him ask today. In < this story is found inserted the story of Bah, that mighty king who was relegated in Hell by Yichnu, and who will repent of having followed the law of Brahmins. Avalokileçvara him lists the benefits guaranteed to that who has faith in the Three Precious Objects ; he him make known the rewards promised to the faithful and the sorrows that await the one who does not believe. He settles down between him and Bali a dialogue where the Holy attaches to illuminate and to lead his new faith ; he he announced at last them must be a day Buddha. Avalokileçvara then extends his teaching to (1) The lotus of the good law, ch. xxiv, f. 230 b ff., P. 263 sqq. Page 105

OF INDIAN BUDDHISM . 199 Râkchasas, and is there present himself going to the island from Simhala (Geylan), where he preaches to the female demons who inhabit this island the necessity of fasting and of the confession. Once the Râkchasîs converted to Buddhism, he is transported to Bénârès, to return the same services in the being than their niauyaisactions had reduced to the condition of miserable insects and of worms. He goes then in the Magadha, where he miraculously saves the inhabitants of a terrible famine. Then he comes to attend the assembly of the Auditors of Viçvabhû, held at Djêtârâma, and they taught the ways of airriver to the knowledge of the state of Buddha perfectly accomplished. Çâkyamuni exposes while it is in his meditation that Avalokileçvara owes its ability to accomplish such great things, and that he himself in particular has been once saved from danger imminent through this holy Bôdhisattva. To this subject it recounts the history of Simhala, son of merchant Simha, which is being boarded to go to search for gems on an island remote, is assailed in approaching Tâmradvîpa (the same as Tâmrâparna, the Taprobane of the ancients), by a storm that raises the Râkchasîs,

Gods evilwhoinhabit this island.He is shipwrecked with his companions, and arrives inswimmingto the shore, where the Râkchasîs appear , whounder the figure of beautiful womenlead the merchant to selivrer topleasurewith them.Simhala, after havingoassé the night in the arms of one of these women, learns of the lamp that the^ clear that heis dropped from the hands of an ogress that it serves thepleasures andwhich is the devouring. He is warned that other merchantscastaways like \\ \\ lhad been, since his arrival, thrown into ajail where the Râkchasîs the draweach day to be feastof their flesh. Instructed by therevelations of thelamp itis making with its companions on the shore, where it appears a horsemiraculousthat should the transport horsde the island. But heshouldhe would beware ofreturn the head in rear ;the onewho, letting himself be touched by the tears ofRâkchasîs, will take a single glance at the shore, isdoomed to fall intoOcean, where await the ogresses for the put to death. The companions ofSimhala agree tobighheart toleave the islandwith him ;but unfaithful totheir promises, theylend ear to the complaints of women they abandonedarise, and disappear one after the other,devoured by the Râkchasîs. Simhalaonly one escapes ;and despite the prosecution of the woman he has left (IANS Island, thewonderful horse the transports in India.This part ofthe work, of whichI did not givethan a very succinct analysis,is frommuch higher than the rest, but the bottom inbelongs to othersBuddhist legends ;and I do n't need to call the attention of readersto whichare familiar with the oriental tales of the ogres and the horse sea-
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200INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYold man,fictions alreadyknown in Europe, and very frequently told bythe editors of the legends of Nepal (1).The Rakshasi the hands of whichSimhala just escaped seduces the kingSimhakêçarin, and penetratesin its interior apartments . Secondedby theother demons she callsof the islandTâmradvîpa, shedeavors theking and hisfamily. Simhala, who alone knows how to explain this disaster, is proclaimed king ;andhetakes the resolution to go destroy the Râkchasîs of the island,for there spread thecult of the Three Precious Objects. The demons retreat into a forest ;and togoof this event, thecountry formerly called Tâmradvîpa takes the nameof Simhaladvîpa. Sakyamuni then making the application of this story tocharacters who are his contemporaries, exhibitsto his listeners that it's himwho was the king Simhala, and that the horse miraculous which hehad his salvation wasthe saint Avalôkitêçvara.Sakyamuni continue in making the exposédes qualities body of Bodhisattva, exposed who ispurely mythological.In each of its poresrise of the mountains and the woods where live the gods andfromwise, excludedsively delivered to the practice of the religion. It is, says Çâkya, for this reasonlet it be called Dharmakâya ^ «which has as its body theLaw."The BôdhisattvaVishkambhin, with whom maintainsÇâkyamuni, expresses the desire to see thiswonderful show of body Avalokita.But this is himanswer that everythingit is invisible, and he himself has been reach contemplating and the holyonly after infinitely prolonged efforts . This lord of the world, he said, islike a magical apparition ;its form is subtle ;hedidn't even reallyneither attributes, nor form ;but when hein is of, isan immense shape,multiple and more large of all ;so hesewatch with eleven heads,hundreda thousand hands, a hundred timesten million eyes , etc.Vishkambhin then expressesthe desire to know themagic formulaof six letters,Vidyâ chadakcharî,of whichÇâkya exaltswonderful efficiency (2).Sakya returns Vichkambhin toBenares, where Avalôkitêçvara himappearsmiraculously in the midst of the air,ordering thetutor that he has chosen to communicate to his student the formulaof six letters. Avalokiteśvara be done to see then a

way supernatural inr(1) The legend analyzed in my text retrouvedans Hsuan thsang, where it has been extractedby M. Landresse. {Foe koue M, p. 338 and 339.)(2) This is the famous formula "Om mani padmé hûîi," Which the holy Avalokitesvara is deemedthe author. Also do theDid you meet or in ies works, nor in the people to whom Avalô-kitêçvara is unknown, that is to say neither in the simple sūtras of the North, nor in those of Ceylon.M. Schmidt saw clearly that it should not belong to primitive Buddhism , since itsauthor the Bôdhisattva Avalôkitêçvara. {Geschichte der Ost-Mongol, p. 319.) But later it seemshave wanted to attribute, at least by conjecture, some influences to this saint on the Buddhism

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .201the assembly of Çâkyamuni, in Djêtavana ;then, after havinginterviewed with theBuddlia overdiversereligious subjects, itis making to Sukhavati, to visit AMItala, the Buddha of this universe. The wise Vishkarnbhin, who hasthus had the opportunityto contemplate Avalôkiteçvara, returns again to itsfavorite subject, which is the enumeratedration of qualitiesof this divine being. Sakyamuni he tells then that timeof ancient Buddha Krakutchanda, hewas born, heÇâkya, like Bôdhisattva,under the name of Dânaçûra, and that in this time Avalôkiteçvara obtained thepos-Session modes of meditation themore high.Çâkya then learns toYichkambhin the existence of two Tîrthas, orsacred ponds ,located on thesidesouth of Mont Mêru, which have theproperty to bring all the itemsthat we throwin their waters ;and hecompare to their virtue that of Karandavyûha,which is the very sutra that he exposes.One of the main interlocutors ofdialogue changes in this place ;and it isAnanda, one of the first disciples of Çâkya, who talks with his masteron various pointsof thedisciplined.Çâkyamuni predicts,on the occasion of thisinterview, that three hundred yearsafter its entry into the Nirvanacomplete, that isthat is to say after his death, will appearin the monasteriesBuddhist desReligieuxwho will violate the rules imposed by him on his Auditors, and which will lead tobrest of the life ascetic the conduct of men come to the world. Çâkya takes advantage ofthis circumstance to expose the principlesdemorale and the rules of conductthat must observe the religious, and it is through this exhibition that concludes hisinterview with Ananda.Here ends, to properly speak the book ;but hebe that the variousnarrators in the mouthof which was successively placed this account reappearseach feels in turn. Thus Upagupta, which has exposed the king Aśoka, resumesthe word for him to recommend thecult of the Three Precious Objects. Açôka himresponds to its turn in it requesting the reason for which the bodhisattva whichhejust to celebrate the merits supreme is called Avalokitesvara. Upaguptareplies that it is because he looks with compassion atbeingssuffering fromevils of existence (1).Headdto celticexplanationof new opinion on theCeylon and of the transgangélique India. {Same. of Acad. des sciences de S.-Pétersb., t. I, p. HO.)I will show more later, by examining the books of the Buddhists of the South, that none of those whoare at my disposal not speak even a single time of Avalokitesvara or of its formula. 11 must seefor this prayer the work of scientists who have the most busy of Buddhism, and in parli-culier de Klaproth [Nouv. Journ. Asian., T.VII, p. 185 ff), of Schmidt {Mém. of Acad. fromsciences of S.-Pétersb., t. I, p. 112 ff), by Rémusat {Foe koue M, p. 118) and of Hodgson {Journ.Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t,IV, p. 196 ff).(1)We see by then that the Buddhists of Northern consider the name â ' Avalokitesvara asformed of two words, a participle and a substantive, namely, içvara, " the lord, " and avalôkita.

202INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY worship heis necessary to return to the saint Avalôkita, andon theadvantageswhat ensures thiscuUe to those which the practice.The first ofall the narrators,Djayaçrî, afterhaving finished this exhibition that heheld by his master, addsa few more stanzas on thebenefits that awaitthe one who readsWherewholisten to recite this Sutra of Karanda vyûha, and King Djinaçrî expresses hisbation for everything hejust heard. The volume was finished in sheet 495,by the title thus conceived : " End of the King of the Sutras, named the Composition of the "basket of qualities of Avalôkitêçvara, exhibited by Djaysicrîto the kingDjinaçrî" Who questioned him. y>This subjectquite poor is exposedin verse of the Anuchtubh meter , and in aSanskrit which is striking for its extreme resemblance tothat of the Puranas brah-potholders.The language is correct, andI do have noticed that two words thatattest the presencefrom a vulgar dialect derived from Sanskrit. These words, that I citedin note (1), are such that theymay have beenborrowed to othersworks, from where theywill have spent in theKaranda vyûha ;theynot enough notto characterize thelanguage of this poem and to make it into a dialect, orunless a mixture of Sanskrit and of præcrit, similar to the one that noticesin the developed sūtras. These are simple loans, which can be explained byextremely useoften we doof these words in the booksreputedcanonical. We can therefore take for certain that the Karanda vyûha is acomposition we must,as for thelanguage, call classic,in oppositionto other bookswithwhich heshares the title of Sutra ; and it 's not athe slightest differences that distinguish this work from others. sutras devel-t who has looked in there. » It is obvious that they give the participle non the passive meaning (watched),but the active sense (who has looked). I do not believe that this use of the participle in / a, which is po-tively authorized by Panini, when hethis is a starting action (1.III,vs. iv, p. 71 and l "!),can be admitted in the classical Sanskrit for the radical Lok. But this does is not the firstAfter that the language of books Buddhist would move away from the Brahmanical compositions. Hethere is no doubt that the oriental peoples , who knew thename & ' Avalôkitêçvara and who havegot to the lead in their idioms, do not have assigned ALA first of the parts of which it is composedthe active meaning that I point out here.Klaproth a,in a special essay , put the factout of doubts in relation to the Tibetans and the Mongols {^ op. Journ. Asian., T. YII, p. 190), and M. Ré-musat has also established more of a time in which key the Chinese. {Foe koue ki, p 56, he 7and 119.)(I) These word ^ are the following forms of the adjective toyin (protector) for the Sanskrit irâyin,which has lost its raccording to the principle of Pali; to know, tàyinê, dat. sing. f.19 a; tdijindm, gen.plur. f. 80 a and 179 a; then the term pôchadka for upôchatha, end all in fact Pali, which designatesin both the fast imposed to Religious Buddhist and the six days that follow the new moon.This term, which recalls the Sanskrit vpôcham (fasting), is even more altered than Pali, since it haslost its vowel original, which is preserved forever, so that I and the believe in the pale ofCeylon. The frequent repetition of this term is sufficient to explain how it ismay have suffered amodification as strong.

OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .205loppés. I would n't dare to be tooexplicit with regard to the writing prose ;themanuscript is so incorrect that I can notthen say if the shocking faults of whichheis marred does not hide some forms faded orpre-written. The truth isthat I have recognizedplus four, which I report in note (1) ;but these shapesare entirely made features, and they belonghas the same influence asthosewhich will make out, for example,

in the Lotus of the good law. However, they do not seem to me to be numerous enough, nor important enough, to mark the Karanda vyûha's place among the Buddhist works to which the mixed of Pali and the Sanskrit gives a character so recognizable and. If, as other indices that will be raised all at the time we self-resent to the belief, the Karanda in prose belongs not to the preaching even of Çâkyamuni, these forms, which are moreover few in number, lose a great deal of their importance; and if they are shown in a book that other characters away from the category of Sutras primitive, it is only by influence that has been exerted on the author of this book the reading of the treatises where similar forms are employed almost on every line. At the same time that the style of poetic Karanda is that of the Puranas, the exterior shape and the frame of the work also recall the compositions Indian than I am to quote. Here, as in the Purânas, the story does not present itself to the reader directly and without preamble; it does not happen to him contrary to what is done by means of narrators many, that he holds one on the other; and it is only after having crossed these intermediaries that one arrives until Çâkyamuni, the primitive narrator, or rather the sacred revealer. It is here one of the most important features that distinguish the poem from the writing in prose. The latter begins as all the Sutras: "Here is what has been understood by me: One day Blessed be found in the great city of Çrâ-" Vasti, in Djêtavana, in the garden Anâtha pindika, with a large assem-" Wheat of Religious, with twelve hundred and fifty religious and many of " Bôdhisattvas, etc. " I conclude from this difference that the poem is posted in laughter at the Sutra in prose; because although nothing teaches us the reasons which have committed the narrator to make precede the Sutra properly said by these two dialogues between Açôka and Upagupta on the one hand, and Djayaçrî and Djinaçrî on the other, the addition of all this imitated device of the tradition is even more easier to understand than it would be the entrenchment of these dialogues, if they (1) Here are the only traces of faded shapes that I have encountered in the Karaijya vyûha in prose: sântahpura parivârêhi in place of parivârâih, f. '20 a; paramânuradjasya instead of rad-jasah, f. 23 a; djîvanta for djîvan ^ f. 25 b; vichkaihbbhim (name clean), the location of vichkambhi-nam, { . H b.

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204 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY would have had a real existence. We do not know anything yet, he is true, of Djayaçrî nor of Djinaçrî, the last narrators of the poem; but we have already been remarked that the king Açôka and wise Upagupta, which are very celebrated in the tradition of the North, have lived long after Śâkyamuni. I add even though by announcing the apparition future of perverse religious, who must, three hundred years after Çâkyamuni, altering the purity of the law, our poem makes a prediction whose effect is to be seen in a tempo when the Buddhism was on its decline. The drafting, moreover, is neither simple enough, nor sufficiently clear of all mythological development, so that the square the rank of books custodians of the tradition of the older. The saint Avalôkitêçvara, at the praise which he has been written, is, and that I have shown above, entirely quite unknown to the writers of the sūtras and primitive legends. He is needed as much of the magic formula of six letters, which is nothing else than the phrase so often quoted, Oiii mani padmê hum ! This formula, which does not give our poem, but who will read two times in the writing in prose, is everything in fact foreign to Sutras primitive. The presence of this singular phrase, whose existence is linked so intimately, as the Tibetans, to that of their Saint Avalôkitêçvara, is an indication of the same order as the development of this mythological system, founded on the assumption a Ruddha intangible

and pri-mordial, which I mentioned above. All this clearly distinguishes the Karandavyūha, not only primitive sūtras, but even developed sūtras; and yet the argument I draw today from these various elements, to establish the posteriority from this poem towards the monuments of the literature Buddhist examined so far, does not present itself in this moment with all the strength that should receive more later in the comparison that I account to of the Sanskrit collection from the North with the Pali collection from the South. The manner in which the author of Karandavyūha was appropriate the legend onto the first settlement of Indians on the island by Simhala, previously named Tāmradvīpa or Tāmraparnā, is still a sign that the writing in prose itself is modern. The Sinhalese legend the Mahavamsa there is modified in a purpose purely special and quite ridiculous, the one to do pass the leader of Indian emigrants, Simhala, for an ancient form of Çākya muni, and to exalt the power supernatural Avalokiteśvara of which are concealed under the appearance of a horse in order for them to save. If this childish legend was old and common to all the schools of Buddhism it would end up without any doubt in the Mahavamsa, this precious collection from traditions Sinhalese. But although the details of arrival from the Indian Simhala on the coast of Tāmraparnā be, in the collection Singaporean aforementioned, mixed with

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM. - Some fables, their set however still present, of eyes of an impartial reader, most of characters likelihood that the story of Karandavyūha. In the rest, what that is age of this composition, its anteriority to the poem does not seem to me less sufficiently established. The shape of the two works only in it only for decide the question; but it is a sure there a kind of evidence that only addresses that small number of per-ring to which the two original texts are available. By comparing these two works, we remain intimately convinced that the Karandavyūha in prose is the germ of Karandavyūha in verse. I could still produce in favor of my feeling the argument provided by the mention that the poem made of Adibuddha, this supreme Buddha, invention of the theistic school, of which we do not find of record that in the treated to which other clues force us to assign a modern date, and that Gsoma de Cōrôs has reason to believe after the tenth century of our era (1). As the writing in prose does speak of Adibuddha, while he is positively named in the drafting in verse, we could say that the first is earlier than the other. But it would be a tie too much of value to an argument negative; and besides the from-creation of body of Avalokiteśvara, that the wording in prose given in the same terms that the poem is a caractère assez mythologique to do suppose that the notion of a divine Buddha and supreme, indispensable complement thinkable of the Theistic Pantheon of Buddhists, was also well in the thought from the author of Karanda in prose than in that of the author of Karanda in verse. I will add again, in favor of my opinion on the anteriority of the edit in prose, she is to my knowledge the only one of the two which has been translated picked up by the performers Tibetan to which we owe the Kah-gyur. The version Tibetan, he would be essential to consult, if he became necessary to translate the Karanda, is located in the volume even that contains the translation of the Lotus of the Good Law (2). The names of the translators that are indicated to the FM of this versions are Sakya prabha and Ratna rakchita; but nothing tells us the precise date of these two authors; and like the translations the Kah-gyur have been executed, according to Gsoma, the VII^e in XIII^e century (3), it is in the interval included between the year 600 and the year 1200 of our era it should place the version of the Karandavyūha in prose. The text

Sanskrit is necessarily (1) Analysis of the Sher-chin, etc., in *Asiat. Researches*, t. XX, p. 488. (2) Csoma, Analysis of the Sher-chin, etc., in *an Asian. Uesearches*, t. XX, p. 440. (3) Analysis of the Dul-va, in *Asiat. Res.*, T. XX, p. 42.

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206 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY ment prior to this last limit ;but we can neither affirm nor deny that he the either to the first. As to there writing in verse, or it existed before the viii ^century, or it was not composed until after the thirteenth. If we want what had existed before the year 600, he must recognize that she did n't have enough of authority to be admitted into the collection of the Kali-gyur, where have however took up many works, the age of which can be justly disputed. If she was only composed after the thirteenth century, it goes without saying that she could not be included in a collection that passes for having been arrested in a big way part around this time. I admit that if the presence in the Kah-gyur of a tra-duction of Karandavyuha in prose is a proof certain that the original without-crit existed before the thirteenth century, and even a fairly strong presumption that he had was written before the VU®, it is that the Kah-gyur does not contain to release the Karanda poetic is for me a positive proof of the posteriority of this Writing regard to the first, and a presumption of great weight in favor of the opinion which tends to represent the Karanda in verse like more modern than the xiii ^century. I add, to finish, that in opinion of Mr. Hodgson (1), the Karanda vyûha is one of the books that belongs to its own to Nepal. This author can not explain, he True, on the issue of knowing if should be understood here as the work in prose or the work in verse, but the quotes he in fact allow me to believe he has for the poem. Assertion of Mr. Hodgson fits perfectly with the induction exposed in the discus-previous edition. I incline strongly to the regular order as founded ;and soon at disappear the difficulties that arose and the existence of a book too modern among the Nepalese sources of Buddhism, and the absence of a La-Tibetan duction of this poem. The Karanda vyûha in verse is no longer a book Canonical, is to hand a book written horsde India later At the time when the Buddhism was driven out of his native land. I believed that this point deserved to be discussed with some attention not to cause the value of the book en lui himself, but to show with the help of what clues we can recognize if a given work is or is not old and authentic. Hence important to sum up in few of words the results of this long discussion. Starting from the description of the sûtras, such that the tradition we had preserved and such that the can do after the two sutras that I translated, like specimens of this kind of treaties, I sought to establish :1 ° That there are two kinds of sûtras which differ from each other in this way (1) Sketch of Buddhism., In *Transact. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, t. II, p. 250.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .206 ^form as by the background, know :the Sûtras that I call simple, and the Sure that the Nepalese themselves, in agreement with our manuscripts, call developed ;2 ** That this difference, marked by modifications important in the doctrine, announces that these two kinds of sûtras have been drafted to the two different questions ;30 What the Sûtras simple are more ancient than the Sûtras developed, also sometimes called Sûtras serving as a large vehicle, that is to say that they are closer to the preaching of Çakyamuni ;40 That between the simple Sûtras, he still need distinguish them which remind of events contemporaries of Çakyamuni, and those which tell the facts or cite the obvious characters posterior At the time of the founding of Buddhism ;5 ^ Finally, as all

the works that carry the title of Sutra will have not, by that alone, be stowed right in the three categories preceding ones, namely in the two classes of the simple sutras, and in the class of Sutras developed, but that there are still more modern sūtras, notably sūtras in verse, which do not have that cash to other amplifications of Sutras in prose, more or older.

SECTION III. VINAYA OR DISCIPLINE. • By giving, at the beginning of this memoir, the general description of the Nepalese collection, I said we could not find its class of books carrying the general name of Vinaya or of Discipline, as it is having that of Sutra, and I have made see that it was the Avadānas, or legends, which represented the Vinaya, or the second category of Buddhist scriptures. I have then showed the striking analogy that exists between the Sutras and the Avadānas, treated which do not differ the one of other than by a formula of little import; and a Celtic analogy I felt even quite strong to allow me to draw indiscriminately my examples in the Avadānas and in the Sutras, when I had to describe the state of the society in the midst of which Çākya appeared. What I have said of the sūtras in the previous section applies so

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208 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY. exactly to the Avadānas; they have Avadānas which do not speak of Sakyas and of its first followers; these are undoubtedly the oldest of all, for the bottom at least; here in has that the narrative of events related to Buddha mix up the names of characters who have lived that long after him, like that of Açōka, for example, and even of kings much later than this monarch. There are some finally who are written in verse and who, similar to Gunakaranda vyūha, that I analyzed everything in time, will have that amplification fairly modern works or only more or less ancient traditions. ^ An other analogy that approximates the avadānas sūtras, is that the discipline there is not more dogmatically exposed than is in the sūtras the morality and metaphysics. It's there, I hardly need of the state, a consequent sequence of analogies that I come from report. If the moral and metaphysics are not systematically presented in the sūtras, it is that these treatises date back to a time when these two elements of all religion had not yet acquired their entire plenitude, or to the mean in a way more general, it is that they reproduce the teaching fiber and varied from Çākya, who preached but did not profess. And if the discipline is not more regularly formulated in the Avadānas, it is that these treaties are of the same time as the sūtras, and that Çākya, to establish a point of discipline, not be imposed, could more than to the moral and the metaphysical, the walk severe of an educational exhibition. It would therefore also be difficult to trace from the reading of avadānas the full picture of the discipline Buddhist, that he is to extract from the Sutras one system absolutely regular of philosophy and of moral. The Buddhist monks have been engaging with success in a work of this kind, not only because they had many works that were lacking, but still because the discipline involved to formulate was living in the midst of them, and that the practice, which is good as an authority, supplied the to silent or in the dark words of the Master. But we who do not have the same resources, we must be satisfied to note, extent that they are present, the point the most important the system that for-maint of Religious followers of There is a regularly organized body. It is this that I tried to do in the course of the readings which I will pre-fer here the summary, bringing together the most general features of the organization to which were submitted the Religious of the time of Sakyas and of its pre-miers disciples. To be doing Religious Buddhist, he was enough, and that I have said

above, of feeling of the faith in the Buddha and of him declaring the form will be of the to follow. So the Buddha was shaving the hair and beard of

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .209 neophyte, who took for clothing a kind of tunic and a cloak formed to shreds rapiécetés and dyed in yellow, and that was usually put under the direction of an older religious who took charge of his education . Cornin the beginning of the preaching of Gâkya, and when the number of his disciples was small , it was he who directly instructed the neophyte; and the captions are full of. stories which include the Brahmins and the mar-chands, which will present themselves to the Buddha, he made their statement religious, and to receive the knowledge of truths moral and metaphysics, very few , who formed the part essential of the doctrine.

This education fruited usually pretty fast so that those to whom he addressed immediately cross the degrees which separate ordinary mannaire of the most accomplished Religious . In the sects animated by the spirit of pros-lytism, it must go fast ; also the captions offer us on each page the proof that the faith was on the first disciples of Śâkyamuni more for-ment even as his teaching. A side of these conversions operated by Śâkyamuni it in spots others who don't are accomplished only with the help an intermediary, which is a Religious, or only a famous man by his favorable provisions Towith regard to the Buddha. These various methods are found exhibited in the legend of Pûrna ; and I prefer to represent them here in their true form than to make a dry analysis of this legend. I will therefore translate this story to which I have already made more than one allusion, and which seems to me to offer a good specimen of a Avadâna. LEGEND OF PÛRNA (1)." Blessed be found at Gravaslî, to Djêtavana, in the garden of Antha piii-dika. Now at that time resided in the city of Surpâraka (2) a master of (1) Man. Soc. Asian., F.12 a; from my manuscript f.14 a. Bkah-hgijur, sect. Hdul-va, t.khaor II, p. 37-69. Asian girl. Res., T.XX, p. 61. (2) The legend does not precisely determine the situation of this town; she us only learns that it was a seaport , since we embarked there to make experiments. distant editions , probably as far as the islands of the Indian Archipelago. She places it at a distance of more than a hundred Yôdjanas from Çrâvastî, which we seek with Wilson not far from Fyzabad. This statement tells us nothing good positive; we know that there are several evaluations of the Yôdjana, of which the first two would give , one nine hundred miles, and the other five hundred English miles for one hundred Indian Yôdjanas . The Buddhist books of the Singhalese con-this city is also born ; the Mahâvaihsa the names Syppâraka Patana, and indicated as a point where Vidjaya, the founder of the Sinhalese civilization , landed during his trip

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210 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY house, named Bhava, wealthy, having great wealth, enjoying a great fortune, having a large and extended entourage , capable to struggle with opulence of Vâiçrava (1). He chooses a woman from a family equal to the his ; then he have fun with it, with her he is delivered to the pleasure and at the voluptuousness. When he was entertained themselves with it, his wife became pregnant at about 'unsome time. She gave birth to the term of eight to nine months and put the world a son. Three times seven or twenty and one day after childbirth, we celebrated in a brilliant way the celebration of the birth, and we took care of him give a name. What name will the child have? [said the father.] The parent répondi-rent: This child is the son of the master of the house Bhava; he is called Bha-vila. Bhavila was therefore the name he received. ((The

master house is entertained with new avecsa woman; with her heirs delivered to the pleasure and to the pleasure, and in had a second son, to which we gave the name of Bhavatrâta. He in was still a third son, who received the name of Bhavanandin." However, at the end of some years, the master of the house Bhava fell ill. Erased it is left carry away with words of an extreme violence it began to be neglected by his wife and by his very children. He had a young slave; this girl fit the following reflection: My master has, by a hundred kinds of means, amassed abundant riches; he here aujour-from yesterday sick, and his abandoned by his wife and by his children; he would not not convenable que me as my going to abandon my master. It is made so with a doctor and said to him: Lord, do you know Bhava the master of House? - I the know; what should be done for him? - He it is occurred a disease of such and such a species, and his neglected by his wife and by his children same; show me a remedy for his ailment. The doctor continued: Young girl, you tell me that he is neglected by his wife and by his children; who so will take care of him? The young girl replied: It's me that it will care. But that's enough; sea to Ceylon.

{Mahâvamsa, ch. \ i, p. 46. Tarnour, *ibid*. Index, p. 25.) Vidjaya was from country of Banga (Bengal), from where he had been hunted: it was therefore in the Bay of Bengal that he you have to look for the town of Sûrpâraka, in Svppâraka Pali. I do not hesitate to identify this name with the *imnîpa* of Ptolemy, whom M. Gosselin believed, by very ingenious calculations, to be able to recognize in the modern Sipel, on one of the mouths of the Krichîja. {Rech. on the geography of *ibid*, t. 111, p. 253.) Perhaps this is to place a little low the city named Sippâra by Ptolemy; but the denominations agree very well, and if one has no objections against the identification of Sippâra and Sipel, we do not have more against the rapprochement that I propose between the Greek Sippâra and the Pali Sippura; the final ka doesn't matter enough to be counted here. 11 does not need to remark routes which Ptolemy borrowed its materials had transcribed this name in its popular form. (1) It is one of the Brahmanic names of Kuvera, the God of riches.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .214 tell me about drugs that not cost cheap (4). The doctor him indicated what was necessary, in saying: Here is the right medicine for the sick. The young girl, taking some "thing about his personal provisions and making some thefts in the house of his master, was put to the treatment. Bhava returned to the health and made this reflection: I have been neglected by my fertility and by my very children; if I live, I have to this young girl; he be that I express my gratitude to my slave for this service. He said thus: Young girl, I have been abandoned by my wife and by my children themselves; all this that I of life, I the have in your care; I want to give you a gift. The young daughter replied: Master, if you are satisfied, agree to trade with me. - Why, says the master, desire that I have trade with you? I give you five hundred Kârçhâpanas, and I set you free (21). The young girl replied: Son of my master, when I should live yet longer (3) I do would never than a slave; but if the son of my master has trade with me, I stop to be a slave immediately. Seeing that the determination of the young girl was irrevocable, the master of the house him answered: When you are in these seasons suitable, you will let me know. At the end of some time the jeune girl having had her months, warns her master that she was in the suitable season. Bhava the master of the house therefore had commerce with her, and she became pregnant. Gold from the day where she conceived, all the companies and all the affairs of Bhava the master of the house succeeded perfectly." At

the end of eight or nine months the slave put to the world a son, beautiful, nice to see, lovely, with the skin white and skin color of gold; his head had the form of an umbrella; his arms were long, his forehead wide, his eyebrows gathered, his nose prominent. The day where this child came to the world, the enterprises and business of Bhava the master house managed a way extra-ordinary. The parent is being assembled at the end of three times seven or twenty and a (1) I translate a lesson which the Tibetan version makes suppose the existence : *alpamûlydnibhâichadjyâni* because this release makes so this way : "of drugs to good market. » Our two manuscripts read *asya meulyâni bhâkhadjyâni vyapadiça*, which means : " indicate to me for" Him of drugs precious. » I do not hesitate to prefer the Tibetan version, especially since "^^ (^ alpa has been very easily be confused with AEF ^ asya. (2) The five hundred Kârçhâpanas, at the rate of 1 gram 375 milligrams of copper the kar-châpaia, represent about 28 francs 45 centimes. (3) The manuscript of the Asiatic Society said with a little more than words : *Dûram api param apigaivâ dâsyêvâham*. "Let me go even further, even I also do 'm a slave. » My manuscript reads only *DURAM API gatvâ*, " when I should go much further. » The Tibetan version starting perhaps from an original where we read *duraw apîpdram ^ aitJd*, these last two words meaning : " Having crossed the shore ; » Because this version thus conceived : *Bdag rgyangs bkumpar mtchhis*, seems mean : " When I should only die from here for a long time. "It is in this sense that I have translated, but by following the lesson of my manuscript.

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212 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY days celebrated in a brilliant way the feast of the birth of the child, and gave him the name of Pûrna (The Accomplished). The little one Pûrna was entrusted to eight nurses, who were charged two to two of him to the care of a particu-bind, so much that he quickly believed, like a lotus in the middle of a lake. When he had grown up, we made him learn to write, Arithmetic, the accounts, the palmistry, what concerns the shares, lesj pledges and deposits, the art of judging the fabrics, the land, the precious stones, of trees, of elephants, horses, young people, young girls, of the eight objects, in a word, in appreciation of which he became skillful, talkative, wise and practitioner experimented. "Then Bhava the master of the house successively married Bhavila and his two other sons. These young people, in love of a passion excessive for their women engaged in inaction and no thought was to adorn their persons. This is why Bhava the master of the house, holding his head in his hands, was ceaselessly absorbed in his thoughts. His son get noticed and he said: Why, dear father, do you keep your head between your hands, absorbed in your thoughts?

Bhava answered : My children, I did not get married before having amassed a Lak of Suvarnas (1d; but you who despise work, you have for your wives one excessive passion, and you're thinking that you parry. When I am dead, the house will be filled with misery; how then not would I not be absorbed in my thoughts? € Bhavila wearing the pendant earrings diamond; he detached, and replacing the rings in drink it pronounced this wish : I don't will carry more dependents ears of diamond that I have not won a Lak of Suvarnas. The second son, in doing so, took of pendant ear of lacquer, and the third in took lead. The names of Bhavila, of Bhavatrâta and of Bhava-nandin they wore ceased to be in use and were replaced by those of Dârûkarnin, Stavakarnin and Trapukarnin (2). Having gathered the mar- (1) The comments that I laites in a note spéciale on the value of the silver Purâna also apply to the gold currency known as Snavarna, literally gold. In here

evaluation after Colebrooke. 11 five Kriohnalas or black seeds of *Vabrus pectoratus* are needed to make one Mâcha of gold, and sixteen Mâchas to make a Suvarpa. {Asian girl. Res., T.V, p. 93, ed. In-S ".) Or the Krichnala worth 2 ~English troy grains, the golden Mâcha, which is equal to five Krichnalas, is exactly 10 i ^ troy grains. Sixteen Mâchas making a Suvaria, this last coin equals 175 English troy grains, that is to say 11.375 grammes, which makes 35 fr. 26 cent, and a very light fraction. Now, as a Lak (in Sanskrit lakhd) equals one hundred thousand, the Lak of Suvarias comes down to 3,526,200. That is, in the Buddhist legends, the figure of immense fortune. See still other evaluations from Wilson. {Hindu Theater, t. I, p. 47, note *.) (2) These three names mean respectively : "who has pendant earrings of wood, of lacquer, lead. "

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .213 candles, they left for the great ocean. Purna then said : my father, I also want to go to the great ocean ! But Bhava answered him : You are not yet than a child, O my son ; stay here ; take care of business of the store. Purna remained so to the house. "However its brothers came back, bringing their healthy vessel and except. After having rested the hardships of trip, they said to Bhava : Evaluate, dear father, our goods. the father fitevaluation, and here found that he returned to each unLak of Suvarnas. Purna had also led the business of the house with order and probity; also, had he amassed more of a Lak of Suvarnas. If ELANT so prostrated off feet from his father, he said to him : Evaluate, O my father, the amount of it that I have won in the shop. Bhava replied : You stayed here, my child; what is there to evaluate for you?

Purna answered: Always evaluate, O my father ; we know well that in is. The father made the evaluation ; and besides the values in Suvarnas, product of ordinary gain, we found even in excess of a Lak. Bhava the master of the house, full of satisfaction and of joy, is set to consider : It is distinguished, if it is, and has the magnitude (1), the being who, without being sortid'ici, has won as many gold. "However he came a time when Bhava came to weaken ; he fit then this reflection ; When I am dead, my children will divide ; he must find some means [to prevent their disunity]. He they said so : My children, bring of wood. When the wood was brought : Put it on fire, they said he ; and they put it there. Bhava they said then : Let each of you remove the embers ; they the all withdrew, and the fire was extinguished. Bhava they said then : Have you understood, my children ? - Yes dear father, we got it. Bhava immediately recited the next stanza : "It is united that the coals burn ; in the same way the union of the brothers makes their strength ; and like the coals too, it is in itself separating that they go out. {})) The expression used here in the text is, as far as I can believe, specially proper in Buddhist Sanskrit. It is punya mahêçâkhyâ, term formed of the meeting punya and of mahêçûkhyâ, which is often found alone, and which is the opposite of 'alpêçâkhyâ. This last term is explained by the way following in the comment of Abhidharmakośa : Alpêçâkhyâ anudarô hînadjâlîya ity arthah ; ichia itîçah ; alpa îçô alpêçah ; alpêça ity âkhyâ yasya, sô 'Ipêçâkhyah, viparyayât mahêçûkhyah. (F. 202 of my manuscript.) That is : "Alpêçâkhyâ means whoa is not noble, which is of a low extraction ; ka is synonymous with icha (desired) ; gathered at" the adjective alpa, it means little desired, and with âkhyâ (name) there form the compound alpêçâkhyâ, that is "To- say that that the name is somewhat desired. We say in the opposite sense mahêçâkhyâ, or the one whose" the name is greatly desired. » Perhaps we would arrive more directly and more quickly at the real meaning, keeping in Ica the

meaning of master, and in explaining and these two words : "The one who has"the name of a master of little, or of a great master. "

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244INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY" When I am dead, my children, he will require not écoutervos women ;in fact, the family is divided by the women ;the things confused divide(sedistinguished) by the words ;a spell cast wrongly is destroyed ;the pleasure is destroyed by the greed." The sons withdrew ;Rhavila was left alone with Rhâva who said to him :my son, never abandon Pûrna, because it is a man who is made to know as distinguished and as having the magnitude. {Everything that is amassed ends up being destroyed; what is high ends up to fall ;which is united ends by themselves dissolve ;what lives ends up dying." After having thus spoken, Rhava undergoes the law of time. His sons saring a litter of blue, yellow, red and white fabrics , the carried at the cemetery in great pomp, and y consumed his body at the stake. When then their grief began to dissipate, they are saying :From the time that our father lived, we were subject to his authority ;but if Now we give up to business, the house will fall in decline ;she born will be more flourishing. Why do n't we take goods , and won't we go not in foreign country ? Purna they said then :If it is so, I also go with you. His brothers answered him :Rather stay here for the business from the shop ;we will go alone. They gathered thus the goods and left for one another country. Pûrna, to whom all affairs had been entrusted , kept the House. It is a rule that in the homes of rich people , what is necessary for the expenditure of the day is distributed [every evil one]. The wives of the brothers [who had left] sent their maids to fetch the ar-gent of the expense. But Purna was surrounded by people rich, to chiefs of trades of leaders merchants, and other people who lived in their trade ;so the maids could not find the moment [to approach her]. When those who surrounded himself were raised and qu'ds were gone, Purna gave the maids the money needed for the day. These not returned that very late at of their mistresses, who reproached them. But the girl sheirtold in detail (I) what had happened, and added: Thus it in happens to those in the family where the son of a slave exerts his will the commandment. The wife of Rhavila said to his servant :It takes that you spying on(1) The word that I translate by in detail is in the text vistarêna. This term is used , in Buddhist Sanskrit , each time we shorten a discourse or an enumeration of which the terms are known from the above. For in to understand the job, it should therefore, in place of the translation literal with wide, use a form like this one, for the say in a nutshell. This is because basically this phrase means : " We repeat here that which is said elsewhere in detail. » The Tibetan version fills the ellipse and resumes the narrative in there adding some expressions that are missing in my two manuscripts. " Puma, surrounded by people rich, to chiefs of trades.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM . '215 the time suitable to go [look what me back]. This one having watched the moment suitable, is made from Purna and received very fast [that who him was coming back]. The other girls were always wasting their time waiting ;they questioned the first servant, who they told how she was doing. So they left with her, and then received as quickly as the first this that was theirs . So their mistresses asked them :Where does that you come back now so quickly? The maids answered :You must this happiness to your elder sister-in-law ;his maid receives what him come back as soon as she arrives ;so we always go with it. The two sisters said with a feeling of jealousy :It is as well as heit comes to those in whose family the son a slave shall exercise

its discretion on commandmentingly." However, when a some time is was passed, Bhavila, Bhavatrâta and Bhavanandin, still together and living in perfect intelligence, came back of great Ocean by bringing their ship safe and sound. Bhavila asked to his wife: Have you been treated honorably by Pûrna? She answered: As per a brother or through a son. The other women, questioned by their husbands, answered them: This is how it comes to those in the family from which the son of a slave exercises at his will the commandment. The two brothers made this reflection: The women sow the division between the friends. "In process of time, we exhibited in the fabric shop of Benares; To hardly were these fabrics exposed, as the son of Bhavila came to there enter. Purna gave to this child a couple pieces of these fabrics for he covered himself with it. The other women they saw; they sent their children [To the shop]. However, it is had exposed the fabrics Varanasi and the fabrics a coarse fabric. The chance wanted that when children came, it was from these last that Pûrna clothed them. The two mothers said to their husbands: See! some of the fabrics of Benares are given; is in giving to others a coarse fabric. The two brothers replied with this observation: How? 'Or' What could this have been done? We had certainly exhibited in the shop for fabrics Varanasi and the fabrics a fabric rough (1)." A different time we exposed of sugar in the shop. The lady Bhavila "of heads of merchants and other people who live in their trade, sits, shining a "splendor that matches the brightness of the sun. This is when those who surrounded himself were raised and they" Were gone, that we have given it that we came back. " At rest, the release Tibetan contains still other additions which did not seem to me to be important enough to be introduced in the story. (1) The Tibetan version adds: "It can not be an oversight. "

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216 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY there came and in full took a vase. The other two mothers having seen it, sent their children. The chance would they should come to the point where in the molasses was exposed in the shop; also is it of the molasses they took. Their mothers noticed this, and they annoyed their husbands so much that they began to cry to think to make the sharing of the establishment. The two brothers had between them of interviews this topic: We are milked wrong in everything, they said to each other; he must do the sharing. One said: Let us warn our elder brother; the other answer-dait: Let however how we will do the sharing. They divided therefore the establishment at their discretion: to one what the house contains and what what does the land produce; on the other this that contains the store, and the goods located outside the country; at the third Pûrna. If our elder takes the house and land, we will be able to subsist with the shop and with the goods located outside the country. If, on the contrary, he takes the store and the goods located outside the country, we will still be able to subsist with the house and land, and keep Pûrna [for make it work (1)]. "After having surrendered to of such interviews, they be surrendered near Bhavila. Brother, him they said, we are made wrong; execute the share of the House. Bhavilaleur says: It is only necessary to act after having thought carefully; the women cause the division of families. The two brothers replied: We are there have thought enough; do the share. Bhavila resumed: If he is so, call the people of our caste [as arbitrators (2)]. We have already done ourselves the sharing, he told his two brothers; we have assigned to one it contained the house and that that produce the land; to another the shop and property located outside of the country; at the third Pûrna. Do n't you do go to Pûrna? said Bhavila. He is the son of a slave, replied the two brothers; could he give a hand? On the contrary even, we have made of him a object

ofshare; if it the appropriate, you can the take. Bhavila fitsothis reflection :My father told me :Give up, if hetheshould,all your good, andtake Pūrna ;then having resolved to keep this last, hesaid to his brothers :That heeither so ;I take Pūrna for myself . Whoever had the house and the land is(1) I thus conjecturally translate thesentence of the text which seems obscure to me : Pūmkasyatcha maryādā bandhanam kariṃ, "and Pūn.iam intra cohibere limits . "The Tibetan translates : " And make Pūnia suffer . " (2) This is a conjecture that I translate as well [āhvayanlārftkulāni; Tibetan uses of the formerpression gzo-bo mi-lta, which perhaps means " the meeting of the craftsmen. " The artisans heremustto be the cast of merchants to which belonged the sons of Bhava. The way the broader ofMla is that of family, troop ; but this effect will be to determine that by the context. Thereby,in the Mrīch tchhakatī, we see a religious Buddhist appointed to the dignity of chief of monasticland of Udjain; and this dignity is called that of Kulapati, that is to say " the chief of the troops ofReligious. » {Mrīch tchhakatī, p. 342, ed. Hold. Wilson, Hindu Theater, t. I, p. 179, note ^.)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .217should render in all haste to the house and said :Woman of my older brother get out of here.She went out,andthebrother added :You won't come in here anymore . - AndWhy?-It's that we have made the sharing. The one who had the shop and the property locatedout ofcountries is made in any hurry to the store and said :Pūrna, come down.Pūrna came down, and the brother added :You will not go upmore here.- Why ?- It's that wehave made the sharing our good."But the wife of Bhavila be retired, as well as Purna, in the houseof aparent. Sesenfants were hungry, is set tocry. The mother then saysin Pūrna :Give to these children their first meal. Give me oneKārchāpana,resumed Pūrna. How, saidthemother, you who have suggested so many Laks toSuvarnas, you do n't even have onefirst meal to give to these children !Is thisthat I knew, continued Pūriia, that your house was going to be divided in this way ?If I had known, I would n't have missed taking severalLaks of Suvarnas.It is the use that the women attach to the end of their garment of kar-brazen chapanas(I). The mother gave to Purna a Machaka brazen and he said:Go find something to make the first meal.Pūrn.a taking the piece of money,is returned to the market. There itfound a man who, wearinga load of woodjetty by the sea on the edge of theshore, had beenseized by the cold and went awayall shaking. Pūrna saw him and asked him :Hey !friend, why are you trembling?The man continued :I do n't know ;only, hardly had I loaded this far-of water on my shoulders, that I myself amfelt in this state.Pūrna, who wasexpert to recognize the woods, began to consider that that was the man ,, andrecognized that it was the wood of sandalwood of the species named Gôçircha (2).He saysthen to the bearer :iVmi, for what pricewould you give this piece of wood ? Forfive hundred Kārchāpanas, he continued (3).Pūrna took his charge from him for this price ;and having carried it away, heget went to the market and to cut with a saw fourparts. Hethethen sold a thousand Kārchāpanas (4) to a buyer whoinwould make of the powder fragrant. Out of these thousand Kārchāpanas, heremittedfive hundredtocarrier, andhesaid to him :The wife of Bhavila resides in asuch house ;go take him this piece of wood andtell him :That's as Purna(1) It is in here from the Sanskrit text and the Tibetan version a discrepancy it must be noted; toplace of : " Of the Kārchāpanas of brass, "theTibetan says : "false Māchakas. » This version hasI benefit from being more consistent ; because ifthese are the Māchakas that the women attach tothe end of their garment, it is natural for the mother to give one of these pieces to Pūrna;

It however did not want to change anything in the wording of the Sanskrit text, because it indicates the metal coarse from which the room was formed, (2) Literally "head of cow." » See a note on this denomination at the end of this volume, Appendix No. V. (3) That is to say for about 28 francs 45 centimes. (4) Around 56 francs 90 centimes.

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218 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY send you. The man went to the woman of Bhavila, and told him that what had happened. When she struck the chest, she cried: "After having lost this fortune, would he have also lost the reason? I heard to bring some cooked thing, and it is what sends me to the fire; but what to cook is what he does not give. However, with what he remained of Kârcîâpanas, Purna was acquired two slaves of the one and of the other sex, a beef and a cow, clothing and other means of subsistence; then taking the cooked rice, it was surrendered to the home and served his brother and to his wife. The family in was filled with joy." At some time in there, the king of Sûrpâraka fell ill with a fever. Doctors prescribed him for medicine the sandal of the species known as Gôçîrcha. The ministers of the king set so to pick up the sandal of this species. They learned step by step what had happened at the market. Having traveled in Purna, they heard him say: "You have the wood of sandalwood from the species we called Gôçîrcha." - Yes, he replied. - At what price it would you give? - For a thousand Kârchâpanas. The ministers took for this sum. It was given to the king in the form of ointment, and he recovered the health (1). The king then made this reflection: "What is a king than the one in the house from which here there is not of sandalwood from the Gôçîrcha species? Then he asked: "Where does this one come from? - From home Purna. - That we call this Purna. A messenger was dispatched to the merchant and said to him: "Purna, the king asks you. Purna is started then to think about: "Why is he said, the King he calls me? This is undoubtedly because he owes his healing to sandalwood Gôçîrcha that I did call; he must that I go to find, in carrying all my sandalwood with me. So wrapping three pieces of sandalwood in his garment, and taking one in his hand, he is made in the presence of the king. This one he asked, Purna, are you still of sandalwood? - Yes, sir, in here. - What price do you want? - A Lak from Suvarnas. - As did you even more? - 0) The opinion expressed here concerning the cooling properties of sandalwood was very general. LEMENT prevalent in the early days of Buddhism, and legends by offering frequent testimonials. When the king Adjâtaçatru fell without knowledge of the story of the death of Çâkyâ-provided, that is with the sandalwood that he made regain his senses. (Csoma, *Asiat. Res.*, T. XX, p. 310.) A Tibetan legend translated from Mongolian by M. Schmidt, and relating to the discovery of a statue of Avalôkîçvara, expresses the same belief in this way: "The places where to find trees of sandalwood are noted for their freshness; the elephants are looking for them and" Come to take refuge there against the consuming heat of the sun." (Schmidt, *Geschichie der Ost-Mongolian*, p. 332.) The ancient authors who will be busy with the botany of India also mention of this belief, which still exists today. (Rumphius, *Herbar. Amboinense*, t. II, p. 45, ed. Burman. Garcias ab Horto, *Aromat.*, l. I, vs. xvii.) We know in fact that the quality refreshing the sandalwood is for the poets Brahmanical a subject comparisons frequently employed; it suffices for me to recall here a few well-known verses from Gita gôvinda.

OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .219 Yes, lord, resumed Pūrna, and he showed him the three other pieces. The king ordered to his ministers to rely on Purna four Lakhs of Suvarnas. Pūrna resumed : Do me do give than three, Lord ; one of the four pieces is offered in hereto the king. We did it gave so that three Lakhs ; but the king said to him : Pūrna, I am happy ; tell me, what favor can I give you ? If the King is pleased with me, said Purna, he promises me that I will live to shelter of any insult in his domain. The king immediately ordered the following to his ministers : You will give, to From today, your orders to all the young people, except at ^ ūrna." However five hundred merchants landed at Sūrpāraka, returning from a trip on the great Ocean and bringing their ship safe and sound . The body of negotia) its [of the city] agreed to this settlement : He must always remain united, and none of us will has to separate from the others to go find only the mar-chands [newly arrived]. If someone is going, he will pay [as a fine] sixty Kārchāpanas, and the body of traders reunited will seize the merchant-say. Some said : warn Purna [of this arrangement]. Others said : To what good warn this wretch ?" In this time Purna was out of his house. He learned that five hundred merchants had arrived to Sūrpāraka, back from a trip on the big Ocean, bringing their ship safe and sound . Without back in the city, he returned to them and they said : Lords, what is this object ? The merchants answered him : It is such and such and such a thing. - What is the price ? The mar ^ chands answered him : Head of merchants, it is to you, who are gone away and in foreign country , that he you have to ask for the price. - It can be ; however say always your price. The merchants fixed the price to eighteen Lakhs of Suvarnas. Pūrna resumed : Lords take to deposit cestois Lakhs, and give me these goods ; I you will pay the stay [when I am returned to town]. It is agreed, said the strangers. So he gave the three Lakhs that he had brought ; and after leaving [on the goods] imprint of its stamp, he went away . ft The body of trader the city then sent from domestic workers, responsible for recognize the goods [strangers]. These men having returned to them, said to them : What is this object ? - It is such and such thing. - We also we have attics and the shops full of [merchandise]. - That they are full or empty, this is sold. - To whom ? - In Pūrna. - You will lose big with Pūrna ; we are bidding on it. The merchants continued : You do not give even for full price that he has given for deposit. - What did he give ? - Three Lakhs of Suvarnas. The

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220 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY two brothers [in hearing these words] felt full of envy. They is REN-said to of the corps of traders and told them what had happened. The goods are sold. - To whom ? - In Pūrna. - They will lose big with Pūrna ; we are bidding on it. - You do not give the same for price around what he has given to the deposit. - What did he give ? - Three Lakhs of Suvarnas. All, Ace story, felt full of envy. They did to call Pūrna and said to him : The body of traders is agreed to this settlement : Nobody should go buy only the goods ^ otherwise the body traders will seize the object purchased. Why did you go shopping alone ? Lords, said Purna, when you have stopped this settlement you, me have vous prévenu, me or my brother ? You have made this order between you alone ; therefore observe it alone also. But the merchants, full of envy, the stood exposed to the heat of the sun, for the force to pay sixty Kārchāpanas. The ^ ens of the king saw what was happening and came to tell him again . That we do come these traders, said the king. When they were arrived, the king they said : For what right hold on Pūrna exposed to ardor ; from the sun ? Lords, answer they said, the body of merchants is agreed the settlement following : Anybody not should go buy only the goods ; it there is ,

however, went alone. Pūrna then said : King, deign their request if, when they have stopped their regulation, they in have warned me or my brother. No, they have not been pre-come, continued the merchants. The king then said : Pūrna speaks well. Also the merchants full of shame, they relaxed. "At some time in there, he happened that the king had besoinjd'un certain object. He called the body of traders and they said : Merchants I need of such object ; get it for me. It's Purna which the owns, said the merchants. I have nothing to order from Pūrna, resumed the King; it's up to you to buy him this object, then after you me it will provide. They sent accordingly a mes-Wise to Pūrna to tell him : Pūrna, the body of traders desire stalk to you . Pūrna replied : I wo n't go . The traders having all met in body, is went to the house of Purna, and is holding to its door, they sent him a messenger to tell him : Come out, Pūrna ; the body of traders is at your doorstep. So Pūrna, who is felt proud, went out, proud not to do that this he wanted to. the body of traders him then said : Head of merchants, give-us your merchandise at price that you have purchased. I would be a skilled mar-chand, resumed Pūrna, if I gave my merchandise for the price that she has me cost! Give us the double, said the merchants; the negotiating body of merchants is respected. Pūrna reflects : The body of traders is honorable ; jfr they give to this price. Purna them therefore abandoned its goods for the

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .221 double what he had it purchased. Then bearing to foreigners fifteen Laks, he huddled the rest in his house. 11 fit then this reflection : Is it possible to fill a vase with a drop of dew ? Hebe that I embarked me on the great Ocean. So he proclaimed at the sound of a bell in the city by Sûrpâra the following : Listen, merchants of Sûrpâra : Purna the head of the merchants will embark on the great ocean. That one of you who wants to embark with Pūrna, under the guarantee of a complete tax exemption , tax input and of passage price for his merchandise, prepare this he intended to this trip on the Grand Océan. To this news five hundred merchants ras-seemed the goods they intended for this trip. So Pūrna the Head of merchants, after having called on his enterprise the blessings and the for the sky embarked on the great Ocean, with this suite of five hundred traders. He then returned, bringing his ship safe and sound , and re-com threatened his travels up to six times. Also this noise is he spilled on all sides : That Purna who was embedded six times on the great ocean, and that has brought every time his vaisseau Sainet exception. "Merchants of Qravastî having gathered a cargo, came a day at Sûrpâra. When they have relaxed fatigue of travel, they are returned the place where was Purna the chief of the merchants, and being there arrived, they him said : Head of merchants, let's embark on the big one Ocean. Purna them said : Have you ever seen, [lords, or have you heard quote a man who, after being returned six times of the great Ocean, by bringing his ship safe and sound , has embarked a seventh time? It's for you Pūrna, they continued, that we are coming from a distant country . If read not getting yourself into not, you alone in 're responsible." Pūrna then made this reflection : I have no need of riches for myself ; however I will embark for the sake of those people. He went therefore with them on the great Ocean. These merchants the night and in the morning, read in high voice the hymns, the prayers that lead to the other shore, the texts that discover the Indeed, the stanzas of Sthaviras, those that are related to various science, those of solitaires, as well as the sūtras containing sections relating to temporal interests . Purna, who 's heard, they said : Lords, what are these beautiful poems that you sing? - Supper are not of poems, chef des mar-chands ; these are the Buddha's own words . Purna, who had never

heard pronounce this until the name of Buddha, felt his hairs rise on all his body, and he asked for full respect: 'Lords, who is it that you name Buddha?' The merchants replied: 'The Gramana Gautama, born of the family of the Çâkyas, who after having shaved his hair and beard, after having put on

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222 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY clothes yellow color, has left his home with a faith perfect to enter in life religious, and which is managed to the supreme state of Rudder perfectly accomplished, it is there, O chief of the merchants, one that we call the Rudder. -In what place, lords, is he now? - A Çrâvastî, head of merchants, in the woods of Djêtavana, in the garden of Anâtha pindika." Purna having engraved these words in his heart, sailed on the great ocean with these men of Cravasti, and returned in bringing his ship safe and sound. His brother Rhavila then made this reflection: 'Purna is tired of traveling on the great ocean; he must get married. He therefore said to him: 'Tell me, my brother, to what man rich, or of what chief of merchants will I ask for the girl for you? I do not want the pleasures of the senses, resumed Purna; but if you give me your permission, I will embrace the religious life. How? 'Or' What?' resumes Rhavila, when there was nothing in the house, you did not think of embracing religious life; why there would enter you today [when you are rich]? That do not talk to me did not come then, said Purna; now that looks good to me. Rhavila seeing by there that his resolve was unshakeable, gave him his authorization. Purna tells him then: 'My brother, the great Ocean has many miseries and few sweets; many there embark, but little in return; do you there embark never under no pretext. You have great riches which have been earned honestly; but the fortune of your brothers is the well unjustly acquired. If they ever come to tell you: 'Let's live together it be their answer: No.'" After he had given this advice, he took a servant and set out for Çrâvastî. When there arrived, he stopped in the garden and sent his messenger to Anathapindika the master of the house. The messenger having presented himself before the master, said to him: 'Purna the chief merchant is in the garden, eager to see you the master of the house. Anathapindika made this reflection: 'It is undoubtedly that, tired of his maritime shipments, it now makes land trips. Then he asked the messenger: 'How is considerable the cargo he has made?' - 'He is indeed goods! He is coming only with me, who am his Servitor. Anathapindika then made this reflection: 'He would not be good for me not to receive in my house, with the honors of hospitality, a man of this importance. Purna was therefore introduced with a large pomp; he is perfumed, they gave him the bath, they offered him a meal. While they are conversing - are born of pleasant propos, Anathapindika fit to Purna the following question: 'Head of merchants, what is the purpose of your trip?' - 'I suddenly wanted, O master of the house, embrace the religious life under the discipline of the Law which is well renowned; I desire the investiture and the rank of Religious. So Anathapindika the master of the house, straightening the upper part of her body stretch

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .223 ing the arm right, uttered these words with emphasis on the joy: 'Ah Buddha! ah the law! ah the Assembly! Whether your reputation is well spread, for qu'au-Jour d'hui a man of Celtic importance leaving the crowd large of his friends and of his people, as well as its rich stores, wants to embrace the life religious under the discipline of the well-known Law, and asks for the investiture and the rank of Beligieux! Then Anathapindika the master of the house, taking with him Purna, are made

in place which was located Bhagavat."Now, at this time Bhagavat, seated in the presence of an assembly made up of several hundred of Religious, taught the Law. He saw Anâthapindika the master of the house, who came forward with the present [that he intended] ;and when he had seen it, he spoke of again in these terms to Religious :Here, O Religious, Anathapindika the master of the house, who comes forward with a here. Here there is not for the Tathâgata of present as pleasant as that which is given to him in him-nant a man to be converted. Then Anâthapindika the master of the house having welcomed by the touching of the head the feet of Bhagavat, is placed to side with Purna the head of merchants ;then of the place where he was he addressed himself to Bhagavat :Here is Purna the chief of the merchants, who wishes to embrace the religious life. Religious under the discipline of the well- renowned Law , and who asks for the investiture and the rank of Religious. Well wishes, by compassion pour him oh Bhagavat, to admit and receive him as a Religious. Bhagavat received with his silence the words of Anâtha pindika the master of the house (1). Then he addressed and to Purna the Head of merchants :Approach, O Religious, embrace her life here Religious. Bhagavat did was not more pronounced these words that Purna was found shaved, clad in the religious mantle , and that provided with pot the alms and the vessel which the end is the beak of a bird, having a beard and a hair seven days, he appeared with the decent exterior of a Religious who would have received the investiture since hundred years. Approach, said the Tathagata to him again ;and Purna shaved, covered with coat religious feeling the truths bring the calm in all its senses, held standing, then sat down, with the permission of the Buddha. ((At the end of some time the venerable Purna is returned to the place where is found Bhagavat; and when he arrived, having welcomed by the touching of the head the feet of the blessed, it is held in hand and spoke to him in these terms :that Bhagavat consents to teach me the law in abridged, for after having in-outstretched thus from the mouth of Bhagavat, I may, live alone, withdrawn to a place (1) The text is "ert hereof a Buddhist expression : Adhivâsayati Bhagavân Andthapinda-Dasya gnhatâtês tûchnîbhâvênaj following Tibetan : a No word no fat granted by Bhagavat“ To the master of the house Anâtha piijada." This expression is no less familiar to Buddhists South who use the pale. (Tumor, Mahâvanso ^ p. 6, 1.9 and pass.)

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2.24 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY r desert, to the shelter of distraction, attentive, applied and collected mind. When I will have lived withdrawn in the loneliness, to the shelter of any distraction, attentive, applied and the collected spirit, may I, after having recognized immediately by me-even after have seen face to face this goal supreme of the religious life, which is that the sons of family shaving their hair and their beards and donning clothes yellow, leaving the house with a faith perfect and embrace the life of beggars ;may I, said I, after receiving the nomination, make the others the old religious! The birth is annihilated for me; I have fulfilled the de-Also see beyond religious life; I have done this that I do; i do n't know other state than the one where I am located." Having said that, Bhagavat thus spoke to the respectable Purna :Good, good, Purna ;he is good that thou hast said, as you come to the do :May Bhagavat consent to teach me the Fa by abbreviated, up to :I don't know of any other state than that where I am . Listen, O Purna, and engrave well and completely in your spirit this that I say. He exists, O Purna, the shapes made to be seen by the view forms who are desired, sought after, loved, who are lovely, who give rise to the passion that excites the desires. If a

Religious, at the sight of these forms in is met, in the research, it feels to the inclination for them, if he takes pleasure in it, then the result of these various movements is he has the pleasure. As soon as the pleasure exists, immediately appears with the pleasure the satisfaction of the heart. From that with the pleasure is the satisfaction of the heart, immediately seems the passion. When with pleasure is the passion soon appears with them the enjoyment. The Religious, O Pūrna, who feels the fun, passion and the enjoyment is told very distant of Nirvana. There are, O Pūrna, sounds made to be perceived by hearing, the smell made to be perceived by smell, flavors made for be perceived by the taste of touches made to be perceived by the body laws (or conditions) made to be perceived by the Manas (the heart or organ internal), all attributes which are desired, sought after, loved, which are lovely, which create the passion (Just excite desires. If a religious, sending these attributes, as is satisfied, and thus to result as above, it is very far from Nirvana. On the other hand, O Pūrna, here there are forms made to be perceived by the views, forms that are desired, sought, loved, which are lovely, who give rise to the passion that excite the desires. If a Religious, at the sight of these forms, is not satisfied, if he does the research not, if only to sent pass of inclination for them, if he does it delights not, then the result is it has not to pleasure. When the fun does not exist, then there is neither the content, nor the his-tisfaction the heart. When here there is no contentment or satisfaction of the heart, the passion does not exist not. When there are no passion, the enjoyment does not exist.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .225 .When the enjoyment exists not, the Religious, O Purna, who not feeling or pleasure, no passion, or joy, is said to be very close of Nirvana. He exists, O Pūrna, the sounds made to be perceived by the ear, the smell made to be by odor, flavors made to be by the taste of touches made to be by the body of laws made to be by the Manas, all attributes that are desired, wanted, loved, which are lovely, that are born of passion that excite them desires. If a religious, seeing these attributes do is not satisfied, it is very close to Nirvana(i)." For this exhibition, O Purna, I come to you educate a way abridged. Or do you now want to live? Where do you want to fix your stay? - Through this exhibition, Lord, said Purna, Bhagavat comes to instruct me a way abridged ; I want to live, I want to fix my stay in the country of Çrônâparântakas (2). They are violent, O Pūrna, the men of the rônâparânta ; they are carried away, cruel, anger, furious, insolent. When the men of the Çrônâparânta, oh Pūrna, will address you in the face of mean, rude and insolent, when they are in anger against you and qu'ilst'injurieront, what will you think of that? - If the men of the Çrônâparânta, lord, address me in front of words nasty, rude and insolent, if they are put in anger against me and they insult me, here's this that I think about it of that : These are certainly the men good as the Çrônâparântakas, what are the men gentle, them who address me in front of the words mean, rude and insolent, them who is get angry with me and who curse me , but who don't me strike neither of the hand nor to blow stones.- They are violent, O Pūrna, the men from Çrônâparânta, [etc. as above, up to:] they are insolent. If the men of the Çrônâparânta hit you with the hand or with blows (1) I have completed the translation of this passage from the Tibetan version . The Sanskrit text of two manuscripts that I have under the eyes is counterfeit of Aire: pūrvavat çu Mapakchê, what that means : To as above, in the favorable scenario. "(2) This people's name is made up of two words : one is Aparânta, which means " country located on " The border, but in short, "as opposed to Parânta, "countries located on the other side of the" frontier. " This sense has been well

established by Wilson. {Vichnu purâna, p. 189, note 60.) Wilford quote, from the Varaha Samhita of Aparântikas, which are placed in the west, without others more precise designation. {Asian girl. Researches, t. VIII, p. 339, ed. Cale.) The other word, forming the ethnicity of our text, is Çrôna, which I do not remember having seen quoted so far as a name of people. I do find that Croni, given to a river which the course is not indicated. {Vichnu purâna, p. 185, note 80.) We meet the term of Aparanta city in the most ancient Buddhist monuments, especially in the so-called Açôka inscriptions {Journ. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, t. VII, p. 244 and 267), and in the Mahâvamsa (ch. XII, p. 73, ed. in-4 "). Mr. Wilson has Rap-Near the name of Aparanta the Aparitoe Herodotus, including the position also does not bienpré-decidedly determined. The Sundparânta term exists in the geography barmane, but it is a name imitated from India. 15

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226 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY of stones, what will you think of that? - If the men from Çrônâparânta, oh Lord, hit me of the hand or in shots stones, here it that I think about it of that : This is certainly the men good as the Çrônâparântakas, these are gentle men, they who strike me of the hand or in shots stones, but who do n't hit me neither with the staff nor with the sword. - They are violent, O Pûrna, the men of Çrônâparânta, [etc. as above, up to:] they are insolent. Yes the men of Çrônâparânta tekno the stick or by the sword, that will you think of that? - If the men of rônâparânta, O lord, strike me the stick or by the sword, here this that I think about it of that : This is certainly the men good as the Çrônâparântakas, these are men soft, them that I knock the stick or by the sword, but who do I deny not completely in the life. - They are violent, O Pûrna, the men of Çrônâparânta, [etc. like above, until :] they are insolent. If the men from Çrônâparânta te completely deprive of life, what will you think of that? - If the men the Çrônâparânta, O Lord, I deprived completely of life, here it that I will think of that. It is the Listeners Bhagavat that, because of this body filled with garbage, are tormented, covered in confusion, despised, beaten sword blows, which take poison, which die of torture of the rope, that are thrown in the precipices. They are certainly good men the Çrônâparântakas, they are gentle men, they who deliver me with a little pain of this full body garbage. - Good, good, Pûrna ; you can, with the perfection of patience that you are good at, yes you can live, fix your stay in the country of Çrônâparântakas. Go, Pûrna ; delivered, delivered ; arrived at the other side, do it get the others ; consoled, console ; managed to Nirvana complete, make the others happen ." Then the respectable Pûrna, having welcomed with assent and pleasure the words of Bhagavat, bowed to his feet in the touching of the head, and left the place where he was ; then when the night was at its end, Pûrna having dressed in beginning of day and having taken his vessel and his coat, entered in Çravastî to collect the alms. When he had gone through Çrâvastî in this purpose, he finished his meals ; then then he stopped to eat and to collect the alms in his vase. Having then put away what he had, his bed and his seat, and having taken his alms vase with his garment, he headed to the country from Çrônâparântakas and ends with them coming. Having dressed at the beginning of the day, and having taken his vase, he entered into Çrônâparânta to collect the alms." Now a hunter holding his bow in his hand was going out at this moment to go chase away the antelope. He saw Pûrna and made this reflection : It is an object of bad

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .227 omen that this śramana shaved that I come to see. Then having reflected thus, he bent his bow with all his might, and ran towards the place where

Pûrna was .As soon as the venerable Purna the saw, he threw his robe higher and he said :You whose the face announces the goodness, I 've to accomplish this difficult sacrifice ;knock here. And he recited this stanza : " This fmfor which thebirds cross thetunes,for which theanimals wild fall in the traps, for which the men perishincessantly in the fighting, struck by thearrow or by the spear towich the unfortunate hungry fish devour the iron hook ;this end,it is for her thatmidst of this crowd of sins that produced the belly lcome here from far away." The hunter, hearing thesewords, made this reflection :Here is a men-god blessed with great perfectionofpatience ;why the I kill? * This PenSée her inspiration from sentimentsde benevolence. This is whyPûrna taught him theLaw ;hetaught him the formulas of refuge and the preceptsof teaching. And heforma still five hundred novices of one and of the other sex ;he was raising fivehundred Vihâras, and put beds there by hundreds ,the seats ofcarpet,the cushionsdecorated with figures, and square pedestals . Finally, after three months, the chas-sister lives face to face with the collection that contains the three sciences, and hebecame aArhat. So receiving the name of "He who is freed from the passions of the threeworlds, " hebecame of those whom the Devas, accompanied by Indra and Upêndra,respect,honor and greet." However littleof time had elapsed, and thefortune of the two brothers ofDârukarnin had diminished, had diminished, had been dispelled. So they wentevery two say [to their eldest]: NowWhat came out of our house one wholooks like Kâlakarnin (1),come,let's all live together . So what is ,replied Bhavila, the one who looks like Kâlakarnin ? It is Pûrna, they continued.This is the prosperity even that is out of my house, said Bhavila; it is nota man wholooks like Kâlakarnin. - Let it be prosperityor Kâlakar-nin, little matter ;come,andlet's live together . Bhavilareplied: Yourfortune has been unfairly won, the mine has been honest ;no, I do n't livewo n't shut up withyou. It isthis son of a slave, resumed the two brothers, whoTostrength to navigate on thegreat ocean has earned the fortune which you yourself lowing(1)This name of Kâlakarnin is a contemptuous epithet given by the last two sonsof Bhava in Pûrija thesonof the slave. As the brothers were named after their counterpartsears, which were of wood, to lead and to lacquer ^ to inflict Purna a name of evilomen, they call it " The one who ala death during ear. " That's why the brother elderwhich it defends, responds that contrary PûriiD is the prosperity same.

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228INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYto enjoy. Where would you have taken thecourage to embark yourself on thebigOcean ?"These words stung the self-esteem ofBhavila and he inspired thisreflection: I will also embark on the great Ocean. The things are passedlike hehas been said above, until finally itembarked on thebigOcean, and that his ship was driven by the wind towards the forest which produces thewood of sandalwood ofthe species known as Gôçîrcha (1). The pilotthen said :Here, lords,the place known as thename of Forest sandal ofthe species known as Gôçîrcha; Go for ittake the product they are located.4 Now, in thistime the wood of sandalwoodGôçîrcha wasa possession ofMahêçvara theYakcha (2). The Yakchas had left by this time to bereturn to their assembly. This is why the merchants began to slaughterthe forest with five hundred axes. The Yakcha named Apriya livesthese axes whichfelled the timber ;and having acknowledged the fact, hewent to the place whence was theYakcha Mahêçvara ;and when hethere was arrive, hespoke to himin these terms :here isthat that should know thechief. Five hundred axes cut down theforest of sandalwoodGôçîrcha ;doing now that that you must do, or what hesuits you to do.ThentheYakcha Mahêçvara, afterhaving dismissed the

assembly, lifted a black hurricane and terrible, and left to the place where was located the forest of sandalwood. Listen, cried the pilot, O you merchants of Djambudvîpa: here is what we call a black and terrible hurricane. What do you say about this? To these words, the frightened, frightened, beaten merchants of terror, smelling their hairs bristling all over their body, began to invoke the Gods: you Çiva, Varuna, Kuvêra, Çakra, Brahmâ, and you chiefs of the Asuras, of the Mahôragas, (1) It is possible that this place is the island designated by the English charts in the name of Sandalwood Island (Island of the wood of sandalwood), located by 10° latitude north and 120° longitude is of Greenwich, or better still Timor, an island known for the large quantity of sandalwood exported now for Java and for the China. (Ritter, Erdkunde, t. V, p. 816.) It is important, however, to note that, as the sandalwood which he is here matter is certainly the best, and that the first quality of this wood will be found that in the mountains Malaya, and we are learning the legends North (Schmidt, Geschichte der Ost-Mongolian, p. 332), which are in complete agreement with the testimony of naturalists, it may be we should not go looking so far the place where our navigators stop to collect the Gôçircha tchanduna. Who knows if it is not not just by traveling along the coast of Malabar, and a shipping on the land the Wynad or Coduga? (2) The Yakchas under the protection of which the legend up the forest of sandalwood, may be the wild inhabitants of the Island of sandalwood. These islanders of all time treated as enemies the browsers that their trade the chance brought on their coasts, and Walter Hamilton learns that the Dutch, to the beginning of our century, lost the possession of this island, because they were cutting the trees of sandalwood. The inhabitants, convinced that each of these trees was tied to the existence of one of their own, rose up against the Dutch merchants and drove them from the island. (East India Gazetteer, t. II, p. 500.)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .229 of Yakchas, the Danavas, we here fell in the danger the more redoubtable. Ah! may those who are safe from danger today be our protectors! "Some invoke the bridegroom of Çatchî, other Brahmâ, other Hari and Çamkara, rushing against the ground, taking refuge near trees and in the forest; these unfortunate people, carried away by the wind and by the Piçatchas, implore the help [of the Gods]," However Dârukarnin was motionless of discouragement; the passengers hid: Head of dealers we here fell in a hazard formidable and to which he is hard to escape. Why do you stay so deep in the discouragement? Lords, he continued, my brother warned me, in saying: The great ocean has little enjoyments and many miseries; well of people, blinded by the greed, it embarked, but few in return. Ouch care to do you embark, under any pretense that it is, on the great Ocean. Without keep account of his words, I myself am said: Hebe that I embarked me, and I myself am embedded in it; what can I therefore do now? Who is your brother? said the merchants, "Purna," said their chief. Lords, cried the merchants is that Purna. Similarly, the Arya, one which possesses the magnitude and the virtue; let us hasten to implore his help. And immediately all with one voice unanimously, made it clear at the same time this prayer: Adoration at Purna the Arya! Adoration, adoration in Purna the Arya! So the Deities who were favorable to respectable Purna is rendered in place where it be found; and when they there were arrived, they addressed themselves to him in these terms: Arya, your brother is dropped in a formidable danger and to which he is difficult to escape; think about it. Purna is set to reflect; and he is delivered to a meditation

such, that as soon as his thought there was diving, he disappeared from country of Çrônâparântakas, and is found in the middle of the great ocean, sitting the legs crossed on the edge of vessel. Immediately the black storm subsided, as if she would have been arrested by the Sumêru. So Mahêçvara the Yakcha is set to consider :Once a ship, whoever he was, who was assailed by a black girl storm was launched and destroyed, similar to a cotton wick ;but today what is the cause for which the dark storm subsides, as if was she stopped by the Sumêru ? He began therefore to look aside and else, until at last he saw the respectable Purna sitting the legs crossed on the edge of the vessel ;and when he had seen it, he shouted at him :Oh ! Pûrna Arya, why are you braving me ? you which are subject to the requirement of the old age, said Purna, is it me that you brave ? It's rather you who insult me. If I had n't acquired the crowd of qualities that I have, he will remain more, thanks to you, from my brother that

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230 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY vain name. Mahêçvara the Yakcha answered him :This forest of sandalwood Gôçîrcha, O respectable, is reserved for a king Tchakravartin. Which do you think that is the better, resumed Pûrna, of a king Tchakravartin, or a perfectly Tathâgata and completely Buddha ? Could it be, O Arya, that Bhagavat was born in the world ? If he is so, that this who was not not accomplished either ! So the merchants covering the life that was on the spot of the drop, after having directed with faith their thoughts on the respectable Pûrna, filled their vessel with sandal of the species Gôçîrcha, and resumed their journey. They finally returned to the town of Sûrpâraka. " There the respectable Pûrna said to his brother :All this must come back to the one at the name which ton vaisseau has been brought healthy and except ;so share these gems among the merchants ;me, with this sandalwood, I will build for use of Bhagavat a palace adorned with garlands of wood of sandalwood. The older brother made accordingly the sharing of its jewels between the merchants ;then the respectable Purna is set to make build a Vihara with the wood of sandalwood. Having so called the architects, they said :Which do you prefer, lords, of receive per day five hundred Kârçhâpanas, or one Karcha of sandalwood powder Gôçîrcha (1) ? We prefer a Karcha of powder of sandalwood, answered the architects. The palace decorated with garlands of wood of sandalwood was completed in very little time. The king then said [to the architects] :Here is a beautiful palace (2). We cleaned the building in all its parts. The splinters of sandalwood (3) [that had not employed], and what was left of the powder [that we had done], was pounded and given in the Vihâra, to serve as an ointment." However the brothers had finished by will ask forgiveness the some toothers. [Purna their say:] It must that you take your meals, after to have invited the Buddha, the Assembly of Religious and the other [worthy characters] (1) The Tibetan, in place of a Karcha, said phosum-khangj " full three Pho; » But the name of this last measure is found neither in Csoma nor in Schmidt. Could this be the abbreviation of mol phon, " package? " What he in any case, as a Karcha equal 16 machas which everyone is five Krîchnalas, or 10 jf English troy grains, the Karcha represents 175 troy grains, that is to say 11.375 French grams. We can see by then what price is attached to the wood of sandalwood, since the architects preferred to receive a little more than eleven grams of it than an equivalent sum approximately at 28 fr. 45 cents. In assuming the two payments to some near equal, the gram of sandalwood would have been worth 2 francs 50 centimes. (2) This sentence is missing in the Tibetan version, and it could be that it was an interpolation due to the

copyist, who will have taken, a few lines below, the words rādjakathayati bhavanta / iṣṭbhanam. However, as this sentence is found in my two manuscripts, I do not believe have to omit it.(3) The text uses a word that I have not seen elsewhere, yat silent samkalikā. The meaning of this term is thus expressed by the Tibetan version :jogs in-na-ma, which means Fulani-ur < the rubbish that was there . "

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .231 of respect].- Where is the Blessed, O Arya ?- In Ārāvastī.- At what distance from here ? - A little more than a hundred Yōdjanas.- In this case let's invite the king.- Yes, do so. The brothers therefore went to the presence of the king ;and after having inclined the head before him, they spoke to him in these terms :Lord, we desire to have our meal, after having invited the Buddha, the Assembly of Religious and the other characters [worthy of respect]. May the king deign to honor us with his presence. That's good, said the king;so be it, I will be with you." Then the respectable Pūrṇa being mounted on the top of the building, the face turned on the side of Djetavana, put to earth the two knees ;and after having thrown the flowers, burning of incense, he fit to hold the vase by a servant of gold that is held in a bird's beak , and he is set to pronounce the prayer next :((you, that the conduct is perfectly pure, whose intelligence is by quite pure too ;you that, at the time of taking your repast, did not in view that the need, throwing a glance surceases being private protector, testify their your compassion, o be excellent, and come here." Immediately, thanks to the own power of the Buddha and to that of the Divinities, these flowers are turning into a canopy were brought to Djetavana and went to it to place to their rank ;the offered incense appeared there in the form of a big cloud, and the escaping water of the naked form of needles of lapis lazuli. the respectable Ananda, who was clever to recognize the signs, clasping the hands in sign of respect, addressed this question to Bhagavat :From what place, oh Bhagavat, comes this invitation ? - From the city of Sūrpāraka, ô Ananda. -At what distance from here, sir, is the city of Sūrpāraka ? - A little more of a hundred Yōdjanas, O Ananda. Let's go, resumed this last.- So announced the Religious the following :May those of you who want to surrender tomorrow to the city of Sūrpāraka for there to his meal takes his wand (1). Yes,(1) The text uses the word ṣalākā ^ " luster of wood thin. " The Tibetan version translates this word by tshul-tching, which I do not find in our lexicons, but which, by substituting ching for tching, would mean " the tree of the rule. " Nothing indicates that he must understand by the wand that distributes here to Religious :only a way that the legend puts more down in the mouth of Sakya shows that the names as the wand of Tchaitya; but in this passage, expression tchaitya ṣalākā (wand of monument) should perhaps be translated "wand taken" to a consecrated tree, " or more generally still, "religious wand . » The Buddhists from the South fortunately come here to our aid, and MM. Turnour and Clough teach us we called ṣalākā of small chips of bamboo serving of tickets for those which were distributed in alms. The name of the Religious was inscribed on these small sticks, which were then thrown into a vase and drawn at random :one of which the strip out the first received the first alms. (Turnour, Mahāvanso, Index, page 22. Clough, Singhal. Dict. j t. II, p. 719.)

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232 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Lord, resumed Ananda to express his assent to Rhagavat; and having taken a wand, he is kept standing \ ing him. Rhagavat and the Religious who were Sthavira among the Sthavira into each one too." By this time

the respectable Pūrṇa, the Sthavira of Kundopadhāna (1), who was freed by the science, was sitting in the Assembly. He will put so able to take as a wand ; but the respectable Ananda he spoke this stanza : " It is not, oh respectable, in the abode of the king of Kōçala, nor in the house of Sudjāta, nor in the Mrīgāra palace that we owe take the meal. The city of Sūrparaka is far from here to more than a hundred Yōdjanas ; it's through the means supernatural that must go there ; guard so the silence, O Pūrṇa. V Pūrṇa, who was freed by the science, had done until then no miracle which attested to his supernatural power . So this reflection he came to the mind : I who rejected, pushed back, abandoned, drove the crowd completely full of corruption, would I therefore unable to make use of a power supernatural that is common among the Tīrthikas ? Developing accordingly his energy and unfolding his supernatural power , he stretched out a similar arm as the trunk of an elephant, to reach up to the place of the third Sthavira [sitting in front of him], which Ananda gave no wand, and he took one himself; then he pronounced this stanza : " It is neither by the fame, nor by the knowledge nor by the qualities of the greatness, nor by energetic desires that we get in this world, oh Gau-tama, the possession of the six supernatural knowledge . Of beings like me, of beings perfect, in that age has consumed the youth get these connais-sessions by the energy of the quietude of the moral of the wisdom, and by the various energies of the contemplation. " So Rhagavat addressed the Religious thus : The one who is the leader among my Religious is the first to take the wand of the Tchāitya (2) which belongs to me on my Auditors. This is why, between those which take it is the (1) I consider the word Kuwlōpadhūnyaka, epithet of this Punia (which was not that of the legend), as an ethnic intended for the distinguish Pūrṇa from the other . I do not know where to find the place so named ; the elements of this proper name are kwuja (water source) and upadhāna (or upadhānyā), which usually means couasin, pillow, and which, according to the etymology, must ex-to give precedence in a very general manner to all that sustains and supports. If, as I think ^Kundōpadhāna is a name of place, it must mean "the country that contains sources. >The Tibetan version favors this interpretation, since it translates the epithet kmdopadhānyaka by yul tchhu-mig-tchan-na gnas-pa; which means ,if I am not mistaken, " residing in the country which it contains sources. » In the Tibetan version of the story of Sumāgadhā, this word is simply transcribed in this way : Km da ud pa da na.(2) See . above, p. 231, note 1.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .233 Sthavira Pūrṇa of Kundopadhāna

which is the first. Next Bhagavat addressed himself to the respectable Ananda : Go, Ananda, and tell the Religious : Born you have I not said, O Religious, that you should live by hiding your good works and in showing your sins ? As for you, O Tīrthikas, inhabit this city ; so that each of you, O Religious, making use of the kind of supernatural means that he owns, is transported in the city of Sūrparaka for you take his meal. Yes, lord, replied the respectable Ananda. to express his assent to Bhagavat ; then he told the Religious : Here, O respectable, this what said Bhagavat : Do I have you not said, O Religious : that you had to live by hiding your good works ? [and as to result as above, JUSTHAN :] that each of you will transport in the city of Sūrparaka for you take his meal. " However the King of Sūrparaka fit remove from the city the stones, the gravel and garbage ; he fit the spilling water of sandalwood, place the vases of various species in which exquisite perfumes burned , lay out lines to guir-moors made with the fabrics of silk, sowing of various flowers; finally he made a lovely city . Sūrparaka had eighteendoors,

and the king was seventeen years old. He placed one of his sons with a magnificent train at each of these doors. At the main door is held the king of Sûrparaka in the middle of the device of the royal power, accompanied by the respectable Pûrna, Dârûkarnin and the two other brothers.; (However we saw advance, with the help of supernatural means, of the Religious of which the one is used wings, the others were worn by the lions, and others in vases(1). The king said in them seeing: Respectable Pûrna, is it Bhagavat coming forward? Great king, replied Pûrna, they are Religious of which the one is used wings, the others worn by the lions, and others in from vases; it is not again Bhagavat. Then we live advance the Religious who were Sthaviras among the Sthaviras, with the help of many and various perfections of the contemplation they were gifted with. The king repeated again his question: Respectable Pûrna, is it Bhagavat who come forward? Great king, replied Pûrna, it is not Bhagavat, but these are the Religious who are Sthaviras among the Sthaviras. So a certain devotee [to Buddha] at this time pronounced the following stanzas: (1) I translate only according to the etymology these obscure terms of the text: patratchdrika, haritatchârîka and bhâdjanatchârîka. The Tibetan then replaced as: lo-ma-hdri-ma, ching-tshe-hdri-ma, snang-spyad-hdri-ma, "who questions the leaves, the Tshe tree, the lamps?" He is possible that the monosyllable ma which ends each of these expressions is intended to designate of Religious: it is however unlikely after all the text.

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234 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY" Some advance, mounted on beautiful forms of lions, from tigers, elephants, of horses, of snakes, of buffalo; others worn on palaces divine of stones, on mountains, on trees, on painted tanks of various colors and resplendent. Some come forward in the middle of the atmosphere, similar to clouds trimmed with a trail of lightning. They are eager to arrive, to help of their supernatural power, full of joy, as if they were going to the city of the Devas. ((Some spring up from the bosom of the half-open earth; others descend from the top of the atmosphere; finally others miraculously come out of their seats; see the energy of beings endowed with supernatural power!" However Bhagavat having washed his feet outside the monastery, entered in the Vihâra; and having sat on the seat that was it for, it held his perfectly straight body, and brought his memory back to his mind. Next Bhagavat intentionally posed his foot in the hall of perfumes (1), and forthwith the earth shook in six different ways. The great earth stirred and trembled, she was agitated and shaken, she jumped and jumped. The east rose up, the west stooped; the west rose up, the east sank; the twelve o'clock is lifted, the North stooped; the north is lifted, the twelve o'clock humbled; the ends are lifted, the middle sank; the middle is lifted, the ends were lowered." The king accordingly asked the respectable Pûrna: Pûrna the Aria, What is this? Great king, continued Pûrna, Bhagavat comes from pose with intention sound walk in the room of perfumes; this is why the earth has trembled six different ways. Then Bhagavat produced a splendor that had the color of light gold, and whose effect was to give the Jambudvîpa sparkle of gold molten. Opening my eyes in surprise, the King asked for again in Purna: What is this, O Pûrna l'Arya? Great king, resumed Pûrna, it is Bhagavat who produces a splendor that has the color of a golden mirage. "Then Bhagavat, disciplined, with a series of disciplined characters like him; calm, with a series of calm characters like him, accompany (1) I literally translate the compound Gandha kûtl; the Tibetan version replaces this word with dri-gtsang-khang, expression which, according to Csoma ^ means a holy place, a chapel, and which translates literally

"the pure house of smells." > Heit is probable that it is the chapel where one burns of honoring flavors of Buddha, as it takes place a long time in China. (A. Re-musat, Foe koue M, p. 41.) But that which is true of time subsequent to the establishment of worship of Çâkyamuni Buddha is perhaps less accurate for the time when he lived. I guess so that the room named in the Vihâras Gandha kûU was, while Çâkyamuni was alive, the one where he took his lodgings; and I am confirmed in this opinion by the translation given by Clough of this term : "The residence of the Buddha. " {Singh. Dict., T.II, p. 165, col. 2.) After the death of Çâkyamuni, we had to place in the room where he stood usually a statue that he represented, and before that there was burning of perfumes. It is to this room that it is here question.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .235 gné (^ 'a meeting of five hundred Arhats, with his face turned towards Surparaka. So the Deity who inhabited the wood of Djêtavana, taking a branch of Vakula (1), is put in walking behind it for the in house. Bhagavat knows the provisions, the nature and the nature of the Godhead, explained teaching the Law made to give intelligence of the four truths sublime, of such so that this Divinity, as soon as she 's had heard FENing with the lightning of the science the mountain where it is believed see that it is the body that exists, mountain that rises with twenty peaks (2), lives face to face thereward do state from Çrôta âpatti." There resided in a certain place five hundred widowed women ; they saw the blessed Buddha adorned with the thirty-two signs which characterize a big man, and that the members were ready of eighty marks secondary daires, surrounded by a splendor that extended to the distance of a breast stroke spreading a brightness that surpassed that of a thousand suns, like a MONTAGNE of jewels that would be in motion, and having the outside perfectly beautiful. As soon as they saw it, they felt born in them a large well-watchfulness for Bhagavat. In fact, and this is a rule recognized the possession of the tranquility does not cause to the man who } ractical the Yoga for twelve year happiness too perfect, the possession of a child does not give not as much as the who has no son, the sight of a treasure does not procure any as much to one poor, the royal anointing does not give not so much to the one who wants the throne, that does assure the first sight of a Buddha to the being in whom the cause of the accumulation exists. (1) Mimusops elenghi. (2) I have translated as literally, and I should say also vaguely that it me was possible, this obscure expression of the text, that I turned around in many senses before discovering the bit of clarity that I perceive. Here is the original that I give to the readers who would not find better : Vimçati çikhara samudgatam sat Jcâyâ dnçhti çâilam djnâna vad jrênabhittvd. The really difficult term is satkâyâ dnçhti; by the word dnçhti (view) we mean gen-Rally, in the Buddhist style , an erroneous opinion : this must be the proper meaning here , since This is an opinion that the Godhead, instructed by Sakya, contrasts with the lightning of the science. This opinion is that of sat Mya, a term which must mean the existing body , or the meeting of this that exists. A passage from the Abhidharma kôça vyâkhyâ (f.474 b of my man.) Relating to me, that the Buddhists call pudgala, or the person who transmigrates, and they distinguish five immaterial attributes of existence (Skandha), gives me to believe that satkâyâ means the body existing, and that the compound satkâyâ dnçhti comes back to this : " The view that the body is that which < exists, " that is to say, it is the ego which alone exists, since it transmigrates in bodies which perish successively. Following this passage, here are four ways of looking at them, in identifying it more or less completely with one of the

five attributes of existence. So we say : "the form is the ego, or the ego has a form, or the form is the essence of the ego, or the essence of the "I is in the form. " What we say of the form can be repeated four other attributes of existence, of which he will issue more low : to ensure that these four items of views attributed to five attributes of existence form twenty erroneous opinions, the sum of which is compared to a mountain that rises with twenty peaks.

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236 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYlation of the roots of virtue. This is why Bhagavat, recognizing that the time of their conversion had come, sat down, in the presence of the Assembly of Religious, on the seat that was her intended. The widows, after having adored the touching to head the feet of the Blessed One, sat to side. Bhagavat knowing the mind, the provisions, the nature and the nature of these women, they explained the teachingment of the Act as he was said above, so they saw face to face the reward of the state of Crôtaâpatti. As soon as they had seen the truth, they sang three times these actions of thanks : "No, we did not receive, Lord, neither from our mother, nor from our father, nor of a king, nor of the crowd of our parents or those who are dear to us , nor of Deities, neither of those which are dead since long, neither of śramanas, neither of Brahmins, we have not received them, we say, nothing that equals what that is for us Bhagavat. <tThe oceans of blood and tears are withered ; the mountains of bones are crossed; the doors of bad lanes are closed(1); we are established at middle of devas and of men ; we have reached the eminence, to the superiority." We seek a refuge from ' Bhagavat, with the Act, to the Assembly of Religious, with the faithful ; Bhagavat that want well wereceive in quality of disciples. Then having risen from their seats, directing their hands united in sign of respect for the side where Bhagavat was , they spoke to him thus : Ah ! than Bhagavat deign to give us one thing what it is, that we were going to his present the tribute that it is due! So Bhagavat decided by his powerciency surnaturelles a hair and her nails, and they gave. And immediately the widows drew up a Stûpa for the hair and for the nails of Bhagavat. Then the Divinity who lived in the wood of Djêtavana plantain the form of a post, close of this Stûpa (2), the branch of Vakula she was holding in the hand, and said to Bhagavat: And I, Bhagavat, I will make to the Stupa the tributes to him are due ; also she stopped in this place. From there comes that the one NOMment c the Widows Stupa , " and the others "the stupa of pole Vakula " this monument that the monks who worship the buildings erected in Veneto Bhagavat wind still today. (1) The Tibetan version adds : " The doors of emancipation and of heaven are open. ". (2) I literally translate yachtyâm; but Tibetan on the replaced with the two words hkhora-sa, to which Schruter gives the meaning of courtyard, and which literally mean "the earth which in-etoure. " According to this interpretation it would be necessary to translate : " planted in the enclosure which surrounded " the Stûpa. " It is still traces of walls near several Stupas.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .237 Bhagavat then left this place. He met soon a new hermitage, where five hundred Rîchis resided. This hermitage was abundant with flowers in fruit and in water. Intoxicated with the well-being of which they enjoyed, these Rîchis do not were thinking of what that this barrel. Also Bhagavat, recognizing that the time to them convert had arrived, headed toward the hermitage ; and when he was near, he destroyed there by its power supernatural the flowers and the fruit ; he dried up the water, he fit there darken the green and fresh grass, and he overturned the seats. Also the Rîchis,

holding their heads in their hands, remained absorbed in their reflections. But Bhagavat said to them: Why, O great Richis, do you remain so absorbed in your thoughts? - Bhagavat! you did not rather put the foot here, in this land of purity, that we have fallen into the state in which you see us. Why? said Bhagavat. Hermitage, they said, which was full of flowers in fruit and in water, is destroyed; may it again become such as it once was! That he became again as before said Bhagavat; and after he had deployed his powers supernatural, the hermitage became again as it once was. Also the Richis were they hit of extreme astonishment, and they éprouvèrent for Bhagavat of feelings of benevolence. Bhagavat knowing the mind, the provisions, the character and the naturalness of these five hundred Richis, explained to them the teaching of the law, made to give the intelligence of four sublime truths; of such kind that as soon as they heard it, they saw face to face the reward of the state of i \ nâgâmin, and acquired a power supernatural. Then directing their hands gathered in sign of respect of / removed which was located Bhagavat, they him spoke in these terms: May we, lord, get in in the religious life, under the discipline of law which is well known, and to become religious! May we accomplish, in the presence of Bhagavat, the homework of the life D-religious! Bhagavat they said then: Come closer, Religious; embrace the life religious. Bhagavat had not rather pronounced these words, that they found shaved, covered with the coat religious, and that, with the pot for alms and the vase with the extrémitéest in beak of a bird, with a beard and a hair of seven days, they appeared with the decent exterior of Religious who would have received the investiture for a hundred years. Come, they told of new the Tathagata; and shaved, covered mantle religious, feeling at once the calm down in all their senses, they sit in front of him, then sat with the permission of Buddha. After long efforts, after studies and a deep application, these [who acknowledged that that is what the wheel of the transmigrating], which door five brands, [which is at once mobile and motionless; having triumphed of all the ways of existence, in them breaking, in the flipping, in the dissipating, in the destroying,] became of those who are worthy of res-

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 238 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY (4). The Rîchi who had been their master then said: Under this costume, oh Rha-gavat, I have induced in error a large number of people; I will start with them do conceive of the benevolence for you, then I will come then in the religious life." Then Rliagavat, surrounded by his five hundred Rîchis and the five hundred first Religious miers, [who were deployed around him] like the two ends of the crescent of the moon, is put into road by the way of the atmosphere, by virtue of his supernatural power, and soon came to the mountain of Musalaka. Goldat that time resided on this mountain a Rîchi named Vakkalin (2). This Rîchi saw Rhagavat from afar, adorned with the thirty-two signs which characterize a great man, [etc. as above until:] having the exterior perfectly beautiful. A barely had he insight that sent in his heart the feelings of benevolence for Rhagavat. Under the influence of this benevolence he fit the following reflection: If I walked down the top of Celtic mountain, and if I am REN-canopy with Rhagavat for these? Rhagavat, no doubt, will have come here with the intention of converting me. And why don't would I not jump off the top of this mountain? Nothing escapes to the knowledge of the blessed Ruddhas. Rhagavat received the Rîchi for help of its supernatural power; then con-birthing the spirit, the provisions, the nature and the nature of this Rîchi, it him exposed the teaching of the Law; in such a way that after having heard Vakka-Lin saw face to face the reward of the state of Anâgâmin, and

acquired a powersupernatural. Then the Rīchi said to the Happy Nothing: May I, O Rhagavat, enter in life religious, under the discipline of the well- renowned Law ! may I become a Religious ! [etc. as above until:] Rhagavat said to him: Approach, Religious ; and he entered in the religious life, as he has been said more high ; and he sat down with the permission Rhagavat. So Rhagavat addressed the Religious (1) This passage is only expressed in abbreviated form in our two manuscripts of the Divya avadāna, of this way : Idam ēva paṭchagandakam pūrvavad yāvad abhivādyārtcha samvrittāk. It is clear that the words " as above, until, " announce an entrenchment. I have filled the vacuum, for the more high part of the least with the avadāna ṣataka. (Fol. 21 b.) I say for the most large part because that the main proposal that ends this period, " they became " Of those, etc. " is more developed elsewhere , in particular in a passage from the same collection as I quoted previously, Sect. II, p. 117. I do 'm not well sūrde that he must understand by the expression " which bears five marks; » Because here has in the Buddhism lot of categories which are designated by the number five. 11 is here or the five corruptions of evil, pañca klēṣa, which are the sharing of any man entering into the circle of the transmigration ; or the five senses with which man perceives the sensations and performs activities that the condemn to be reborn; or perhaps of five objects of sense or of five sensations that man collects during his journey around the world. (2) This name means " one who wears a garment made of bark. " " It's the Sanskrit term though known vākaline, modified by the popular influence of Pali.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .239 in cesj: ermes : The first of my Religious who have faith and trust in me (1), it is the Religious Vakkalin. " Then Bhagavat surrounded by his thousand Religious reached the city of Sūrpāraka, performing miracles of various kinds. This thought occurred to him then to the mind : Yes I enter through a door, the other will think different [of the one I would have preferred]; why do n't I enter in a miraculous way else? Immediately rising in the air by means of his supernatural power he descended from the sky in the middle of the city of Sūrpāraka. So the king, ruler of the city, the respectable Purna, Dārukarnin, his two brothers, and the seventeen sons of the king, each with their suite, went to the place where he was Bhagavat, and that several hundred of thousands of creatures. Then Bhagavat, escorted by namebreuses hundreds of thousands of living beings, walked to the place where he was high the palace decorated with sandalwood garlands ; and when he there was come, he sat down in front of the Assembly des Religieux, on the seat that was it intended; and the huge crowd of people, who could not see Bhagavat, tried to overthrow the palace decorated with sandalwood. Bhagavat fit then this reflection : If the palace is destroyed, those who have given will destroy their good work; why does the trans- would I not train in a palace of crystal rock ? Bhagavat accordingly in made a palace of crystal (2). So knowing the mind, the provisions, the character and the naturalness of this assembly, Bhagavat expounded the teaching of the Law ; so such so that after having heard hundreds of miles to be alive understood the great distinction ; he there in was that produced the racines of virtue, made to become among the some of the part of postage, at the house of the . other of part of the science, which clearly distinguished. These saw face ^ face the award of the state of Crota āpalti, or de Sakrid ageāmin, or of Anāgāmin ; these came to the state of Arhat by the annihilation of all the corruption the evil. There areas were those who understood that that is what

Intelligence of the Çrâvakas, or that of the Pratyêka Buddhas, or that of a perfect Buddha fully accomplished. Finally this meeting men whole was absorbed in the Buddha, immersed in the Faith, trained in the Assembly." Then Dârûkarnin and his two brothers having prepared a pure way food and the food enjoyable, and having prepared of the seats (3), announced by a message to Bhagavat on time [of the meal]. Here is the hour [midday], (1) The Tibetan version translates : "who are completely freed by the faith" çraddhâvimukta; but our two manuscripts read çraddhâdhimukta : or adhimukti is usually translated into Tibetan by inclination, confidence. (2) The Tibetan version adds : " So that the crowd of people could clearly see the body of the " Buddha. " (3) The Tibetan version adds : " Having placed a vase with water is a precious stone. "

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240 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY O Bhagavat ; the meal is prepared ; that the Blessed deign to consider that the convenient time has come. " At that time Kriçhna and Gâutamaka, kings of the Nâgas, resided in the great Ocean. They made all two of reflection following: Bhagavat teaches the Act in the city die Sûrpâraka: let's go to the hearing. Immediately, accompanied by five hundred Nâgas, they gave birth to five hundred rivers and directed toward the town of Sûrpâraka. Nothing escapes the knowledge of Buddha blessed ; also Bhagavat he said the following reflection : If <ies two kings of Nâgas, Krishna and Gâutamaka, come into the city, they are going to destroy background in height. He therefore addressed himself in these terms to the respectable Maha Mâudgalyâyana : Receive alms quickly collected from the Talhagata (1). Why is that? It is, O Mâha Mâudgalyâyana, may heare five alms quickly collected. And what are they? These are the alms of the one who arrives unexpectedly, alms of the traveler, alms of the sick, alms of the one who cares for the sick, the alms of the guardian [of the Yihâra (2)]. Now in this circumstance Bhagavat thinks knows the guard of the Vihâra. Then accompanied by Mahâ Mâudgalyâyana, he went to the place where is found the two kings of nâgas ; and when he was there come, he they spoke and cTake care, O kings of the Nâgas, that the city of Sûrpâraka not be reversed to fonden height. We have come, lord, in such provision of benevolence, replied the Nâgas, that we is impossible to do harm to any living being, even to an insect, or to an ant, to more strong reason for the crowd of people who live in the city of Sur-paraka. So Bhagavat stated to the two kings of the Nâgas, Kriçhna and Gâutamaka, teaching the Law ; in such a way that after having heard, if refuge with the Buddha, of the Act and of the Assembly, they seized the precepts of teaching. " So Blessed is set to take his meal. Each of the Nâgas made this reflection : Ah ! if Bhagavat drank from my water ! Bhagavat then said to himself : If I drink the water from one of them, the others will think differently [from the one I have prefer]; he be that I have resort to some other way. So Bhagavat addressed himself thus to the respectable Mahâ Mâudgalyâyana : Go, Mâudgalyâyana, to the place where was held the meeting of these five hundred rivers, and reports-in of water full my vase. Yes, replied the respectable Mahâ Mâudgalyâyana pour témoi-to gain assent to Bhagavat ; then is being made at the place where was held the (1) The expression of the text is atyayika pindapâta, which the Tibetan version translates as follows : rings-pahi bsod-shoms, t quick alms . " (Voy. The additions at the end of the volume.) (2) The word which uses the original is upayi-tchârîka, according to the Tibetan, " Beadle, guardian of " Vihâra. "

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .24imeeting of the five hundred rivers, he drew of water in the vase ; then returning to the place⁰¹¹ was Bhagavat, he himself presented the vase full of water. Bhagavat it took and the goal."The respectable MahàMàudgalyâyana fit then this reflection: Le Bienheu-ous has said précédemnt :They do, ôBeligious, a very difficult thing for their child, "iefather and mother that the feed that the amount, which themake grow up, who him give their milk to drink ,which make him seetheshows variety of Djambudvîpa. Suppose, on one side, a son which passes a hundred years whole to wear his mother on her shoulders, or which ensures him pleasure that provide the power and the domination, in him giving all kinds of goods, for example all that the great earth contains of jewels, of pearls of lapis lazuli, conch, of crystal, of coralsilver, gold, emeralds, diamonds, rubies, of stones collected in the Dakchinàvarta (s); this son thus will not have done anything , will not have returned anything to his father and mother. But from another side, that an initiated son ,disciplined, introduce, establish in the perfection of the faith his father and his mother who have not the faith ;it gives the perfection of the moral to the parents who have bad morals, that of the releasable to parents stingy, that of the science to ignorant parents ;this son will be thus made of good to his father and to his mother ;he will have returned this they had to. This is what what Bhagavat said . And I, I have rendered no service to my mother ;heneed that me think to discover in what place it has resumed a new existence."Hebe delivered in consequence of this research, and he saw that she was born from new in the Marîchika universe . He did then this reflection :By whom should she be converted ? He recognized that it was through Bhagavat, and this idea occurred to him To the mind :We are here very far from this world ;why would n't i do know this topic to Bhagavat? In consequence he himself spoke in these terms :Bha-Gavat has said once :They doing a thing although difficult the father and mother who feed their child. Now my mother has resumed a new existence in the universe Marîchika, and it is by Bhagavat that she must be converted ;that the Blessed, by compassion for her, consents therefore to the converted. Bhagavat answered him :By the power of that will we [in this universe], O Maudgalyâyana ? For the mine, replied the latter. So Bhagavat and the respectable MahàMàudgalyâyana, placing their foot on the summit of Sumêru, is set en chemin ;at the end of seventh day they reached the universe Marîchika. Bhadra kanyà (2) saw the respectable MahàMàudgalyâyana ;and from (1) This is an allusion clear the mines of precious stones and of metals precious that make has celebrated for centuries the province of Golconda, which has always been included in the vast country called Dekhan, that is to say "the land of the south." "(2) This is the new name of the mother of Maudgalyayana. 16

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242 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY more far that she lives, she ran to his meeting with eagerness, and exclaimed: Ah ! here is my son who comes from far away. But the crowd of beings [composing this universe] said to himself :This beggar is old, and this woman is young ;comment can she be his mother ? The respectable MahàMàudgalyâyana leui then said :The elements are composed my body have ele products by this woman ;it is for this that she is my mother. So Bhagavat knowing the mind, the dis-positions, the character and nature of Bhadrakanyâ, exposed the teaching of the Law made to give the understanding of the four sublime truths ;of such kind as soon as Bhadra Kanya 's was heard, splitting with the lightning of the science the mountain from which one believes to see that it is the body which exists, and which rises

with twenty summits, she lives face to face the reward of the state from Çrôla âpatti. Right away that she had seen the truth, she sang three times the share of Thanksgiving [reported above]: We are established in the middle of Devas and the men. And she added: "It is closed by your power the dreadful way of evil existences, that full of many miseries. She opened the pure way of Heaven, and I entered into the path of Nirvana. Stripped of my sins, O you that the view is so pure, because what I have taken refuge with you, I acquired today the purity; I have obtained the desired dignity sought by the Aryas; I reached the other side of the ocean pains." "You who in the world are the object of the homage of Dâilyas, of men and the immortal; you who are freed from the birth of the old age of disease and of the death; you that the view is difficult to obtain, even at the end of a thousand births, oh lonely! the happiness that I have for you see porter au jour'hui its fruits. vs I arrived at the eminence, oh lord; I arrived to the superiority; my refuge from Bhagavat, with the Act, with the assembly of Re-religious; receive me so the number of thy faithful, me who to go today, as long as I live, as long as I will keep the breath of life, will look for a asylum with you, and who try them for yourself the feelings of benevolence. that Bhagavat grant me now the favor of accepting the meal of alms, with the Arya Maha Mâudgalyâyana! Bhagavat welcomed by his silence the words of Bha-dra kanyâ. So this one, seeing that Bhagavat and that Maha Mâudgalyâyana were conveniently seated, satisfies them, by presenting them with his own hands the food and of food pleasant, purely prepared, of which she listed the qualities. When she saw that Bhagavat had eaten, that he had washed his hands and that her vase was removed, she took a seat very low and sat down in front of Bhaga-

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM . . . 243 vat to hear the Law. As a result Bhagavat taught him. The respectable Maha Maudgalyayana, who took the vase of Blessed be started the wash. Then Bhagavat said to him: Let us go, Mahâ Mâudgalyâyana. Let's go, Bhagavat, replied the Religious. And whose power spoke? said Bhagavat. By that of Blessed Talhâgala, said the Religious. If it is thus reflected in the place NSis Djêtavana, says Bhagavat; and at the same moment the Religious exclaimed: Bha-gavat, is that we have arrived? Shocked by the surprise, he said at once: What is therefore the name, O Bhagavat, of this power supernatural? - She is called, O Mâudgalyâyana, "Quick as a thought;" I did not know myself distinctly, so profound are the laws of the Buddhas. If that [me] was known, my thought would no longer turn away from the supreme state of Buddha perfectly accomplished, had to my body to be crushed as small as the seed of sesame. Today what would I have to do, now that the wood is burnt (1)?" But the Religious, in the spirit which had risen doubts, if adre-SERENT and the Blessed Buddha, which range all the uncertainties: What action had therefore made the respectable Pûrna, O Lord, to be born in a rich, wealthy family enjoying great wealth? What action did he have made yet to be born in the breast of a slave and to obtain then when he was entered in the life, to see face to face the state of Arhat, after having destroyed all the corruption of evil? Bhagavat then answered: Purna, O monks, has done and accumulates iniquity of Religious, actions that have reached their completion, the causes of which have reached maturity, which have accompanied as the light [accompanies the body that they produced], which must necessarily have a term. What other [that I] will know separately in particular the actions made and accumulated by Pûrna? The stock made and accumulated, O monks, do not arrive at their maturity dans the exterior elements of the earth, or of water, or the fire, is the wind;

but it's only in the [five] intellectual attributes, in the [six] constituent parts of body and in the [five] organs the sense true elements of any individual {that the shares made and accumulated, the good as the bad, happen at full maturity ."} The works will not be destroyed, were it even by hundreds of kalpas; but when they have reached their perfection and their time, they relate to fruits for creatures endowed with a body." Formerly, O monks, in this Bhadra Kalpa even where nous sommes, when (1) I literally translates these words, which I did before not well the meaning énigmatique. (2) The text here reads *api bhûpâtêchcêva*, of which I can do nothing, and which I replace by *apibhutânêchvêva*, "which only lead to one being individual, that is to say that it is."

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244 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY the creatures had an existence of twenty thousand years, it appeared to the world a venerable Tathàgata, perfectly and completely Rùddha, named Kàçyapa, gifted of science and of conduct, well come, knowing the world, without superior, leading man as one young bull, tutor of men and of the Gods, blessed, Rùddha. This Tathagata is being removed close to the city of Benares, there stared at his residence. Pûrna, who had entered under his teaching in the religious life, had three sacred books, and filled with of the Assembly the duties of servant of the Law (1). One day came the dome-tick of some Arhat, which is set à balayer the Vihara; but the wind chased the waste of side and the other. He then made this reflection: Let us wait a little, that the wind calms down. The servant of the Law having arisen, saw that the Vihàra was not yet swept. Blinded then by a violent outburst, he pronounced these rude words: This is the home of a son slave. The Arhat en-stretched out and made this reflection: This man is blinded by his anger; let's wait for a little; I repeat just now. When the outburst of servant of the Law was calmed, the Arhat is presented before him, and spoke to him in these terms: Do you know who I am? I know you, replied the servant of the Law; you and me we're entering into life religious under the teaching of Kàçyapa, the perfectly accomplished Rùddha. It can be, replied the Arhat. As to me, I filled all the duties imposed on it which is entered in the life religious, and I am free of all the links; but law, you spoke words coarse. A cause of this fault, confess that you have sinned, and by then this Action will be diminished, it will be destroyed, it will be forgiven." In Therefore the servant beyond Loi confessed he had sinned; and like he should have resumed a new existence in Hell, then be reborn in qua-bed of son of a slave, he not returned not to life in Hell, but he was born from new, for five hundred generations, in the breast of a slave. Finally he also reappeared in this world, in his last existence, with this quality of son of a female slave. Because he had served the assembly, it was born in the bosom of a wealthy, wealthy family enjoying great wealth; because in the serving it had read, that he had studied, that he had acquired of skill in the knowledge of accumulation [of the constituent elements of existence], he gets the happiness of entering into religious life under my teaching, and of seeing face to face with the state of Arhat, after having annihilated all the corruption of evil. It is thus, ô Religious, for entirely black actions is reserved a reward (1) The text makes use of the expression *rffearmo* "dm <î / year" Karoti, that I have yet seen that in this style; the Tibetan 's makes for *jal-ta-pa-do vyed*. 11 should probably hear by there one who serves the Assembly of Religious as a servant of the monastery.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .245 thinks entirely black too; for all white actions is reserved an all-white award too; for mixed shares is reserved a mixed result like them.

This is why, ôReligious, hemust in thisworld avoid theShares entirely black, as well as the shares mixed, anddo not have in sightonly all white actions . This, O monks, that thatyou mustto learn."So that spoke Bhagavat, and Religious transported of joy louè-rent it as Bhagavat had said. "It has been seen, by the legend above, that the nomination fairly expeditiousby which Sakyamuni is created ofdisciplesgave to thosethat the receivingthenature of Religiousbeggars ;because this is themeaning of the word Bhikchu,which means exactly "the one who lives on alms (1).» After the obligationto observe the rules of the chastity [Brahma tcharya) ^ ittherein was not, forthe Religious, of more compelling than that of living the only relief he rece-Vait of the public charity. As he ceased to be a partthe world, the re-sources that the company offers to work it were forbidden, and itdoes it remainedother means of existence that the beggars.The life ofdeprivation to whichsecondemned the Religious made themgive again the name of Çramams, "ascetics who tame their senses (2)."Theyhad taken this title in imitation of Sakyamuni their master, who was madecall Çramana Gâutama, the ascetic Gâulamide. But this title, in what regardsthe Religious, is much lesscommon in thelegends than that of Bhikchu ,of same as it doesnever applies, as far as I know, to Çâkyamuni, without(1) I thought I could translate this title by the term a little more general than religious, in order to avoidthe confusion that the use of the word mendiant would have caused , which must necessarily be preservedi ^ onr parivrâdjaka and for some other similar terms .(2) I kept this name without thetranslate to even that one keeps one of Brahmanbecause it is thetitle which Çâkyamuni himself carried since the moment he had withdrawn fromworld. The Chinese did not ignore themeaning true of this term, and that thecan see bya note from M. Rémusat. {Foe koue / d, p. 13.) I recall in my text that this title belongsas much to Brahmanism as to Buddhism; but like, in all the books that I have had occasionto read or to translate, the liter of śramana is consistently distinguished from those of Brahman,that he regularly precedes, " the Çramanas and the Brahmins, " hecertainly not aIndian ascetic in general, but a Buddhist in particular, and heit is taken in the sensespecial that Clough gives him , "a Buddhist ascetic, a beggar, thereligious beggar , a"Buddhist priest. {Singh. Dict., T. He, p. 778.) Colebrooke {Miscell. Ess., 1.11 ,p. 203) and Rémusat^ Foekoue ki, p.13) have already noticed that the name of śramana was formerly known soonGreeks; May, " it's still a question of knowing whether, for the former, that name meant the asceticsIndians in general or Buddhists in particular. Heyou have to go down to Porphyry tofind the name of Samanite applied to a sectthat one can conjecture to be that ofBuddhists.

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246INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYbe preceded by the epithet of Mahâ, "the great Religious. "As well as thetermfrom Bhikchu, that of Çramana belongs to the Brahmanic language ; but theBuddhists in doing an all applications Specialto the ascetics of their belief,and the Indian dramas prove us by moreof an example that the Brahmansthemselves recognized the legitimacy of this application (1).Hehappened sometimes that the conversions were not all tooofastthan that of Pûrna ;then the one who wanted to embrace the aesthetic vision, and whodid not satisfynot to the variousrequired conditions , was notnot for thatrejected from the meeting of the Religious where hewanted to enter.Without doing yetpart of the Assembly of Beliikchus, hewas under the directionof a Reli-gieux and took the titleof Çrâmanêra, that is to say smallÇramana or asceticnovice.As soon as hehadreceived the nomination,hesubstituted for this titlethat

of Çramana or Bhikchu. These two degrees of Religious appear in the northern texts ; that of Çrâmanêra is there however less often used than that of Çramana. I do not fear to say that it comes from that at a time or U. Spontaneous these texts, the novitiate was a state much rarer than that of Religious. The ease with which the conversions were taking place gave to those who wanted to follow Çākya the means of quickly crossing the first degrees of initiation. I have speak all at the time of conditions imposed by Çākya muni on those who wanted to become his disciples ; this point needs some lightning-cries. The first of all the circumstances was the faith and we can believe that those who satisfied them had to be dispensed of all the others. But he is also easy to know that ' Çākya or his first successors have soon recognized the need there to join a few others so that the solemnities of a somewhat less easy execution . This necessity had to make them do all the more quickly to feel, as the new belief was more of favor with the people. The legends that took place in this section of the Discipline give us on this subject the information the more informative. We will see that Śākya receives all those who are present to him, so that as soon as an admission gives rise to some difficulty, it looks forward to the annual by a decision that was to become a rule for his successors. It is (1) I could quote here the words of this player of Mr̥tichhakatī, who, sued for many, is do other resource that to be ; ITR disciple of Çākya; because the prākrit term which he is used, Çiikka çavanaka, is certainly the transcription of Sanskrit Çakṣya çramana, qui & tā ironvii d ^ ns lii Comment of the edition of Calcutta. (xW / i / c / ttchhakuli, p. 82, edil. Hold. Wilson, Hindu Theater, I, I, p. 5H, 2nd ed.) That which does leaves this subject no doubt, it is that the same Religious is designated elsewhere by his real title of Çamanaka for Çramanaka. {Mr̥tichhakatī, p. 213 and 329.)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .247 as well as the nomination conferred to men affected by certain diseases re-incurable putées (1), Where having some serious flaws conformation (2), such as the leper and the hermaphrodite (3), or to great criminals, such as the parricide (4), the murderer of his mother (5) and an Arhat ^ 6 ^, the man who sowed the division among the Religious (7), the one who is guilty of one of the big four crimes condemned by the Brahmins (8), is declared not valid, and then Śākya excludes the Assembly one who is suffering from these vices moral and physical. The rules no less natural and no less easy to understand is opposed for the admission of the one who has less than twenty years (9), and of the one who does not can justify of the authorization of his father and mother (10). The slave that son maître has the right to claim (the) and the debtor sued for debts (12) are also excluded. Finally no one can be admitted through an isolated Religious , and he must, for to take rank in the Assembly from disciples of Çākya, having been examined and received in the eyes of all (13). The legends nous apprennent same as Sakyamuni had conferred on assembled body of Religious the right to receive novices and to give the investiture to those who would be recognized as capable (14). So we this shown establishing two heads of the Assembly (15). Nothing is in fact more easy to understand: all the Religious received by Śākya the are at moment when he speak in the presence of a meeting more or less numerous, already converted, or aspiring to be; the institution of a or of two leaders of the Assembly has obviously in order to continue after the master a state of affairs who could disappear upon his death. If it does not belong to him, historically speaking, it is certainly the work of his first successors. prior to go further it is important to enumerate the various classes of those who attended with the Religious

his listeners at the Assembly of which he was the chief; this is essential, if few want to follow the history of this institution (1) Csoma, Analysis of the Dul-va, in Asiatic Researches, t. XX, (2) Ibid., p. 57 and 58. (3) Ibid., p. 55. (4) Ibid., p. 57. (5) Ibid., p. 56. (6) Ibid., p. 57. (7) Ibid., p. 57. (8) Ibid., p. 57. (9) Ibid., p. 53. (10) Ibid., p. 54. (11) Ibid., p. 53. (12) Ibid., p. 53. (13) Ibid., p. 54. (14) Ibid., p. 52. (15) Ibid., p. 52.

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248 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY and to understand the scope. To the body of religious beggars replied the one Mendicant Nuns, for whose admission we observed the same rules only for those of Religious; they were called Bhikshuñis. It does not appear not just the institutional body nuns has been originally in the thought of Çākya. The first woman who has achieved the permission to embrace the ascetic life is Maha Pradjāpatī, the Gāutamide his aunt, that there even who had high (2). Still Did she only succeed after long moments? these, and the Master only yielded qua the prayer Ananda his cousin (3). The legends assure that Celtic conversion led the of five hundred other women of the race from Çākya (4); the legend loves them round numbers, and his story might just be a pure invention of the compilers of Vinaya. What that in any case, the same authority tells us that Maha Prajapati is joined soon to the three women from Çākya, whom Csoma calls Gopa, Yaçôdharā and Utpalavariā (5). The law of the discipline imposed on women the same obligations as to religious, namely the observation of a perpetual chastity and the need to beg in order to live; also we give them the title *gēi* -risk of B / nkchiuii. The monuments Brahminists show us that by speaking of a Nun, a Bhikshu called him "Sister in the Law," Dharma bhagini (61). We find in the legends of the North several examples of women converted to Buddhism. We have seen some cited in the struggle of Çākya against the Brahmins; they must join the young girl of the caste Tchāndāla of which I have spoke to the end of this section previously, and with most of text that we don't have, one would find still others. A side of the Religious of both sexes, or to speak more exactly, over and below of these two orders are the funds of the Assembly of Sakya, the legends place the Upāsakas and the Upāsikās, that is to say the devotees and the devotees, and in a way more general, the faithful who made profession to believe in the truths revealed by Çākya, without however adopting the life ascetic (1) Csoma, A & Asiatic Researches, t. XX, p. 84. (2) La Wavutara, f. 58a of my manuscript. Csoma, Asiatic Res., t. XX, p. 308, note 21. A. Rémusat, Fœderation M., p. 111. (3) Csoma, Asiatic Res., t. XX, p. 90. Rémusat, Fœderation M., p. 111. (4) Csoma, Asiatic Res., t. XX, p. 90. (5) Asiatic Res., t. XX, p. 308, footnote 21. The two first names are in effect those of two women of Çākya; as the third, see that in has been said above, Sect. II, p. 161, note 2. Georgi cites only two women of Çākya, one whom he calls Grags-hdzon-ma (Use / Grugs-hdjinn-ma), it's Yuquàharā; the other that he calls Sa-tsho-ma: if we read *sa* - (s / K) -ma, this would be Gopa. (Tibetan alphabet, p. 34.) (6) Mr Uchchakafī, p. 258, ed. Hold. Wilson, Hindu Theater, t. I, p. 142, note f-

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .249 tick. Legends nowhere explain the term of Upasaka, and he is in itself vague enough for one to doubt whether it would not be preferable of the translate by servant and see there a name of the novice under the direction of a Religious, to whom he returns in some so the duties of the domesticity. This interpretation would greatly facilitate the idea we should see of the composition of the Çākya

Assembly, which would thus represent as formed of Religious and of novices both sexes, in a word of four reunions we are talking about our Sanskrit texts (i). Let us add that the, so that the authors of our Tibetan dictionaries translate dge-hsnen (which replaces the Sanskrit upasaka) (2), would favor this interpretation, since according to Csoma this word means CATEC / mmène, and according to Mr. Schmidt, " student, novice, secular replaced pucker of religious duties . "But the reading careful of texts, and SOMEONE of authorities no less respectable in my eyes than those that I come from quote, I decided in favor of the meaning of devout or faithful. I note first that the classical Sanskrit takes too often the word upasaka in the sense of worshiper than in that of servant; this relates to elements themselves which is made up this word, which means "to sit near Where below. "Secondly, the Buddhists of the South, that is to say those of Ceylon and Ava, don't hear it from one or the other way ; and one of the authorities the most imposing, when it is the proper meaning of Buddhist terms, Mr Turnour, the results just did in this sense: for him upâsaka means " Devotee, he who lives near of the Buddha, or with the Buddha (3). "Judson, the author of the Dictionary bartender, goes even a little further away, a bit too far maybe, when he translates this word by layman (4) ; but he should recall he speaks of a people completely converted to Buddhism, and among whom one that does not religious can not be a secular, especially in the eyes of European. Finally the Chinese, who, as I have often noticed, follow in general the tradition North, is doing exactly the same idea of the word upasaka that the Buddhists of the South. " The term Yeou pho se ^ according to Mr. A. Rémusat, means pure, and indicates that, while that those who they wear remain in their house, that is to say lead a secular life, they observe the five precepts and keep a driving pure. It makes also their behalf by men who are approaching of duty, to express that by fulfilling the precepts, he to make pro-ready to receive the law of the Buddhas (5). " In an enumeration of the various (1) Tchatasrmâm parchadâm, in Avad. çat., f. 77 b, 88 a, 101 h. (2) Avad. çat., f. 121 o ^ compared to Bkahlgyur, sect. Mdo, vol. ha or xxix, f. 207 b. (3) Mahdvanso, Index, p. 27, ed. in-4. o. ^ (4) Barman Diction., V » Ufâsaka, p. 45. (5) Foe hoe M, p. 180.

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250 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY kind of Religious as the same scholar borrowed to Chinese sources, the Upâsakas of both sexes are designated as staying in the house, by opposition to other classes which, according to the Buddhist expression, are exits for entering the life religious (i). And the learned author to which we owe these curious extracts ends his note with this summary : "The word Upasaka applies properly to Buddhists who lead the life secular, while observing the precepts of the religion, and keeping a con-regular pick and -without wetness (2). > To these authorities I will join now various expressions that needed-care, to be heard as I propose to do, to be preceded by clarification that I just gave. I find, for example, the term of Biiddhopâsalca, "devotee to Buddha (3), " opposed to that of Tirthikopasaka, (V devotee to Tîrthikas, > that is, to the Brahmanic ascetics (4). This term Buddhopasaka is taken in exactly the same sense by a Brahmani text. that of incontestable authority, the drama of Mritch tchhakali. A Religious Buddhist had addressed to a prince the title of ' Upasaka ; this title, who lends to a game of words, because of its double meaning of devout and of barber is explained through a different character as a synonym of Buddhôpâsaka, "devotee to Buddha (15). " In another passage, heroin of the piece, which is a Cour-herbal tea, is called Buddhopâsikâ, that is to say devoted to the Buddha (6), which sufficiently

demonstrates that the title of Upasikâ (feminine in ' Upâsaka) expresses nothing of the same to that of novice or catechumen. A legend of Avadanaçataka says of an Upâsaka that he is skilled in the law of the Buddha (7); from another, he has included the formulas of refuge and the precepts of teaching (8); still others, that they know the truths (9). And when he is about to designate a servant, that's the word Upasthâyaka that we reserve, for example in this text: <For we, who are the servants of Bhagavat, desire to be constantly employed as sweeping Djôtavana (10).> Finally, the two titles Bhikshu, (1) Foe praises ki, p. 18f. The consecrated expression is agdrâd anagârikâm pravrajitah. {Divyaavad., f. 4H b from my man.} (2) Foe koue ki, p. 182 and 183. (3) Avad. çat., f. 140 b. (4) Avad. çat., f. 166, 20 & 21 o and 6. (5) Mritch tchhakatj, p. 214, ed. Hold. The translation de Wilson does is perhaps not sufficiently meant to bring out the proper meaning of this term. {Hindu Theater, 1. 1, p. 123.} (6) Mr tch tchhakatfi, p. 255 sqq., 322 sqq., And 329. Here Wilson has perfectly rendered this title by the devoted worshipper of Buddha. {Hindu Theater, t. I, p. 141.} (7) Avad. çat., f. 29 & 31 fe. (8) Ibid., F. 121 a. (9) Ibid., F. 36 a. (10) Id. Ibid.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM . ^251 Religious Beggar, and Upasaka, devotee, are opposites in this passage: What is there to do in the state of beggar? Hence for its entire life observe the rules of the chastity {Brahma tchanja}. - This is not possible; there he was not a different way? - Heyin has another friend; it is to be devout [Upâsaka], - What should be done in this state? - He takes during his whole life refrain from any inclination to murder, to theft, to pleasure, to lie and to the use of intoxicating liquors (1). "I do my hidden not that Hodgson has, in a memory filled with indications Precious tions (2), disputed the legitimacy of the distinction which is located well established between the Bhikshu or Religious, and the Upâsakas or devotees. Learning on considerations borrowed from the history of the beginnings of the Church Christian, he cannot admit that it existed from the early days of Buddhism one body of the faithful separated from the Religious. I do not believe that he that is possible to oppose nothing in principle of Remarks by Mr Hodgson; and if it is from first attempts made by Gâkya to have disciples, I recognize, with this ingenious author, that there were originally in India no other Buddhists than those who, renouncing the world, had made a vow to follow Çâkya and to practice, after his example, the duties of the ascetic life. But if he need believe the legends, this state was short of time; and of the moment that Çâkyamuni is set to preach them multitude, those who, without being disciples, were coming. However, hear, friends of the upasakas, that is to say of assistants. From the title from assistant to that of devotee there is only one step; because no doubt these men and those women who were seated in crowds near there recognized disciples of Çâkyawere not in general animated with sentiments of malice against the new ascetic. I am therefore far from believing that Çâkyamuni has, from the beginning of his preaching, constituted an Assembly of Religious, divided into Bhikshus and in Upasakas of one and of the other sex. Far from it, the organization exterior of Buddhism has, like its metaphysics, passed through of degrees many, before reaching the state where the show arrival the people that the Buddhism has since long converted. The books of Nepal make use even attend the progress of this organization begins with the most low beginnings, since it sees Sakya followed first of five disciples who abandon much faster, because as their master, exhausted by long fasts, has broke the vow of abstinence to which he had chained himself in front of them. Little by little the number of its followers increases; the kings of the Brahmins, the

merchants will join them to hear the word of the Master. This soni / there the Upâsakas, (1) Sahasôdgata, in Divyaavad., F. 151 a. (2) Quotat. from orig. Sanscr. Author., In Journ. As. Soc. of Bengal, t. V, p. 33 ff.

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252 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY the assistants, and later the true devotees, they outweigh the preaching of Sakya the gerencies virtues that his teaching aims to spread. This explanation so natural was also for her the facts of a great value; we will soon see that the views of Çākya, or perhaps of his first successors are carried to beyond the circle of his disciples, and that in putting for the future of rewards ' of various orders to those who, without be his followers, is penetrated more or less intimately of his say it created among those of his listeners who could not or would not become Religious supporters and true devotees. The Religious only not enformaient least, so that I have already indicated, the Assembly of Auditors of Çākya; this is why we find in the texts this Assembly called Bhikchu saiiigha (1), "The meeting of beggars." (1) 11 can not now remain no doubt as to the spelling of this term; of in-criptions, as one of Amaravali and of Sanchi { Journ. As. Soc. of Bengal, t. VI, p. 222 and 455), and our manuscripts, they always represent as I do : Samgha (ou T ^), word which has the sense of multitude, crowd of people. This meaning is perfectly suited to the nature of Assembly of Religious Śākya, which was composed of men out of all castes. I do not believe that the saniga onhograph is very frequent, if even it is never used in our manuscripts. Mr. G. de Humboldt has preferred one of Sanga (T ^ *) that had adopted Hodgson and Remusat to that of Sangha (B ^) that give Schmidt and Wilson { Ueber die Kawi-Sprache, l. 1, p. 273, note 1); but at the time when this scholar wrote, it is owned not en core in Europe the manuscripts that are in my hands. We will see enough by my text why I do not then admit the philosophical explanations with which this scholar accompanies the Samgha's term. "The meeting called Sanga, he said, is not in the principle no land, and it com-" takes the Bodhisattvas, the Pratyêkas and the Çrāvakas, who have already left the world. This "meeting, however, by following in the application ordinary of things heavenly to things ter-" Rests, has become the base of the buddhist hierarchy. Finally this term was clearly "applied to the meeting of the followers of the Bnddha, living together and with their master in the cloisters called Vihdras." { Ueber die Kawi-Sprache, l. 1, p. 273.) For my part, I think that the things have had to spend in the order reversed; that the primitive meaning of the word Samgha has was that of "meeting of the Auditors;" that this meeting has been perfectly réelle et human, as human as any other assembly of disciples following a master; that when the ideas mystics of the triad, of the sexes and others, whom I regard as inspired by the Buddhists of the North by the proximity of the Brahmins, is are introduced in the system originally very single founded by Śākya it has made of this term perfectly historic one implementation idéale à the celestial reunion of the highest personages in the philosophical and moral hierarchy of 'Buddhism. It is there, at least that that the reading of Sutras and legends authorizes me to believe; but I am afraid that this view finds little favor with people who on the origin and the development of religious beliefs in general and of Buddhism in particular of ideas which I confess humbly Nepas enter all to makes sense. At rest, this observation, which is mesuggested by the sense of confidence that I feel every time that I am away from opinions of a man like M. de Humboldt, applies to many other ideas and many other terms than the one that occupies us. The present volume all around is devoted to terrain the purely human character of

Buddhism; I will then therefore believe here, no more than anywhere else, that this belief is the expression of I do not know what divine types that I can not find anywhere, of the least in the texts that I hold for the more closer to the preaching of Sakya.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .253 In the sūtras and in the legends of Nepal, the term Samgha does not have other meaning, and it is also the one it keeps in the Buddha formula, Dharma, Samgha, "the Buddha, the Law, the Assembly, and that was well done see M. Hodgson (1); the senses more or less philosophy that has sought in this formula certainly does not belong to early Buddhism (2). Word Samgha expresses a dual ratio, firstly that of all the religious with the Buddha, then that of the Religious among themselves. In the principle, the only link that the connected to the Master and the meet between them is, following the now legendary deeds, a common submission to his word. The rest, out all of the various classes of the society to be delivered at their religious life, when they received from This is the knowledge of fundamental truths and the life of Religious, they going live, the one in the loneliness of the forests and the mountains, the other in the houses abandoned in woods with the villages and the cities; and they not out for themselves get into begging their food. I quoted everything to the time the legend of Purna, we see ce Religieux, to hardy converted to Buddhism, ask to Sakya's permission to withdraw in a country bar-bare; and I could report here a great number similar examples in the Sūtras and to legends. That it is enough for me to remember one, who shows how important Sakya muni attached to the solitary life. He had, by his preaching, attracted to him a young merchant who had kissed the religious, or to talk more exactly who took the title of Religious; but the young man did not continue less to live in the house paternal. Çākya muni represented him how much less was the life of the world at the retreat, which he exalted the advantages before him. The exhortations of the Master do were not sterile; the merchant left the world to go and live in the loneliness, where making of Sakya his "friend of the virtue" that is to say its direct spiritual torment, he managed by the knowledge full of the world to more top degree of perfection (3). On the shows, in the origin of the disciples of Çākya are not (1) Quot. front orig. Sanscr. Author., In Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t.V, p. 37. (2) A. Rémusat {Observ. out of three Mem. by de Guignes, in Nouv. Journ. Asian., T."VII, p, 264 sqq.) and Schmidt {Mém. of Acad. of Sciences of St. Petersburg, t.\,p. U4. sqq.) are the auto-authorities to consult for the high sense has taken this formula in the relatively schools more last of Buddhism. He will be joined Hodgson for what concerns the Nepal, including the religion is dealt with in depth in a special thesis {Sketch of Buddhism, in Transact. of the Roy. Asian girl. Soc, t.He, p. 246 and 247); and Benfey {Indian, p. 201), which was thought that the buddhist triad of Buddha, Dharma and Samgha was a imitation of Brahmanism. According to me, it is all in fact essential to distinguish itself formulates applications more or less varied than we have made. The formula to me seems to be old, and the way it has been in the principle must have been very simple; but nothing will prove that the applications will be not Modern, or any at least invented after shot, at various times. (3) Avadâna çat., F.85 and 86 6. The expression of " friend of the virtue " Kalyâna mitra, is a

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254 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY that of ascetic isolated, and we do not yet suspect, to get stuck to the text of the oldest legends, the possibility of an organization that was to bring together between them by a link lasting all those Religious, who did not gather what to

hear the word of the Master. Various circumstances reported by the legends and by the Sûtras, we however allow grasp the beginnings of this organization. So much than lived Çàkyà, he was natural that those he had converted attach themselves to his person to benefit from his teaching. All the Religious do not staring not for ever in the loneliness; and those same who had chosen this kind of life the abandonnaieot from time to time in order to come hear the Buddha. Also the legends do they show us Çàkyà always followed by a name-ber more or less considerable of Religious, which accompanied him and men-stood behind him. When was the season of rains, that is, when the Communications between the campaigns and the cities were, if not completely done interrupted, at least more difficult, the Religious could cease the va-beggars ' gabonde . He they were allowed to retire in the mansions fixed; and then they are dispersed and were each in turn, reside at the Râhmans or the masters of the house that they knew how to be favorable to them. Here they were busy répandre par la word the knowledge of the truth which is composed their belief, or even to meditate and to study the points of the doctrine which were less well known to them. It was called "staying for the Varcha, Varcha vasana, that is to say during the four month that lasts in India the rainy season (1). When the Varcha had expired, they had to be of the most remarkable of Buddhism; I do not doubt that it does not belong to the first ages of this belief. The Friend of the virtue is the one who introduced the future disciple with the Master ; it is also the Religious accomplished that gives the novice the instruction that he misses again, that is Similarly, for a Religious, any respectable ascetic whom he must research the company. We find This liter frequently cited in the legends with Celtic last acceptance {Avad. çat., f. 34 b, 87 a and b); on the spots even opposite to that of PDPA Mitra, "friend of sin. " {Ibid., F. 87 a and b. Bkahhgijur, sect. Mdo, vol. ha or xxix, f. 155 a.) This term provides a further example of the inconvenience that there would sometimes be in sticking to the statements of the Tibetan versions , without go back to the Sanskrit originals . The Tibetans translate exactly Kalijdna mitra by DGEbahi bhes-ghen, according to Csoma, "a friend of virtue, a priest ;" it is also exactly the translation given by M. Schmidtj "ein Freund der Tugend, ein Priester. " Csoma the translated again by " a doctor, a learned priest, iand M. Schmidt by <ein geistlicher Ralh. " I hesitate not to prefer this latter translation to all the others; Friend of the virtue is certainly a true spiritual director ; but it is not for that a priest; on the contrary, any priest (if however that term is correct) can be a virtuous friend ; in a nutshell, he does not exist in the hierarchy Buddhist one order de Kalyâna mitras, as it is in has one of Bhih'hus. (1) Celtic institution of Varcha is certainly one of the most ancient of Buddhism; because we the found among all the peoples who have adopted this belief, in the South as in those of the North. M. Turnour defines the word vassa (Pali for varcha) as follows : " The four months of the

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .•255 together with new ; and then, forming a real Religious assembly , they wondered mutually on the various points of doctrine that they had meditated during this sort of retirement. Any door to believe that this use was introduced by Çàkyà himself, or most certainly by his first disciples; but still he would not have been yet practice of living of the Master, it do is not less so frequently reported in the captions exclusively relating to Sakya, that I hesitate not to the hold for very old. It is there, if I do me wrong, the circumstances that had to promote the more the organization of the Religious in a regular body . One of the first results it had produced was the establishment viharas, kinds of monastic cells, located in desbois or in the gardens, which are gathered

the Religious to attend the teaching of the Master. He will need not believe, however, that the Viharas were, in the principle of the establishments where the Religious locked themselves up for their whole life; they were so little obliged to settle there for still, they in went out, as I the said all at the time, the time of the rainy season, that is to say at the time of the year when it seems they dissent come and gather there, as the custom is established later at the peoples converted to Buddhism. Also the Were n't Vihâras, at the beginning, that the places of stay temporarily; it was, according to the etymology of the word, the places where they are found; and the origin of this term is shown in the formule even who opens each Sutra: "One day Gâkya was found (viharatisma) in a such a location (i). "The first destination of the Vihâras, after that of serve as an asylum to the Religious, was to open the ascetics travelers and the foreigners coming in the country. "Is there nonot in your country, said the" season of rains since the full lune de July until CELB of November. "During this part of the year, the Religious had to cease their pilgrimages and engaging in the practices religious in fixed places. {Mahâvauso, Index, p.28. Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Beng., t. SEEN, p. 1000. Clough, Singh Diction., T. IF, p. 632, col. 2) But this island is changed with the progress of Buddhism; and for example today, among the Buddhists of Ava, it is in their monasteries, and not by individuals, that the religious spend the time of these season of rains. (Sangermano, Descript. Of the Burm. Emp., P. 92, ed. Tandy.) (See the additions, at the end of the volume.) (1) We can see in Georgi {Alphab. Tib., P. 407) the representation and the description of a Complete Vihâra, such as one could have built in the most flourishing periods of Buddhism, and such that in built again in Tibet. I think it will be not possible to find autoday in the more or less perfect models of these buildings, which we have preserved the famous caves of Guzurala and the country Mahralte. So I do then erapêcher me to believe that the Magatania cave described by Sait is a Vihâra dug in the rock. {Transact. of the bed. Soc. of Bombay, t. I, p. 44.) Erskiiie did not hesitate to express the same opinion. {Trans. of the lit. Soc. of Bombay, t. 111, p. 527.) This wise author has long been noticed in the occasion of the caves of Elephanta, one must ordinarily find attached to temples Buddhist

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256 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Ruddha to an anchorite, some Vihâra in which the Religious who travel are at their arrival of what will accommodate (1)? > When the Religious were tees pretty long in a country, they were leaving their Vihâra to go to another province, where they chose a new domicile to which they no re-were not more long attached at first. All this is understandable without hardly, when you think to the easy life of India, o \ i the ascetics spend the day under the trees and at night in huts of leaves, or under these shelters covered, but not closed, that the charity of the rich has raised from time im-memorial on all the roads. Hethere is without doubt far from this almost nomadic state of Ruddhism at the situation flourishing where he was the iv ^ century of our era, the breast of rich Viharas and the happy hermitages that describes the author's Foe koue ki; but between the time when Fa hian visited India and the one we know about the Avadânas and the Sutras, it had spent more than nine centuries in next to the death of Çâkya, the Singhalese comput. However, some difference which exists between these two states of Ruddhism, taken at times also distant one of the other, we can clearly see that thesecond had to quickly enough result of the first. In fact, at a time that the Religious had from places still where they could live in common, the link that the rattachait the some the others had to tighten up more; and the effect only of this meeting

the con-titua in a body much better organized, and by following more durable than that what could train the ascetics, usually isolated, who belonged exclusively to the Brahmanic caste. To this fact all material came to join influence that had exercised for good hour on the organization of the Religious Riddhisles the necessity where they is Trouville were to resist the attacks of their opponents. This need them made sen-shoot the need to unite between them and to form an association that could very easily to change into a monastic institution. There, and that was made note a wise author, will find the véritable différence distinguish the Religious Riddhists of ascetics order, such as the Sannyâsins and dug in the mountains a number more or less considerable of cells destined to serve as a home for the Religious who lived there together. (Erskine, *ibid.*, t.I, p.202.) These cells are the most characteristic of a Viliâra. He in need dire aut of beautiful caves de Baug on the road to Oudjain, of which the same author has perfectly pointed out the exclusionary character of sively Buddhist. {*Ibid.*, T.II, p. 202) This observation would undoubtedly apply with exactitude to several other caves of India, if we in had the most accurate descriptions and especially less mixed interpretations mythological and historical, as those that have data a few travelers. (See again on the word Vihâra, the Foe koue ki, p. 19 and 352.) (I) Avad. çat., f. 35 b.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .257 the Vanaprasthas (i). The latter who, far away to do opposition at the: eligion popular, were on the contrary authorized by the law of Manu, did not have need to create regularly organized religious associations. If they reunite seemed around them some disciples, he in result of meetings accidents that did not survive to the Master. But the isolation in which E is were placed the Buddhists, the breast of the company Indian, not could miss of them felt the benefits of the life common; and a time these benefits appreciated, it was not difficult to ensure the conservation, by giving the head of the association a successor who continued the work of the one who had it founded. one time Assembly of Religious formed from the meeting of all the Bhikchus ordained by Çâkyamuni, he had to quickly there establish a hierarchy able to maintain order there. Also we see, in all the legends, the Bhikchus arranged according to their age and according to their merit. It is according to a get that they took rank in the Assembly, and the first received there the name of Sthaviras, old men old. The Sthaviras in turn stood out in Ancients of the Ancients, Sthavirâh slhavirâmm (2); but in never have find in the texts of name corresponding to that of old, like would be that of young or new. The Sthaviras occupied in the Assembly the first row after Çâkyâ; and it is which explains the translation remarkable that the Tibetan interpreters give of their name. The word Slhavira is regularly replaced in their versions by the two monosyllables gnas-brta Uj that our Tibetan dictionaries all render by vicar, substitute, To the exception of Schroter, which he gives the meaning of "very good priest, very-excellent monk (3)." The etymology of the word Slhavira {sthâ, to stand) on the one hand, and on the other the role that play usually in the legends the Sthaviras, aux What Sâkyamuni says the soind'enseigner the Act, when it do n't talk to him-even, undoubtedly justify the version of the Tibetan interpreters. Only would it not However give the reader a singular idea of the original, as translated and a sentence that is present in every page of the PradjM paaramitaa : " So the vicar Subhûtî thus spoke to Bhagavat. » I do not hesitate to pretend that it would be translate too much ; too I thought having to keep the term even of Sthavira in my French translation of the Lotus de la bonne loi. Mr Turnour has also kept the title of Thera, pale form of

Sthavira, in the English translation which he is given from the Pali Mahāvamsa ;and though the Theravāda Sinhala, which have on all the life contemplative among the Hindus, T. (2) Puma, in Divya avad., F.22 o. Sumāgadhdavadāna, i. 4 a, manuscript in the Libraryroyal.(3) Bhotanta Diction., P. 38, col. 1.17

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258INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYthe more religious the privilege of teaching the law, are in reality for theSinhala as for the Tibetans, speciesof vicars, who replace auJourd'hui Śākya their master, as they the replaced sometimes during its life.The merit also used to mark the ranks; and I even think hehad toto jointo privilegeof seniority, to ensure aReligious onesuperiorriorityindisputable. We have seen, in the legend of Pūrna, a evidencethat a Religious can, by his personal qualities , rise to a higher rankhigher than that which it holds of age. HeHowever, it is good to note that it isthere fromsupernatural power ,from where heresult that the principleof the de senioritywas going to be ingeneral superior to that of merit, since he yielded only tooof (acuitysuperhuman We don'tmay believe, however, that theknow and thevirtue havecould sometimes be used to mark theranks, especiallyin theearly days of Ruddhism. Heis certain, according to the legends, that thethe teaching of Çākya acted in a waymore or less fast, depending on whetherthose which the receivingwere more or less thereprepared ;to ensure a reli-gieux could acquirein bit of time a more science deep andaholiness more perfect than such other of those who had longpreceded in the Assembly. The knowledge of the truths taught by Sakyahad also its degrees, and without doubt as one that the had crossed all wasregarded as superior to the one who had stopped in his walk. These variousdegrees come up so often in our legends, that I think it is necessary to quotea text OII they themselves are listed according to their position relative. This text will havethe advantage ofpresent in shortened all of this that the avadānas uslearn aboutdistinctions between theÇākya listenersbased on merit and science."Rhagavat knowing the mind,the provisions, thecharacter and naturalnessboatmen who were listening, they explained the teaching of theLaw, intendedto them to enter the four truths sublime in such manner that after havingNaturally, the one obtained fruitsof the state of Crota āpanna, the other onesof the state of Sakrīd ageāmin, others still those of the state of Anāgāmin. A few-somehaving embraced the religious life reached, bythe annihilation of allthe corruption of evil, to see the state of Arhat face to face . They understood thisthat it isthan Intelligence(Rōdhi),to whichreach themÇrāvakas ;thoseunderstood thiswhat is that of the Pratyeka Ruddhas, others whatthat of a Ruddhaperfectly accomplished. Finally thewhole meeting wasabsorbed in the Ruddha, immersed in the Law, drawn into the Assembly (1)."(1) Avad. çat., î. 26 b, Pūrt ^ a, in Divya avad., F. 24 6. Sumāgadhdâ avad., F.18 a.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .Ô59Let us now examine the various terms of this enumeration ;they designate,as we will see,various degrees in the hierarchy that I will call moralandscientistof the Auditors of Çākya. First, the four sublime truthsmy are the axioms fundamental quiservent basic to the doctrine bud-dhique, knowing that the pain exists,it is the sharing of whatever comesThe world, it is important to break free, finally, that it is by the science alonewe can do so to obtain the delivery (1). Thosewho understandthese truths and yin accordance with their conduct are appointedArya or venerable, byoppositionto ordinary men (Prithag djana), who have not yet thought abouton these important topics. However, we would only have a faint idea of the valueof

this title, if we are seeing an epithet of one- direction opposite to that of manvulgar. The quality of Arya- seems to me , on the contrary, one of the highest in the-what can achieve one who is not Buddha ;it assumes even Ordinarily of course, in addition to the knowledge of the truths stated earlier , the possession of supernatural faculties. It 's gives to first and the most eminent disciplines of the Buddha; the characters divine, as Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī, to receive in all the books, and the copyists of Nepal even apply it to works which pass for emanating from the teaching of Çākya muni ;in this last job, this term amounts to little less than that of saint (^). These Arya or Venerable does not thus named after age, as the Sthaviras ;they have this as their virtues to their faculties higher and the perfection that the freed more or less completely the conditions of existence to which remain submissive on common of men. According to the Bartenders, including I borrow here the witness, because that securities from listing who we occupies will meet also or in the Buddhism of the South than in that of North, the title ^ Ārya applies to four orders which appear to be the first in the text cited more high, the Çrôta âpannas, the Sakrîd ageâmins, the Anâgâmins and the Arhats (3). Each of these orders is in turn subdivided into two classes, according as that which in fact is or has not yet arrived to the rewards that his order entails. So we distinguishes the Çrôta âpattimarga sthana of with the Crota âpatti phala sthana, that is to say the action to be in the way of Çrôta âpatti (4) from that to be in the reward of this (i) I will come back to these axioms, already known moreover , that I will present under the as even they have in the Sanskrit texts of the North. (See the additions, at the end of the volume.) (2) On the employment of the word Arya, and on the various translations that give the Buddhists from Central Asia , see M. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongol*, p. 395. (3) Judson, *Burman Diction.* ^ P. 27. (4) The difference of the two forms Çrôta âpatti and Çrôta âpama is that of the abstract substantive

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260 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY same stall ;and c * esl as well as to explain these terms and other semblables that we meet at all times in the legends of Nepal :vsH obtained the reward of such and such state." H yhas therefore, strictly speaking, eight classes of characters which, according to the bartenders, should the title from Arya, well that these eight classes reduce the bottom four, as distinguished titles that we are going to analyze. All this, I the repeat is also commonly known Sinhalese than Nepalese :it is the common heritage of the Buddhists of all the countries. The titles that follow, though also frequently employed by the editors of Sutras and legends, does not in at first glance so easy, and I not have been able to find so far the positive interpretation in no text of the Nepal. The works that I puis consulter to speak as much par fait-well known and which do not have need explanation. It is not, in fact, translate these words as to say, as do Judson and Clough in their dictated servants bartender and sint ^ hclais :c sotâpatti (shape pale of Sanskrit Crotaâpattî), the first state which manages aĀrya, the state of an Ārya (1) ;»And so ^ iof Sakrîd ageâmin which is the second state, (iĀnâgâmin which is the third, and of Arhat who is the fourth. Fortunately the analysis of these terms, brought together Tibetan, Chinese and Sinhalese explanations ,don't let no doubt about their true meaning. Let's start with the Tibetans, who are the least distant from the tradition Nepali. the first degree, that of Çrôta âpatti, is represented in their versions by the words rgyimi-dii-pa jugs, which, according to the form grammatic-hold, designate the man who has achieved this degree. This term, which is found in beginning of a collection of légendes publiées and translated with a lot of care by M. Schmidt (2), means according to this scholar: "man came into the duration, "

der in die Fortdauer Eiiiigeagene (3). In another passage the state of suchman is called :c sustainable entry ,perpetual,» Die bestndigeEinkehr (4). Finally, in a third, the reward for this state is named :ftthat of thosewhich persist constantly, "die Frucht derbeständig Ver-hleibenden(5). These various interpretations do not offer a meaning perfectly clear; Mr. Schmidt seems to have adopted them in consideration of mofs rgyun-in adjeclif. Âpatti means acquisition, obtaining; this is the state. Âpanna means one who has obtained, acquired; it is the adjective. (1) Judson, Barman Diction., P. 400. (2) Der Weise und der Thor, p. 44. (3) Ibid., P. 51, note. (4) Ibid., P. 54. (5) Ibid., Text, p. 26, and transl., P. 31....;

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .261 of, that Schrôter, Csoma and M. Schmidt himself translate as always, subsisting perpetually. Schrôter even gives the entire expression howe occupies and the making and " the followers or the followers of Śākya (1). "This is, I believe, going too far; and while recognizing that we do not can happen to the state of Çrôta âpatti only after having heard the word of the Buddha, I don't think no less than this title it is not synonymous with that of auditor or of Religious. Schrôter erases besides what it is has appeared in this title ; and all the same it would be correct, a version do would be not less incomplete. Georgi, more Fortu-generous in regard of this word hedo is usually when hespeaks of Tibetan, translates this title as he follows: "those who advance always (2).» But the Tibetan words lend themselves to an interpretation no less simple and more instructive ; i'm there see the meaning of : " The one who is entered in the current. » This is correctment interpretation from Sinhala we have sent Mr. Tumor in these terms : " This title comes from sôtâ, torrent quicoule; this is the first degree of the sanctification one that leads to other degrees the man who has reached (3). "The Buddhists Chinese do are not less explicit, at the same time that they are more detailed. According to them the term Çrôta âpanna, which means entered into the current, designates a being who came out of the universal stream of creatures to enter into the which led to the grant. One such being, if I intend to note if substantial and if curious about M. A. Rémusat, still has to go through eighty thousand Kalpas Whereages of the world, at the end from which he must be reborn seven times among the devas and among the men, before getting the perfections supreme tion of the science of a Buddha (4). This notion has all the precision desirable ; we see the agreement required and the element expression originating final will compose, and of the application that we in fact in the practice. She designates the first not from man to the perfection, and then made Touglya picture simply and perfectly intelligible ; to arrive to Harbor of salvation, hence that man between in the running who is there must drive. the titles that follow do are not less clear, and then note aforementioned from Mr. A. Rémusat 's says a manner not less satisfactory. That of Sakrid âgâmin, who wants to say " man who must return a time, " designates a being who must cross still sixty miles Kalpas to revive a once among the devas and a time among the men, before reaching to the absolute science. the (1) Bhotanta Diction., P. 328, col. i. (2) Alphab. tihet., p. 278; He wrote , however, this way at fault : rgyan Duju gas pa. (3) Turnour, Mahâvamso, Index, p. 24. Examination. of the Pali Bvddhist. Annals, in Journ. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, t. VII, p. 816. (4) Foe hoe ki, p. 94. This note contains other details to which I refer the reader.

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262 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY word of Anâgamin, which means "the one who do should not come back, s> designates a being who no longer has to cross the forty thousand Kalpas the end duquel temps it is exempt to be reborn in the world of desires and is assured of to get to the science perfect (1). It is to point out that these great rewards / which are the fruit of education of the Riddha, are promised for a fabulous future ; nothing, as much as I then discover, not certifies the presence in our present life, for less that this will be the title of Arija, which we give, according to the Rarmans, to these three pre-my orders, as in the fourth. It is also noteworthy that they do not accompany necessarily the title of Religious, because in all the passages where I have found an enumeration similar to that that I examine, the class of Rhikchus is invariably cited after the three degrees analyzed at time. This observation has in itself a great importance; in fact, if these benefits were assured by teaching Çâkyâ to others than Religious, he should be recognized that the founder of Ruddhism had constituted by this fact only a kind of body of the faithful formed of all those who, without to adopt the religious life, had, however, to a certain extent in the knowledge of the truths he wanted to establish. I must say however that at one of the people who have the most early adopted the Ruddhism, the three titles previous ones are, like those that follow, the degrees of holiness who do not appear in use of a simple faithful. This is what establishes a passage in the Mahavamsa where the characters Revelus ^ of these titles themselves are understood to number of Religious of which the Assembly is composed (2). From same Ruddhaghosa, in his commentary on the Dîgha nikâya pali , teaches us that a great number of Religieux qui had yet reached that the degrees of stream-winner, Sakadâgâmi and Anâgâmi, were excluded by Kâçyapa from the first Assembly who took care of the drafting of Buddhist scriptures (3). It is however a point to which I take the liberty of calling the attention of those who have access to sources variety where one should draw the knowledge of Ruddhism modern ; and I ask the question as follows : the three degrees which precede the one Arhat are they really, as I believe they are in the sūtras and in the Avadânas of Nepal, three states promised to every believing man to the words of Ruddha and the comprising a manner more or less complete, or are - (1) A. Rémusat / Foe koue M, p. 94. (2) Mahâvanso, c. xxvii, p. 164, ed. 4 ". (3) Buddha ghosa, in Turnour, Examin. of the Pali Budd. Annals, in Asiat. Journ. o {Bengal, t. VI, p. 513. The above titles are given here, according to M. Tumeur, in their form pale, which is sufficiently recognizable.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .263 this three states to which the Religious alone can rise through the efforts of virtue and intelligence ? the fourth degree or that to 'Arhat ne donnot take place at the question that I come to report; the text city more high not allowed in this respect no doubt, since he says in positive terms that it is only after adopting the life religious that one can, with the help of a superior science, become an Arhat. The Arhat or the Venerable is, on the report of knowledge, arrived at degree the most high among the religious ; and the Sūtras as well as the avadânas him attribute supernatural faculties, that is to say, the five Abliidjms or know-higher sessions, which are : the power of take the shape you want, the ability to hear all the sounds, some weak they are, the knowledge of thoughts of others, the past lives of all the beings, finally the faculty to see the objects at some distance as it is (1). The note of Mr. Rémusat cited more top tells us that the Arhat must still go through twenty miles Kalpas, after which he get the science Supreme (2). Besides , it is, like according to the texts of Nepal, by the annihilation of all

the corruptions of evil, that we arrive, according to the Chinese author, at the rank of Arhat ; and he probably need seek in this circumstance the cause of the false etymology of the name of Arhat that offer the Buddhists of all the schools, those North as those of the South, and which consists in looking at Arhat as synonym of Annâm hattâ (pali), "The victor over enemies. " We have already, Mr. Lassen and I, reported this interpretation wrong (3) et j'ajoute here that his presence at the Buddhists of all the country proves that it comes from a source unique and very certainment old. The Jâinas, who in India are the true heirs of Buddhists, do not seem to have fallen into the same error, if however we must relate to the testimony of Vichnu Purâna, which derive well the word Arhat de arh, "to deserve, to be worthy (4). > Some high as are the knowledge of an Arhat, he is not yet succeeded in this that the Sutras and legends call the Bodhi or Intelligence (1) Clough, Singh. Dict., T. II, p. 39, col. 2., (2) A. Rémusat, Foe koue M, p. 95. (3) Test on the pale, p. 203. The Tibetans not translate pasautrement this term. (4) Wilson, Vichm purân., P. 339. Bohlen has close ingeniously the mot Arhat the ari-tonians quoted by Nicolas of Damascus. {Das alte Indian, t. I, p. 320.} What that is the value of this approximation, one can assume with Lassen that the Arhats have been known to the Greeks. The Spot or venerable, which, according to Clement of Alexandria, made a cult pyramid high above the relics of God, are the Arhats, including the name was translated to this manner by the Greeks. (Lassen, De nom. Ind. Philosoph. ^ In Rhein. Muséum, t. I, p. 187 and 188.) We can add that Clement also speaks of dessepai or of venerable women ; they are very probably the Bhikchunis of our texts. {Stromat., P. 539, Potter.}

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264 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY of a Buddha. It is important not to confuse the word Bôdhi with that of Buddha. This last, which belongs to the language of the Buddhists as to c ^ daughter of Brahmins' means intelligence or the ability to which man knows. The first, who is very rare in the Brahmanic Sanskrit, if even he is there employed, designates, according to Wilson, not only intelligence, but also "The act of keeping one's mind awake for the knowledge of the true god (1);" it is a branch of knowledge sacred. In the Buddhist style, on the contrary, Bôdhi designates both the state of a Buddha, and the intelligence of a Buddha, which moreover amounts to the same thing, since the proper state of a Buddha, that is to say of an enlightened being ^ is to be intelligent and omniscient. However as we are often busy, in the texts of Nepal, the science of Buddha djnâna, which is only the acquired knowledge to help of human resources enlarged by the effect of a supernatural power, I believed that the term of Bôdhi was, like that of Nirvana ^ one of those words which we should retain, except the cases where its meaning is perfectly determined, and I have it represented, in the Lotus of the good law and in the present work, sometimes by "Intelligence, or the Bodhi, -" sometimes by "the state of Bôdhi." "These translations have the advantage here of being nothing prejudge on the application that we made from this term to the two classes of beings who follow the Arhats, know the Çrâvakas and the Pratyêka Buddhas. The text we are examining at the moment we watch in effect more the assistants of the Assembly which teaches Sakya, conceiving the idea of the Bôdhi des Çrâvakas. Now as the Çrâvakas are the Audi-tors of the Buddha, and that all the religious who are part of the Assembly have to what it seems at least, right to this liter, it is a result that a simple Religious, if he is happily gifted, can achieve the Bodhi, which is however the share of a Buddha. It is undoubtedly to Auditors reached this high degree of knowledge that applies the name of Maha śrâvakas or large Auditors,

qu'emploient the Sutras and the Avadânas ;and I add that this title sometimes coincides with that of Sthavira or of old, when these Auditors are actually the most âgés of the assembly. But this that these Auditors privileged by the grace or by their previous virtues reach the intelligence of a Buddha, should we conclude that there is a class of Buddhas that we could name the Çrāvaka Buddhas? I do not think so, or at least the texts which are at my disposal do not allow a guess of this kind. According to me the Bodhi a Çrāvaka is the science the most high to which an Auditor can achieve; but this Auditor does not come out not for that of the class to (1) Samer. Dictionn., S. see 606, 2 »ed.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .265 which he belongs ;he is always a disciple of the Buddha, an enlightened disciple, he is true, and the most enlightened of all, but who has not yet reached at all the perfections of the fully accomplished Buddha. This is so true, that the text that I analyze up above these Auditors if instructed to Pratyeka Buddhas , or the Buddhas personnel, who wear real-ment this title of Buddha, who does not seem to me to grant our books to Çrāvakas. The Pratyêka Buddhas are Buddhas selfish, if I then express as well, which have all the perfections of the Buddhas, science, then sance and charity, less this character of saviors qui appartient own to Perfect buddhas .Mr. Schmidt has well expressed their role, when he has reported the difference that the Mongolian texts put between a true Buddha and a Pratyêka Buddha (1). When the Sutras and the legends speak of these people high swims , they are accustomed to repeat the following formula : " When he is not born of Buddha to the world, he Pratyêka appear there Buddhas (2). » None hand however these Pratyeka Buddhas not represented completing the works that mark the mission of a true Buddha .But, I owe me hasten to the mean, we go out here of the hierarchy of classes which form the Assembly of Sakyamuni, and we enter this ideal world of higher beings laughing at man, whose invention is not maybe not due any whole ^ to founder of Buddhism. He must, to return to the special object of the present section, do not go to beyond śrāvakas, as general, as we have said, of Listeners Buddha, and which, with the addition of Maha (large), gives place to the distinction of two classes of Auditors, the Çrāvakas and the Mahâ Çrāvakas. In short, the Assembly of Çākya, or, what amounts to at the same, the body from Believers of his doctrine is comprised Bhikshus and beggars, who were called again Çramanas or Ascetics, and among whom the old pre-born the title of Sthaviras or Elders. the two first titles were of absolute denominations in a way; but considered in relation to other members of the company Indian, the Beligieux were called some-both Àryas or honorable, and in relation to their master Çrāvakas or Auditors. Among the Çrāvakas one distinguished Jes Mâhâ Çrāvakas or the great Auditeu;? S ;this qualification their was certainly given in consideration of their deserved. In admitting that flaw, as I have proposed, apply of faithful the names of Çrôta âpanna, Sakrîd ageâmin and Anâgâmin, we must believe also that the benefits promised to those that designated these securities were Paa (1) Ueber einige Grundlehren of Buddhism, in the Mem. of Acad. of Sciences of Saint-Petersburg, 1. 1, p. 241. See again the observations made above, sect. II, p. 83, note. (2) Nâgara avalambikâ, in Divya avadâna, f. 41 b; see again f. 64 6.

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266 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY. refused to true Religious ;but these advantages, which were not to be realized will be beyond of the life present, does not constitute grades made for give a rank in the hierarchy. The only title of this genre is that di Arhator

venerable, which designated a Religious very superior to other Bhikchus and by his knowledge, and by his supernatural faculties. In so that basically, and except the synonyms and shades Light reported just now, here there was not in the Assembly of True Auditors of Çākya that two orders, the Bhikchu or Ordinary Religious, and Arhats or Senior Religious. The founder of Buddhism had himself two of these titles, the simple ascetic śraman.a ^which is almost synonymous with Bhikchu, and that of Arhat. It will be not easy to get in more great details on the treated where we find indicated some of the points of the Religious discipline; I have shown that in this respect the Nepalese collection is not as rich as this would be necessary so that we could present the complete picture of the Discipline. The precepts of Vinaya are in effect mixed up in the story actions of those of which the pipe seem to Sakyamuni worthy of praise or to blame; they born be present incidentally, souvent d'une so very concise, and under shape hint Ades regulations already practiced or at least known. They focus on the garment on the food, on the hours and the number of dining on the care to be taken of the Vihara on the rules to follow for the admission of a Religious, an important subject and which is, as we should there wait, treated a manner detailed in a lot of legends. I hesitate all the less to refrain from more detailed information on these topics if various, that the excellent to analyse of Dul-vawhat data Csoma de Cōrōs made know in general this he has to more curious in this part of the Tibetan collection, which is, as well as I have convinced me, composed of translations made on the Sanskrit texts, some of which are in our hands (i). I have already spoken of Avadānas of Purna and of Saiñgha rakchita; I have given the more great part of Prâti-hârya surlra, which is taken from the collection of ancient legends, intitled Divya avadema, and I am sure that if we owned everything that exists or has existed in Nepal Sanskrit texts, we in would find the La-duction in the Tibetan Dul-va. It therefore may, in what key the Disciplined, bridge, with the help of thirteen first volumes du Kah-gyur, Jes gaps what offer the collection of religious books from Nepal. He It is important, however, to point out here a remarkable institution, which belongs to (1) *Analys. of the Dul-va, in Asiat. Res., T. XX, p. 43 ff., And in / o "r". of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, t.], p. 1 sqq.*

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .267 is certainly due to first temps du Buddhism, and which is even con-temporaine of Çākya; it's that of the confession. On these es firmly established in the more ancient legends, and he is easy to recognize that she holds the bases themselves of Buddhist beliefs. The law fatal to the transmigration clip, you the know of rewards for good deeds and punishment to the bad ones; it makes even the compensation of each of the others, in offering to guilty the way to be up by the practice of the virtue. There is the origin of the atonement, which holds as of space in the law brahmanic; the sinner, in fact, in addition to the interest of his rehabilitation present, must wish to reap the fruits of his repentance in the next life. This theory is passed in the Buddhism which has received all made, with so many other elements constant titutifs of the company Indian; but it has it taken a form particular that in has substantially modified practical application. The Buddhists continued to believe with the Brahmans in the compensation of bad action by the good, because they admitted with eux que the one were fatally punished and the others fatally rewarded. But like, from another share, they born believed more in the moral efficacy of torture and tortures by which the guilty, according to Brahmans, could erase his crime, the atonement was found naturally reduced to its principle, that is, to the feeling of repentance, and the only form she received in the practice was that of confession or of the

confession. This is the institution that we find in the legends, and that these treatise trace back to us the first beginnings. The legend of Purna in giving a curious example in the history of ce Religieux who insulted by one another, Mui says : "A case of this fault, confess that you have sinned [atyayam atyayatôdêçaya) ; and by then this share will be reduced, it will be destroyed, it will be par-given. " The confession of the fault, accompanied by repentance, as was true atonement, both for this life and for the next ; and this atonement applied to three species of mistakes that he can commit the mistakes Pen of sées, of words and actions. From this confession made to the one we had injured (1), of this purely individual confession to the public confession makes in front of the Assembly of Bhikchus, who are the custodians and the guardians of the law, it includes that the transition would be easy, and a time this step taken, the destiny of this institution was definitively fixed among the Buddhists. The Tibetan Dul-vaus that the public confession was practiced even at the time of Sakya, and it took place in the presence of the Assembly, the day of the new and " of the full moon (2). The culprit, interviewed by Sakya on the action that it (1) Csoma, Analyze. of the Dul ^ a, in Asiat. Researches, t. XX, p. 73. (2) Id. Ibid., P. 58 and 79.

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268 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY reproached, should respond to high voice (1). All this is confirmed by the legends ; only I do not find there the trace of the institution of the censor whose speak Csoma (2). Of in Çakya's time , it was he who was to be the censor; after his death, this high ministry had to pass into the hands of the head of the assembly, just like he could be delegated by him to the other religious. The institution of the confession we drove directly to a subject that holds of the way the more intimate and quia an extreme aux yeux importance of Buddhists from all the schools : it is the distinction and classification of the various genres of faults, or more generally the casuistry. But to penetrate a shortly before in this curious subject , he should have the Pratimôkcha Sutra or the Sutra of Emancipation. This book lacks in the collection of Mr. Hodgson, and I did it know that in the very short analysis has given Csoma of the La-duction that the Tibetans have inserted in the Dul-va. According to Csoma, this tra-duction consists of two hundred and fifty-three rules divided into five heads according to the nature of the faults that these rules have as their object to condemn (3). Csoma does not indicate the Sanskrit titles of these divisions, nor the number of rules contained in each of them, except in two cases. It is however not impossible to restore the more large part of titles Sanskrit, in comparison to an interesting note of Mr. A. Remusat on the Discipline Buddhist in the Chinese (4), the table of chapters of the Pali Phâtimokkha , such that my friend Mr. Lassen and I have published it a long time ago, and as it was given recently M. Spiegel (5). The first section of the book, of which M. Rémusat reproduces the brief analysis has for title Pho lo i that we translate by "corruption, extreme wickedness. " It consists of four articles, who kiss them four more large crimes of which we can be guilty, the murder, theft, adultery and the lie. The title of Pho lo i is certainly the Pali Phârâdjika or Pârâdjika, which Clough translates by " unforgivable, in expiable (6). » I do not remember not having never rencontré ce word in the Sanskrit books of Nepal ; he is however possible that it is there in the same form of Pârâdjika, adjective derived from parâdja, a term that I do not know more about, but that I derive from para (retro) and adj (abigere), " Crime , which hunt pushes in back " one who (1) Csoma, Analyz. of the Dul-va, in Asiat. Researches, t. XX, p. 79. (2) Id. Ibid., P. 59. (3) Id. Ibid., P. 80. ^ (4) Fo'e koue ki, p. 104

and 105.⁽⁵⁾ Test on the pale, p. 201, and especially Spiegel, Kammavakya, p. 35 sqq.(6) Singhal. Dict, t.II, p. 388, col. 2. Conf. Turnour, Examin. of the Pali Buddh. Donkeys in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, l.yi, 1 ^ .519.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .269 is made guilty. The Pârâdjikâ dhammâ of the book pali form four 'articles, number equal to that of the rules of Pho lo i Chinese. The Religious who had committed one of these crimes was degraded and excluded from the Assembly (4). The second section has to respect Seng My pho chi cha, we translated by "ruin of Sarhgha ; it contains thirteen articles. This title, who responds to the one of the second section of the Phâtimokkha, according to the list by M. Spiegel, is less clear than the previous one. I'm there recognize Seng Ma for Samgha, "the Assembly ;" but the other three syllables, pho chi cha, are probably altered. In the title of Samghâdisesa, which Clough makes the second class of faults listed by the Moral Code of Religious (2) (which is in accordance with the tradition preserved in the commentary of Buddha ghosa) (3), the end of the word wasted fear, and the whole means : " Ce Qui must be declared to Samgha the beginning until the end. This section contains exactly thirteen articles, as the Seng My pho chi cha of the Chinese. The errors of this kind should, according to Clough, be confessed before a secret meeting which is not less than five Religious, and who has the right to fix the punishment. I do n't have no more met this title than that of the first section in the Sanskrit books of Nepal ; I don't know until now if 'the Buddhists of the North to make an implementation usual. The third section is that of indeterminate rules ; we don't give it no title such as the transcribe the Chinese. But it is likely that this section responds to the third of Phâtimokkha, which has for title Aniyaiâ DHAMMA [^] \ This title in fact is prôte bien in the sense given by the list of Mr. Remusat. This which confirms me in this opinion is that she contains the same number of items as the list pale, that is to say of them. The fourth is that of rules of Ni sa Mii, term which we translate by abandoned to give ; these rules relate to the love of riches, and will consist of thirty articles. This section corresponds to the fourth of the Phâtimokkha, which to for title Nissaggiyâ dhammâ, and which also contains thirty articles. The Chinese transcribe and translate very exactly this title of Nissaggiyâ, who means "this to what he must be given up (5)." The fifth section has the title of Pho y thi, and contains ninety articles ; the term of Pho y thi means to fall ; and the liter of this section, (i) Csoma, Analyz. of the Dul-va, in Asiat. Researches, t.XX_, p. 80.(2) Singhal. Dict., T.II, p. 688, col. 2.(3) Turnour, Examin. of the Pali Buddh. Armais ^ in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Beng., t.VI, p. 519.(4) M. Turnour gives the word Ariyatdni as the liter of this section ; I do not doubt that this will be a misprint that he was not responsible.(5) Turnour, Examination, etc., in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, X.VI, p. 519.

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270 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY closer to the previous one, want say that if we do not abandon the Nissaggiyâ dhammâ, we fall into Hell. This section responds to the fifth of the Phâtimokkha pali, who has the title of Phâtchittiyâ dhammâ, and which contains fourty-two articles (1). Gsoma gives, like the Chinese, ninety articles in the fourth Tibetan Pratimokcha section. He is clear that the title Chinese Pho y thi is transcription by Phâtchittiyâ or Pâtchittiya, term pale which Clough translates as sin, and which is possibly derived from Sanskrit prâyaçtchiita, that which we must repent. "If this explanation is not incorrect, the translation of the Chinese list is inaccurate. The sixth

section for title Pho lo thi thi che ni; it contains four articles. The Chinese translator translated this title by "to repent vis-à-vis someone; "from there just as the faults he designates must be declared to the Assembly. This section responds to the sixth of the Pali Phâtimokkha, which has the title of Phâti-desaniyâ dhammâ, and also contains four articles (2). This pale title is the alteration of Sanskrit pratidêçanîya, "reportable to; "I concluded even offirst two syllables of the Chinese transcription Pho lo she leaves from an original Sanskrit ipra], rather than a form faded, including the r would regularly deleted. The seventh section has no title transcribed in Chinese ;it contains in one hundred articles the rules which prescribe for Religious to study. It is obvious-lies theseventh section of the Pali Phâtimokkha, including the title is Sekkhiyâ Dhamma, and which is made up of sixty and fifteen items (3). The title of sekkhiyâ responds to Sanskrit çâikchya, that I look like a derivative, either of çâikcha (student), or the noun çikchâ (study). He takes the lead in " on the students, y> or better by " relating to the study. » This explanation fits well in the interpretation of the Chinese. The eighth section is not no more of liter transcribed in Chinese ;she meets closes in seven items the rules for completing the challenges. It is manifest-ment the same section as the eighth of the Pali Phâtimokkha, whose title is Sattâdhikarana-samathâ [4 :). We have here two words together in a single by the laws of spelling, know :satta, " the seven,)> and adhikarana-samathâ, "pacifications of discussions (5j. » This title fits exactly, as we see, in the Chinese definition .(1) Turnour, Examination, etc., in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. VI, p. 520.(2) Id. Ibid.(3) Id. Ibid.(4) Id. Ibid.(5) The word adhikarana means, strictly speaking, " subject or matter which is under discussion. >

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .271 In summary, our two lists, that of Foe koue ki and that of the Phâtimokkha Pali, only differ in what affects the titles of some sections. A different tence what is more important is that the Chinese treaty contains two one hundred and fifty rules, while that the Phâtimokkha Pali do only two one hundred and fourteen or more exactly two hundred twenty-seven in comprising the thirteen rules of the second section called Saihghâdisesa. What he in either of this point on which I propose to return later, when I will deal with the Sinhalese collection, it was not in vain to take this quick glance at the main of books of the Discipline, the restitution of Chinese transcriptions noises now makes this supposition very probable, that he exists in the collection from the North a Pratimokcha who is not essentially different from Phâtimokkha of the Sinhalese. This assumption becomes almost a certainty, when we compare the expression of Çikchâpada, that is to say "the precepts of teaching, y> so frequently used in the texts of Nepal, with that of Sikkhâpada, which is not less common in those of Ceylon. The curious minutes of first council which have been gathered the writings canonical a commentator Buddhist we have preserved, we learn that gave the generic name of Sikkhâpada at the most large part rules of the Discipline (1). Now the term pd \ i sikkhâpada is the transformation regular of Sanskrit çikchâpada ^ which I do not find defined anywhere in the books of Nepal, but which I hesitate to do the application of the meaning that the term of sikkhâpada possesses among the Sinhalese. Now like these precepts of teaching kiss at report of the Buddhists of the South, the more large part of orders of the Discipline, I conclude that the delivered named in the North Pratimokcha contains the same materials as that which is known in Ceylon under the title of Phâtimokkha. I would have not quit this subject without saying a few word " from the

extract what given Mr. A. Bémusat a book curious entitled Chi had theou tho king ^ " the sacred book of the twelve observances (2).» This book is not, to all appearances, The sense of focus leads all right with that of hassle. (Turnour, Journ. Of the Âsiat. Soc. Of Bengal, t. VI, p. 736.) (1) M. Tarnour has the merit of having given an excellent translation of this capital piece, on which I will come back to later when talking about the Sinhalese collection. {Examine. of the Pali Buddh. Ann., In Journ. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, t. VI, p. 519 and 520.) When I translates the Sutra of Mândhâlri (above, Sect. II, p. 65 ff. And p. 71, note 2), I was not fixed on the meaning precise of the term çikchâpada, which I rendered by "axioms of teaching," giving him a philosophical sense. The comparisons exposed in my text tend to prove that this expression applies to the Discipline, and it is theretoday my feeling. I pray therefore the player to substitute the word dictates the word axioms in quelques passages the Sutra cited above. (2) Foe koue ki, p. 60 sqq.

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272 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY than a translation of a treaty originally written in Sanskrit; at least we find in the words theou tho the exact transcription from Sanskrit dhuta, that the Chinese derive from a word meaning shake (Ij. But when even the original of this Chinese treaty would be paled, we have a plausible reason for believe that such a book has existed in the North under a form of Sanskrit; it's that the titles of the twelve observances of Chi had theou tho will find listed in the Buddhist Pentaglotte Vocabulary (2). They there are for the most ma-obviously corrupt; alteration however don't go so far as to make it disappear characteristic features of primitive language. Enumeration of the Vocabulary pentaglotte ayet a further interest: it is possible of the compare to a similar list which has course among the Singhalese (3). The list which I Parlea for title Teles dhûtangga, in Pali Terasa dhûtangga, that is to say "the thirteen rules by which it shakes the sin-." We find here the theou tho Chinese, which I spoke all at the time; it's well the transcription of Sanskrit dhûta, which should not be translated, with Clough, by messenger. Those two lists, that the vocabulary and the Clough, differ without doubt a few points independently same from the difference of the two numbers, twelve in Tune and thirteen in the other. I will report these differences by following the order of the list of Vocabulary, which agrees better with that of the Singhalese than with that of the treaty Chinese. Heit is moreover here about the Sanskrit sources of Ruddhism, and it is not that by the way that I can speak of faded forms peculiar to Ruddhisme the South. The first of twelve articles of the Vocabulary is written Sânpukulika; it is a faulty spelling of the term Pâmçukûlikah, which in the language of the Rud-dhistes means "wearing rags found in the dust." This term is regularly derived of piu Tiçulcûla, "Heap of dust;" This is in effect in the piles of garbage in the cemeteries and other places abandoned, that the Religious must pick up the rags of which their clothing is made. This prescription is the first according to the list of the Singhalese, and it responds to the ar-seventh article of the Chinese treaty, relating to the rags of which the Religious must will make the clothes patched. The injunction that contains this article is certainment of the most ancient in the Ruddhistes, and legends are made of per-petual allusions, for example when Çâkyarecommend to Religious of sew and to wash the parts of their clothes. I add that the Tibetan part of the Pentaglotte Vocabulaire (4) justifies my reading and my interpretation; the article (1) Foe koue M, p. 60. (2) Vocab. pentagl, sect. XLV. (3) Clough, Singhal. Dkt., T. II, p. 242, col. 2. (4) I owe to the complacency of M. Foucaux the list of Tibetan titles of the twelve sections which

OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .273that we care there istranslates Phyag-dar-khrod-pa ^ " what is found inmiddle of the garbage, " according to Schiôter (1),and more exactly, " garbage heap . "It is, in fact,the translation ofpamçukûla, without theadjective formthantakes this term in thelistingof the Pentaglotle Vocabulary . The name of the clothingmadeof rags found in the garbage is in Tibetan phyag-dar-khrod-kyigos, literally " garment of piles of rubbish (2)."The second article is regularly written Trâitchivarikah ;hemeans "the onewho has three clothes. "It is, like the termprevious, an adjective; heisderived from Tritchivara, " the threeclothes. » This article is also thesecondin the Singhalese list :heThere is of course written in the form faded fromtetchivarikangga; this spelling diflerencesufficiently shows that theVocabularypenlaglotte was written on Sanskrit originals , as I havetried to establish it therea long time ago (3). Heresponds to the eighth injunctionthe treated Chinese, who directs the Religious to doownat a time that threeclothes. Here again the Tibetan portion of the Vocabularypenlaglotte translatedexactly the Sanskrit:Tchhos-gos-gsum-pa, ^^the one who has themthree clothesreligious. "The third article is written Nâmatikah ; this title is certainly altered, andas he is here, hemakes no sense. In the Tibetan version I find Phying-ba-tchan, which means"The one who has a felt or wool blanket . "To recognize this meaning in the titleSanskrit itshould the read kâmbalikah ;but I would not dare, no more than evidence, substitutethis lesson in ortho-graph of nâmatikah, from which it is too far away. Hedo is no less truethat the Religious Buddhists are forced to wear a coat of wool adark yellow , and itis evident that the interpretersTibetans thought that the pre-This article was related to this injunction.But I ca n't find anynot the leasttrace in the Singhalese list ;hethere is matter neither of the garment woolnor of the color it should have.thefourth article is written Pendapâtikah ; it'sPlndapâtikak that heshouldhre ;this term means * "the onewho lives on alms, " and that's good as well as the in-will follow; He has tried it out for me the vocabulary penlaglotte, which was not to mydisposition. I nephews however not the blaming of interpretations that I proposed,and he better than anyone the means to rectify.(1) Dhotanta Diction., P. 191, col. 1.(2) I find a very clear example of the first three monosyllables of this compound in theTibetan version of the Prâïihârya sûtra , which has been translated above (Sect. II,p. 154), Delà phyag-dar-khrod-pa de-dag bkhrus-nas, which exactly represents the Sanskrit expression :Tasyapamçukûlân dhâvayitvâ. {Dul-va, tom. da or xr, fol. 35 b.}(3) In a footnote inserted to Mixtures Asian, 1. 1, p. 452 sqq.18

274INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYterprète the second paragraph of the notes of Mr AbelRémusat. He is the thirdin the Singhalese list , where heis written pindapâtikangfja. But the Singhalese, orcan waxonly their interpreter B. Glough, appear to be here a confusionheis necessary to manage.Theytranslate 'pindapâta by o:vase withalms (1) /» As if pâta weresynonym ofpatta ^ pale transformationfrom Sanskrit patra (vase). I do not believe that this interpretation is admissible,and phidapâla me seems formed of pinddy " ball of rice," Or of any otherfood substance ,andof pâta ^ "NS:" theNSa dumplingisheresynonymous with the term alms of some foods. The Tibetans do are not hereof great help forenlighen us on the etymology of the word ;but in La-reducing thetermwhich occupies us by hsod-snom-spa, "the one who livesof-mones, "they give us the general and perfectly exact meaning of indapâtika.thefifth article is written

Êkâpanikah. M.A. Rémusat has placed the qua-third on his list, and he thought he reported to the injunction who is made to the Religious to be satisfied with a single meal. I believe this is a mistake who comes from the apparent analogy of panika with pasika. The comparison of the listing Sinhalese and of the release Tibetan of the Pentaglotte Vocabulary we provides the means of restoring this term, which it is certainly necessary to read êkâsanikah. The Sinhala write it êkâsanikangga, and the result of "one who employs always the same seat to take his meal." The Tibetans repeat our article by the Stan-glichig-pay words "the one who Toa seat unique." The adjustment of êkâsanika for êkâpanika is still justified by this observation, that in the Pentaglotte vocabulary the letter p is frequently substituted for s. But here may remain a doubt on the question to know if the Buddhists have not played here on the dual meaning which is ready ceterme, following whether it is written with a ç or with an s : thus the spelling êkâsanika, in Sanskrit, can not have that this sense, "the one who has a single seat ;» Gold-tographer êkâçanika in Sanskrit can not be that this sense, "the one who does that only one meal." But in Pali as the difference of ç and the s has disappeared, êkâsanika can have both meanings. We see that we would justify interpretation by Mr. A. Rémusat by reading êkâçanika; but if the testimony does not many of the Sinhalese not opposed to this translation, the positive assertion of Tibetans, who see here the sense of siege, the contradiction formally. The sixth article is written Khalupaçvâddhaktimkah ; it is the fifth of the list of Mr. A. Rémusat, and that learned the look like relative to the injunction that defend against Religious to eat more than two-thirds of the share of alms he To (1) Clough, Singhal. Diction., P. 394, col. 2.

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INDIAN DUBUDDHISM .275 collected. This barbaric term is unintelligible, and if, to explain it, he had to stick to the meaning proposed, we would not find in the listing Sinhalese that the term Paltapindikangga which defends the religious to eat with more of a vase, injunction comes certainly in the fifth section of Mr. Rémusat who is not rendered by the same term. Fortunately the listing Singhalese has one other item which one that we occupies is, according to all appearances, that an alteration ; it is Patchtchâhhatlikangga, or the rule that orders to the Religious to make a meal per day, and to do that take neither before nor after midday. If in effect we restore this Pali word in Sanskrit, we have paçtchâd-bhaktika term who will appear not very far from paçvâddhakti? nka, if one is postponed to the confusion so easy for groups lîlÇçicha or ^ CVA, and ^ DBHA or ? [ddha. Here I admit that I am not able to explain ; the meaning of this word Sanskrit (in effect, to know) has nothing to do here. I am therefore still reduced to pro- to pose a conjecture, and hence of the striking resemblance has the group ^ sva with the aspirated consonant l ^ kha, it transforms khalu into svâdu, and reunites with this term to the next, I read the all svâdva paçtchâd-bkhatika, that is to say "the one that does not eat candy after his meal," Or after the hour of noon, which amounts to the same thing . This correction, based in part on the study of the list Sinhalese, seems to me to be little close beyond doubt by Article sixth in the list of Mr. A. Rémusat, which states that "the juice of fruits, honey and Another thing the same kind not need ever be taken by the beggar pass midday.)> If even she was adopted, she would give us an expression good preferable to that of the list Sinhalese, which in reality means "the one who eat after, "that is to say exactly the opposite of what that defends the rule. She seems to me to be fully confirmed by the Tibetan translation of our article: Zas-byis mi len-pa," The one

who takes nothing after his meal, " while reading, like me the offers Mr. Foucaux, w / iyis (after) the Er of byis, which not done sense. The seventh article is written Aranyakah ; this spelling is correct, and the word it reproduces means "The one who lives in the forest, " as the door the paragraph premier de the list of Mr. A. Remusat. Here again the Vocabulary pentaglotte visibly leaves from a Sanskrit source ; because in faded this injunction is voiced by âranmkangga. The Tibetan version strongly agrees with this explanation ; it represents our article by the words :Dgon-pa-pa," the one who lives in the solitude. " In saying that the Religious must live in a place A fan jo ^ the Chinese will make that transcribe the term Sanskrit aranya. The eighth article is written Vrikchamûlikah ; it's the tenth on the list

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276 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY by Mr. A. Réausat, the one who enjoins to the Religious to sit down with a tree, and not to seek other shelter. The word vrikchamûlika means in effect "the one who is near of the root of a tree.)> Here again the term of Pentaglotte vocabulary is Sanskrit, because in Palithis article is written Rukkhamullkangga. The Tibetan version is here agree with our explanations ; she replaces the term that we occupies by these words: Ching-drung-pa, "the one who is near a tree. "The ninth article is written Âbhyavakâçikah; this is the eleventh paragraph from the list by Mr. A. Rémusat, who enjoins to the Religious to sit on the floor. The Pentaglotte Vocabulary here still follows Sanskrit originals ; because in palethis article is written Âbhokâsikangga. the Sinhalese give to this term a exact interpretation , when they say that he expresses the injunction that is made to the Religious to live in the open air, without ever taking shelter under a roof nor in a house. This explanation clearly follows from the meaning of avakâça, " space open. "He it is important to bring this defense closer to the former; and we must conclude that the only shelter under which could be refuge the Religious was the shadow of the trees, near the trunk of which he was allowed to sit down. The release Tibetan will give here a little more of latitude ; in fact, expression Blag-ba-mcd-pa means, if I understand correctly, the one who does not have his comfortable. >The tenth article is written Smâçânikah ; this is the ninth item in the list by M. A. Rémusat, and he enjoins the Religious to live in the midst of tombs. here yet we have a term purely Sanskrit and easy to distinguish from the pale form , which is sosârakangga. According to the Sinhalese, this article does not order to Religious that the visits temporary the places where we deposited the dead; he should that he will visit from time to time in a cemetery, in the middle of the night, for there to meditate on the instability of human things. The Tibetan version is here perfectly exact :the words Durkhrod-pa in fact mean " he who is in the cemeteries. ^The eleventh article is written Nâichadikah ; this is the twelfth paragraph of the list by M. A. Rémusat, the one which enjoins to the Religious of being seated and not layer. Here again we have a perfectly recognizable Sanskrit term ; the pale form of the Sinhalese list is Nesadjjikangga. Following Glough, this article enjoined on Religious sleeping in the position a man sitting, and of born not lie down. The Tibetans replace this term by the expression Tsog-pub-pa, which our dictionaries translate as: <the one who sits one leg folded under the body. "The twelfth article is written Yâthâpamtari ; he answers the third para-

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .•277 graph of the list by Mr. A. Rémusat, to the one who enjoins to the Religious of keep his rank when he begs. The Sinhalese read and interpret a

little this article differently : according to Clough, we write it Yathâsanthatikangga, and we see the injunction made to Religious not to dene chan ^^ er the position of the mator the mattress on which he is based, and of the leave such that he has it a time extended. The Sinhalese interpretation is strictly conforming to the etymological logic, since if we subtract the suffix ika, the word yathâsanthat for yathâ-sañhala who remains represents exactly the Sanskrit yathâsamstrita, " as he is extended ;" To ensure that the article entirely expected, in this case, be read in Sanskrit yâthâsamstritika, "The one who leaves his carpet tel that he has it a time extended. " But considering the spelling YAT / îâpamtari any fautive qu'elle is, puts us on the path to another restitution which consists in reading yâthâsams-tarika, adjective formed of yathâsamstara, " as is the carpet, d The lesson of the Pentaglotte vocabulary leads more directly A This correcting only one that suggest me the spelling of the listing Sinhalese, et je the preferred even at the supposed lesson yâthâsamstritika. But also, you see, one and the other we move away of the Chinese interpretation , which orders the Religious of garderson rank when he begs. The Tibetan version does not seem to me to be decidedly decided-lies the question, because the expression ICM-gee-BJI-pan is sufficiently vague to be paying to these two interpretations : " That which remains at the site where it is," or [the one who keep his carpet,]" Such that it has a time placed." The analysis earlier we have given twelve items pale, each of which corresponds lays in a section of the Vocabulary pentaglotte; but the Sinhalese in count a thirteenth, which occupies the fourth place in their enumeration. Clough writing Sapadânatchârikangga, and the translated: " Order which en joins the "Religious to live by begging for food from house to house. " We explains this term by its (for saha) " with, " padâna (for pradâna) "Don, alms,)) and chârîka, "which works, " that is to say, "the one who walks in collecting of alms. » This rule fits naturally in that of Pindapâtka, that he is not difficult to understand how it can fail to List of Vocabulary Pentaglotte and in that the treated Chinese city by Mr. A. Rémusat. I regret to myself stopped so long on these details, if no result was not some consequences interesting affecting the habits and the life religious, in the early days of Buddhism. He is obvious that the rules that contain the twelve paragraphs explained everything to time appartien-NENT to a époque où organizing Religious in one body subjected to a simple, but strong hierarchy , and residing in the breast of rich monasteries in

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278 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY was still barely in its early stages. The obligation to retire in the loneliness of the forests, that of sitting down with the troncs d'arbres, that of living 'in full aii-, far from home and in any other shelter, are certainly three primitive rules. They are even contrary to the institution of Yihâras or monasteries, which are however very old in the Biology, and including the need began to be to feel as soon as the body became followers numerous. One other institution no less remarkable is all rules that to relate to the garment. The Religious must compose the roomscloth which he is covered with rags collected in the cemeteries or medium garbage, and he born can't own more than three of these miserable clothes patched elements . A carpet to sit on, a vase to beg for , this is what , with these three garments, form all his wealth. The Brahmin, or more precisely the ascetic out of the Brahmanic caste , carried without doubt more far still the detachment, when he lived entirely naked, without consider covering this body he believed to have tamed; but he hurt a feeling who survives among all the men in the loss inevitable of their first innocence. Çâkyamuni, on the contrary, gave in his morality

a great room for the assault; and he seems he has wanted to make the backup of chastity that he imposed on his disciples. The legends are full of the reproaches he addresses to beggars who go naked, and the appalling spectacle of their rudeness is over a time approximationché from the chaste picture of an Assembly of Decently dressed religious. He is even allowed to believe that the power granted to women to enter into the life of religious was not without influence on the rigor of the injunctions relating to clothes. Who could have tolerated the sight of a Naked nun? Between many examples of disgust that the Buddhists of experience in the REN-against naked ascetics, I choose one of the most characteristic." One day of beggars naked if were assembled to take their meal in the house of the stepmother of Sumâgadhâ, daughter Anâthapindika. The mother-in-law tells her daughter-in-law: My daughter, come see some respectable characters. Sumâgadhâ is said in itself: Without doubt it has invited the major Auditors, as the Sthavira Çâradvatî putra (Çâriputra), Mahâ Maudgalyâyana and others. So she went out full of a joy of satisfaction; but she would not rather have seen these beggars wearing their hair in the shape of pigeon's wings, dirty, having no other clothes lying than the stains with which they were covered, exhaling a bad odor, naked and like Demons, that she was seized with great discontent. Why are you sad his mother-in-law told him. Sumâgadhâ replied: my mother, if the characters respectable are well made, how will so the sinners (I)? (1) Sumâgadhâ avadâna, f. 2 b.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .279 These last words very happily express the true feelings of the Buddhists; they make us understand how Çâyamuni could proscribe the use of live naked in rejecting the shame on the Tîrlhikas (i). Let us add, with Mr. Wilson, that the obligation where was the Religious of being so well covered provides To archeology a primary character for the determination of the statues, or scenes sculpted, that we sometimes hesitate to declare Djâinas or Buddhist. The scenes where the characters Religious are covered belong very-presumably to Buddhism; but we do not can tell as many of those where they appear naked. The ascetics or saints who do not wear no clothes must, in all likelihood, be declared Djâinas; they are of these characters who, as indicated their name of Digambara, had no other clothing than space. {To the details that I just to give on those rules of the discipline that seem to me to be the oldest, I believe it is useful to attach a text which throws the day on the life of the Religious in the Vihâras or monasteries. This text, that I borrow to Divya avadâna, no doubt contains some ridiculous details; but I did not want to take anything away, so that we could see clearly from what so the legends compilers will have represented the obligations imposed to the Religious reunited in the Vihâras. We will judge by that of the importance than these institutions had to eyes of Buddhists. (1) Csoma, Analyze. of the Dul-va, in Asiat. Researches, t. XX, p. 71. (2) Wilson, Abstract of the Dul-va, in Journ. Asian Arch. Soc. of Bengal, t. I, p. 4. Mr. Remusat had already noticed the fact; but he did not draw the consequence that that affects the comparison of Buddhist statues and Djâinas. {Foe koue Here, p. 62.) I do have, however, not to conceal that this distinction between clothed images of Buddhas and naked images of Djâinas is formally contradicted by M. Hodgson, in whose opinion M. G. de Humboldt gives a consent without reservation. M. Hodgson, taking the opportunity of an analysis of the Memoirs by M. Erskine on the caves of Elephanta, an analysis of which the author (who is perhaps M. Wilson) clung to put in highlight the reported character Parm. Erskine {Quart. East. Magaz., March 1824, p. 15 and 16), has positively denied that

the images of the Buddhas were always represented LYINGgreen of a garment, the difference images of Djâinas, which are usually bare. {Transact. of the Roy. Asian girl. Soc, t. II,p. 229 and 230.) In support of this assertion, it has produced a drawing which represents a sage seated in the posture of a man who teaches, and in a complete state of nudity. This evidence is, as I the indiguais all at the time, seemed sufficient to M. de Humboldt. {Ueber die Kawi-Sprache, 1.1 , p. 115.) Despite the deference that I myself feel p'ortéto testify to the opinions of two such eminent men , I find that the authenticity of the drawing produced by Mr. Hodgson has not sufficiently established, because it does based that on the authority of a Bhotiya, which the English scholar says in being accountable. The testimony of the texts seems to me to much greater than that of an isolated drawing , the true date of which is unknown . The texts which condemn the nudity in the Religious abound in the legends. I am happy to add to those who are the subject of the present debate a way characteristic of a sutra city more top (sect. 1 \,p. 167) on the miracles of Çâkyâ.

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280 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY LEGEND OF SAMGHA RAKCHITA (1)." It is had to Çrâvasî a master house named Buddha rakchita(2) ,rich, wealthy, having great wealth. This man took a woman in a family equal to his own ;then he have fun with it,with her heis delivered to ,pleasure and to the pleasure.*When heis was entertained with her, his wife, at the end of a some time, became pregnant (3j.*However the respectable Çâriputra entered in the house of this man with the intention of the convert, and he him learned, as well as his wife, therefuge formulas and the precepts of the en-teaching." At the end of some time, the wife of the master house became pregnant. The respectable Çâriputra, recognizing that the moment to convert the child had come, entered in the house of Buddha rakchita without being followed by per-ring. The master of the house said to him :The venerable Śâriputra did so behind him no śraman.a that the follow (4)?master of the house, resumed Çâriputra, Is it that you think that the śraman.as that follow us are born for us of Kâça or Kuça plants (5) V These are the children that you like who become the śraman.as factsto follow us .venerable, says the master of house Buddha rakchita, my wife is pregnant; if it is a son that she gives birth to(1) Divija amdûna, f.164 b, man. Soc. Asian., F. 207 a from my man. Bkah-hgyur, sect. Dulva,t. ka or I, f-147. Csoma, Asiat. Res., L.XX, p. 55. Celtic history is preceded by a preamble which is related to the legend of two nâgas, or snakes fabulous named Nanda and Upananda, and which contains the defense that made Śâkyâ to receive a teaching man whose existence is not well demonstrated. This defense is made on the occasion of a Nâga who had taken the outside of a Religious. Buddhists imagine that the nâgas can be transformed following their desire by some to be as it is, and they will be forced to resume their true face as to accomplish some of the acts which constitute their own individuality.(2) We know already a name like that we have been retained by the brahma-literature picnic is the Buddha rakchita, one of the followers of Kâmandakî, Celtic Nun Buddhist which appears in the Mâlâtî mândhava. With the words Buddha, Dharma and Saîitgha, the Buddhists form proper nouns which mean respectively : "Protected by the Buddha by the Act and "by the Assembly. "(3) The sentence that I placed between two stars is located in my two manuscripts of Sanskrit; but it is lacking in the Tibetan version; it seems almost obvious to me that this is only an inter-polation of copyists.(4) This is referring to the rule that forbids to a Religious to enter into the house of a secular without

follow a different religious, is already ordered, or simply a novice; one such religious isname Paçtchât Çramana, cÇramaija coming from behind. "We have already seen a hintsimilar to this deeply moral custom in the Sutra relating to the miracles of Çàkyà duringhis struggle with the Tirthikas (Above, sect. II, p. 155.)(5) The kâça is the saccharum spontaneim, and the kuça the poa cynosroides.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .281world, Iyou give this child for it becomes śramana and that you follow.Master of the house, resumed Çariputra,that's a good idea.“ The wife of Buddha rakchita, at the end of eight or nine months,world a son, handsome, nice to see, lovely, with the complexion white, the skin ofgold color ; its head had the form of a parasol ;his arms were long, his foreheadbroad, his eyebrows gathered, his prominent nose. TheParents are being gathered to the endof three times sevenor twenty and a dayscelebrated a so brilliant celebrationof the birth of the child, and took careto him give a name. What namewill have the child ?[said the one ;others replied :] This child is the sonofmaster of the house Buddha rakchita ;that he therefore receive thename ofSaiñgharakchita. The daywhere Samgha rakchita was born , five hundred merchants hadeach a sonwho came to them in the world, and to which they gave a similar nameform to that of their family. theyoung Samgha rakchita was fed and raisedwith the milk with the curd, with the butter fresh, with the butter clarified withbutter froth , and with other kinds of hot seasonings ;and hegrew quickly, like a lotus in a pond. When hewas great, therespectable Çâriputtragrateful that thetime of theconvert had come,entered in theHouse of Buddha rakchita without being followed anyone, and com-threatened to give it a sign [ofherpresence].The master of the house Buddha rakchitathen said to Samgha rakchita :my son,you were not yet born that I had youalready given to the venerableÇâriputra so that you became Çramana and so thatread the followings. This young man, who was entered in his last existence, is at-tacha to notofrespectable Çâriputra that he followedconstantly. Introducedin the life religious by Śâriputra, hereceived from him the investi-e and theknow-ciency of the four collections of commandments[Agamas \€ At some time in there,the five hundred merchantshaving collected ofgoods intended for asea voyage , and wishing to embark on thegreat ocean will say: Why, friends, do not should sail with us aArya, so that when we 'll be in the middle of the great ocean, itweteachesthe law? Others answered them :Friends, there you gothe Arya Samgha rakchita, which isof our age, who was born at the sametime that we, who played with us inthe dust (1) ;it's himthat you have to embark with us. They went sonear him and said to him :Samgha rakchitathe Arya, you are of our age, you areborn at the sametime that we, you 've playedwith us in the dust. Welet's go to the great ocean ;therefore also come and embark with us ;(1) The two manuscripts Sanskrit read sahapramçukrîdanaka, which pourraitse translate to therigor by " who has size and games in common." "But i havefollowed by Tibetan, which starts from atext where we read pârfiçu, " Dust, " in place of prâmçu, " which is high waist. >

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28 ^€INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYwhenwe will be in the middle of the ocean, you will teach us the law. I dontam not in control of me, replied Samgha rakchita; address to myprecepttor. The merchants are rendered so in the place whence was the respectableÇâriputra,and when theyWhen they got there, they said to him :Çâriputral'Ârya !here is the Arya Samgha rakchita who is of our age, who was born

at the same time than us, who played with us in the dust. We are going to leave for the big ocean : consent to him embarking with us ; when we will be sure the great ocean, it will teach the Fa. Çariputra answered them : Address you to Bhagavat. They is rendered accordingly to Bhagavat and he said : Bhagavat, we are going to leave for the great ocean ; here is Samgharakchita the Arya who is of our age, who was born at the same time as us, who played with us in the dust ; consent that he embarks with us ; when we 'll be in the middle of the great ocean, it will teach the Fa. " Bhagavat then made this reflection : What are the roots of virtue, what are they, what do these people have ? That of who depend on these roots of virtue exist? Yes, it is the Religious Samgha rakchita. In result he addressed and to Samgha rakchita : Go, Samgha rakchita, he will have to you sleepers from dangers and from formidable circumstances . The respectable Sairigha rakchita testified by her silence her assent to the words of Bhagavat." Then the five hundred merchants, after calling on their business the blessings and the favor of heaven, charged a large quantity of merchandise on trolleys, on yokes, to the back of the holders (1), in the corresponding beilles on camels, on oxen, on donkeys, and set out for the great Ocean. After having successively traveled through a large number of villages, of cities of districts of hamlets of cities walled, they arrived finally on the verge of the sea, and having had a vessel built by a skilled worker , they embarked over the ocean, taking their riches with them . When they were by - Having come to the middle of the great ocean, the Nâgas seized their ship. Then they began to implore the Divinities : That the Godhead, they cried, that live in within the great Ocean, that this is a Deva, a Naga or Yakcha, we do know that that she wants. Immediately a voice came out from the middle of the great Ocean: Deliver to us the Arya Samgha rakchita. The merchants replied: The Arya Samgha rakchita is of our age ; he was born at the same time as us ; he has played with us in the dust ; he has been entrusted by the respectable Çariputra, and yielded by Bhagavat. It would be better for us to perish with him than (1) I read ûdhâih, taken in a direction active, in place of mûdhâih (fool), that the version of Tibetan translated by sbyangs-pa, word of which the meaning known only seems to not go here.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .283 to give up the Arya Samgha rakchita. The respectable Samgha rakchitâ having heard these words, they said : Friends, what are you saying there ? Samgha rakchita Arya, replied the merchants, a voice came from the middle of the ocean has said: Deliver us the Arya Samgha rakchita. Why did the do you deliver not? said the Arya. Is that, resumed the merchants, you are our age, you were born in the same time as us, you played with us in the dust, you we have been entrusted by the respectable Çariputra and ceded by Bhagavat. It would be better to perish us with you than to give up." The respectable Samgha rakchita made the following reflection : Here is the unfolding of the words that Bhagavat said to me : It will take as you cross the hazards and the formidable circumstances . Having thus taken his vessel in alms and his clothes, he is set in duty to be cast in the big ocean. He was seen by the merchants, who exclaimed: What are you doing, oh Samgha rakchita the Arya ? what are you gonna do But as they screamed, the Arya was already fallen in the great Ocean. < Immediately the vessel was delivered, and the Arya taken by the Nâgas was led by them in their palace. Samgha rakchita, him they said, here is the room " of perfumes (1) of the perfect Buddha accompanied by Vipacyin ; here is the one from Çikin, that of Viçvabhû, the one of

Krakutchhanda, that of Kanakamuni, that of Kâçyapa; here is the one of Bhagavat. Samgha rakchita Arya, the Sûtra and the Matrika of Bhagavat sont placés among the devas and among the men (2) ; cornwe who are not that the Nagas, we have bodies fallen. May so the Arya Samgha rakchita establish here also the four collections of commandments {Agama} ! Let it be so, replied the Arya." As a result he fit choice of three Nâga kumaras (Princes of Nagas) ; To one he says : You read the Abridged Collection ; to the second : You, read the Middle Collection ; to the third: You, read the Long Collection. A further [Bhadra mukha] said to him (3) : As for me, I will clear up the Collection added that the form is pure. The Nâgas therefore began to study. the first received teaching with closed eyes ; the second the received the backs ; the third on (1) That is to say the room where perfumes are burned in honor of a Buddha and in front of his picture. See above, p. 234, note 1. (2) This way I seem to prove that the Matrika responds to YAbhidharma or the metaphysical ; because the Ceylon Buddhists believe that the Abhidharma has been revealed to the gods, and the Sutra for the men. (3) The text simply says its kathayaii, " he said, " what seems to relate to Samgha rakchita ; it is thus that I had heard in a first reading, and that I had translated into speaking of the Agamas (above, sect. I, p. 43). But the rest of the text seems to me to prove that it is from another Nâga whose intervention is necessary for the understanding of the piece, and who is named a little lower Bhadra mukha. Nothing at rest is more confused no more imperfect than

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284 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY received from afar. Of these Nagas, the fourth alone was respectful, full of defiance, and always ready to fulfill his duties on the spot. Arise, respectable, [he said his master ;] quit the wand to clean the teeth ; scan the circle that surrounds Bhagavat, and honor the monument of the Buddha ; eat, prepare your lying down." At the end of some time, all the Nagas had read the books of commandments. the [fourth] Naga said to Sarhgha rakchita : Arya, these Nâgas have read the collections of commandments ; the they retain? As they have of the Me-moire, said the Arya, they them retain ; however here is a fault in them. - And what fault, Arya? - It is that all they have failed to compliance and of deference : the first received the teaching with his eyes closed ; the second has received the back turned, and the third received it from afar. You alone have been respectful, full of deference, and always ready to fulfill à l'instant homework. - It is not, resumed the Nagas, they have failed to compliance and of deference. The one who received the teaching with the eyes closed has the poison in the eyes. Whoever has it received on back turned to the poison in the breath. The one who received the enseignement by far has the poison in the touch. I alone have the poison in the tooth. The scared Arya became blade, changed in color, weakens, lost the use of his forces fell into failure, and passed out. The Nâga him said: Arya, why are you turning pale? Why do you change color, do you weaken, do you lose the use of your strength, do you fall in failure and you faint you? Bhadra Mukha, resumed the Arya, I see than I live in the midst of enemies. If he happens that one of you is put in anger against one another, nothing will remain of me but a vain name. We will not do wrong to the Arya, replied the Naga; but is it that you wish to return in the Djambudvîpa? Yes it he longed for, resumed Samgha Rakchita. Right away the ship merchants are presented before the Arya, and he was there thrown by the Nâgas. "As soon as the merchants saw it, they said to him : Be the welcome, O Samgha rakchita the Arya. Rejoice, friends, cried the latter, I have established among the Nâgas the four collections of commandments. We are in let's

rejoice, O Samgha rakchita, continued the merchants. Having therefore put their vessel in movement, they continued their journey. After having reached the end of SOMEONE that time the shore of the sea, all the merchants will lay down and be endormi-ment ;but the respectable Samgha rakchita be put to contemplate the great ocean.the exhibition of this legend. The compiler took no care to precisely designate the characters in the dialogue ; he 's calling all there, exactly as done in France a man who has no education. It is not certain that in the midst of all these he did I do I 'm not sometimes lost . It is perhaps in addition some gaps in the text.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .285 Bhagavat has said: Hethere are five things, O Religious, that You never tire of watch :they are an elephant, a Nàga, a king, the ocean and a high my-tagne; we do get tired not no more to see the Buddha who is the best of Blessed. He stayed awake for a long time ,busy to watch the big Ocean ;but on the last day of the night he felt overwhelmed, and fell asleep with a deep sleep." The merchants on their side having risen before the end of the night, reloaded packed up their baggage, and resumed their journey. In the morning when he had day, they said: Where is therefore the Arya Samgha rakchita? Some answered: He walk ahead. Others said :He comes behind ;others finally :He is at center of the caravan. All at the end cried out :We we 're separated of the Arya Samgha rakchita; it is not a beautiful work that we have done there; we must return to our not. Others then said :Lords, the Arya Samgha rakchita is endowed with great supernatural faculties ; he has a major power; he who falls in the middle of the ocean is not death could he perish today yesterday? He is sure he will be gone in front ;come on, let's go. In consequence the merchants continued their route." However the respectable Samgha rakchita was beaten on morning by the spoke the sun had just to get up, and having woken up he does not live more per-ring. The merchants are gone, [he said to himself;] then taking a narrow path it is set also in road. He arrived in a forest of Çâlas, where he saw a Vihâra who was provided with platforms and from high seats, of balustrades, with windows made of lattice, beef eyes ;and it is realized for Religious suitably dressed, peaceful and in calm postures and decent. The Arya is directed verseux, and soon they him said: Be the welcome, respected Samgha rakchita table . They him then furnished the means to relax and when he was rested, they it did enter into the Vihara. There he saw a beautiful seat and a nice bed who him were intended, and of food purely prepared that were served. Don't you have not thirsty, are you not hungry, Sarîgha rakchita ? him said the Religious. I have hungry and thirst, replied the Arya.-Eat then, respectable Samgha rakchita. I will eat in the middle of the Assembly, resumed the Arya. Eat, Samgha rakchita, said the Religious; [without it] he there will be punishment. He ate so, and when he had taken his meal, he retreated to the sidelines, and sat down. At the end for some time, the sound of the metal plate being knocked to [call] the Religious having made himself to hear, each of them holding his vase in his hand came sit down in its row. And immediately the Vihâra vanishes ;to the square vases parurent of hammers of iron, and with these hammers the Religious broke the skull together with others in pushing the cries of pain. It lasted until mo-

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286 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY ment where the evening came . Then the Vihâra reappeared again, and with it the Religious calm and in decent positions. The respectable Samgha rakchita is introduced devant eux and they said :Who are you then, respectable,

religious, and as a result of what action were you born here? Respectable Samgha rakchita, they replied, the men of Djambudvîpa are difficult to persuade ; you don't don't believe us . I am control eye, he replied, why don't you would I not believe ? - We were, oh respectable Samgha rakchita, of Auditors from Kâçyapa, the Buddha perfectly accomplished. A fight arose a day between us at the time where we réunissions for the meal. By that we were delivered then a fight, we're born here, in Hell which are renewed every day (1). It is established that when the death we will made go out of this world, he will have to be reborn in the hellish regions . That is why, oh Samgha rakchita, he is only good when you are back in the Djambudvîpa, you announce to those who do their homework with you of the religious life : Do you deliver not of fighting in the middle of the Assembly, of afraid that you do not experience pain and despair similar to that to which the Auditors of Kâçyapa are condemned . « Samgha rakchita left These Religious and reached a second Vihâra which was provided with platforms and of high seats of railings of windows made of trellis, eyes-of-bulls, and in there saw the Religious properly clothed, disciplined, peaceful, and in calm and decent postures . The Arya is directed towards them, and immediately they said to him : Be the welcome, respectable Samgha rakchita. They him then furnished the means to relax, and when he was rested, they the did enter in the Yihâra. There he lives a beautiful seat and a beautiful bed which it was intended, and the food purely prepared that were served ; and they said to him : Eat, respectable Samgha rakchita. The Arya having reflected took his meal so as not to incur punishment ; and when he had eaten, he retired to the gap and sat. At the end of some time the sound of the plate metal that is struck to [call] them Religious having milk hear, every one of them into his vase the hand sat in his place. And immediately the Vihâra vanishes, and at the site of rice and of the beverage of religious appeared the iron liquid, and with this iron the Religious sprinkled the one the other by pushing the cries of pain. This lasted until moment where came the evening ; then the (1) Hell which suffer these religious is likely in the case of those whose talk of Haulesrayes, and he defines as the underworld scattered over the area of the land on the shores and in the places isolated. They are naturally separate the places of suffering that are part of each system creation, and that there appear in the same time as the sinners. {Reeh. on the Rel. de Fo, in Journ. Aûat., T.VIII, p. 82.)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .287 Yihâra appeared again, and with him the peaceful Religious , and in postures calm and decent. The respectable Samgha rakchita is presented before them and they said: Who are you, respectable religious, and by result of what action were you born here? Respectable Samgha rakchita, they replied, the men of Djambudvîpa are difficult to persuade ; you will go not we believe. I am witness eye, he said, why don't you would I not believe ? - We were, oh respectable Samgha rakchita, Auditors of Kassapa, the Buddha perfectly is lying accomplished. One day he came as the Assembly having received oil, the Religious there came all of a sudden in as guests. Then yielding to our greed, we conceived the thought of not eat that when these new entrants would have left, and we did as we had planned. At the end of seven days he came the bad weather that made turn our rice and our drink. As for us, because we had applied to our use what we had to give with faith, we are born here in the underworld that is renewed each day. He is established that when the dead we have made get out of this world, he will have to be reborn in the hellish regions . It is why, respectable Samgha rakchita, he is good that when you return to the Djambudvîpa, you announce to those who fulfill with

you the duties of the religious lifegious :Do not apply to your use this as vous devez give with faith of afraid that you not experience of pain and a despair similar to that au What are condemned the Brahmins of Kâçyapa." Samgha rakchita left these Religious, and reached a third Vihâra, which was provided of platforms and of high seats of railings of windows made of trellis, oeil-de-boeuf, and in which the things are passed as in the other two . When the respectable Samgha rakchita had eaten, he pulled to the gap and sat down. At the time when the sound of the metal plate that strikes to [call] the Religious is made to hear, the Vihâra caught fire, appeared inflamed, became the prey of the flames and was consumed. And the Religious push health of cries of pain, were devoured by the flames until that came the evening. Then the Vihâra reappeared again, and with it the peaceful Religious, and in calm and decent postures . The respectable Samgha rakchita is introduced before them and said unto them, Who are you then, respectable Religieux, and as a result of what action were you born here ? Respectable Samgha rakchita, they replied, the men of Djambudvîpa are difficult to persuade, you do not we won't believe I am a witness eye piece, he replied, why wouldn't you believe I do n't? - We were, respectable Samgha rakchita, Auditors of Kâçyapa, the Perfectly accomplished Buddha . Gum we had a bad driving, we were driven out by the Religious who in had a good. We went

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288 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY to establish ourselves in a deserted Vihâra . There came a day a religious who had a driving body; we then conceived this idea : If this Religious remains with us he will be enough for him only for us to attract the alms. The Religious therefore remained in our Vihâra. The presence of the Religious attracted to new in the monastery a large number of Religious endowed with moral conduct. These new entrants we drove again to this place. Lost by the feelingment, we rassemblâmes of wood, the grass and of the cow dung dried, and we sat down the fire at the Vihara. There were burned a large number of people, so many among the students than among the masters (1). And we, for having done to perish these people by fire, we were born here in Hells that were renewed grow every day. He is étabh that when the dead we have made out of this world it we will have to be reborn in the infernal regions . This is why respectable Samgha rakchita, it is good that when you 'll retournédans the Djam-budvîpa, you announce to those who fulfill with you the duties of life religious : Do n't design against those who fill with you the homework religious of Thoughts of malice, for fear that you will not experience the from where-theirs and one despair similar to those which are condemned the Brahmins of Kâçyapa." the respectable Samgha rakchita left these Religious. I soon saw of beings of which the shape resembled to that of a column, a wall, a tree, of a leaf, of a flower, of a fruit, a rope, a broom, a vase, a mortar, un chaudron. the respectable Sâihgha rakchita arrived in a district. There, in a hermitage, lived five hundred Rîchis ; from further than they saw the respectable Samgha rakchita, they are told the one to the other: Conti-nuons of us indulge in our occupations ordinary : these Çramanas, sons' of Çâkyâ (2), are great talkers ; he none of us would say a word to celui-(1) The text says Çâikchâçâikcha. It is quite clear that it is a question of both here and of those who receive the instruction and of those which they offer; the etymology of the word çâikcha and its opposite açâikcha enough for the show. But the tone precisely expresses the first of these terms do is me not perfectly known, because as I only have not met in a fairly large number of passages. The Vocabulary of Hémachandra, which in its

quality of Jain was more versed in the things Buddhist that only they could be a Brahmin, place the term Çâikcha immediately after that of Çichya, which is the proper word to designate a pupil, a disciple. {Hemachandrakôça, ch. I, st.79 a.) The Çâikcha is distinguished from the Çtchya in that it is prathama kalpika, title which means probably "one that in is the first instructions." The termed'Açâikchais more easy to identify thanks to Vocabulary Pali Clough. The Abhidhâna ppadîpika makes it asynonymous with ' Arhat. {Pali Gramm. and Vocab., p. 2, 1.2.) This term means to own " one who is not Çâikcha. > If he designates the Arhat, it is undoubtedly as having crossed all the degrees of teaching.(2) It is still a of names that we give to followers of Śākya ;heis familiar to all schools, but it will be not represent very often in our legends of the North.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .289this. As a result they continued to be delivered to their occupations ordinary. The respectable Sarhgha rakchita having introduced himself before them, are set to their de-ask for hospitality ;cornno one said a single word to him." It is had in the hermitage a Richi including the provisions were virtuous: Why, he said to the Religious, do you not give hospitality [to this Ârya]? You are committing in this apeach; you are just great talkers. I will, Religious respectable, you immediately give asylum to unless you do me commands something else. Richi, replied the respectable Samgha rakchita, that heso be it. While the Richi is set to go alone the country, and hey found a small hut which was vacant. He said to Samgha rakchita :Lie down in this little hut. The respectable Samgha rakchita be put in duty watering, of to clean, of sweephut and cover the ground with fresh cow dung. che. The more religious the saw and said among themselves: These śraman.as, son of Sakya, like the cleanliness. The respectable Samgha rakchita, after having washed the feet in outside the hut there came and there sat cross-legged, holding her upright body, and putting her memory back in front of her mind." The Divinity which resided in the hermitage surrendered around the first eve of the night in the hut of Samgha rakchita, and when it is arrived, she said :Samgha rakchita the Arya, exposes the Law. You are happy, oh Goddess, tell her Samgha rakchita ;do n't you see that i have obtained an asylum in making myself even the ordinary preparations? Is it that you want me out? The goddess thinks :His body is tired, let it sleep; I will return to the standby of the medium. She came thus to the second day before and told him :Samgha rakchita l'Ârya, exhibits the Law. You 're happy, O goddess, he replied Samgha rakchita ;do n't you see that I 've got an asylum in making myself the ordinary preparations? Is it that you want me out? The Goddess reflects :His body is tired it sleeps ;I will come back on the last day before. So she returned to the last watch and said to him :Samgha rakchita the Arya, exposes the Law. You are happy, O Goddess, he replied Samgha rakchita ;do you see not that I have obtained an asylum in making the preparations myself ordinary? Is it that you want me out? Arya Samgha rakchita, continued the Goddess, he is up to date now. If you you hunt, you will go away . Has n't Bhagavat got you not said: You will have to go through hazards and the formidable circumstances? The respectable Samgha rakchita reflected chit: She speaks well. If I hunt, I myself will go. Then he thinks again :What are the Brahmins that these Richis :I their will speak proper language to the Brahmins. has in consequence the respectable Samgha rakchita is set to instruct the meeting of Brahmins :It is not the custom of walking bare them he said, or 19

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290 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY the hair braided, or the use of clay, nor the choice of various species of a-liments, nor the habit of sleeping on the ground naked, nor the dust, nor the un-cleanliness, nor the attention to flee the shelter of a roof(1), who are able to dissipate the turmoil in which we throw the desire not satisfied ; but that one man master of his senses, calm, recueiUi, chaste, avoiding to do harm to no creature, fulfill the Law, and he will be, although adorned with ornaments, a Brahmin, a Çramana, a Religious. The Brahmans heard it and made this thought: This language is consistent with the feelings of a Brahmin; and by following it a Brahmin came to him first, then two, then three, until what finally he all came to him." The Goddess, however, pronounced a blessing, the effect of which was they will remain were invisible to each other. Then the respectable Samgha rakchila they taught the Sutra which is similar to a city (2), and recited this stanza : That all the beings who are gathered here, whether they are on the Earth or in the air, witness constantly to the charity to creatures, and they will accomplish the law day and night(3) ! While he preached this exhibition of the Law, all the Brahmans, the time when they recognized the truths, obtained the fruits of the state of Anâgâmin, and acquired supernatural faculties. All made entendre in a unanimous voice that exclamation: Well spoken, respectable Samgharakchila. The miracle that the Goddess had done with the help of her supernatural power was annihilated, and the Brahmans began to see each other, and each said to the other : Te here therefore also happened? - Yes, I came too. - This is good. Once they had seen the truths they said : May we come in, O Sam-gha rakchila, in the religious life under the discipline of the well-renowned Law ! May we obtain the investiture and the rank of Religious! Let's accomplish the de-Also see to the conduct religious in presence of Bhagavat (4). The respectable Samgharakchila then said to them : Will it be to me as you enter into the life reli-(1) I thus translate the term utkutukaprahâna; he is likely that the first is an alteration from Sanskrit kntungaka (roof), or even kutûka (parasol). The Tibetan translates this word by rtsûg-buhi-spong, which is lacking in Csoma de Côtôs ; but rtsog (derived from rtseg) can mean stage, and rtsog-bu, "two-storey house ." "(2) I did not find this S say or anything like it in our collection from Nepal. This title perhaps comes from the fact that the substance of this treatise was a similitude or a parable taken from a city. 11 there was in the Lotus of the Good Law a parable where FIGURE a caravan that is in the re-looking for the city of Diamauts.(3) The Tibetan version produces here a piece of five and a half leaves, or eleven pages, which is probably the Sutra titled in the text : " Similar to a city : » This Sutra is put in the mouth of Bhagavat.(4) The Tibetan version inserts here a long piece on the duties and rewards of life religious.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM ..291 gious, or before Bhagavat ? Before Bhagavat, they replied. If so, replied the respectable Samgha rakchita, come, let's go find Bhagavat. By which means we going to give in us from him? said them Brahmans. Will it be atuglyour faculties supernatural, or to help yours? The respectable Samgha rakchita then made this reflection : Yes these Brahmans were acquired by my teaching this multitude of qualities, it be that I am now myself similar to a vessel [for the ship to the other side] ; then he tell the Brahmans : Wait a minute. So having retired to from the trunk of a tree its at the legs crossed, holding his body right, and replacing its Me-moire in front of his mind. Bhagavat has said : Five advantages are guaranteed to that who has heard a lot : he is skilled in the knowledge of the elements in that of the successive production of causes, in

that of what is established and of which not is not ; Finally his instruction and his education born out lay not to that of another. After long efforts, after studies and an implementation deep it obtains, by annihilation of all the corruption of evil, d | B see the state face to face of Arhat. Become Arhat, freed from everything attachment for the three worlds it becomes, as it has been said elsewhere, worthy of being loved, revered, greeted. The respectable Samgha rakchita then said to the Brahmans : Pre-nose the end of my garment, and let's go. The Brahmans attached themselves in consequence at the end of the garment of Samgha rakchita. So the latter, like the king of the swans with outstretched wings , soaring through the air with the help of his supernatural power , left that place and left. "By this time the five hundred merchants [which he has been parlé plus top] were busy to unload their goods. They saw a shadow who fell on them, and saw Samgha rakchita. He therefore returned, Samgha rakchita the Arya! they cried. - Yes, here I am . - where are you going now ? These five hundred sons of family, he said, wish to enter into the presence of Bhagavat in the old religious, under the discipline of the law well fame; they ask contestants and the rank of Beligieux. And we too Samgha rakchita, took the dealers we enter into the religious life. Come down a little, we were unloading our cargo. The respectable Samgha rakchita came down, and the merchants unloaded their goods. So the respectable Samgha rakchita, taking with him these thousand sons of family walked to the place where was in this time Bhagavat. " At this time Bhagavat, seated in the presence of an Assembly made up of several hundred of Beligieux, taught the Law. Bhagavat saw the respect Samgha rakchita table ; and from further away he the lives, he addressed again the word to the Religious : Here is the Religious Samgha rakchita that comes with a

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292 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY here. It is not for Rhagavat of this as valuable as the gift of a man to convert. The respectable Samgha rakchita arrived at this moment to the place where was Bhagavat ; and when he there arrived, saluted in the touching Bhagavat's feet with his head , he went and sat on his side, and spoke to him in these terms: These thousand sons of family, lord, wish to enter into the life religious under the discipline of the law well-known; they ask the in-clothing and the rank of Religious. May Bhagavat, out of compassion for them, consents to the receive in the viereligieuse, to them give the nomination. Rhaga-vat therefore addressed them the formula : Approach, Religious! and as soon as he had pro-stated the words : Come closer, Religious, come in in the religious life, all is found shaved and dressed mantle religious, having a hair and a beard seven days ; and provided with pot for alms and the vase is finished in bird's beak , they appeared with the decent exterior of Religious who would have received the investiture for a hundred years. Come, they told of new the Tathagata ; and then shaved, dressed in the religious mantle , immediately feeling the calm descend in all their free, they stood up, then sat down, with the permission of the Ruddha. Rhagavat they gave then teaching; and after of long efforts after studies and a deep application , they obtained, through the invest- of all the corruption of evil; to see face to face the state of Arhat. Become Arhats, *freed from any attachment to the three worlds, envi- with the same gaze of gold and a clod of earth, considering as equal space and the palm of their hand, having the same feelings for the wood of sandalwood and to the ax [that the cut], having broken the medium of the wisdom the shell of the egg, having acquired the knowledge, the knowledge supernatural and the wisdom accomplished, turning the back to existence, to gain, to pleasure and hon-born, they became one of those that all the Devas accompanied by Indra

and of Upeidra*worship, honor and greet (1)." The respectable Samgha rakchita addressed and to Blessed Ruddha :I have seen, sir, in this world of beings which the shape resembled that a wall, a column, a tree, a flower, a fruit, a rope, a broom, a vase, a mortar, from a cauldron ; I have seen that the body shared through the middle, walked not being more supported than by the muscles. What is, sei-gneur, action including these metamorphoses are the consequence ? Rhagavat him answered : Those that you saw, O Samgha rakchita, in the form of a wall, have been the Auditors of Kâçyapa, the Buddha perfectly accomplished. They have dirtied (1) The portion of Celtic -période qui is comprised between two stars is borrowed to the Tibetan version . The Sanskrit original abbreviated the text by means of the formula pûrvavat, " as above; " but it is found more or less complete in other legends.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .293 of their snot and of their saliva the wall of the hall of Assembly. The result of this action is that they took the form of a wall. The ones you saw under the shape of columns were thus changed for the same reason. The beings that thou hast seen, O Samgha rakchita, in the form of a tree, have been of Auditors of Kâçyapa, the perfectly accomplished Buddha ; they have enjoyed the flowers and from fruits of the Assembly in an all-personal interest . The result of this action is that they have coated the form of a tree. The ones you saw in the form of leaves, of flowers, of fruits, were thus changed for the same reason. The one that thou hast seen, O Samgha rakchita, having the form of a rope, has been one of Auditors of Kâçyapa, the Perfectly accomplished Buddha ; he has served on the rope of the assembly in an entirely personal interest . The result of this action is that it took the form of a rope. He is from that that you saw in the shape of a broom like the previous one. The one that you have seen, O Samgha rakchita, under the form of a cup, has been one of the listeners of the order of novices under Kâçyapa, the perfectly accomplished Buddha . One day he had been charged with net-clean the cuts and he came from the wash, that that occur all of a sudden of Religious foreigners. They asked him : novice, the Assembly she has still something to drink ? There are more than anything, he replied ; and the Religious desperate were forced to continue their journey; and yet the Assembly had yet to drink. The result of this action is that it has been changed in section. The one that you have seen, O Samgha rakchita, under the form of a mortar, has been one of Auditors of Kâçyapa, the Buddha perfectly accomplished. One day that the time to make use of his vessel had come, he approached a novice who had acquired the merits of an Arhat and said to him : Novice, stack a small piece of the sesame cake, and give it to me. Sthavira, he replied the novice, expecting a moment, I'm busy ; when I have finished, I you give it that you request. Full of impatience at this response, the Sthavira resumed : Do you know that if that to me liked, I you throw yourself into the mortar, and I will pound you there ? to strong reason can I in doing so a piece of sesame cake. Gold because he had proféré contre an Arhat words of violence, the result of this Action is that he has took the form of a mortar." Those whom you saw, O Samgha rakchita, in the form of cauldrons, have been the servants [of Religious] under Kâçyapa, the Buddha perfectly accomplished. One day they boiled for drugs for the Religious, they broke the cauldron, which did wrong to these Religious. The result of this action is that they have taken the form of a cauldron. < The one that you have seen, O Samgha rakchita, walking the body shared by the environment and supported only by the muscles, has been a man who is Between

294 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY in the religious life under the teaching of Kassapa, the Buddha perfectly accomplished. Greedy for gain, he had a habit of turning into provisions for in winter what he earned in summer, and into provisions for the summer that he was winning in the winter. The result of this action is that he walks with the body shared by the environment and no longer supported than by its muscles (1). "The Religious feeling doubts arise in their spirit, addressed the question the blessed Buddha, which range all the doubts : Where the Naga Kumara [Bhadra mukha] he has begun to experience of the faith? Bhagavat they replied as he follows : Formerly, O monks, in this Bhadra Kalpa (2) even whence we are, when the length of the living creatures was in twenty thousand years, appeared to the world a Venerable Tathagata, perfectly and completely Buddha, named Kâçyapa, and endowed with the qualities enumerated more high (3). This blessed thus taught the law to his Hearers : The deserts, O Religious, the houses abandoned, the cracks of the rocks, the caves of the mountains, the roofs of stubble, the scene discovered the cemeteries, the pensions of forests, flank the mountains, the beds and the seats, these are the places where you have to deliver to the contemplation. Do not be inattentive, do not you do not prepare subjects to repent; this is the instruction that I give you. In consequence some Religious retired to a valley of the Sumêruto meditate there; others are stared at the pond of the Mandakini, the latter from the great lake Anava-tapta, those in the seven golden mountains ; others finally settled in the towns, the villages, the kingdoms of capitals etc'y surrendered to the meditation. <Heit happened that a Nâga kumâra who was to the world for a long time has been transported by Suparnin, the king of birds, above the valley of Sumeru [inhabited by the Religious]. The Naga saw the Religious delivered to the contemplation, busy to read and to meditate ; and having seen them, he felt burning in him the feelings of caring for these religious. Full of these feelings he is delivered to these thoughts : These Arya are freed from their miserable condition where I myself find. The Nâga having made his time, left the world in which he lived, and resumed a new existence in a family of Brahmans which was exact in accom- (1) This part of the legend Saiïgha rakchila is separated from the end we will see more low by the very short legend of Nâga kumâra. I did not think I had to delete this last one, because that she explains in the manner of the Buddhists how Bhadra mukha, one of the Nagas to whom Samgha rakchita taught the doctrine could soon be having faith. According to the current division of Divyaavadâna, the piece that begins as follows : " The religious feeling of doubts, etc.," is entitled : " Legend of the Naga Kumara or the Prince Naga. " (2) The Bhadra Kalpa is the Kalpa, or the period of creation in which we live. The name of this period means "the virtuous Kalpa, " because that during this age of the world, it must pass to be reborn on the earth a thousand Buddhas. (Klaproth, in the Foe koue M, p. 245.) (3) See the end of the legend of Pûrça, above, p. 243.

OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .295 wrinkling of the six ceremonies. There he was fed, raised, and he got big. After a some time, he entered into the religious life under the teaching of Kâçyapa, the Buddha perfectly accomplished. After much effort, after studies and a deep application, he succeeded, by the annihilation of all the corruption the evil, to see face to face the state of Arhat. Became Arhat and having acquired the perfections which have been listed elsewhere, it became for the Devasan object of adoration, of worship and of respect." One day he fit there reflections following : In what condition am I got out [before my present

existence]?- From that of animals. - Where was I born from new? - Among the men. - Where are my mother and father now? - And immediately he saw them weeping in the house of the Nagas. He went there, and when he got there he made the issue following: Why do you cry, my father and my mother? Arya, he answered them of them Nagas, our Naga Kumara who was the world long, has been removed by Suparnin, the king of birds. It is myself who am the Naga Kumara replete Religious (1). - Arya, he said the two Nagas, the nature of a Naga is so bad, that we do not understand how one such being could get in the way of a happy life, more strong reason how it could be put in possession of a requirement such that [the Arhatship]. For who by the care of their son recovered their memory, they fell at his feet and said to him: Is it possible, O Arya, that thou hast acquired one such meeting qualities? If you need food, we have need of virtue; so come here every day eat your meal, and when you have taken it, go away. In a result, the Religious came every day in the remains of the Nagas are fed ambrosia divine, and after it is withdrawn." It is was a novice who lived with him. The other religious said to the young man: Novice, where is your master going to take his meal, and from where hereafter? I do not know, replied the novice. The Religious then said to him: He goes each day to feed the divine ambrosia in the remains of Nagas, and he then comes back. Why don't you go with him? My master, resumed the novice, has great supernatural powers, a great power; it is for that he goes [where he wants]; How? 'Or' What could ~ I transport myself [where he goes]? the Religious replied: When he will use, to leave, of his supernatural power, take the end of his coat. And will I not fall? replied the novice. Bhadra mukha, he said the Religious, when well even the (1) The Tibetan version adds: "After my death I was born in the house of a Brahmin correct at the completion of the six ceremonies; and entered in the religious life in education-development of Kâçyapa, the perfectly accomplished Buddha, I obtained, by the annihilation of all the corruption of evil, to see the state of Arhat face to face."

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296 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Sumêru, this king of the mountains, would be suspended at the end of the mantle of your master, he would not fall; more strong reason not will fall thou not thyself same. <It was at the place where disappeared his master as the novice took the resolution to seize the moment [to accompany it]. So having gone to the place where the Religious ceased to be visible, the novice sat down there; and reflecting that he was going to disappear he grabbed the end of his garment. The two Religious is diri-manage while in through the sky, and soon they were seen by the Nagas; we traced two circles of which we cleaned the inside so that they could sit there. The master then made this reflection: To which therefore has prepared this another seat? Immediately turning his head, he saw the novice and said to him: Bhadra mukha, you're so also come? - Yes, master, I have come [with you]. It's good, they said to themselves even the Nagas: this Arya possesses great supernatural faculties, he has a great power; he has the right to be making use of the divine ambrosia; for this other Religious who accompanies him does not have that right; *he must therefore serve him a common food* (1). In consequence the Nagas gave to the master of ambrosia divine, and the disciple a food ordinary." The latter was the pot of his master; he took and there found a small portion of food. He put it in his mouth; he had the flavor of the divine ambrosia. The novice then made this reflection: These Nagas are stingy: we here sat two together, and they give to one of ambrosia divine, and to me the vulgar foods. In consequence he set

to pronounce the following prayer: Yes I filled the duties of the religious life under the Blessed Kâçvapa, the Perfectly accomplished Buddha, who has no superior and who is grandly worthy of homage, may I, by elicting from this root of virtue, bring out by the death a Naga from the remains of his fellows, and am reborn myself [in his place] ! And soon the novice be put to spilling water from his hands [to destroy a Naga he had designated]. The latter soon felt reached a pain in the head, and it said [to the master] : Ârya, this novice designed an evil thought ; diverts it [to the set à execution]. Bhadra mukha, says Arya to the novice, the existence of the Nâgas is a life of misery ; give up your purpose. But the novice recited the following stanza : This thought took hold of me, I don't then detaching myself from it more ; I pour, lord, of my two hands of water during the time that I exist in this world. When he had thus brought out by the death the Nagas of the remains of his fellows, he was born of new himself (1) The phrase enclosed between two stars is borrowed from the Tibetan version; she is absolutely the necessary material for the story.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .297 even [to her square]. It is there, O Religious, that the Nâga kumâra [Bhadra mukha] has begun to experience of faith (1). "The Religious, who felt doubts arise in their spirit addressed the following question to the blessed Buddha, who Slice all the doubts : What action lord had therefore made the respectable Saîgha rakchita, for that the result of this action was that he was born into a rich, wealthy family, enjoying a great fortune; it should enter into the religious life in the presence of Bhagavat ; that by the annihilation of all the corruption of evil, he lives face to face the state of Arhat, and that he thus fulfills [that you have it said] the work of the conversion? Bhagavat said: Samgha rakchita, O monks, has made and accumulated actions* who have reached their completion, including the causes are arrived at maturity, which have accompanied as the light [accompanied the body that the product], which was necessarily have a term. What other [than me] will know distinctly the actions made and accumulated by Samgha rakchita ? The stock made and accumulated ô Religieux, arrive not their maturity in the elements outside, either of the ground, either of water or of fire, that is the wind ; but it is only in the [five] intellectual attributes, in the [six] component parts of the body, and in the [five] organs of sense, true elements of every individual, that the actions made and accumulated, the good as the bad, come to maturity." The works are not destroyed, were it even by hundreds of kalpas; but when they have reached their perfection and their time, they relate to fruit for the creatures endowed with a body (2). < Formerly, O monks, in this Bhadra Kalpa even where we are, when the creatures had a life of twenty thousand years he appeared to the world a tutor named Kâçvapa, and endowed with the qualities listed upper. Samgha rakchita, who had entered in the religious life under teaching this Buddha, fulfilled the duties of a servant [of the Law]. With him lived then five hundred other Religious, and the capital of the district was usually the residence of a large crowd of people. The servant of the Law had for them all great benevolence. In this way he accomplishes in this place, during all the duration of her existence, the duties of the religious elder ; but he did not acquire (the i Here are ends the piece entitled : " Legend of the Naga Kumara or the Prince Naga, " as that give our manuscripts of Divyâvadâna. That which follows is the end of the story of Samgha rakchita. (2) This piece, from the word marked with a star, is borrowed from the end from the history of Purça, above, p.243; the Sanskrit text is contented the recall by

the formula Ordinarypûrvavat, " as more high ; "The Tibetan version the reproduced in full.

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298INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY[for that]the least combination of qualities. At the end of some time he fell sick. When he was given the medicines made of roots, from stems of leaves, of flowers and of fruit, we lived he was desperate. So at the moment of his death, he was set to pronounce the prayer following :Since I filled, during throughout the duration of my life, the duties of the religious life in the bienheu-reux Kâçyapa, the perfectly accomplished Ruddha , who is without a superior and who is greatly worthy of tribute, without having been able to acquire the least meeting of qualities, may I, by the effect from this root of virtue, enter into the life religious under the teaching of this young Rrâhmane named Uttara, to whom the Blessed Kâçyapa, the Ruddha perfectly accomplished, has predicted that in the future, when the duration of existence of creatures would be a hundred years old, he would be certainly a Ruddha (1)! May it arrive under this Ruddha, by the annihilation of all the corruption of evil, to see the state of Arhat face to face !"Some time after, those who lived with him came to find and it said :Have you, O master, acquired a meeting of any qualities ? None, replied the sick. - What prayer then have you sent ? - This one and this one. And we too, O master, resumed the Religious, may we, after having sought the master in quality of virtuous friend , to arrive, by the annihilation of all the corruption of evil, to see face to face the state of Arhat in the presence of some blessed Ruddha !The crowd of people who resided in the capital of the district learned that the Arya had fallen ill; consequently all came to find and he said: The Arya -he acquired a meeting of any qualities ?None, replied the sick. - What prayer then he has addressed? - This one and this one. And we too, resumed the residents; may we, after having researched Arya in quality of virtuous friend , to arrive, by the annihilation of all the corruption of evil, to see face to face the state of Arhat !"Now, O Religious, do you understand that ? The one who filled the duties of servant was the Religious Samgha rakchita himself. The five hundred people with which he lived, these are the five hundred rich the same. The crowd of people who resided in the capital city of the district, these are the five hundred merchants. Because it then fills the duties of servant of the Act, the result of this conduct has been that he is born into a wealthy family, for-tuned, enjoying a great fortune. Because he pronounced at the moment of his death the prayer that I have reported, the result of this work has been (1) This Uttara is none other than Çâkyamuni himself in one of his former existences; he assumed that virtue of its power supernatural, he had memory of his existence as Brahmin, at the time that Kâçyapa was Buddha.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .299that after having embraced the religious life in my presence, he arrived, through the annihilation of all the corruption of evil, to see face to face the state of Arhat, and he has done, as I have said, the work of the conversion." It is Thus, O Religious, that to all white actions is reserved an all-white reward too, like he has been said garlic-their (1)."The piece that comes from reading allows us to appreciate what meticulous details down sometimes treaties which are put in practice the rules relating to the Disciplined. A complete collection of legends of this genre does would probably let us ignore any of these rules ;it we would continue to be born especially with exactitude the duties to which the regime of the common life submitted the Religious. Those of these

duties will represent the most often in the legends of Nepal are the obligation that is imposed on every Religious to have his meal with those who live in the same monastery and de-forbid never to refuse to a guest the help which here requires. The latter prescription is based on the beautiful ideas of the Orientals concerning the duties of hospitality; but the Buddhists, a result of their predilection for the feelings of moral, have made an application special of these ideas, and is attached to make them enter into the practice of the religious life, they always have as the ideal of the life of man in this world. This seems the proper character of Buddhism, doctrine dominated the moral practice, and who is distinct and Brahmanism, where the speculative philosophical one hand, and the mythological of the other, certainly occupy a more big room (2). By there too the Buddhism clearly reflects his posteriority to with regard to Brahmanism. If in fact the systems moral will be a result of systems ontological, which is established of the way the more positive by the story of the philosophers of Greek, the Buddhism must necessarily, and if we can express ourselves thus, genetically to be posterior to Brahmanism. Without doubt the elements of the science Brahmanical do are not only ontological, and the study of human moral there seems already; but the research speculative are not under the principle ruling that gives to all of Brahmanism a Director-uniformity. Hence the importance should not be exaggerated from those of (1) That is to say that the end of the speech of Sakya Muni is given in abbreviated, and it takes the complete by the formula that ends the story of Pûrça, above, p. 244. (2) Erskine had already very judiciously recognized and expressed the character in general very low morale of the mythology Indian, and for the say in a word, of Brahmanism considered as a popular religion. {Transact. of the Lit. Soc. of Bombay, 1. 1, p. 205.}

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300 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY the compositions Indian, such as the Puranas, where the body plays a considerable role. Because without reminding that it would be an anachronism, or at least arouse a strong historical question obscure, that introduce the Purânas in a comparison of Rudhism with the Brahmanism, we can say that the moral of the Puranas is too engaged in the external practices that these books command, to be brought up to the level of that of Buddhism, which by its principle of charity Universal won the first place among the ancient religions from Asia. These considerations do are not as foreign that they might believe in subject who we occupy in the present section. Besides signaling the Buddhism as an essentially moral doctrine, they call for attention philosophers on one of the characters that distinguish the more clearly the Brahmanism, they have a report live and a connection intimate with the matter of the discipline. What in effect that the discipline for a body of Religious, if this is all the requirements that ensure and regulate the practice of duties? And if these duties are in large part those that the moral needed, that is to say to those to which the conscious human recognizes a character mandatory, the Disciplined - it becomes not in any way the form of the morality of which it expresses the judgments? This is all the more true, that the systems religious accord a greater part in the moral and a lesser to dogma. As of such systems, the discipline grows with the theory of homework which she is the backup, at the same time as the worship decreases with the dogma of which it expresses the designs in a form external. I did not develop here the next general of these remarks; but it mattered of the state in passing, to say that they apply with a whole rigour to Buddhism. There are indeed few beliefs that rest on one too small number of dogmas, and even which impose in

common sense less than sacrifices. I speak here in particular of Buddhism which seems to me to be the most old, the Buddhism humans, if I may so call it, which is almost all around in the rules very simple morals, and when heenough to believe that the Buddha was a man who came to a degree of intelligence and the virtue that each must be offered as the example of his life. In the distinguished design of this Another Buddhism, the Buddha and of the Bôdhisattvas of the contemplation, and especially for those of Ādibuddha, where the theological inventions compete with it that the modern Brahmanism was designed for more complicated. In this second age of Buddhism, the dogma is growing, and moral, without disappearing entirely, is no longer the main object of the religion. The Discipline loses some time of his strength, as in Nepal, to cite just one example, where it has formed a

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .301 new class of married religious, an institution which would have been impossible at the time of Sakya and of its first followers (i). We're here naturally brought to us care of worship and objects to which he is addressed, or to talk in general, of the practice of the religion ; because without this practice the Buddhism would be a simple philosophical moral sophie. It is in this point above all that the correctness of the remarks is verified. given all at the time. In a religion that has little of dogmas, it enough of a cult simple; and in the fact, nothing does is more than that which is imposed on the people by the law of the Buddha. He is without doubt useful to distinguish here and the times and the country; but we in taking to Buddhism Indian, I hesitate not to say that there religion, such that the saw in the Sûtras and in the legends, expresses not less faithfully than any other part of these books, the true spirit and the primitive character of the doctrine attributed to Çâkyâ. In the state where we have reached the texts used basic to my researches, he is not easy to see if Çâkyâ muni looked after of worship and if he indetermined the shapes. What we can learn from this subject them Sûtras and the legends belong effect less Aumâitre that its first disciples ; and in him attribuant the institution of a complete religion with a regular worship, we exposes himself to to commit a serious anachronism. It is obvious to priori that the worship had to be for Çâkyâ an object of little importance ; the sutras we even give the direct evidence he put the fulfillment of his moral well above the practice of religious ceremonies . I have cited elsewhere one fragment of \\\believe see expression of his thought true, vs Brahma, he cried, live in their houses where the sons revere their father and their mother (2). dh the truth, Brahma is the God of the Brahmins, to the authority des-which Çâkyâ claims to escape; and this axiom of morality can pass for an attack directed against the Brahmanic religion in particular, and not against any religion in general. Yes however we reflect that Çâkyâ could not talk about that of the cult that existed in his time, we will recognize in this maxim (1) I want to talk des Vâdjra âtchâryas which were women and children, and who do are not less you are dedicated to the practice of the external duties of Buddhism. {Trans. of the Roy. As. Society, t. He, p. 245.) It is to this singular class of religious that the Buddhist of Lalita patan belonged, which Mr. Hodgson had a part of its first information on the doctrine of Sakya. {Ibid., P. 231.) Mr. Hodgson is the first that is well appreciated this order weird to priests that regards with good reason as a modern invention of degenerate Buddhism . " From the de-"gradual cadence of monastic institutions today fallen entirely into disuse" in Nepal, is released on Vâdjra âtchârya, which is the seul ministre of shrines and including the name, the ((functions and existence itself, not only do are not justified

by the writings Buddhist, "but are in direct opposition with their esprit et leur tendance. " {Ibid., P. 256.}(2) Above, sect. He, p. 118.

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302 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY the statement clear, and we can say courageously for an Indian, from the independence of the moral to regard of the religion. I do not hesitate, for my part, to believe that Çākya did not have the thought of substitute for objects and forms of worship popular of objects new worship and the forms new of worship. He lived, he thought and it is death philosopher; and his humanity is remained a fact unquestionably recognized by all, than the legends, which were costing so little the miracles have not even had the thought to do a god after dead. He had too of sectarian also indifferent to the truth than the Vichnuites for transform Çākya in an embodiment of their hero (1). The cult is so little de chose in the Buddhism, there are no drawbacks deny in speak before for having enumerated the objects to which he addressed, what that in truth this is to reverse the logical order. Religious ceremonies consist in offerings of flowers and of perfumes that one comes the noise (1) Bhḡgavata purāna, 1.1, ch. 3, st. 24. The authority of the more ancient we can to prefer is quoted in favor of this identification of the Buddha (Çākya muni) with the Brahmanic God. Vichḡu, is probably the inscription of 1005 of the era of Vikramaditya, or 948 of our era, found in Buddha Gayā, and published, there are already long in the searches Asians by Ch. Wilkins. {Rech. Asian., T.I, p. 308, trad. frank.} This inscription, if it is authentic, is certainly the result of this syncretism modern with the examples abound in India. Since that the Brahmanism has reconquered the Buddhism an ascending undisputed, the Brahmins well served in this by popular ignorance, have neglected no opportunity to relate to their belief the monuments still standing today which attest the former existence of Buddhism. The ruins of the palaces, the Topes, the caves, everything has changed names, and the heroes brahmins of their mythology like those in history were seen day by day honored in places that had originally had a less Orthodox destination. The curious description of the eastern provinces of India, which have been extracted from papers of excellent observation. The author, Buchanan Hamilton, is full of facts of this kind which it would be superfluous to quote here. I myself happy to warn that these facts are numerous in the first volume of this compilation. When I assumed that the authenticity of the inscription could be challenged, it was to the point of Buddhist view that I have heard of; I do not think not least the strength of the conclusions that Mr. Wilson has already drawn from this inscription, in the learned preface to his Sanskrit Dictionary. {Sanskrit. Dictionn., Pref., P. xij and xiiij, ed. 1819.} This inscription can not in any way be an authority for the Buddhism; to the contrary, it is a proof obvious to my yeux que from the middle of the tenth century Brahmanism had, momentarily at least, resumed an ascendant marked in this old and famous sanctuary of worship Śākya. At rest, Schmidt was already very clearly explained against the theory which wants that the last Buddha be an incarnation of Vichnu; he has a thousand times right when he said it there in has not the slightest traces in the Buddhism old. {Same. of Acad. of Sciences of St. Petersburg, 1. 1, p. H8.} The wise Erskine did it was no more deceived, and nothing is more correct or more striking than this remark, which seems to me worthy of being reproduced here verbatim: "Never the Buddha Brahmanical not be recognized by" The Buddhists true as the same as the sage who made the object of their cult; because he must "its origin in the principles of a mythology different from the them." {Transact. of the lit. Soc. of Bombay, t. III, p. 501.}

We can still see the excellent remarks made by M. G. de Humboldt, on enrollment that I quoted all at the time, in his great work of the Kawi language. (Veher die Kawi-Sprache, 1.1, p. 175, note 1; p. 263 and 264, note 1.)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .303 of instruments and of the recitation of hymns and of pious prayers. Besides, no trace of bloody sacrifice or offerings transmitted to the Divinity by through the fire, first because as the first despréceptes fundamental rate of the moral Buddhist is to not kill nothing of what lives, then because, that the theory of the Veda, following which the Gods are fed to this one offering to fire, which is their messenger on earth, is radically incompatible with the ideas Buddhist. The cult, in fact, only addresses not in the Buddhists to one God, or to a host of divine beings that the imagination of Brahman glimpses, the first hidden in the world, the second scattered in the elements; he has only two objects: the figurative representation from Çâkyamuni, the founder of the doctrine, and the buildings which contain a portion of sesos. A Image and the relics here to be worshiped the Buddhists; too at the house of them the cult he called Pudja or honor, while that among the Brahmins it is called Yadjna or sacrifice. This so simple worship is the only one which appears in the texts of Nepal; here there is, in this respect, almost no distinction to be made between the various classes of books that I mentioned in the second part of this Memoir; only the Developed sutras justify their title in this as in all the others. They relate with diffusion the pomp and the richness of the offerings; corn, except the observations that I will lower, they do not change anything in the nature of objects of worship that appear in the Sutras and in the legends including we are mostly busy at the moment. There, as in the treaties that I believe them more rapprochés de the preaching of Çâkyâ, which we adore, it's the image of the Buddha represented seated, legs crossed, in the attitude of the meditation or teaching; it is still the monument that contains a part of his relics. It is very interesting to see how the writers legends try to do up until time of Sakya himself originally from this cult, who has certainly taken birth after him. The worship of the visible person of Sakya is nowhere indicated as Sakya, as he lives, is still that a man, even for his disciples the strongest; but that of his picture is already showing in the legends just made characteristics and including the intention is evident. I have already done allusion to miraculous journey that Çâkyamuni fit in heaven, and I add here that Udâyana Vatsa, king of Kâuçambhî, prayed one of the first disciples of Çâkyâ to reproduce for him the image of Master, who was too late to descend on the ground (1). The disciple is returned to (1) Geschichte der OsU Mongol, p. 15.

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304 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY desire of the king, and {made with the most precious wood of sandalwood a statue that represents felt the Buddha standing and the hands together in the one position man who teaches. This legend, he is true, does not prove more than not done a miracle, and she is probably in part of the invention of the Mongols; but I can quote a fragment of a avadâna, including the testimony is over instructive. Rudrâyana, king of Rôruka, had just sent to Bimbisâra, king of Rajagrîha, an armor endowed with marvelous virtues and all covered with jewels." At the sight of this, the King Bimbisâra was hit of surprise; he fit call Men experts judge the stones precious and they said: Secure the price of this armor. king, replied the jewelers, each of these stones is out of price; it is a rule that when one can not determine the price one thing, we fixed the value at ten million [parts]. The king Bimbisâra said then with

sorrow :What present can I send back to the king of Boruka ?Then he fit this reflection :The blessed Buddha [is now in the kingdom]; he knows by his unparalleled science that that is a king generous ;he has the means supernatural; I will go [with him], I will find to the blessed Buddha. So having taken the armor, he is returned to the place whence is found Bhagavat; and when he was come, who hailed in touching the Bhagavat's head and feet , King Bimbisâra spoke to him thus :In the city of Rôruka, lord, dwells a named king Rudrâyana ;it's my friend, though I never have it seen ;he myself presents an armor formed of five parts. What a present him will I do in return ?Make a mark on a piece of cloth, him Bhagavat replied ,there representation of the Tathagata, and sends it to him in here." Binbisâra fit call painters and they said :Paint on a room fabric the image of Tathâgata. Blessed Lee Buddhas are not easy Toto land; it's why the painters could not take the opportunity to [paint] Bhagavat. They therefore said to Bimbisâra :If the king gave a meal in Bhagavat in the interior of his palace, he would be possible to seize the opportunity to [paint] the Blessed One. The King Bimbisara who of which invited Bhagavat to come in the interior of his palace, he gave a meal. The Blessed Buddhas are ones that we get tired not to watch. What that was one of the members of Bhagavat that watched the painters, they could get tired of the contemplate. This is why they could not grasp the time of the to paint. Bhagavat then said to the king :The painters will have the penalty, O great King ;he their is impossible to seize the moment to [paint the] Tathâgata, but bring the cloth. The king having brought it, Bhagavat projected there his shadow and said to the painters :

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .805 Fill this outline with colors ;then you will have to write the formulas below of refuge, as well as the precepts of teaching; he will need trace there , so much in the direct order than in the reverse order, the production of the successive causes of the existence], which is consists of twelve terms ;and we will write these two stanzas : " Start, get out [from the house] ;apply yourself to the law of the Buddha ;annihilate the army of the dead like an elephant knock over a hut of reeds." He will work without distraction under the disciplined of this law, beyond the birth and to the revolution of the world, will put a term to the pain." If someone asks what that is these sentences, he will have to answer :The first is the introduction, the second education, the third the revolution of the world, the fourth effort. this The painters wrote everything that Bhagavat they had dictated ;then Bhagavat said to the king Bimbisâra :Great king, addresses a letter to Rudrâyana Thus read: Dear friend, I am sending you in now that he has of most valuable in the three worlds. It takes that [to receive the gift], you pass adorn the road in an expanse of two and a half Yôdjanas ; he you have to go out yourself with army corps composed of four species of troops ;he be that you place this here in a rather wide and open, and that you do the discover that after having it loved and him have made great honors. The observation of this that I will re-command will assure you the possession of a large number of merits." The King Bimbisara who wrote the letter so that it was dictated, sent it to King Rudrâyana, to whom she was presented. Rudrâyana having read it, inexperienced some impatience ;and having called his advisers, he they said :What may therefore to be, lords, then now that sends me Bimbisâra, for that flaw that it makes of such honors ? Equip a body army composed of four cash of troops, and will destroy her kingdom. The advisers replied: Great king, Bimbisâra passes to be a magnanimous prince ;he does not can have you sent in return for your gifts an ordinary present . Execute

from point in point what here recommend you ; if it happens that the king does is not satisfied, we will know well find an opportunity [of the vengeance]. That he that is Thus, resumed Rudrâyana. In consequence we made adorn the rolls in an expanse of two Yôdjanas and half ; the king himself went out with an army corps composed of four species of troops ; the present, brought into the city, was placed in a large place and open, and it is the discovered after having loved him and have rendered him honors. Ô

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306 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY" It is had by this time [in the city] traders who came with goods they had brought from Madhyadôça. As soon as they saw her representation of the Buddha, they cried out all of a voice unanimous : Worship to the Buddha ! The king, hearing this name of Buddha, of which he had n't heard to speak until then, felt his hair spiky all over her body, and says of merchants : What is therefore the one that you name Buddha ? The merchants replied : Great king is the prince of the race of the Çâkyas, born on the flank of Himavat, the edge of the river Bhâgîrathî, not far of the hermitage of Rîchi Kapila. At his birth the Brahmans, who know the future, did this prediction : If he stays in the house, as head of the family, it will be a King Tchakravartin, who will be victorious at the head of four species of troops, who will be fair and King of the Law ; who will own these seven jewels, these seven things precious, which are : the jewel of deserts, the jewel of the elephants, the jewel of horses, the jewel for women, the jewel of heads home, the jewel of generalized dross, which form the seventh of things precious. He will have a hundred sons, brave, full of beauty, destroyers of the armies of their enemies. Having conquered the all of the great land to the limits of the ocean, he will disappear and all the causes of tyranny and misery ; he will reign there without punishment, without using the sword a manner just and peaceful. If on the contrary, shaving his hair and his beard and covering clothing color yellow, it comes out of the house for ever with a faith perfect in the religious life, it will be a Tathagata venerationable, perfectly and completely Buddha. This is what we call the Buddha, and that the name sounds in the world ; and this painting represents his image. - And what is that this ? - This is the introduction. - And this ? - The precepts of teaching. - And this ? - The revolution of the world. - And this ? - The effort. The king understood well

the production from causes [successive of existence], who was exposed so much in order direct than in order reverse (1).⁴ Then Rudrâyana surrounded by his ministers, pushing back all business and any other object, sat down the morning the legs crossed, the body right ; and putting his memory back in front of his mind, he is set to reflect on the productive (1) This enumeration of the successive causes of existence recalls the circle surrounding this Table of Heaven, of the Earth and the Underworld, has reproduced Georgi after a drawing libélain. {Alphab. tibet., p. 485.) The author of which the compilation contains curious information that deserve to être vérifiés and extracts of rubbish in the middle where it 's embedded in, done the names Tibetans corresponding to the dozen that make up this circle. {Ibid., P. 499.) These names do not are something other than the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit terms by which the Buddhists design the Nidanas or causes successive of life, on which I reviendrai plus down in the section of the Metaphysics.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .807 tion of the causes [successive of existence], which is composed of twelve words, by considering it as in the order Direct that in the reverse

order, of this ma-nière : " That being said, this is ;of the production of that, this is produced, " and in beginning with "the concepts have for cause ignorance," Until he came to the annihilation of what is but a great mass of ailments. Pen-while he was thus reflecting on the production of causes, which consists of twelve words, in considering the in order direct, splitting with the lightning of the science the mountain where it is believed see that it is the body that exists, mountain that rises with twenty peaks, it lives face to face the reward from the state of Çrôta à patti ; and when he had recognized the truths, here cited this stance : " The view of the science has been purified [in me] by the Buddha, which is the jewel of the world ; worship to the good doctor that this healing is certainly the book (1) !" I reported this piece in its entirety, because it is about the beginnings of worship addressed Çâkyâ. The legend gives us here more some information on a precious piece. I admit that she commit this, ordinary anachronism and if easily explicable, which involves placing the time of Gâkyâ which is the fact of his disciples ; but this one time granted it does no less true that it reveals to us the origin and the destination of the images of Çâkyâ. It is on a canvas that is painted the face of the Buddha, and the canvas is sent to a king, like the most beautiful present as a prince friend can make him. This image is intended to awaken in him the desire to know the doctrine of the accomplished Master whose features it expresses . And as if to leave no doubt about this destination, Çâkyâ orders that the sacramental formulas be inscribed , true act of faith of the Buddhists ; the precepts of teaching, which I have shown to be identical with the main rules of the Discipline (2) ; finally the part the most high of the doctrine, namely the theory of the causes of the existence ; the whole accompanied by an appeal inspired by the proselytism. We can see by this what relation intimate must have existed in the origin between the doctrine and the image of Çâkyâ. This The main object of the image was to awaken the memory of the teaching of the (1) Rudrâjâma, in Divya avad., F. 410 a sqq. of my manuscript. (2) See above, p. 272. It is not probable that all the rules of the Discipline were written. Pliny : if even the legend rests on a fund of truth, the opposite is certain; because at the time of Çâkyâ the precepts of the teaching should not be as numerous as they are become since, and they were no doubt limited to the five fundamental rules , which are: not to kill, do not steal, do not commit adultery, do not lie, do not drink of liquor enivrantes. (A. Flémusat, Fœdus, p. 104.) (See the additions, at the end of the volume.)

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308 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Master ; and she could not fail to succeed, when she was, like \ esaid here the lei ^ end, accompanied by the summary of this teaching. This alliance of the doctrine with the main object the cult has continued for all the ages of Buddhism. One can find traces not only in India, but in the country where the proselytizing transported this belief ; and among the statues of Çâkyâ that the research of English travelers brings back every day in the light, is in has already collected a very large number which relate to their basis the famous axiom of metaphysics several times cited, by which the deep knowledge of the origin and of the end of beings is attributed to Buddha (1). ^ It includes in the same time in there why the legends deal if Sou Wind of the physical beauty Śâkyâ. All the world knows in fact that the Buddhists attribute to the founder of their doctrine the possession of thirty-two characters of beauty, and of eighty secondary signs that are known for a long time, and by an extract of the Vocabulary pentaglotte (2), and much more exactly by a Memoir by M. Hodgson (3). He is free what question in the books Buddhist of all the schools, and the legends claim that this perfect beauty

was one of the ways that spoke(1) I refer to the evidence of this fact in the key Indian the Asian Journal of Bengal, published by Prinsep. And as the country where the Buddhism is not native, I will mention an example taken in Java, because it has the merit of showing to what extent the Buddhism is left to get to this island. I want to talk to the inscription in Devanagari characters, drawn on the back of a statue bronze representing a Buddha, which was found at of Drambanan by Crawford. {Hist. of the Ind. Archipelago, t.11, p. 212, pi. xxxi.) Celtic inscription is nothing other than the famous philo-sophic formula *Yè dharmà hètuprabhavâh*, etc., which is based on the basis and on the back of a so large number of statue Buddhist discoveries in India. This formula is written in Sanskrit, and not in Pali, that which proves that the statue, or the model according to which it has been executed is the Indian one, and not of Ceylon; if she was originating from this island, the formula would undoubtedly be written in Pali. From this registration and to some other monuments of this kind, which he cites, but which he does not reproduce, Crawford believes to conclude that the Indians have traced came from the provinces of India West. The form of the letters of his inscription does not seem to me to favor this conjecture; it is a devanâ-modern gari, which can hardly be earlier than the xii or xiii century of black era, and that affects the forms Bengali recognizable very easily. If this writing is not from the Bengal, she certainly comes from a neighboring province, for example from the coast of Orissa; she even offers a striking analogy with the alphabet which is now in use on this coast. (2) Remusat, *Ulél. Adat.*, T. I, p. 104 and 108. (3) *Qaotal. from orig. Sanscr. Authur.*, In *Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal*, 1.º p. 91. At the end of *Memoir of Mr. Hodgson*, these physical perfections are attributed to the supreme Adibuddha; skinny it must be a modern invention, like that of this mythological Buddha. In the *Sùtras* and in the legends, where this Adibuddha has not appointed a single time, the thirty-two characters beauty and the eighty secondary signs are nonetheless, and they relate to the mortal person of Çàkyamuni. The Buddhists of all the schools agree on this point, and we possess the times in Sanskrit and in Pali titles of these perfections.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .309 the more powerfully in the eyes of the people in favor of the Buddha. Celtic importance given to the beauty human is explained in part of this that I come from say representations of Çàkyà, and she makes us penetrate hard before in the spirit of early Buddhism. The image of the Buddha has not, like that of Çiva and of Vichnu, an exaggerated number of attributes; it will be multiplied not by means of this luxury of incarnations which of the same God product an infinity of people all different from each other (1). It's just that of a seated man in the attitude of the meditation, or by the gesture of teaching. image except for very slight differences in the hand position, differences which perhaps would vanish even before a critical careful, is always the same. The only scenes that surround it sometimes add a luxury of all exterior decorations to the simple one little cloud of the main object. Now there where everything is so human, the legend is excusable to assume the best of the beauty human; and it is very curious to see with what scruples she stopped on the limit that separates man from God, especially when it is recalled how many little she hesitates at the crossing, each time there is issue of the science and the to be able to of the Buddha. It is nevertheless necessary to take into account here the observations which I made more than one time on the modifications that had to suffer the Buddhism in the course of time. The cult was little changed, because that in the

religions the form has a duration which survived many centuries at the bottom same beliefs. But new object worship is associated with the image of Sakya. For the ancient times, these objects had to be the statues of the four Buddhas who have preceded Sakyamuni, at the beginning of the current period. For the time more modern, these were those of the five Dhyâni Buddhas and Bôdhisattvas, including Mr. Hodgson we have done know their representations by exact drawings. However, despite some variations in the costume and in the position of the hands, variants which, moreover, do not carry that on the Buddhas mythological of the contemplation, the type always remains the same, and this type is a male who meditates or who teaches. I am convinced that there was never else; and it looks like unity and invariability of main object of worship in the (i) This character specific to the representations of the sage honored by the Buddhists has not escaped to Erskine, who was able to explain it very clearly in his remarks, if worthy of being read, on the religions that have turned to turn or simultaneously flourished in India. {Transact. of the lit. Soc. of Bombay, 1. 1, p. 202.} In another memory full of observations the smarter, it is ex-prime thus: "The saints of the Buddhists are men and have a human form; the gods of Brahmins are without number; they have any deformed species and to figure ... The first system presents men who have become Gods, the second of the Gods who have become made men." » {Ibid., X. ill, p. 50-4.}

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310 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Buddhists, are expressed by the multitude of statues that adorn the various floors of the Boro Budor of Java, and which all reproduce the figure of a Buddha, either meditating or teacher (1). The image of Avalôkitêçvara, which seems to do exception to this principle, on the contrary confirms the truth. Avalôkitêçvara, in indeed, is an entirely mythological Bôdhisattva; and it has been appreciated, by the analysis that I have given more top of a modern Sutra (2), what influence do exaggerated designs of popular Brahmanism have exercised on the development of his legend. What he was therefore surprising that there represents in Tibet with eleven heads and eight arms (3)? here has followed the march of the legend; and as the idea we had of Avalôkitêçvara had been taken in large part in an order of beliefs foreign to Buddhism primitive, of same image by which we wanted to express this idea must have borrowed some of its attributes to a system representations that claims to the gods with the monstrous and gigantic men. This respect for the human truth of Buddhism, which has prevented the disciples of Çâkyâ to transform man into God, is quite remarkable for a people like the Indians, at that the mythology is so easily took the place of history. He is shown with an equally obvious in the choice of second object worship recognized by the Buddhists of all the schools. I said that with the image of Çâkyâ, what they venerate exclusively are his relics (4). They give the name expressive from Çân, which means exactly body. The empty they make of this term in the sense special of relics is entirely made unknown to the Brahmins; he belongs to the language of the Buddhists, just like the object that it designates belongs to their cult. This is the body even of Sakya we love in the debris in still (5). These debris collected on the pyre where had (1) M. G. de Humboldt described and explained this curious monument in a piece written by hand of the master, like everything that came out of the pen of this man eminent. (Ueber die Kawi-Sprache, 1. 1, p. 120 ff.) It is necessary to see again in the book of the same author's description the differences are found in the position of the hands of the many statues of Buddha. M. de Humboldt has very ingeniously related these differences to the Dhyâni Buddhas.

Javouehowever that cesvariantes of position can be deleted with the invention and to worship ofthese superhuman Buddhas . (Ibid., P. 124 ff.)(2) Above, sect. II, p. 198 sqq.(3) Pallas, Sammlung. histor. Nachricht., T. II, pi. i,fig. 3, compared with Georgi, Alphab. Tibet.,p. 176 sqq.(4) It must see to it about the remarks if accurate made by the Rev.. Hough, on the occasion of thebig bell of Rangoon ; he affirms positively that there is no other object of worship inthe bartenders that the statue of Sakyamuni and that the buildings which contain his relics,Monuments that it looks like the representatives of the Buddha. {Asian girl. Researches, t.XVI,p. 280.) Although these remarks are only on the Buddhism of the South, I hesitate not tothe recall here, because they apply with an equal accuracy to Buddhism north.(5) I must say, to be exact, that it is in the plural of this word {çarîrâni) that the Buddhists

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .311been consumed his mortal remains were locked up, according to tradition, ineight cylinders or metal boxes above which an equal number was raisedof monuments named Tchâityas,or consecrated buildings (1).the monumentswhich still existtodayin India justify the tradition of the ma-Niere the most satisfactory. I do not want to not say for this we have found theeight mausoleums in which the relics were placedfrom Çâkyamuni ;that doesn'tcan not be, since the Buddhists themselves nousapprennent that somecenturies after Sakya these eight buildings were opened, and that the relics they REN-closed were collected and distributed on other points. Ijust remindwe found in India and in the provinces located in the beyond of the Indus, where theBuddhism has been previously established, a number very considerable of these mauso-Lées appointedStupas, the shape and arrangement of whichinner respond pointinpoint to what we learn from the legends touchingthese revered monuments .SinceClement of Alexandria who speaks of these respectable sages who adorea pyramid under which rest the bones of their God, until Fa hian, thetraveler Chinese, who, at the beginning of the y ^ century of our era, recognizedalarge number of these buildings to General Ventura, finally, that ourdays opened thefirstone of these Topes (2), as the name is the languagegive the meaning of relics; it is as if they say the bodies, thus designating the whole for theparts. This word is classic in all the schools, and its value is confirmed by the testimonythe landmarks themselves, that is to say of vases of stone and of boxes metal that has de-covered in a large number of Topes the Punjab and from Afghanistan. I find this term strongclearly written çarîrêlii (form faded in the instrumental plural) in the short inscriptionengraved on the cylinder of copper found to Hidda; there it reproduced two times. {Journ. Asian girl. Soc. ofBengal, 1.111, pi. xxii. Ariana antiqva, Antiquities ^ pi. it.) Mr. Wilson read çatinikhi, what that does isno sense. {Ariana antiqva, p. 259.)(1) Asian girl. Researches, t.XVI, p. 316. The texts which are at my disposal do I provide nothe means of marking with all the desirable clarity the nuance that distinguishes the word Tchâitya ofword Stûpa. Both apply to the same species of monuments; but one is more generalthat the other, and this is perhaps in this point that lies the main difference that the dislingue.AinsiStûpa designates the Tope under the item of view of the building and of the shaped material; it is accumulation, as says the etymology of the word, made of stones réuniespar of the earth or thecement; in a word, it is a mound. The word Tchâitya, on the contrary, is the Tope consideredas a religious monument , that is to say as consecrated by the deposit it contains. AllStupa, in as it contains the relics of the Buddha, or quelqu'undes objects that have been in hisuse, or

only even insofar as it has been raised above a place that its presence has made famous, is by that alone a Tchâitya, that is to say a consecrated tumulus. But the reciprocal is also not true, and we do not say that all Tchâitya is a Stupa; because a building containing a statue of a Buddha, or even a tree indicated by the presence of this precious object, is called a Tchâitya. I think in addition to add that the word of Tchâitya is much more frequently used in the old sūtras than in the developed sūtras. In the past, the word Tchâitya no means usually that temple and stupa seems reserved to denote a Tope. (See the additions, at the end of the volume.) (2) The word Tope is an example among thousands of what one might call the Italianism of

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312 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY popular, and including the happiest attempts were imitated and surpassed by Honigberger and especially by Masson, a tradition not interrupted closely of seventeen centuries dedicated existence, and can we say in general, the destination of these curious buildings. Who has not read the descriptions that have given the antique dealers which I remember the names? Who does not know what glory has been achieved which includes the Prinsep, the Lassen, the Raoul-Rochette, the Wilson and others, in explaining and in placing the medals found in the interior or in the neighborhood of the Stupas? None of the subjects that struck at India only excited in Europe so keenly curious; none has been so fruitful in consequences positive for the history oldest in India to from the 5th century before our era. The beautiful work of which I am allusion at the moment are known to all my readers, and he is sufficient for the purpose of this book that I there remember in indicating the true destination of the monuments they describe. This destination is positively marked in the legends that try to make up the cult of relics like all the rest, not only at the time of Çākya, but until the time of the Buddhas, mythological in my opinion, who came before him, he are millions of centuries. The books of Nepal are full the account of the tributes paid to the monuments depositing the relics of these Buddhas; and among the Sūtras, those that I look at as the most modern celebrate without end the appearance of these wonderful Slûpas, which open miraculously, and which let the surprised spectators or a precious relic, or the person even while full of Buddha they overlap. We see him there just as in what key the image and likeness of Śākya worship without change object, was developed on a larger theater; and the invasion of the mythology in the Buddhism has given to a fact easy and natural the proportion-gigantic from the fable. According to the legends, it would be Çākya himself who would have ordered that we should render to his remains honors that seem available to those to whom a sovereign monarch has a right; and it is in accordance Sanskrit; it certainly comes from the Sanskrit Stûpa, which means heap, and he passed, to take this altered form, by the Pali Thûpa, which has the same meaning. This word is popular in the Punjab and in Afghanistan, and it has appeared for the first time in Elphinstone's work on the Caboul. (Elphinstone, Account of Kabul, p. 78.) Since then it has continued to be applied to modern Buddhist monuments in the shape of a cupola; and this application is all the more flawless, that these monuments are named Slûpas in the books of the North, and Tliûpas in those of the South. It is Mr. Masson that we owe the descriptions the most accurate and the most detailed of the form exterior and interior layout of the Topes. (Mém. on the Topes, in Ariana antiqua, p. 55 ff.) These descriptions relate exclusively to the monuments erected to the west of Indus, and in particular to those of Afghanistan; but Mr. Wilson has been seen that the Topes of the central and Dagobas

of Ceylon, the Pegu and Ava are, as in outside and the in-TER AL, the monuments of the same kind. {Ariana antiqua, p. 38 ff)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .8155 his instructions that his body should be burned, and that the remains of his bones, escaped the flames, have been shut up in the polls, which the Stupa for there receive reproduced on a more large -scale proportions fundamental, namely a cylinder topped with a lid shaped in dome or dome (1). Csoma of Kőrös has even translated the Tibetan a description very curious of the ceremony of funeral (2), which shall, as to the cir-the most important constancies , with what that Mr. Tumor was extracted from book pale concerning the same subject (3), and with it that I found in a work sin-from my collection, the Thûpavamsa, or the story of the Stupas raised either in India or Ceylon. But this description, except for a few circumstances miraculous carries the cachet beyond truth may be perfectly true, without that for this we had to admit as a fact historical opinion of legends Daires, who want that Śākyamuni has himself ordered to be returned to his mortal despoils the honors due to that of a Tchakravartin monarch . I have for my part, as to the accuracy of this assertion, the doubts that I must expose briefly. May Çākya have ordered that we burn his body with magnificence, that is possible, although Celtic injunction is little agreement with the modesty and simplicity of his life as a beggar ; but he wanted that we should preserve the remains of his bones found in the ashes of the pyre, this is what will appear doubtful, if we think to contempt he had for the body. How to believe that the one with eyes of which the living body was so little of thing would have attached the lower price a few burnt bones by the fire ? Assimilation that the legend is the funerary raiiles of Śākyamuni with those of a monarch sovereign is also a point a little obscure. Undoubtedly , at the time of Çākya, the title of king Tcha-kravartin (4) or of monarch that has united under a single spectrum the totality the known kingdoms of the Indians was to be alive in the memory of the people. The glory of the Pandus and of the great monarchy of Indrapraslha was undoubtedly already popular; and besides the tradition had already immortalized other monarch not less glorious including the names are also found in the books of Brahmins and in those of the Buddhists. So I do not have any difficulty in ad-put that ' Çākya could have spoken of. funeral révévées to a such monarch; corn I don't see any share, in the books of the Brahmins that we should preserve the bones of (i) Asia L Res., T. XX, p. 296 and 312. (2) Ibid., P. 309 sqq. (3) Examination, etc., in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. SEEN, p. 1009 sqq. (4) See the explanations that Mr. G. of Huraboldt has given to this term. {Ueber die Kawi-Sprache, t. I, p. 276 and 277.) It is the fact sometimes precede the word bala (army).

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iti INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY these sovereigns powerful, that the shut up in the boxes of gold or other metal, and it 's covered with a mass of stones that reproduces in great the form out of the box. The only Brahmanic use to which we can relate existence and maybe be Torigine of stupas is the one that has described since long Golebrooke (1) and that has left the traces visible in various parts of India (2). When the ceremony of the funeral was held too far from a river to the water holy, for that we could throw the bones and ashes collected on the pyre, is the renfer-mait in a pot of land equipped with a lid and tightened with a rope (3). This vase was placed in a deep hole where we planted a tree or well above which is raised a mound of masonry (4). Prinsep was well done highlight the similarities that exist between these requirements of the ritual Funeral at the Brahmins, and

the form of the greater number of Stupas open until today (5) ;but these requirements themselves do are neither general, because it 's applies especially when we do are located not close of a river; nor peculiar to sovereign monarchs , because nothing is specified in this regard in the ritual. The word Stupa, which is perfectly Sanskrit for mean heap, pile, has been unquestionably apply exactly to of such tumulus Brahminists ;but no orthodox text allows us to believe that the Brahmins in have never been used to designate a of these masses of stones to which a masonry covering gives the known shape of Stupas purely Buddhist (6). I have of more some paint to understand (1) Asian girl. Bes., T.VII, p. 256, ed. Calcutta. (2) See in particular the Pandoo Coolies described by Babington, in the Transact. bed. Soc. of Bombay, t. III, p. 324 sqq. (3) Golebrooke in a footnote on this description, adds that it construitassez Souwind a mauso'éc in honor of a prince or an illustrious personage , and that such a monument is called in hiudusthani Tchhetri. {Asian girl. Bes., T.Vil, p. 256.) It seems that this name of Chhetri recalls the multi-storey parasols which are usually surmounted by the Slûpas in the Buddhist countries .(4) Asian girl. Bes., U VII, p. 256. (5) Journ. Asian girl. Society of Bengal, t. III, p. 570 and 571. (6) In a time when the character key that distinguish the constructions bud-dhiques of those of Brahmins ri'étaient not yet fully known, we wanted that the Stupas, which will see quite frequently in the tombs temples west of India, were of Lingams or the Phallus Sivaite. {Transact. bed. Soc. of Bombay, t.111, p. 310.) These are mainly the caves of Ellora that need to be visited and described by travelers free of any systematic prejudice. How many Lingams would disappear to make way for piles of Stupas I Eerskiné, however, was no more mistaken on this point than in his other observations on the Buddhism, and it was positively asserted that the Stupas only can be in any way the symbols of Çivaism. {Transact. bed. Soc. of Bombay, t.III, p. 508.) I do then I refuse to pleasure to quote on this subject the following reflections of this author :< That hethere is a connection

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .315 how the Brahmins would have allowed that we vénérât of remain to miserable in their eyes than the bones of a corpse burnt at the stake. We know the invincible horror they feel for everything that had life, and the care they take to purify, when they meet one of these objects including the sight alone is a stain for them .The idea to keep the relics and of to honor them with a special worship therefore does not seem to me a design Brahma-picnic (1) ;and when the Buddhists we learn that this cult has been made to the remains of sovereign monarchs , and by imitation to those of the Buddha, they in-presumably tend to speak, not of all the monarchs in general, corn of those who shared their belief. The difficulties that I just oppose to the tale of the legendaries fall from them-even if, in place to allocate Sakya the idea of doing honor its relics, we leaves it on the account of her first disciples, to whom she was inspired without no doubt a feeling any human to respect and to regret (2). Forgo to Sakya of honors worthy of a king, his followers will be avaint qu'à Rap-peel that their Master had been a man whom he not remained nothing from now on than this faint debris. Sakya, for them, was entered in the annihilation com-plet (parinirvrîla); of some way we understood this annihilation, it was made of her mortal person , since she was never to return to this world. It was therefore to show oneself deeply imbued with ideas of Çâkyâ that of re-pick piously all that was left of him, and the cult of his relics had to result naturellôment of the conviction that we was that the death annihilate the whole man .Does any between the cult of Dagob and one of the Lingam, is it any reason does not establish. These two symbols are different in their

origin as in their object. The Dagobæ is the tomb or the cenotaph of a man divine :it is the place where a relic rests . Lingam" is the symbol of the organ of the generation revered in quality can manufacturer of the "nature. One is always supposed to relate to a Buddha or to a man who has become a saint;€ the other signifies the boundless energy of divine power acting on the outer universe. The eye the€ less exercised can not be mistaken about their respective forms . " {Ibid., P. 516.) If we are recalls that these excellent observations are already more than twenty-three years old , we should not than to admire more the penetration and the good sense of the skilful man to which they are due.(1) 11 there was already a long time that in his comments comparative on the Buddhism and the Brahmanism, Erskine said that the Buddhists venerate the relics of their Buddhas and of their saints, but as the eyes of the Brahmins, the remains deadly for a man are some unclean thing. (Transact. Lit.Soc. of Bombay, t. III, p. 506.) The existence of ancient tumuli pure-ment Indians, that is to say, Brahman, are not contradictory to this assertion, because nothing will said that they should render a cult; and this is precisely the worship that is Buddhist Stupas of monuments of a very special character .(2) This is what that says ^ positively the story of the death of Sakya, translated from the Tibetan by Csoma from Coros; according to this account, it was Ananda who advised the Mallas of Kuçinagarî to return to the mortal remains of Çâkyâ the honors due to that of a sovereign monarch . {Asian girl.Res.,t. XX, p. 312.)

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316 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY As for the assimilation that the legends establish between Çâkyamuni Ruddha and a sovereign monarch , she already had been made, according to the same authorities, at the time of his birth; and the Buddhist books repeat every moment the prediction that the Râhmans address to father of each Ruddha : Yes your son embrace the life of a householder, he will be a sovereign monarch ; if between in the religious life, it will be a Ruddha (I). The prediction was commended by the high rank where Çâkyâ was born, son of a Kchallriya consecrated by the royal anointing ; and the comparison of wise themore high in the religious order with a sovereign monarch, winner and master of all the kings, was not that one of these inventions allowed to the pious faith of the disciples. I even believe recognize here one of the elements of what I would call willingly the theme of a Ruddha, a theme whose invention I attribute to the first disciples of Çâkyamuni. I add that if the idea of preserving and honoring the relics of kings is, as I've assumed everything on time, exclusively buddhique, it should have introduced by imitation of what we had done on the death of the Master. That we admit with me that we did not raise usually no Slûpas above the relics of the kings of Brahmanic belief , and we must recognize that by recalling the honors paid to the mortal remains of the sovereign monarchs , the Ruddhists speak under the impression of the memories that had left with them the glory of a monarch, as Aśoka, for example, who had ruled their beliefs on the more large part of India. If this assumption is not too well founded, we must admit that there is, in the legends relating to this part of the worship of the details that can not be prior to m^o or iv " century after the death of Śâkyâ. By there also will find explained, in part at least, the great number of Slûpas que your REN-against even today standing in India and in Afghanistan. Of these Slûpas, the few will have been raised over de quel que relic true or false to Here or only in the places that his presence had made famous ; the others above the tomb of his first disciples and heads of the Assembly who succeeded him in the direction of body of

Religious (2) ;the others finallyabove remains mortal of kings who had favored the doctrine Buddhist (3).(1) See above, p. 306.(2) The Liberian Dul-va speaks of a Tchâitya who was raised above the body of Çâriputra,who died before his master. {Asian girl. Res., T. XX, p. 88.) Fa hian the site to Na lo or NALANDA,close to Râdjagrlha. {Foe koue Here, p. 262.) 11 also speaks of two Slûpas which contained the re-liquies of Ananda. These Slûpas were located on each of the two banks of the Ganges, not far from theplace where the Gandaki is fasting in this river. (Ihid., P. 250.)(3) Prinsep has already proposed an analogous reconciliation of the two opposing opinions , which want,one that the Slûpas are the buildings purely religious, the other they are only of

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .817The written authorities extend effect of all these characters thelawto beburied under aSlûpa; but thelegendswe reveal yet a anothercause of the multiplicity of these tumuli :it'shope the merits that thefaithful believed to be sure by having stupas built for the intention ofBuddha. These constructions, kinds of solid cenotaphs , must have been namedbreuses, both in India and in the regions neighboring ;and, ifthe antique,by opening a fewof TopesofAfghanistan, therehavecould findno human debris , that'sprobably they were addressing Stupasofkind of those I'm talking about,andwhich heis a very large number in theBartenders. Mr. G. de Humboldt surmised with a lot of reason that the Stupathe Baug temple in west of India (1), must be a building full,in whichnothing could be locked up ;and this deep thinker hasshown withits ordinary superiority how the ideaof the sanctity of relics had naturallyLEMENT is reporterin the mindofpeople on thebuildings for thecontain, and ensure thus the Stupas deprived of relics the respects they hadin originally granted only to those whocontained some (5).I add that hehad to ^well as the Buddhists are contentassent of these buildings empty forcontinue to raise the Stupas at Śākya. What that was the easewith whichfaith People welcomed the multiplicationdes relics, the eight boxes primi-tivesthey were notHowevernotinexhaustible. But the onewho built aof theseEmpty stupas intended for a Buddha probably only watchednot more than the peopleat the bottom of things, and the external form sufficed for itsvotion.Prior to closing, I have to respond to an objection that a Buddhist doeswould not missto do in the name of his legends, if however a Buddhistcouldunmoved doubts wicked of the critical European. Why, he would say,suspect herveracity of the legends which attribute to Çâkyamuni theof worshiprelics, when we seethis wise man to distribute during his lifetombs of sovereigns. He thinks that the two desinations, that of a tomb and that of abuilding devoted to the Divinity, have been wax object common that have been in for the perpetrators of thesecurious monuments . {Journ. Asial. Society of Bengal, t. 111, p. 570.) Mr. Wilsonadonné of goodreasons against this feeling, and hebelieves, with Er »kine and Hodgson, that the Stupas, like theDagobs of Ceylon, intended to contain and protect some holy relic, attributed, pro-bablement without a lot of reason nor of vniisemblance, to Çâkyasimha, or to someone of per-sonnages that the account, as a BôJhisattva or high priest revered in the country wherewas raised the Stûpa. {Ariana antiqua, p. 45.) I allow myself to add to this listlesrois favo-rables to Buddhism; and I think in addition that must be taken into account for cénotapbes built in the in-tention desBuddhas. M. Masson thinks that Siûpas could have been raised above the remainsmortals of kings {Ariana antiqua, p. 78 and 79) and of holy personages. {Ibid., P-. 84.)(1)Transact. bed. Soc. of Bombay, t.II, p. 198.(2)Ueber die Kawi-Sprache, t.I, p. 163.

31gINTRODUCTION TO HISTORY even to full listeners of faith memories of his person mortals such, much coarser yet that the ashes of the pyre? If Çākya gave too of them merchants a handful of his hair, to other the clippings of his nails, why could he not order that should render the non-religious nor in this which was to remain in his bones (1)? The objection has certainly some value; but without having recourse to that process of easy criticism, which consists rather to deny these distributions odd that the story est d'ordinaire mingled circumstances wonderful constancies, it seems to me that we can admit, if we want, reality (2), and that one is not obliged for that to draw the consequence that the logic of a fervent Buddhist would oppose us. Who does not know of what the re-religious sect is capable, and who does not understand that passionate worshippers have upon of themselves pick them up hair of an almost divine master? The Buddhists of Tibet are gone in this direction as far as it was possible; and the stupid respect they have for their Lamas them to prostrate before the most disgusting relics ever invented a superstitious man. We will say that the pure and chaste Çākya muni invented this worship despicable, and is not rather by a suite of pitiful analogies that the Tibetans are descended as low? The legends which relate that the disciples do Sakyamuni recueilled her hair and debris even more impure are therefore explained by them—even by that fervor of worship which has never been lacking in India. Where the facts are true, and we do may conclude that Sakyamuni them has caused, in core less than it get is used to recommend the worship of his relics; (1) The legend of the two merchants to whom Çākya gave eight of his hair is national at the Bartenders; it is recounted in detail in a note from the Rev. Hough on the registration of the great bell of Rangoon. These merchants were from Pégu, and it is miraculously that they were warned that Sakya was succeeded in the state of perfect Buddha. {Asian girl. Res., T.XVI, p. 282.) We find more low, in the legend of Aśoka. Nothing is at rest more ordinary in the legends, that the story of such gifts; see among other things the story of Purija. (Above, p. 236.) A passage from the life of Sakyamuni tells that the wise took this to a man of the tribe of Sakya, in an illusory manner, said Csoma, some hair of his head, trimmings of her fingernails and one of her teeth. {Asian girl. Res., T.XX, p. 88.} (2) Even though I do make no difficulty to recognize the time even of Sakya, the dis-citizens fanatics were able to respectfully collect the hair that fell from his head, I do not then, however, share the hope that semble concevoir Humboldt, when after describes the boxes in which these relics are locked, and which are themselves buried under enormous Stupas, he expresses himself thus: " We can clearly see by this that in these senses he would not " Not impossible that under the gigantic mass of [Stûpa] Shoe Da gon, we could find the eight " Real hair of Gautama, who, according to tradition, there sont enterrés. " {Ueber die Kawi-Sprache, t. I, p. 161. Conf. Crawford, Embassy to Ava, p. 348.} I do not believe that after reading the story of the wonderful journey of these invaluable hairs from India to Pégu, it is possible for nobody to see anything really historical there. You might as well believe in existence the stick, the pot and the vêtements de such predecessors of Sākya, that the Péguans claim also own. W

OF INDIAN BUDDHISM ,819 or they have been inventés après blow, and we do must take one consequence: it is that the Buddhism has, like all the institutions human, suffered in the course the time changes easy to understand, and that the books that we have kept the tradition have followed this movement and will be changed under his influence. This last

remark naturally brings me back to the observation that I have made at the beginning of the present section. This observation, is that the divisions that I had previously established in the class of sūtras apply quite also to that of the Avadānas, that is to say that all the treatises which carry this title will belong not to the same time, or a way more general, relate to events that happened in the times very remote the one of the others. I take the liberty of referring the reader to remarks that I have made in the previous section on historical significance predictions contained in the books attributed to Çākya. These reflections are based on rigorously comply with several treatises of Divyāavadāna and of the avadānaçalaka, where Çākya muni announces to his Auditors the birth of King Açôka, whomust one day dominate its law on all over India and go to its relics and worship became famous in all the Buddhist nations. These predictions, which are usually interspersed with details curious form with little near everything that the collection Nepali kept us from more precise on this great monarch, because the voluminous compilation of the Açôka avadāna, which is a kind of Purāna, adds little to what we learn from legends of divyāavadāna and of Avadāna çataka. It was not here the place to discuss the facts and the dates that we provide the legends that I am in this moment allusion ; this examination will find its place in the section devoted to the sketch of the history of Buddhism ; but here seems essential to me to give a specimen a little extended these legends, which bear some resemblance to those which face the name one of Sakya, and yet who are visibly subsequent to its EPO-then. I start with the Divya songavadāna who has for title Aśokaavadāna ^ by observing that no need to confuse this treated with the large Aśokaavadāna in verse, of which I was talking later . I purposely choose this song, because it opens with a list of kings which ontrégné between Bimbisāra, the con-temporain of Çākya , and Açôka, the hero of the legend." At that time reigned in the city of Rājagriha the king Bimbisāra (1). Bimbisāra had Adjātaçatru for his son ; this last had for son Udjāyin (2); Udayi-(i) Açôka avad., in Divya avad., f.183 a, man. Soc. Asian., F. 230 a from my man.(2) We have here an example of the blatant inaccuracy of our manuscripts ; the king named here Udjdyiii is the same as Udayibhadra; this last name is the only true one ; at least that's the one what do pale books give ; Udjāyin is clearly an error of the copyist.

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320 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY bhadra had for son Munda ; Munda had for son Kākavarnin ; Kākavarnin had for son Sañiālin (I); Sañiālin had for son Tiilakulchi; Tulakutchi had for sons Mahāmandala ; Mahāmandala had for son Prasōnadjit ; Prasōnadjit had for son Nanda ; Nanda had for son Bindusāra. The king Bindusāra reigned in a city of Pātaliputra ; he had a son to which we gave the name Susinna (2). vs But at that time there was in the city of Champa a Brahmin a what he was born a girl charming, beautiful, pleasant, which was the happiness of the country. Some astrologers did this prediction [at the time of its birth] : This girl will be married to a king, and she will be the world's two jewels of son: Mon will be a king Tchakravartin, master of the four parts of the earth ; the other, after having embraced the religious life, will see its good work to succeed." The Brahmin having heard this prediction, was transported from a joy extreme, because man loves always the prosperity. Having taken with him his daughter, he surrendered to Pātaliputra. There, after having adorned with all kinds of adornments, it he gave the king Bindusāra for it by Fithis wife : There you are, O king, a wealthy, perfect girl . Finally it was placed by the king Bindusāra in its interior

apartments .The women of King then made Celtic reflection :Here isa pleasant, charming woman , who is the happiness ofcountry ;if the king comes toto have trade with her,hedo we give more even a glance. Theytherefore began to teach him the barber trade ; and the girlthe brah-mane is put in devoird'arranger the hair and the beard of the king,suchthat she became very skilled at it. Now every time she started to fill heroffice to the king, it is setting. One day the king, who was happyher, he offered to himgrant thegrace that she would desire,andhimasked :What favor do you want ? Lord said the young girl,may the king consent tounite with me. You 're from the caste of barbers, said Bindusāra, and me Iof the desKchattriyas race who have received the anointing Royal ;how is it possiblethat read hast trade with me ? I do 'm notof the caste of barbers, reprit-she, I am the daughter of a Brahmin whogave me the king for he was of me(1) Our manuscripts read Sapâlin for the first time .('0 I liken plustard the list with the document historical conservédans booksPalis de Ce> lan, the summary of which was given by M. Turnour in the preface to his Mahāvamsa,and discussed in depth in theJournal of Prinsep. (Journ. A & ial. Soc. Of Bengal,t. VI, p. 7> 4) It can therefore at present to make an idea of the differences between the di-to Indian authorities on this important point of history , comparing with thepassage doour text the list of Mongolian Ssanang Setzen, examined by Klaproih {Foe koue ki, p.230), and,,the Brahmanic tables of Wilford. iAsiat. Res., T.V, p. 286.)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .321his wife. Who hath solearned the barber trade ? said the king. - These are thewomen of the interior apartments . I don't want anymore said Bindusāra, that youdo this job in the future . Finally it was recognized by the king for the firstof his wives (I).“ The king then had commerce with the young girl ;hehas fun with her, withshe heis delivered to the pleasureand to the pleasure.The queen became pregnant and gave birth toafter eight or nine months; she put the world a son.When we had celebratedmgnifiquement the partyof the birth, it was asked :What will be the name ofdenying? The queen then said : At the birth of this child, I did not experiencefrom cliagtin (açô / ca) ;in consequence we gave to the child the name of Aśoka (withoutgrief).More later she put the world a second son ;like hewas born withoutthat the queen was in pain, she was given the name of Yigatâçôka (the onefrom which thesorrow is far away) (2).“ Aśoka had the members harsh to the touch ;henot pleased not to the king bin-dusāra. One day the king wishing to put his son to the test, had come the beggarPingala vatsâJjiva and said to him : Let us put these children to the test, O master, in order tooftknow which one will be able to be king when I am notmore. The beggarPingala valsâdjîva answered :Lead, O king,your sonsin the garden o \ iis theMandapa d'oi-,and there let's put them tothe ordeal. The king took his sonswith him and willwent to the gardenwhere was the golden Mandapa . However the queen said to theyoungAçôka :The king, who wants to test his children, has left for the gardenhe is the Golden Mandapa ;hebe that tuy Ailles too. I don't likenotto the king,resumed Açôka; hedoes not wantnot even see me ; to whatgood would i gothe? Go aheadhowever, repliedmother. Açôka tells him then :Send in front of the fedture. Aśoka came therefore toPâtaliputra. Râdhagupta, the son ofprime minister,then said to him :Açôka, where are you going ? The king, answered Açôka, is going todaythrow his sons tothe ordeal in thegarden of the Golden Mandapa . It is had thereaoldelephant that had been ridden by the king(3). Aśoka made use of this oldanimal to be making the garden of Mandapa goldwent down in the middle ofchildren and sat down on the floor. We offered then to

the food to the children ;the(1) A portion of this piece has already been mentioned above, Sect. II,p. 132, on the occasion of the pre-judged by the royal caste. I thought that I pourrairi without great inconvenience the reproduce here, because that it is essential for the understanding of the continuation of the legend.(2) We learn, for a further passage the legend Aśoka, that this child named also VitâçôUay name which has the same meaning as that of Vigaiâçôka.(3) The word that I translate as old is, in the text, mahallaka; it is doubtful that this term either Sanskrit ; the less the mahallaka the Dictionary of Wilson, which means eunuch, seems to be of Arab origin. That which commits me to translate the word mahallakapar vietix is that I 've found in the Lotus of the Good Law, used as a synonym of vriddha, and being part of some enumerations of qualities related to the elderly.21\

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322 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Queen had sent for Aśoka of rice cooked mixed with the milk curd in a vase of earth." So the king Bindusâra addressed himself thus to the beggar Pingala vatsâdjîva: Put the children to the test, O master, so that we can see which one will be able to reign when I am no more. Pingala vatsâdjîva started to look and to think about : It is Açôka who will be king ; and yet he is not pleasant to King. If I will say :. This is Aśoka to be king, I do 'm not sure to keep the life. He spoke so well : King, I'll lay my prediction without distinction of per-ringing. Do so, said the king. The beggar then continued : The one who has a beautiful steed, lord, will be king. And each of the children conceived this thought : I have a beautiful frame, it is I who will be king. Aśoka gave his side the reflection next : I am come on the back of an elephant ; I have a beautiful 'frame, it is me who will be king." Bindusâra then said : Continue the ordeal, O master. Pingala vatsâdjîva ex-prima thus: king, whoever has the best seat will be king. And each of the children conceived this thought : I have the best seat. Aśoka gave his side the reflection next: The earth is my seat, I will be king. After having thus taken for purpose of his prediction the vase and the food and drink of the children, the beggar is retired. (vs The queen said then to his son Açôka : What is the one to which he has been predicted he would be king? Açôka replied: The prediction has been made without distinction of people, in this way : He who has the mount, the seat, the vessel, the drink, the food the best, this one will be king. If I 'm not mistaken , it's me who will be king. My mount was the back of an elephant ; my seat, the earth ; my vase, a pot of earth ; my food, the rice cooked seasoned with the milk curd ; my drink of water. This is why the beggar Pingala vatsâdjîva has said : It is Açôka who will be king. If I see correctly, it is I who will be king, since my horse was the back of an elephant, and my seat the earth. [The beggar] is set to make the court to the mother, so that she tells him a day : master, which of my two sons will be king at the death of Bindusâra? - It will be Açôka. - He is could that the king you question him earnestly ; go away then ; take refuge in the country to beyond the borders. When read hear say that this is Aśoka who is king, then you can come back. In consequence the beggar took refuge in the country beyond the borders." Then the King Bindusâra wanted to besiege the city named Takchaçilâ (i).(1) I do not need to recall that the ancient existence of this city is demonstrated by the testimony of the historians of Alexander. It does not not more here instead of summarizing the name the many discussions that this famous name gave rise to ; he will suffice to indicate the most new of

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .82He sent his son Aśoka, in him saying : Go, my son, put the seat in front of the city of Takchaçilâ. He gave him an army consisting of four corps of troops, but he refused the tanks and the weapons. When the young Açôka came out of Patali-puttra, his people addressed him with this warning : Son of the king, we have neither soldiers, no weapons; with what and how will we fight? So Açôka exclaimed : If he is in me some virtue who must mature until giving me the throne, it seems the soldiers and the weapons ! A sentence the son from the king did he have spoken, that the earth opened and that the Devatas brought him soldiers and of weapons." So the son of the king left with his army composed of four bodies of troops for Takchaçilâ. The citizens who lived in the city having cleaned the road in the expanse of two and a half Yôdjanas , and carrying full vases [of offerings], out to its meeting; and having come forward in his presence, they said : We are not the enemies of the son of the king, not more than of the king Bindusâra ; they are of bad ministers who oppress. Açôka entered therefore in Takchaçilâ in the midst of a great pomp. He entered in addition to the same way in the kingdom of the Svaças (1). Two naked giants came to look for a refuge with him (2). They received the means of subsistence and began to walk in front of him, dividing the mountains on his passage ; and the Devatas pronounced these words : Açôka will be a penny vrain Tchakravartin, master of the four parts of the Earth; person does results which they produced, namely the Identity of Tan tcha chi loof the traveler Fa hian with the Takchaçilâ of the Indians, a result to which MM. Lassen and Wilson have arrived independently one on the other, by an attentive study of the text of Fa hian. (Lassen, Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenland, t.I, p. 224. Wilson, Journ. of the Asiatic Soc, t.V, p. 118. Ariana antiqua, p. 196.) (1) I do not know the name of the people, and I suspect that there is here some fault in our manuscripts. He is likely to be read Kham in place of Svaça, the signs ' ^ sva and ^ KLIA is confused, as we know ^ very easily. But the presence of the Khaças not far from Takchaçilâ gives rise to a difficulty that Lassen has already pointed out , on the occasion of a stanza of Mahabharata, where Wilson was reading from his manuscript, Khaça, and where Lassen was recognized in the of Paris a different name people, one of Bacati. {From Pentapot. Indic, p. 87.) Lassen cannot find not that the existence of the Khaças in the Punjab is justified by texts. Our legend does not change in part 'the opinion, and not one could not believe that there was the Khaças in the north of this country? These nations, which it is so often mentioned in the history of Kache-target have been likely nomads; and the rare indications that we have so far on their former existence allow the closer the north of India. {Mdnava dharma çâstra, ch. X, st. 44.) My excellent friend, Mr. Troyer, has collected on this ethnic group a great number of curious information in his translation of the History of Kashmir. {Râdja tarangini, t. II, p. 321 ff) (2) The text used for the expression of Mahânagna ; these Nagnas or naked men appear in the legend with the role of warriors who perform feats almost supernatural. This meaning seems to me preferable to that of Bard, which the word nagna has, according to Wilson.

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324 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY must stand in the way . Entin the ground up jimi your Ocean, is submitted to his orders." One day Susîma, one of the sons of the king, came back from the garden in Pâtaliputra. Kliallâfaka, the first Minister of King Bindusâra, out of Pâtaliputra. Susîma the son of the king threw him his gauntlet on his head, with the intention of to play. The minister made this reflection : Today he made drop

hergauntlet;cornwhen hewill be king, it will be the Law that he will bring down. I will take my measurementsso that he does not become king.Hetherefore detached [from the prince] five hundred con-seillers,by saying :Aśoka has beendesignatedas to bea Tcha-kravartin, master of the four partsof the earth; hewill we the place ourselveson the throne.“ However the inhabitants of Takchaçilâ revolted, and Susîma the son ofking was sent byhis father againstthem ;but hecould not reduce the city.The kingBindusâra fell then in languor, and he said :Bring me my sonSusîma,i want theplace on the throne ;establish Açôka in Takchaçilâ. But theMinisters rubbed with saffron Aśoka the son of the king. After having been boiled to thelacquer in a vase of iron, and having rubbed vases of the same metal with the juiceproduced by this decoction, it 's indyed (1). Then theysaid to Bindusâra :Aśoka the son of the king is fallen in languor. But when Bindusâra was reduced to astate suchhe did it remained almost more than life, then theministers having parriedAçoka of all kinds of ornaments, brought him to the king,in him saying, Placeone, in the meantime, on the throne ;when Susîma is back, then wethe ywill restore to its turn. But the king was put in anger; andthen Açôka pronouncedthese words :If the throne me back to the right, that the Dôvatâs attach me theheadbandroyal ;and immediately the diadem he was attached by the devatas. At the sight ofthis miracle, the king Bindusâra gave thebloodhot through the mouth anddied.“ When Açôka was established on thethrone, theYakchas in proclaiming thenew at the height of aYôdjana above the earth ;the nâgas Îa proclaimmèrent to thedepth of a Yôdjana below. This news madego outRâdhagupta from his retirement, and heheard repeating in the surroundings :Bindusârahas had its day, and Açôka has just beenplaced on the throne. At the sound of this eventis lying[Susima], full of anger, was put in road [for Pât.aliputra] and left in haste to the place where hefound. But the king Aśoka sets to the first door(1) I admit do not well understand the subjectof thispreparation. Here is the textsame:Lâkcham tcha lôhapdtrê kvâthayitvd, kvathitêna rasêna lôhapâtrâni mrakchayitvâ tchhôrayanti.It will be that the dye red given by the ministers of vases of iron has to aim to dobelieve that the young prince had lost a more or less large amount of blood that wasreceived in these vases.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .325from the city ofPâtaliputra agiantnaked ;at the second door, a second giant ;at the third, Râdhagupta, and he himself stood at the eastern gate .Râdli-gupta erected an elephant made of frame in front of the eastern door ;and afterhave dug a pit for the greatnessofAçôka body (1)and having filled itof coal of wood of Khadira (2), it the covered with grass on which itspreadof the dust. He then said to Susîma: If you can kill Açôka, you will beKing.So Susima is headed toward the eastern gateby saying :I will fightagainst Açôka. But hefell into thea pit full of burning coals,and he will perish miserably. When Susima had thus been put to death, her giantnamed Bhadrâyudha, accompanied by a series of severalthousands of men,entered in theold religious under the lawof Bhagavat and became Arhat." When Aśoka had been placed on the throne, his ministers he gave theevidence ofdisobedience. This is why hethey said :Make cut the trees toflowers and the trees fruit, and keep the tree thorns. His ministers himsaid: In what think the king? Heshouldrather cut themthorn trees, and conserver the trees to flowers and the trees fruit. Three times they resisted the orderthat they gave the king. So Aśoka furious, pulling his sword, madedrop your headof its five hundred ministers." One other time Aśoka surrounded the women of apartment interiors,

is went, in the days of spring, when the trees are covered with flowers and offruits in the garden to the east of the city. While he was walking there, heaper-Cut a tree Aśoka all in flowers. Immediately he bowed in this reflection: Here is a tree with the same name as me. Now the king Aśoka had the members harsh to the touch; the young women had Pasde pleasure to the caress. The king came to fall asleep; then the women of the broken interior apartments rent to spite the flowers and the branches of the tree Aśoka. When he wakes up the king lives the tree in this state and asked: Who has it broken as well? He was answered: Gear the windows of the interior apartments. In learning of the fact, the trans-king door of anger was surrounded by wood (3) the five hundred women, and the fitto burn. In seeing the acts of cruelty to which he is delivered, the people will say: The king is furious, it is Tchandaçoka, Açôka the furious. So the prime minister Rādhagupta he made the following representations: king, he is not suitable that you execute yourself from such actions that are unworthy of law. It is necessary to establish the men responsible for putting to death those that the king convicts, which (1) Do Would it not Susima it be read? Nothing is to remain more confused than the text in the more high part of the legend. (2) Mimosa catechu. (3) I read kâchiakâih in place of kitikâih, which I did and nothing to do.

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326 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY will execute the sentences passed by the king. Açôka therefore gave this order to his people: Look for me a man who runs the criminals. vs Not far from there, at the foot of a mountain, it is had a cottage who lived a weaver. This weaver had a son to whom donna the name of Girika (the mountain). This child, carried away, cruel, insulted his father and his mother, and beat the little boys and little girls; he was dying to using pins and of nets the ants, the flies, the mouse, the birds and the fish. It was an angry child; so they gave him the name of Tchanda girika, Girika the furious. One day he was in sight, busy these evils, for the people of the king that he said: Can you fill the office of executioner for the King Açôka? The child answered: I filled up the executioner's office for the entire Djambudvîpa. We made this response known to the king, who said: Let him be brought. People from the king therefore went to say to the child: Come on king asks you. Chanda girika replied: Come on always, I go to see my father and my mother. So he went to say to his parents: my father and my mother, give me your permission; I will exercise the office of the executioner for the king Aśoka. But his parents are looking for-chèrent to the in divert; then it's deprived all the two of life. However the people from the king him asked: Why then did you take so long to come? There they made know in detail what is silent pass. He was then driven by them before the king, to whom he says: Make me do a house. The king him had a house built, a very beautiful house, but which had pleasant that entry, and to which we gave the name of <The pleasant prison. "the young Girika then said: Do me a favor, O king: than that which will come in this house does can more in exit; to which the king replied: Let it be so (1). <Tchanda girika then went to the hermitage of Kukkuta ârâma (2); the Religious Bâlapandita there read a sutra. There are beings who are reborn in the Hell, he said: the keepers of Hell's having seized and the extended with the back on the floor formed of iron burning heated, not by a single flame, they open their mouths with an iron spit and insert balls into it of iron Brutus lantes, heated, forming a single flame. These balls burn the lips of these unfortunate people; and after they consumed the tongue, the throat, the leads of throat, the heart, the neighboring parts of the heart, the bowels, the cords of the

bowels, they escape from below. These are, O Religious, the pains of Hell. (1) This part of our legend is the subject of a chapter special of travel of Fa hian; she there is told however with some slight variations of little importance. {Foe Tcoue ki, p. 293 ff} (2) It is the famous hermitage named KuMula, or of the Rooster; he was located in the Mountain named Kukkuta pada, "the foot of rooster" which, according to Fa hian, is not very far from Gayâ. (Foe hoe ki, p. 302.)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .327" There are the ones who are reborn in the Underworld. The keepers of Hell, having entered and the spread having the back on the floor formed of iron burning heated and not making a single flame, they open the mouth with a pin and iron are cast of copper molten burning the lips of these unfortunate people, and who after having consumed the tongue, the palate, the throat, the conduit of the throat, the bowels, the string of entrails' escape through in there. These are there, O Reli-holy, the pains of Hell. "There are beings who are reborn in the Underworld. The keepers of Hell, having entered and the spread having the facesur the floor formed of iron burning heated and not making a single flame, the cross with a chain of iron burning, heated and all in flames; then they rub, there pass, the planing with a hoe of iron hot, heated and all in flames. They thus remove of their body a eighth a sixth or a shift, the planing or in long, either in a circle, or from the top, or from the bottom, either gently, either very gently. These are, O Religious, the pains of Hell." There are of beings who are reborn in the Hell. The Guardians of the Underworld, after they have seized and have extended the face on the ground consisting of iron burning heated and not making a single flame, the cross with a string of hot iron, heated and all in flames. Then they rub them iron and the planing on the floor formed of iron burning heated and not by that one single flame (1). They thus remove from their body one sixth, one eighth or a quarter, the plan either in long, or in a circle, that is from the top or from the bottom, either slowly or very gently. These are, O Religious, the pains of Hell. "There are beings, O Religious, who are reborn in the Underworld. The guardians Hell, after they have seized and have expanded on the ground formed of iron burning, heated and no . with only one flame, they inflict the torment consisting to be chained in five places. These unfortunates walk with their hands on two bars of iron; they walk of two feet on a bar of the same metal; they walk with a rod of iron in through from the heart. Because the Underworld, O Religious, are filled of suffering, and these are the five sup-'accomplices that there are inflicted. Put these tortures in practical, he said in Tchanda girika; and this one began to inflict to criminals these various kinds of tortures and others similar. € It is had then in the city of Cravasti a merchant who, accompanied by his woman, crossed the great ocean. There, on the sea, this woman, who was pregnant, (1) Here I am my manuscripts; but it is probable that this paragraph is only the repetition of the previous one, and that it should be said: "With a hoe, etc." "

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328 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY gave birth to a boy to whom the name of Samudra waved (the ocean). Finally at the end of twelve years the merchant returned from the great sea; but he was kidnapped by five hundred brigands and killed. So Samudra the son from the merchant entered into religious life under the law of the Bhagavat. In traversing the country collecting of alms, he managed to Pât. aliputra. Having dressed to raise the day it took his vessel and his [coat, and went into the city to collect the alms. There he entered

without the knowledge, in the beautiful residential [the executioner]. In seeing this house whose entry alone was beautiful, but who inside was scary and like the dwellings of Hell, he wanted to exit; but he was seized by Tchanda girika who had seen him, and who said to him: "Hebe that you die here. [The Religious recognized well that he was at the end to submit. Then penetrated with pain, he started to sob. The executioner tells him then: "Why are you crying so like a child? the Religious replied: "I do not cry indeed not the loss of my body; I only cry the interruption of duties of mine, that's going to take place for me as well." After having obtained the status of man it is difficult to meet, and the religious who is the source of happiness; "After having had to master Sakya simha, I go back in my woe, give up all that." The executioner then said to him: "The king granted me as a favor [the right to put to death all those who come here]; therefore be firm; hear not of salvation for you. But the Religious be put to the prayer, with lamentable words, of him grant a month; the hangman him conceded seven nights. However, the heart troubled by the fear of the death, the Religious felt his mind concerned this thought: "In seven nights I will no longer exist." The seventh day the king Asoka surprised a woman of apartments into laughing, who watched and kept a young man whom she was in love. At this sight alone, inflamed with anger, he sent the woman and the young man to his executioner, that he crushed in a mortar brass with drumsticks, so that it will remain more of their body than bones. Moved at this show, the Religious exclaimed: "Ah! that he was right to say, the great loner, this full master of compassion: The shape is similar to a bubble of foam; she has no solidity nor consistency. Where is it gone this charm face? where is she this beauty of the body? Woe to the world that appeal to the foolish!" My stay in the home of the executioner me procured a help which I will use myself today to cross the ocean of existence.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM . '329 vs Having applied themselves, during that whole night, to the teaching of the Buddha, and having broken all his bonds, he acquired the supreme rank of Arhat. When the day was come, Tchanda girika said to him: "Religious, the night is over; the sun comes from to appear; here is the moment of your torture. Yes, he said the Religious; she is finished the night put an end to me in a very long life; he is up the Sun which marks for me the moment of the supreme favor; do so as you like. I do not understand you, resumed Tchanda girika; explain your lyrics. Then the Religious answered him [with these stanzas]: "The dreaded night of error is dissipated in my soul, that night that the five veils thicken and that haunt the pain similar to the robbers." The sun of the science is survey; My heart is happy in the sky, including the splendor leaves me see the three worlds such that they are Actually. *The moment of the supreme favor is for I imitation of the conduct of the Master; this body has lived for a long time; doing so as you wish. At this moment the executioner ruthless, with a hard heart, who did not hold account of the other life, seizes the Religious and he threw, full of fury, in a cauldron of iron filled with water mixed with blood from fat, urine and feces of humans. Then under the cauldron he lit a grandmother. But though he consumed a considerable mass of wood, the Religious did not experience any pain. The executioner wanted to rekindle the fire, and the fire does not burn. While he was looking for Chait's case, he saw the Religious sitting with legs crossed on a lotus, and as soon as he hastened to warn the king of this miracle. When the king had come with a series of various thousands of people, the Religious, seeing that the time of the convert was come, is set to deploy its powers supernatural. From the middle of the iron cauldron where he bathed in water, he sprang into the air, similar to a swan, at the sight of

the crowd that it looked ;and there he was put to produce various miraculous appearances ;that's what expresses this stanza :vsFrom the half of his body came out of the water to the other half rushed the fire;producing in turn from the rain and the flames, heshines in the sky,like a Mountain from the top of which springs would escape from the medium of burning plants.vsAt the sight of Religious suspended in the air, the king, on the face which was depicted astonishment, said, in the watching, the hands clasped and with a extreme eagerness :“ Your form, friend, is that of a man ;but your power is superhuman.

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880 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY I can not , lord, me make a idea of your kind ;what name to give you , to you whose essence is perfect? Tell me therefore in this moment that you are, that I may know thy majesty, and that the knowing, as I honor my strength and as a disciple the greatness of your qualities and of your merits." At this moment the Religious recognized that the king should receive with favor teaching, that he was intended to spread the law of Bhagavat, and that he owed to thus do the good of a great number of beings ;and then he said to him, in him de-lopant its qualities : "I am, O king, a son of the Buddha, of this being full of mercy, that is freed of the bonds of all the dirt, and that is the most eloquent of men ; I observe her Law, and have no attachment to any kind of existence. Tamed by the Heroes of the men who has tamed himself, calmed by this sage who is himself managed to fill in the peace of mind, I have summer freed from the bonds of existence by one who is delivered from the great terrors of the world." And you, O great king, your coming has been foretold by the Blessed One, when he has said : A hundred years after that I will be entered in the full Nirvana, hey will have in the city of Pataliputra a king named Açôka, sovereign king of the four parts of earth king just who will the distribution of my relics, and that étabhra four-twenty four mille édits of the Law (1). However, oh king, you did to build this remains similar to Hell, where the thousands of creatures are made to death. He should that you give to people [in the destroying] a pledge of security, and that you satisfies the desire of Bhagavat. Then he uttered this stanza : "Give therefore, O king of men, the security to beings who crave your com-passion; so please the desire of the Master, and multiplies the edicts which recommended the Act. < Then the king, who felt for the benevolence to Bhagavat, bringing (1) The text uses the compound Dharma rddjikd that does me seems likely that these two meaning : "monument of the Law " or c edict of the Law. " Following the first interpretation, it would be issue here of stupas, which the tradition attributes the establishment at King Aśoka; and this interpretation would be confirmed by the expression of Dharma dharà, t containing the Law, " which appears in the next stanza. So Rûdjikd, venant de Râdj (shine), would hint at the brilliance that gave the Stupas the coating stucco that the covering. Next the second explanation, râdjikd signifi-would trust " order, edict, royal command , " and with dharma, " royal edict touching the Law; » This term would be a different name of famous Dharma lipi, engraved on columns, or of the inscriptions moral if luckily deciphered by Prinsep. 11 there was in a of these monuments, the Lath of Delhi, a word still obscure, at least to me, who may well have to analogy with the râdjikâ of our text; this is the term which is sometimes written ladjakâ, and sometimes radjakâ. { Journ. Asian Stud. Soc. of Bengal, t. VI, p. 578, 1. 2 and 4, and p. 585, note 1.) Prinsep translated this term by devotees or followers, in the deriving of the

Sanskrit *rañj*; and he has noticed that if the first vowel would have been long, it would have made a "meeting of princes or of kings. » Prinsep must have

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .331 his hands in sign of respect, spoke thus to appease the Religious : Forgiven-I, O son of the Sage who possesses the ten forces, forgive me this bad action. I myself accuse today before you, and I seek a refuge from Buddha the Richi, to the First Assemblies, to the Law proclaimed by the Arya." And I take this determination : Today imbued with respect for the Buddha, and full of the kindness that I feel for him, I will beautify the earth in the covering of Châityas of the leader of the Djinās, who will shine like the wing of the swan, like the conch and like the moon. However the religious went to the house of the executioner, to help in his powers supernatural. The king also put in duty to be withdrawn; and Tchanda girika him said the hands clasped : king, you granted me this favor, one man one time entered here can no longer get out. Now what ! resumed Açôka, you would therefore also me put to death? Yes, replied the executioner. And what is, said the king, that of us two which is entered by the first? Me, said Tchanda girika. Hey ! someone, cried the king ; and immediately Tchanda girika was seized through the executors, which he cast in the room of torture, and that 's it did perish in the fire. The prison called the Pleasant was demolished, and security was restored to people. Then the king, wanting to make the distribution of the relics of the Blessed One, is placed at the head of an army formed of four bodies of troops ; and having opened the monument named the Stûpa of the vase, which had been built by Adjâtaçatru, he got into possession of relics (1). So he distributed these relics in place from where he had learned ; and above each of the portions that he in fact, he raised a Stûpa. He had to even the second Stupa, and thus of following up Sep-correct as to the spelling; and it would have been even observe that the line 12 of the same inscription this word is written *lâdjakâ*, undoubtedly for *râdjalcâ*, in this sentence : *hevam marna iâdjakâkatâ*, "This is how my royal order is accomplished . " I say royal order by conjecture, perhaps is this " duty of the King " that must be said. But first, as *râdjakâ* appears to be a derivative of *râdjan*, it is necessary that the idea of king appear there ; then, the content of the inscription, where this word comes back several times, seems to announce a command. One would almost expect to see this word defined in this monument, because the text says *Tcimi lâdjukâ*. "What that this command" Royal? " Unfortunately what follows is not a definition, but a result of injunctions of a character tout morale, which is no help for the determination specifies the direction of *râdjakâ*. In short, I prefer to translate the *râdjikâ* of the text of the legend by " royal edict " ; and this interpretation can be reconciled with the first, if we admit that the king ordered that we should rise to or at the occasion of each Stupa a column carrying an edict Royal touching the principles fundamental to the Buddhist Law. (See the additions, at the end of the volume.) (1) The Stupa of which it is spoken in this place is the one that the king Adjâtaçatru fit build at Rājagrha, above the portion of relics which he was put in possession, when the shares of the bones of Çâkyamuni Buddha. (Csoma, *Asiat. Res.*, T. XX, p. 316.) Only the expression which issues here the text obliges me to note a difference between the data of our legend and those

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332 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY th, from where he took the relics to the distribution in the [new] Stupas. He then moved to Râma grâma ; where the Nagas it did go down their

palace and said to him :We will make it hereeven a cult to this Stûpa. It isTherefore the king they allowed [to the keepwithout himwas open]; and the Nâgascarried the king out of their palace. There area stanza which says on this occasion:€The eighth Stûpa is at Ràma grâma ;at that time the full Nâgasof faith the guarding. That the king, [they said,] not drawnot the relics he findsclosed. Full of faith, the monarch reflects ;and are conforming to this one he de-he was callingwithdrew (1)..<The king mademake eighty-four thousand boxes of gold,money, tocrystal ef of lapis lazuli ;then hehad the relics locked up there . He then gave theYakchas and placed in their handseighty-four thousand vaseswith so muchof strips (2),the handing over the land all full to the shores ofthe Ocean, in the lower, main and middle towns , where [the fortunes of inhabitants] amounted to a Kôti[from Suvarnas].And hedid establishfor each ofthese cities,an edict of the Law."In those days we counted in the cityby iTakchaçilâ thirty-sixKôtis[from Suvarnas].Thecitizenssaid to the king :Give us thirty-six boxes. theking thinkshe did it could not, since the relicswere to be distributed.Here is the means he used :It must retrench, he said, thirty-five KOTIS.And headded :The cities that exceed this figure, like those whodo not reach itwill not, will have nothing (3).from the Tibetan story translated by Csoma. According to the latter, the Stûpa of the vase (Drôna stupa) was raisednot by Adjâtaçatru, but by the Brahmin who, reconciling the rival claims of those whowanted to seize the relics in had donethe sharing. This story must be thetrue, because itagrees with the legend of the Southern Buddhists .(1) The text is singularly confused; even if we did not know that we must find a stanza herewhich is announced by the formula Vakchyati hi, " in effect we say, " thelegend would be unintelligentible. H seems to use the words Vistarêna ydvat, " in detail until, " we do not havehere only an extract. I do not have no less thought necessary to translate very literally this passagewhich is probably truncated here.The general sense of what in rest fits well with the storyof the visit that Açôka read to the king of the Nâgas or dragons, guardian of the eighth Stûpa, a story that wehas kept the traveler Chinese Fa hian. {Foe hoe ki, p. 227 ff) The kingdom of Lan mo duBuddhist Chinese is in effect our Rama grama, as had conjectured Klaproth, without con-birth the present legend. 11 are only in the translation of the story of Fa hian a phrasethat I do not understand , and that hedo is not found in traces in our texts; it is this one : " When the king A yu (Aśoka) came out of the century. " 11 seems that these words mean : "when he isc was religious. > But if heTrue qu'Açôka are converts to Buddhism, heonly is not he haveembraced the religious life.(2) The strips which it is here questions were intended to fix the " cover the body ofvase; it 's not uncommon that in still find remnants in the stupas.(3) Here again the narrative is not perfectly intelligible also that the exaggeration of numbersit makes little probable. By assuming that the term of Koti applies to the fortune of habi-

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .333<However the king went tothe hermitage of Kukkuta ârâma, and thus addressedat Sthavira Yaças :Here is what my desire is ; Iwould like tobe able to establish thesame day and at the same hour the eighty-four thousand edicts of the Law. That heso be it, replied the Sthavira ;I will take care, during that time, to hide thedisk of the sun with my hand. The Sthavira Yaśas executed in effect that he hadpromised ;and the same day, atthe same hour, the eighty-four thousand edictsof the Law were established. This is what this slance expresses :vsHaving removed the relicsof the Rîchi of the seven ancient constructions, the des-Cendant of Mauryas did raise the

mêrpe dayin the world, eighty-four thousand Slûpas, resplendent like the autumn clouds. As the king Aśoka had established eighty-four thousand - edits of the law, he became a righteous king, a king of the Law; also he gave the name of Dharmâçôka, the Açôka of the Law. It is this that said this stanza: "The respectable Mâurya, the fortunate, made to train all these Stupas for the stage of creatures; previously he was called on the land Tchandaçôka; this good work read? won the name of Dharmâçôka (1).> There there was not good again long as the king was favorably disposed for the law of the Buddha, and already, every time he would meet sons of Here, either in the crowd or isolated, he touched their feet of his head and he adored. He had for minister Yaças, who was full of faith in Bhagavat; Yaças said to the king: Lord you do have not you bow down well before the beggars of all the castes. In effect the Crâmanêras of Sakya are out of the four castes to enter into the religious life. The king did it answered nothing; but at sometime from there, he spoke thus to all his advisers met: I want to know the value of the head of various animals; bring me so, you like head, and you like other. Then he said to his minister Yaças: You bring me a human head. When all the heads were made, the king they said: Go and sell them all these heads for a price any. All the heads were sold except the human head, which no one wanted. The king therefore said to his minister: If you can have money, give it to anything to which they want; but Yaças does not find no buyer. So the minister, ashamed of not having been able to get rid of However, we see from the previous paragraph that the principle of distribution followed by Aśoka was to give a vase of relics to each town who had ten millions of pieces. To this account Takchaçilâ had to receive thirty-six vases; but to get rid of this request exaggerated, the king declares that the figure of ten millions is of rigor, and it must reach, but not the beyond, to be entitled to a vase. (See the additions at the end of the volume.) (1) The story is interrupted here in our manuscripts by the title of Pdmçu pradâna avaddna, or "The legend of the alms of a handful of earth." But the narrative continues regularly, and it is clear that this division is only a matter of form.

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334 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY this head, went to the king and told him what had happened. The heads of cows, donkeys, of rams, of gazelles, birds, he said, have been purchased by Monor by the other for money; but this human head is an object without value which nobody has wanted even for nothing. Then the king said to his minister: Why so did no one want this human head? Because it is a contemptible object, replied the minister. Is it that head alone, resumed the king, who is contemptible, or else are they all the heads human? All the human heads, says Yaças. Now what! said Aśoka, is it that my head is also a contemptible object? But the minister, retained by the fear, dared not tell the truth. Speak according to your conscience, said the king to him. Well! yes, replied the minister. The king having in this way is to confess to his minister what he thought was expressed in these words in her addressing these stanzas: (Yes, it is as a result of a feeling of pride and intoxication, inspired by the beauty and the power that you desire me away from my bow of religious feet." And if my head, this miserable object that no one would want for anything, meeting an opportunity to purify themselves, acquired some merit, what he has out of hand in the order?" You look at the caste in the Religious of Sakya, and you will see not the virtues that are hidden in them; it's therefore, swollen with pride of the born-sance, you forget in your error and yourself and the others. < We ask about the caste when he it is an invitation or a wedding, but no when he is of

the Law, because these are the virtues that make it fulfill the Law, and the virtues do not worry not of the caste. < If the vice reached a man of high birth, this man is blamed in the world ; how then are the virtues that honor man with a base extracting only would they not be object of respect? " It is in consideration of the spirit that the body of men is ordered dispersed or honored. The souls of the ascetics of Çâkyas must therefore be venerated, for they are purified by Çâkyas. If a man regenerated by this second birth is deprived of virtue, we say : It is a sinner, and is the mistake. We do that not even for the man born of a poor family; if he has virtues, we must honor him by prostrating oneself before him. " And the king said, Is it that you have not heard this speech of heroes com-Suffering of Çâkyas : The wise know how to find of the value to things that do not have this word of the master truth, that a slave would be able to understand take ? And if I want to carry out these commandments, it is not a evidence of friendship on your part than to turn away from me .

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .9SB " When my body, given up as the fragments of the cane to sugar, will sleep on the earth, he will be unable to be given to the trouble to greet, to touch, and bring the hands in a sign of respect. " What virtuous action would I be then in state of execution with this body? So it is not proper that I attach any price to one body including the terms in the cemetery ; he is not worth more than a house burned down, no more than one treasure of lost gems in the waters. " Those who in this body do not perish, are unable to distinguish which has a value, those will not recognize essentially ignore what of the price and what does not ; these fools fall in failure at the time when they fall into the jaws of the monster of death (i). " When we have removed from a vase what it contained in best, the milk curd, melted butter, the butter fresh, the milk or the milk acid, and that there remain more than of the foam, if this vase comes to breaking, here is no place for many to complain. It is in is of even the body ; if the good works that he give the price, are removed, it will be not to mourn when come to perish. < Corn when in this world the death breeze violently the mud of body of these men proud who turn away from good works, then the fire of grief consumes their hearts, as when a vessel of milk is broken curd, of which the best is thus entirely lost. < Do you oppose So no, Lord, that as I bow to the anybody [of Religious] ; as one who, without examination, to say : I am then nobler, is shrouded in the darkness of error. " But the one who examines the body Torch discourse of the Sage who possessed the ten forces, this one is a sage who does not see of difference between the body of a prince and that of a slave. " The skin, the flesh, the bones, the head, liver and other organs are the same among all the men ; the ornaments alone and the adornments make the superiority a body on one another. " But most in this world, that's what can be found in a body vile, and that the wise have the merit to acknowledge and honor. " The king Aśoka having well recognized that the body had less value than from shells of eggs full of balls of sand made with the tears serpent, and he is convinced that the benefits resulting from respects testified [to the Religious] prevailed over a multitude of great surviving lands with their Sumêru while for many kalpas, the king Aśoka, I say, wanted to (1) The text said " the Makara of the dead; » The Makara is this fabulous fish which the dolphin has perhaps suggested the idea to the Indians.

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336 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY parry to go and honor the Stupas of Bhagavat. So, surrounded by the crowd of his ministers, he went to Kukuta arama , and there, is taking

to the place hon-neur, he said, his hands joined together in a sign of respect :Is there a second person who has summer of the share of the Sage who voyait tout, the subject of a prediction similar to the one he has done for me, when I offered him [in one another existence] a "handle of earth (1)? So Yaças the elder of the Assembly him answered thus: Yes, great king, hein is a. When Bhagavat, on the point of entering into the Full Nirvana, after converting the Nàga Apalàla (2) and the Chândâlî Gopai, wife of the potter (3) was going to Mathurâ, he addressed himself to the respect Ananda table : In this city of Mathurâ, O Ananda, a hundred years old after that I be entered in the full Nirvana, hey will have a named perfume merchant Gupla. Cemarchand will have a son named Upagupta (4), which will be the first of interpreters of the Law, and a true Buddha, minus the external signs (1) This is an allusion to the virtuous action that Açôka did, in a previous existence, a day that Śākya going close to him. Açôka was then a little boy named Djaya, who was playing on the highway, in the dust with one other child of his age, named Vijaya. At these seeing the perfections of the Buddha, he was touched with benevolence; and with the intention to give to the flour to the Religious, he threw a handful of soil into his vase . {Divya avad., I.228 b from myman.} The legend in which this fact is related has the title of Pâmçu pradâna, " the alms of a " Handful of earth; » This is the preamble to that of Açôka; and this is natural in the ideas Buddhist, since this legend recounts that of the ancient existences of Açôka, where he acquired the merits which were to raise later in the royalty, and in making the most glorious protector of Buddhism. It is important to bring this note closer to the beginning of the chapter where Fa hian ra-briefly tells the story of Açôka. The translation by M. A. Rémusat, corrected by Klapproth, is not sufficiently clear; she made Açôka, still a child, a contemporary of Çàkyamuni, this which is an error which is further increased by a note from Klapproth. {Foe koue M, p. 293 and 295.} All becomes clear if one admits, as it is essential that Fa hian has wanted to say something something analogous to this : " In the time when the one who was later Açôka was a small child " contemporary of Çàkyamuni. "(2) The Nàga Apalàla was a dragon who resided in the source of the river that Fa hian names Sou pho fa sou thou, that is to say in Sanskrit Çubhavastu, and in the ancient geography Svaslus, the Sewad our cards, as well as has been seen Lassen. {Zur Geschichte der Griech. und Indoskyth. Konige, p. 135.} The legend of this Nàga, which the Chinese exactly call A po lo la, is told in great detail by Mr. Abel Rémusat. {Foe koue ki, p. 53.} (3) I have not found in our collections of legends those of the Tchâiidâlî Gôpâi. (4) It was a general use in India in the time of Buddhism, to give to a son the name his father, in the in distinguishing by adding the prefix upa (below), as here : Gupta the father, and Upagupta the son; Nanda and Upananda ; Tichya and Upatichya. The addition of this prefix gaveto compound the sense of " one who is under Nanda, " and by extension " the little Nanda. " There are would have to do on the names own, research that will be not without interest for the his-tory of the literature Indian. Thus, Buddhist names are generally borrowed from those of constellations lunar, as Puchya, Tichya, Radha, anuradha and other ; but we don't meeting no recalling the names familiar to the mythology modern, as are Krishna, Góla, Mâdhava, Râdhâ, Dêvî, Pàrvatî, Gâurî and others similar. We can say in any assu-rancid that there is, between the Buddhist proper names and those of the Purâças, the same difference that between these and those of the Vêdas, with which the Buddhist denominations offer a

OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .337laughs(1). He's the one who, a hundred, years old after that Ibe entered in the full Nirvanawill fulfill the role of a Buddha.*Under his teaching many of Religious ver-RONT face to fiice status of Arhat by the destruction of all the corruption of wrong. Those Religious will fill a cave with four-finger long stickshaving a depth eighteen bent on a width dedouze (2).the first of my Hearers, ô Ananda, among those who are able to inter-to preach the Law, will be the Religious Upagupta.*Do you see there, ô Ananda, this band of wood that is if blue ? -Yes, lord. - It is, O Ananda, the Mountain named Urumunda (3). There, when a hundred years have passed since the entry of the Tathagata in the full Nirvana, hethere will be dwelling in the woods named Natabhatikâ(4). Of all the places made for you itsit where we are there layer, and which promotes the peaceful[of the contemplation], the first to my eyes is this hermitage of Natabhatikâ.fi The Sthavira then pronounced this stanza :The leader of the world have predicted that the glorious Upagupta, the first of the performers of the Law, would fulfill the duties of a Buddha."This perfect being, resumed the king, is he So already born, and well is it still a striking analogy. This subject would provide the material for a curious monograph . I remark on ONLY LEMENT here, in passing, that the name of Tichya, which is so common in our legends of the North, is the Sanskrit original of the Pali name of Tissa, which is no less familiar to Singha Buddhists leave.(1) We will see not clear in the text it should read alakchanakô Buddha Ji, or lahchanaicô.The careful reading of the Upagupta legend allows me to believe that the real lesson is alakchanaka. the text means that Upagupta will be a Buddha, minus the Lakliavâni, or the thirty-two signs of the physical beauty.(2) The passage between two stars is borrowed from the legend of Upagupta, which is of a very great help for the intelligence of that of Açôka. {Divya avad., F. 173 b.) But in this place even the text is so altered, that without the clarifications in which the legend enters elsewhere, it would be to just about impossible to not understand. Here is the summary of the clarifications in question. When Upagupta had acquired the profound science which made him the first of the interpreters of the Act, it is put to preach constantly to the multitude, and converts up to eighteen miles people, who by dint of application reached the rank of Arhat. " Now it is had in the mountains of Urumuntla a cave eighteen cubits deep , and twelve cubits wide . The Sthavira Upagupta said to those of his listeners who had fulfilled their duties :The one who, as a result of my teaching, will be managed to see face to face the state of Arhat by an éan'issement of all the corresponding ruptures of evil, will have to throw into this cave a wand of four fingers ; and it happened that a single day ten thousand Arhats threw everyone a wand in the cave. " {Divya avad., f.181 a). It is this fact that will relate the phrase on which door the present note; but he was difficult to be an idea of the direction to the way in which our two manuscripts give this passage. Besides they suppress the word guhûm (cave), they read ramkâbliih in place of çalâkdbhih, and pûdjayichyanti in place of pûrayichyanti.(3) This mountain is sometimes called Urumunda, and sometimes Rurumnnda; the first ortho-graph is the most ordinary.(4) This hermitage drew its name from one of the two brothers Nata and Bhata, which had been con-truce. {Divya avad., F.173 b.)

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338 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY to be born ? The Sthavira replied :He was born, this magnanimous sage who triumphed of the corruption ;he lives on the Mount Urumunda, surrounded by a crowd of Arhats out of compassion for the world. And headed :fThis

wise perfect, which is like the game He who knows all, exposes the Actpure in the crowd of his disciples, led by thousands in the city of the issue the Gods, the chiefs of the Asuras, the Uragas and men."But in this time Upagupta surrounded by ten-huitmille Arhats resided in the hermitage named Natabhatikâ. The king having been informed, summoned the crowd of his ministers and their words :Whether you team an elephant body of tanks and of horse men ;i want me to make quickly to the mountain Urumunda. I want to see from my eyes the wise named Upagupta, who is freed from all the soiling. But the ministers replied :Lord, we must send a mes-wise; the wise man who lives in this place will certainly come himself with the King. It 's not him, took Aśoka, coming in front of me, but good to me to transport me to meet him. And he added :He is, I think, made of diamonds, the body of Upagupta that resembles the Master, this body that equal, if don't sur-do not pass the rock [in hardness] ;one such man would push back the order that he would address. So the king did not send a messenger to the Sthavira Upagupta, and he says :I will go to see the Sthavira myself .tHowever Upagupta made the following reflection :If the king comes here he has a result 's wrong for a large crowd of people and for the country. This is why he is said :It is I who will go to see the king. In consequence Aśoka, thinking that the Stha-vira Upagupta would come by water, fit set of boats in all the space that separates Mathûrâ from Pâtaliputra. So Upagupta, to show his benevolence the king Aśoka, having embarked with his result of ten-huitmille Arhats, arrived in the city of Pâtaliputra. In this moment the people of the king came to him to announce the news. Lord, happiness to you !Upagupta, this master of his thoughts, this pilot of teaching advances to foot, to show you his favor, followed by sages who have reached the shore of the ocean of existence. At these words Açoka transported to joy took from his neck a necklace of pearls worth one hundred thousand [Suvarnas], and in made donation to one that he had brought the happy news; then by calling one who sounded the bell, he him says :Let us ring the bell in Pâtaliputra, to announce the arrival of the Sthavira Upagupta, and that we shout : "The one who, renouncing a poverty which has neither price nor value, desires in this world a flourishing and happy felicity , may he come and see Upagupta, this sage compassionate, which is [for all the beings] the cause of the issue and the sky. <That those who have not seen the first of men, the full Master of

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .339mercy, being existing by him even, come see the Sthavira Upagupta, this noble torch of the three worlds, so like the Master. V When the king had been spread to its bell this new in Pâta-liputra, and he had done adorn the city, he in went up to the distance of two Yôdjanas and a half, and advanced in front of the Sthavira Upagupta, accompanied of noise of all kinds of instruments, through the perfumes and the garlands of flowers, and monitoring of all its ministers and to all the inhabitants. The king saw from afar the Sthavira Upagupta in the midst of his eighteen thousand Arhats, who surrounded him as the two ends of the crescent of the moon ;and he not the was not quite overview, that descendant of the elephant, it is returned to pied vers the bank of the river; there fixing one of his feet on the shore, he placed the other on the edge of the boat, and taking in his arms the Sthavira Upagupta, he carried out the Earth. When he had deposited it on the ground, he fell to his full height at the feet of the Stha-swung, like a tree that we could cut the root, and it kissed them to him . then if falling and asking to land the two knees, he brings his hands in sign of respect, and looking at the Sthavira, he spoke to him thus : "When, after having triumphed in the crowd of my enemies, I have seen

united under my unique power the earth with its mountains to the shores from the ocean who surrounds him, I have not as much pleasure as seeing the Sthavira." Your eyesight doubles the provisions favorable that I have for this excellent act; your purifying sight makes it appear today to my eyes, whatever it is absent, the incomparable being who has been entirely himself. Now that the compassionate leader of Djinis is entered in the rest, fulfill for the three worlds the office of a Buddha; make, like the sun, shine the light of the science about the universe destroyed, and that the illusion of world cloud the sight." You who are like the Master, you the unique eye of the universe and the first interpreters [of the Law], be my refuge, lord, and give me your orders; I will immediately hasten, accomplished sage, to obey your voice." While the Sthavira Upagupta, stroking of his hand right the head of the king, he spoke thus: Remplis'avec attention to the duties beyond royal dignity; it's something difficult to get that the three precious items; honor them constantly, lord. Great king, Bhagavat, the venerable Tathagata, perfectly and completely Buddha, entrusted to me and to you the deposit of the Law; make all our efforts for keep this as the guide of things we had passed, when he was in middle of his disciples." The king resumed: Sthavira I myself am complied with the orders that Bhagavathad given for me. I have beautified the face of the earth with beautiful stupas,

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3i0INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY similar to some net of mountains, decorated with umbrellas and of standards raised, and adorned with various precious stones; and I have multiplied the vases which closing his relics. Women, children, houses, myself, as well as the possession of the earth and of my treasures, he is nothing that I have not given up under teaching of the King of the Law. Nothing, good, replied the Sthavira Upagupta; you have well done, great king, to execute the orders of the Buddha. Whoever uses his body the advantage of this which is really essential, and that desert of objects materials to support his life, will not lament when his time is right, and he will go to the desired abode of the Gods. The king having then introduced with great pomp the Sthavira Upagupta in his de-die royal, it took between his arms, and was sitting on the seat which it was intended." The body of Sthavira Upagupta was polished and perfectly soft, also soft a flake of cotton. The king having noticed it, told him the hands united in sign of respect: Noble creature, these members are sweet like the cotton, soft as the silk of Rénarès; but me, to be unfortunate, my limbs are rough, and my body is rough to the touch. The Sthavira replied: It is because I have made to be without like a precious gift, an incomparable present; I do not have made in Tathagata on donate simple a handful of earth, and that thou hast done once. Sthavira, said the king, it is because that I was child that once, having met a character without equal, I have him gave a handful of soil, action of which today I collect the fruit. So the Sthavira wanting to return the joy in the heart of Açôka, answered him in these terms: Great king, see the excellence from the ground in which you have sown this dust; it is to her that you owe the brilliance of throne and the power supreme. In these months the king, opening the eyes of astonishment lying, called his ministers and said to them: I have got the empire of a Ralatchakra-vartin, only to be given a handful of earth: so much effort for do you have to not to do, lords, for to honor Bhagavat? Then falling to feet of Sthavira Upagupta, he exclaimed: Here is, O Sthavira, what is my desire: I want to honor all the places where has stayed the blessed Buddha; I want the marker of a sign in favor of the last posterity. And he pronounced the following stanza: "All the places where stayed

the Blessed Rudder, I want to go the honor and the mark of assign in favor of the last posterity. "Nothing, good, O great king, replied the Sthavira; it's a beautiful thought that they ours. I will show you today the places where the blessed stayed Rudder; I will honor the hands joined, I will visit them, and I them shall mark of assign, don't doubt not (1). (1) These last words must undoubtedly be put in the mouth of the king; however our manuscripts do not indicate it so.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .341 < So the king having equipped an army formed of four bodies of troops, took perfumes of flowers and garlands, and went along of Sthavira Upagupta. The latter began by leading the king into the garden of Lumbini; then extending the hand right, he said: It is in this place, O great king, what not Bhagavat; and he added: "This is the first Monument dedicated in honor of the Buddha of which the view is excellent. It was here that an instant after his birth, the loner made seven not on the ground (1)." Having walked his gaze on the four issues from the horizon, he pronounced these words: This is my last existence; this is the last time I live in a human matrix (2). "At this moment Açôka fell from all his height at the feet of the Religious; then getting up, he puts his hands together in sign of respect, and said in crying: They are happy, and they have performed virtuous deeds, those who have seen the great loner at the time when he was born, and who heard her pleasant voice. So the Sthavira wanting to increase the joy of Açôka, he spoke thus: Great king, would you like to see the deity that was present to the birth of more eloquent of men, and who has it heard about it, when came into the world in this wood and that he took three steps? - Yes, Sthavira, I would like to see. Right away the Sthavira, directing the hand side of the tree which the Queen Mahamaya had a branch, spoke thus: That the divinity that resides herein this Açôka tree, this girl of the Gods who saw the perfect Buddha, is shown herein person, to increase the feelings of benevolence [to the Act] (3) in the heart (1) The wood of Lumbini is famous in all the legends relating to the life of Çàkyà; see in particular the chapter of Lalita vistara devoted to the story of the birth of the young Sidhârtha. {Lalita d'stara, f.45 sqq. to my man.) This garden is located close to Kapilavaslu. Fa hian in atalked about in his trip. {Foe kove ki, p.199, and the drowning of Klaproth, p. 219.) The Chinese traveler also relates the story of the seven steps that the miraculous child took on the ground. {Foe koue ki, ib. Klaproth, ib., P.220.) (2) As for the words that spoke the young prince at the time of his birth, see the Legend of Śākya translated from Chinese by Klaproth. (Foe koue ki, p.220 and 223.) The versions various of these words that relate the numerous authorities cited by the scientist back all, more or less exactly for the meaning, in the passage from Lalita vistara relating to this event. ment, that I cité ailleurs it there is some time. {Journal des Savants, year 1837, p. 353 and 354. Lalita vistara, p. 49 b of my man.) This does should not surprise, since the tradition of various people who have adopted the Buddhism rests ultimately on the Indian authorities. But what he is more useful to notice is that the words that the legend of the North puts in the mouth of the young Śākya are the same as those who SOHT reported by the legends of the South. I don't have any not the faded text, but I judge from the translation, probably very exact, that Mr Turnour has given a fragment considerable commentary composed by Buddha ghoṣa on the Buddha vamsa. {Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Ben gay, X. Vil, p. 801.) (3) I continue to translate prosâdo by benevolence; but it could very well the replacement

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342 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY of King Açôka. And at the moment the Divinity appeared under his own form with the Sthavira Upagupta, and holding her hands together, she said to him : Sthavira, that medo you order? While the Sthavira are turning to Aśoka: The now, O great king, the Divinity who saw Rhagavat at the time of his birth. Reuniting immediately the hands in sign of respect, the king addressed himself thus to this Divinity : You got it therefore saw the moment of his birth, this wise that the body was marked with signs of the beauty, and with the big eyes looked at Lotus ! So you have heard the first words of the hero of the men, the agréa- words wounds she will pronounce in this wood! Yes, replied the Godhead, I have seen the moment where he came to be born, the first of men, which the body was brilliant as gold ; I've seen time whence it took seven steps, and I heard the words of the Master. Tell me then, O Divinity, resumed the king, what was the splendor of Rhagavat in the moment when he came into the world. I will then, said the Goddess, express by the words ; but judges in by a single word : tShining with a miraculous light , resplendent like gold, pleasant to eyes, the earth, in this system of three worlds where Indra reigns , trembled as well as its mountains, to the shores of the ocean, similar to a ship worn on the great sea. tThe king, after having given one hundred miles [Suvarnas] people of the country, did raise in this place a Stupa and is retired." The Sthavira Upagupta who then led the king in Kapilavastu, him said in extending the hand right: It is in this place, O great king, that the Rôdhisattva has been presented to King Çuddhâdana [his father]. At the sight of this body that appeared the thirty-two characteristic signs of a great man, and of which his looks born could be off, Çuddhâdana fell to toutesa height to feet of Rôdhisattva. Behold, O great king, the Deity of the family, called Çâkyavardha (the one who does to prosper the Çâkyas) ; it was to her that the Rôdhisattva was presented immediately after his birth, so that he would adore the God. But these were the Deities who all sethrew at the feet of Rôdhisattva. Also the King Çuddhâdana he cried : This child is a God for the Divinities themselves ; of the it happened that he gave the name of Devâtîdêva (God superior of Gods) (4). "It is here, O great king, that the Rôdhisattva was presented to the clear Rrâhman here by grace, and it has no trouble that the Tibetans to have taken, in such passages, for a synonym of faith. (1) This legend is again the summary summary of the corresponding chapter of Lalita vistara. (Lalita vistara, ch. Viii, f. 67 sqq. from my man.) He must also see the story of the birth of Çâkyas, translated from Chinese by Klaproth. {Foe koue ki, p. 221.)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .343 seers who predict the future. It is here that the Rîchi Asita declared that the child would be a day a Buddha in the world. Here, O great king, the child has been entrusted to Mahâ Pradjâpatî, his nurse. There we him taught [to write ; here to ride a elephant and a horse (1), to lead a chariot, to wield the bow, arrow, club, the sting to practice in a word the other exercises suitable ASA birth. Here is the room where the Bodhisattva was practiced . It is in this place that surrounded by a hundred thousand deities, the bodhisattva is Uvrait the fun with its sixty thousand women. It is here that disgusted of the world by the sight of an old man, a sick and of a dead, the Bôdhisattva [left this remains] to be removed in the forest (2). It is Here he sat in the shade of a Djambu, and that is detached from the terms of the sin and of the misery it succeeded, by the reflection and the judgment to first degree of Dhyâna (contemplation), which is the result of the separate view , which gives the satisfaction and the happiness, and who looks like the state free from any imperfection. It was then that a little after noon, the

moment when we take the meal, we saw the shadow of the other trees to project [in the sense ordinary], so lead, bow towards the east (3), while that the shadow of the tree Djambu not a-not bandage the body of the Bôdhisattva. At this sight the king Çuddhâdana fell a second time from its full height to the feet of the Bodhisattva. It is by this door that escorted of a hundred thousand Divinities, the Bôdhisattva came out of Kapilavastu at middle of the night. Here the Bodhisattva put his horse back and her adornments between the hands of Tchhandaka [his servant], and he was dismissed. That's what that says this stance : "Tchhandaka having received his ornaments and his horse, was dismissed by him ; the hero alone and without a servant in the forest where he was going to mortify himself." It is here that the Bodhisattva, exchanging with a hunter's clothes from silk of Benares against yellow clothes, embraced the life of men-goddamn. Here he was received in the hermitage of the Bhârgavides. In this place the King Bimbisâra invited the Bôdhisattva to share the kingship with him. It's here he REN-contra Ârâda (4) and Udraka, as well as expresses this stance : (1) The text serves expressions features and everything Indian, "to mount on the neck" of an elephant and on the back of a horse. "(2) This part of the legend of Sakya is long known and well known law, because it expresses the ideas of compassion and of charity that pass for the first patterns of the mission that Çâkyâ has given himself. It's located amply developed in the Foe koue kip. 204 sqq. (3) The text is here an expression that I've seen that in this style : prâchîna prâg-bhâra. According to Wilson, prâg-bhâra not mean that "the summit of a mountain." By bringing of this meaning the compound of our text, one could suppose that the adjective prâg-bhâra means "this" of which the weight is at the top. "(4) This Brahmin has already been named above, sect. II, p. 137, note 1. I think I recognize the

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344 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY "In this hermitage lived the Rîchis Udraka and Ârâda ; the Rôdhisattva, this Indra among the men, this protector is made familiar with the practice of their doctrine. Here the bodhisattva is subjected to a rude penitence of six years. This is what what does this stanza say : The great loner, after having indulged in a rude penance for six years, reconimts that this was not the true path, and abandoned this practice." It is in this place that Nandâ and Nandabalâ, the girls of the villager, presentèrent the bodhisattva an offering of honey and of milk, which is multiplied [miraculeusement] in ten offerings, and which it is fed (1). We quote on this occasion the following stanza : "Having eaten in this place the offering of milk and of honey that he had presented Nanda, the great hero, the most eloquent of men went to sit at the om-bre of the Bôdhi tree." It is here that Kâlîka the king of the Nâgas came to find the Bôdhisattva who was sitting down close of the tree Bodhi, and is set to sing his louanges. Aussi say : the most eloquent of men was praised by Kâlîka the king of serpents, after that, name of the first of these anchorites, Arârja, in the Chinese transcription A lan, such as the gives Klaproth, after a legend from the life of Çâkyamuni. {Foe koue M, p. 281.) I conjecture same as Klaproth, or the text qu'il suit, commits a mistake in making Kia lan one another Brahmin different from the first. {Ibid.) If, in fact, it brings the name Sanskrit Brahmanin question, Ârâda Kâlâma, the double Chinese name A lan Kia lan, we will naturally be inclined to believe that the four monosyllables Chinese are the very transcription little altered from two Iris-Sanskrit syllables. A passage from the legend of Çâkyamuni, as it was written by Buddhahosa and translated from the Pali by Mr. Tumor seems to say qu'Ârâda resided in the Magadha, not far from Râdjagriha. {Journ. Asian girl.

Soc. of Bengal, t. SEEN, p. 810.) But the Lalita vislara asserts positively that the Brahmin Arâda lived in the big city of Vâicâlî. {Lalita vistava, f. 125 bof my man.) This fact is confirmed by a passage from Parinibbâna sulta pali , of which M. Turnour has gave an excellent analysis. It is, in fact, beyond Vâicâlî, after the last visit of Çàkyâ in this city, that a discussion took place between a Malla and a disciple of Âlâra Kâlâma (as the Sinhala the call), on the merits relating to Śâkyâ and Alara. {Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. Vil, p. 1004.) It seems natural to conclude from this last circumstance that the residence Arada was not far from Vaisall. Quât to Rudraka, sonde Râma, it is good to Rajagriha that Sakyamuni was his encounter, as well as I have said above (sect. II, p. 137, note 1); the Lalitavistara affirms positively this fact. {Lalita vistara, f. 128 bof my man.) I don't know which of the two authorities he must prefer, the Lalitavistara who called it Brahman Rudraka Rdmâputtra, or of the present legend, that the names Udraka. That it there was for certain, is that this last spelling is confirmed by the Pali commentary of Buddha ghosa, which quotes this same Brahmin under the name of Uddakaramo. {Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. VII, p. 810.) You should probably read Uddaka Râma. As for the fact summarized in this passage, since the moment where Sakya sat under a tree Djambu, see the oft-cited legend from the life of Çàkyâ. {Foe koue ki, p. 231 ff., And p. 281 ff.) (1) See this part of the legend of Çàkyâ recounted in detail in the Foe koue ki, p. 283 and 281. Conf. Aùat. Res., T. XX, p. 165.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .345 longing for immortality (1), it was entered in the way that it leads, on the throne of the Bodhi (2). <By this time the king was prostrating off feet of the Sthavira, spoke to him thus the hands together respectfully : If I could see this king of the Nagas who on Templé the Tatliâgata when possessing the force of the king of elephants furious he walked this way ! And immediately the king of the Nâgas, Kâlîka, appearing with of the Sthavira Upagupta, said to him , his hands joined together with respect : Sthavira, what are you ordering from me ? Then the Sthavira said to the king : Here, O great king, Kâlîka the king of the Nâgas, who sang the praises of Bhagavat, when, sitting with of the Bôdhi tree , it was advancing in the path of salvation. Immediately the king, his hands reunited with respect, spoke thus to Kâlîka the king of the Nâgas : You got it so seen one of which the equaled complexion radiance of gold melted, thou has saw my master misunderstood parable, including the face looks to a moon of autumn ! Show me some of the qualities of the Sage to the ten forces; tell me what then was the splendor of Sugata. I did then, he said the Dragon, express by desparoles ; corn judge by a single word : Touched by the plant from his feet the earth with its mountains shook six different ways ; illuminated by the light of Sugata, who was getting up seemed-ble to the moon above the world of men, she appeared beautiful and more resplendent. dissante than the rays from the sun. After this interview, the King fit draw up a Tchâytya in this place and be retired." Then the Sthavira Upagupta having led the king by the Bôdhi tree , said to him, stretching out his hand : It is here, O great king, that the BôdhisatIva, endowed with the great charity, after having defeated all the forces of Mâra, succeeded in (1) There is a here still a form incorrectly, amrîtârthinah for amrîtârthî. See the legend of this dragon who was blind, in the Foe koue there, p. 285. (2) So that I translate the Bôdhi mamJa compound term while in fact own in Sanskrit buddhist. Interpreted literally and according to the rules of classical style , it should mean" The essence of the Bodhi or of intelligence; "and that is that I've heard for a long time, and in especially for that I read the Sutas

developed, such as the Lotus of the good Law, where nothing enlightens the reader on the special meaning of this term; but I have acquired since the conviction that means, especially in the old legends, the throne or miraculous seat, which passes for having risen from the earth under the shade of the Bôdhi tree, when Çàkya had fulfilled the duties which gave him the right to a liter of Buddha. We find on this subject in the Foe koue ki a note of Klaproth not leave any doubt about the application special all of this term. {Foe koue ki, p. 286, note, col. 1.) It should only be added that " the platform of the Bôdhi tree, " like the Chi-nois call him, is the Bôdhi-manda of our legends, which I did not know before having seen several times this term, either in the Avadânas, or in the Lalita vistara, and do not forget that this name applies even by extension to the city of Gaya, where is found the tree Bodhi, in whose shadow appeared the platform or the throne in question. This is what Csoma teaches us in his analysis of the Çàkya's life. {Asian girl. Res., t. XX, p. 292 and / i23.) This throne was still called Vadjrâsana, < The seat Diamond " {Ibid., P. 75 and 292); but this name is less common than the other.

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346 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY state of perfectly accomplished Buddha (1). This is expressed by the stanza next : vs It is there, near the Bôdhi tree, that the hero of the loners dissipated in a bit moments the army of Namutchi humiliated ; it is there that this incomparable obtained the noble, the Supreme and the immortal state of Buddha. " As a result the king gave one hundred miles [Suvarnas] for the tree Bodhi, and gave rise in this place a Tchâitya ; after which he retired. " Then the Sthavira Upagupta said to King Açôka : This is where the big four kings of Heaven offer to Bhagavat four vases made of rock, and that in choosing one (2). In this place here received the alms of a meal from the hands of the two hands Trapucha and Bhallika (3). Here Bhagavat, on the verge to be reach Bénâres, was praised by a certain Upagana (4). Finally the Sthavira having led the king in place named Rîchipatana, itsaid extending the hand right : Here, O great king, Bhagavat made turn the legal wheel of the Law who in three towers are present in twelve different ways. And he pronounced this stanza : (1) There is always a question in the legends of Çàkya's stay with the Bôdhi tree, under which he obtained the dignity of Buddha; this tree was in Gayâ. The details of the stay of Çàkya in this country are amply explained and developed by the notes relating to chapter xxxi. the Foe koue Mr. (See p. 275 et seq., p. 285 and 290.) Fa hian lives of stupas high in all the in-rights to some near that means our legend. I must add here that by speaking above of rori-gine the name of Bodhi gave the fig tree of India, I forgot to say, in favor of my opinion, that each Buddha had, according to the popular mythology, its particular Bôdhi, which was not always ! e ficus religiosa. Thus the Bôdhi tree of the first Buddha of the present time was a Çirîcha, that is to say an acacia sirîsa. {Asian girl. Res., T. XVI, p. 453. Foe koue ki, p. 193. / own. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. VII, p. 793. Mahâvanso, p. 90, ed. in-i ".) That of the second was a Udumbara, that is, a ficus glomerata. {Asian girl. Res., T. XVI, p. 454. Foe koue ki, p. 195. Journ. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, t. VII, p. 794 and 795. Mahâvanso, p. 92.) That of the third was a Nyagrôdha, that isie an Indica ficus. {Foe koue ki, p. 189. Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. VII, p. 796.) That proves that the name of Bôdhi is a generic term designating the tree under which a Buddha must obtain the consecration of his task gorgeous, and not not the name clean and popular of this kind of fig tree. It is there that that I wanted to establish above, sect. He, p. 68, note 3, and this already indicated the analogy single word Buddha and Bodhi. (2) See on this legend a rating of Klaproth, in the

Foe koue ki, p. 291. Çàkyà preferred the vessel the more simple de all those whom the gods offered him. This legend, which is part of one that will follow, is told in the Lalita Vistara, fol. 197 b and 198 a from my man. (3) This legend is still reported in the previously cited note by Klaproth, according to Sources Sinhalese, and in part from the Chinese Hsuan thsang. {Foe koue ki, p. 291.) Cornin the way that Klaproth has borrowed to Upham. {The sacred and histor. Bouks of Ceylon, t. III, p. 110 ff), the words are singularly disfigured. These two merchants are those same of which it is spoken in the inscription of the famous bell of Rangoon, and to which I alluded above, p. 318, footnote 1. The legend that it is here matter is the subject of a chapter (the XXIV) of Lalita vistara, fol. 196 6 of my man. (4) This fact is still told by the Lalitavistara, c. xxvi, f. 209 b of my man. It is between the throne of Bôdhimaijda and the city of Gayâ that it took place.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .S47<In this place, the Lord, to put an end to the revolution of the world, has been turning the beautiful and excellent wheel, which is the Act itself." It was here that he made adopt the life of beggar to a thousand ascetics who had the hair matted ; here he has taught the Law to King Bimbisara, and that the truth have been seen by the prince, as well as by four-vingt mille Deities, and by many thousands of Brahmans and of masters maison du Magadha. It is here that Bhagavat taught the Law to Çàkra, the Indra of the Devas, and that the truth have been seen by this God, and that by eighty thousand Devatas. There he has done a great miracle. Here Bhagavat, after having gone to the Devas Trayastriṃśat the time of Varcha, to teach the Law to his mother, to whom he was the day, came down [from Heaven] escorted by a crowd of Gods. Finally the Sthavira Upagupta having led the king to the city of Kuçinagarî, he said , extending the hand right : It is in this place, O great king, that Bhagavat, after having fulfilled all the duties of a Buddha, is entered completely in the realm of Nirvana, where he does nothing left of the accumulation of element existence. And he added this stanza : "After having submitted to the disciplined of the Law imperishable the world with the Devas, themen, the Asuras, the Yakchas and the Nâgas, the great Bichi, this wise gifted with intelHgence and a vast compassion, is entered in the rest, calm from now on by he did not have more every To convert." At these words the king fainted and fell by land ; we threw him of water [on the face], and he got up. Then when he had resumed a little his senses, he gave one hundred thousand [Suvarnas] for the [place of] Nirvana, and was built in this place a Tchâitya. Being then thrown to the knees of the Sthavira, he him says : Here is, O Sthavira, what is my desire : I want to honor the relic those of Audi-teurs of Bhagavat who have been appointed [by him] as being the first. Good, good, O great king, continued the Sthavira ; this is a good thought. So the Sthavira leading the king to Djêlavana, he said by extending the right hand : Here, O great king, the Stûpa of Sthavira Çâriputra ; you cannot the hour-norer. What were the merits of Çâriputra? asked the [king. He was, said the Sthavira, as a second master ; he was the general of the army of the law, during that the Buddha in doing rotate the wheel ; it was he who was designated as the first of those who possess the wisdom, when Bhagavat has said : The sa-gesse of the universe whole, except, however, the Tathâgata, does not equal the sixteenth part of the wisdom of Çâriputra. And Upagupta uttered this stance : "The incomparable wheel of the good Law, has been turning the Djina, the sage

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348 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Śāriputra did turn also to his example. What man, other than the Rūddha, could in this world know and expose, not in anything omit the treasure and crowd of qualities the son of Çāradvalī? So the King satisfied, after having given a hundred thousand [Suvarnas] for the Slūpa of the son of Çāradvati the Sthavira, cried the hands united in sign of respect: I honor with a devotion deep the son of Çāradvati, who is freed of links to re-existence, Ç dont the glory illuminates the world of the hero, the pre-mier of those who have the wisdom." The Sthavira Upagupta, then showing the Stupa of Sthavira Maha Māudgalyāyana, expressed himself thus: Here, O great king, the Stūpa du grand Māud-galyāyana; you can honor it. What were, said the king, the merits of this sage? He has been designated by Rhagavat, said the Sthavira, as the first of those who possess a supernatural power, because with the thumb of his right foot he shook Vāidjayanla, the palace of Çakra, the Indra of the Devas; it is he who has converted Nanda and Upananda, the two kings of nāgas (1). And he uttered this stanza: It must honor of all his power, Kōlita (2) the first of the Rrāhmans, who from the pounce of his right foot has shaken the palace of Indra. Who could, in this world, cross the ocean of qualities of this wise and intelligent perfect, who tamed the rulers of the serpents, those dreadful beings and difficult to submit? "The king having given a hundred thousand [Suvarnas] for the Stūpa of Mahā Māud-galyāyana, cried hands together in sign of respect: I honor, by bowing the head, the famous Māudgalyāyana, the first drawings endowed with a power supernatural, which was freed from the birth to old age, the grief and of the pain." The Sthavira Upagupta showed then the king the Stupa of Sthavira Maha Kāçyapa, saying to him: Honor him. What were, resumed the king, the merits of this wise? This magnanimous sage, O great king, has been appointed by Rhagavat as the first of those who have little of desires, which are satisfied, which have triumphed over those who talk about qualities; Rhagavat has invited to share his seat; covered with clothing color white, compassionate for the poor and unhappy, he has kept the deposit of the Act. And he uttered this stanza: (-1) The Chinese also say that Māudgalyāyana is that of the disciples of Çākya who had acquired the most high-powered supernatural. (A. Rémusat, *Foe koue ki*, p. 32.) (2) Csoma teaches us, in his analysis of the Dul-va, that Kōlita, who was the other name of Māudgalyāyana, means "born in the bosom." {Asian girl. Res., T. XX, p. 49.) Klaproth has committed a slight inaccuracy in transcribing the latter name as Aa / J / Aa; but he is well recognized the meaning after the Tibetans, the Mongols and the Manchus. {Foe koue ki, p. 68, note a.) His mistake comes in part from the Pentaglotte Vocabulary, which writes this name Kālitah. (Sect. Xxi, no 3.)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .349 < This noble treasure of virtue, this religious compassion for the poor and the poor, who do will never rest, who wore the costume of the Sage who knows everything, this master intelligent who kept the deposit of the Law, is it a man who could fully enumerate his qualities? It is to him that the Djina benevolent sold the half of the best seats. "So the king Açōka having given a hundred thousand [Suvarnas] for the Slūpa of Maha Kāçyapa the Sthavira, thus spoke with his hands united in sign of respect: I honor the Sthavira Kāçyapa who retired to the caves of the mountains, who liked neither the battle nor the hatred it wiser full of tranquility, in who the virtue of contentment was at its height." The Sthavira Upagupta then showed the king the Slūpa of Vakkula (1) the Sthavira, and said unto him, Behold, O great king, the Slupa of Vakkula; honor him. Which were, continued the king, the merits of this sage? This

magnanimous religious replied the Sthavira has been désigné par Bhagavat as the first of those who con-Few obstacles arise .But the Sthavira did not add for this sage the stanza formed of two Pâdas. The king saysthen :That we give here a Kâkani (2).Why, he asked his ministers, having secured for the other Slûpasan equal sum , are you giving here a Kâkani? Here, replied the king, what is my thought :although this sage has with the lamp of the dissipated teaching completely the darkness that obscured the house of his heart, hen / Anot, to because of his bit of desires, makes many creatures as have been the other, because he has never met obstacles. At these words the ministers were struck of astonishment, and falling at the feet of the king, they cried :Ah !the moderation the desires of this wise noble has been useless, since did not meet any difficulties. The Sthavira Upagupta, then showing the Stûpa of Sthavira Ananda, said to the king :Here, O king, the Stupa of the Sthavira Ânanda ;honor him. What were, said Açôka, the merits of this Religious? This sage, resumed the Sthavira, was the (1) The text writes the name of this Religious Vatkula; but I do not hesitate to correct this ortho-graph, and substitute that of Vakkula, name of one of Auditors of Sakyamuni, city in the Lotus of your good Law (fol. 114 a of the text, p. 126 of the translation) and in the Vocabulary pen-taglotle. (Sect. Xxi, n » 17.) This name would perhaps be more regularly written of one of these two ways, Vakula or Vakkula. I did not osq the ideniifier with one of Vakkalin (for Valkalin) Brahman which it was spoken, in the legend of Purua, above, p. 238.(2) I have kept this word without the translation, because as the meaning that Wil & there he gives his lexicon has nothing to do here. It is obvious that in our text it is a question of a currency, and without probably a coin of little value. As kâka is one of the synonymous words of raktikâ, it is that is to say of the seed of Vabrus precatorius, which expresses a weight of a value of 2 ~grains English troy , it is possible to believe that kâkani is either this weight itself, or a given measure of Kakas or of Raktikâs, it seems more likely.

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350 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY servant of Rhagavat; it's him who was the first of those who had many heard, and who understand the word [the Master]. And headed this stanza : "Careful to keep the vase of the lonely full of memory, firmness and intelligence, Ananda, this ocean of knowledge, this vase of virtues, this wise, which the sweet words were clear and who, still intelligent, was adept at bold thought of the perfect Ruddlia , Ananda finally, winner in all the struggles, and praised by the Jina, is consistently honored by the people and by the Gods." The king gave for his Stûpa ten millions [of Suvarnas]. Why then, said the ministers, does the king honor this Stûpa more than all the others? Here is, replied the king, what is my thought? "This wise, including the name expresses the absence of sadness, deserves to be particularly proudly honored, because he supported the pure body of the most eloquent of masters, the body of him who was the Law itself. If the torch of the law who dispels the thick darkness of sorrows shines today among the men, it is through the power of this son of Sugata; that's why he deserves to be particularly honored. In the same that to have of water from the ocean, nobody does fetch in thenot a cow ;so it is after having recognized its naturalness and it provided that the sovereign Master consecrated this Sthavira as the depositdemic Sutras." The king, after having made these honors to Sthavira Stupas , threw himself off feet of the Sthavira Upagupta, and said to him with joy in his heart : I have given a goal on the condition of man that we obtain by the sacrifice of the hundred offerings (1); I extracted the essence of benefits passengers and vain of the power Royal ; II

'm sure the other world, and I adorned this one with hundreds of Tchâityas, more brilliant than the cloud to shade white ; have I so not today accomplished the Law, so difficult to execute, to be incomparable? Finally the King having incUne in front of Upagupta, will read himself again. < When the king Asoka was thus given one hundred thousand [Suvarnas] to each of these places, the place of the birth, the tree Rôdhi, the place where the Ruddha had fact turn the wheel of the Law, the one where he was entered in the Nirvana, it carried mainly his favor on the Rôdhi tree , thinking that it was there that Rha-gavat had achieved the fully accomplished state of Ruddha . He sent so at this tree all this he had to more valuable in fact of gems. The first of (1) It would be perhaps more in line with the ideas Buddhist to say, e that gets not ... "Our manuscripts are in this place very incorrect.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .351 wives of King Açôka was called Tichya rakchitâ. The queen, [seeing the piety of the king] was the reflection follows : The king takes pleasure with me, and How-dant he sends to the Bôdhi tree this he has to more précieux made jewels! She made Then come a woman of the caste Mâtangga, and he said: Do could you not destroy me this Bôdhi tree who is for me a kind of rival ? I the then resumed the woman; but he I need some Kârchapanas. The Mâtanggî attacked the tree of his mantras, and it tied a wire ; and the tree began soon to be dry. The people of the king came to tell him that the tree Bodhi is withered, and they pronounced this stanza: • This tree in the shade of which the Tathâgata came to know the world integer such that he is, and to obtain omniscience, this Bôdhi tree, O king of men, start to wither away. " At this news the king, losing consciousness, fell to the ground, but he was sprinkled the face with of water, and it came back to him. When he had resumed a little his sense it cried incrying : In seeing the trunk of the king of trees, I thought see Svayambhû himself ; but a time the tree of Lord destroy my life itself will also be extinguished (i). " However Tichya rakchitâ, seeing the king troubled by the grief, said: Lord, if Tree Bodhi comes to die, I will fill the king with happiness. This it is not a woman, said the king, it is the Bôdhi tree [which can make me happy-reux], this tree under which Bhagavat came to the supreme state of Buddha perfectly accomplished. Tichya rakchitâ therefore said to the Mâtanggî : Can you restore the Bôdhi tree in its first state? I the then replied the woman, he preserves yet a bit of life. So she untied the thread [who she tightened], dug the Earth all around the trunk, and watered it in a day with a thousand vases of milk. At the end of a few days the tree returned to its first state. The . gens the king is eagerness sent to tell him this news : Lord, happiness to you : here is the returned tree in its first state. Transported with joy, Açôka, contemplating the Bôdhi tree , exclaimed : What did not do Bimbisâra and the other heads of shining kings sparkle, I'll do it. I will make the most major honors in the tree Bodhi in the washing with from water impregnated substances fragrant, and to the Assembléedees Aryans in rempUssant to respect the duties of hospitality during the five month du Varcha (2). Then the king having made fill Water of scent thousand vases facts (1) This attempt by the queen against the Bôdhi tree is recounted in short by Fa hian {Foe koueki, p. 294}; it is, with other details, in the Mahâvama, ch. xx, p. 122. A tradition com-mune forms the basis of these various reeds. (2) The text says Pantcha vdrchika; gold as the Varcha or the season of rains, that the reli-gieux are in the custom to go to the laity, lasts four or five months, I suppose that

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352 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY gold, silver, of lapis lazuli and of crystal, collect a considerable amount of foods and of drinks, and gather a mass of perfumes, garlands and offerings took a bath, is covered with new clothes, not yet worn, and adorned with long fringes, is submitted to the fast that is practiced under eight conditions; then having taken an incense vase, it climbed onto the platform of his palace, and cried as if turning to the four points of the horizon: That the Śrāvakas the blessed Buddha want good to come here by caring for me! And he pronounced this stanza: "That the disciples of Sugata that market in the right way, which their meaning were calm, that these sages, winners of desires and these, who are worthy of respect and who are honored by the gods and by the men arrive in this place out of compassion for me." Friends of the peace, masters of themselves, free from all attachment, that these sons beloved of Sugata, of the King of the Law, these wise men who have become Aryans, that Venerable the asura, the Suras and men come here out of compassion for me." May the wise men full of firmness who inhabit the pleasant town of Kâçmîrapura, that the Āryas who reside in the dark forest of Mahâvana (1), in the chariot of Rêvataka (2), come here to scrub me. It is this purpose that is referring the word above in the text. But he could that this term is rapportât to it that Mr. Abel Remusat calls, according to Fa hian, "the great five-year assembly" nal. " {Foe koue ki, p.26). As I have p; is of details sufficiently precise on the kind and the object of this assembly, I thought I should adopt, to translate Pañcha mrchika, the meaning that recalls a known usage. I do have, however, not forget to point out that this large assembly Fa hian's quinquennial meeting is very likely that which was instituted by the king Buddhist Piyadassi, in the third of the edicts of Girnar, and which had to be of recommendation of new the main rules of the moral Buddhist, obedience we owe to his father and his mother, the liberality towards the Brahmins and Çramai.ias and other principles EGA-very human. (Prinsep, in Journ. Asiat. Soc. Of Bengal, vol. VII, p. 228, 242, 250 and 439.) In this edict of Girnar, as on the LATHS of Delhi, Allahabad and other provinces of the North, the Brahmins are still mentioned before the Çramai.ias; but in the fourth edict, as it is reproduced in Dhali in the Cattak, the Çramai.ias on the steps on the Brahmins, of same as in the Sanskrit texts from the North. It is a circumstance, in my opinion, very worthy of note, and which is proof of the way the most obvious anticipation of Brahmanism on the Buddhism. We should add this fact to those I have alleged above (sect. II, p. 122 ff.) in favor of the thesis that I tried to prove. In the time of Piyadassi, that is to say two centuries after Çakya ^ the superiority policy of Brahmins was still quite indisputable for a king Buddhist was forced to the name in one of his edicts before the Buddhist monks themselves. But in the books written, or any at least reworked more later, at the time of the predominance of Buddhism, the compilers took the same liberty with regard to their adversaries as, according to the remark of Prinsep had already given the editor edicts of Cattak, and soon at the śramanas preceding different invariably the Brahmins. (i) This is the Mahâvana monastery, thus named from the wood where he was located in the country from Udyâna. {Foe koue ki, p. 54.)(2) I have not seen the indication of this locality elsewhere. The name of Rêvata, from which derives the one

Page 10
 OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .353< That the sons of Djina who live with of Lake Anavatapta, in the mountains, near rivers, and in the valleys, that these wise men, friends of the contemplation, full of perseverance, come here with energy of the compassion. "That the son of the most eloquent of men, who reside in the excel-slow palate divine of

Çêrîchaka (i), that these Religious free from sorrow and that the Nature is full of mercy, come here out of compassion for me. That the Full religious energy that reside in the mountain of Gandhamadana (2), to make here through benevolence for me, called by my invitation. As soon as the king had pronounced these lyrics, three one hundred thousand religious are Trouville came together in his presence. But between these hundreds of thousands of Arhats, of disciples and ordinary men full of virtues, here in was not that would present to occupy the place of honor. Whence comes, then, said the king, that these seat of the Old are not busy? So the old Yaśas, who owned the six supernatural knowledge, answered him in these terms: Great king, it's the seat of the Old. Is there then, ô Sthavira, resumed the king, an older religious than you? Yes, says the Sthavira, he is in has a who has been designated by the most eloquent wise men, as the leader of those which hear the roar of the lion: it's Pindôla, the descendant of Bharadvâdja; and this seat, the first of all, is the his immediately the King, on the body of which all the hairs were growing de Rêvataka, however, is no stranger to the Buddhist tradition. The Lalitavistara named and the Brahmin, head of hermitages that visited Sakyamuni at the beginning of his life of men-goddamn. {Lalita vistara, f. 125 b of my man.) The tradition of Southern Buddhism cites a Dream more famous still, which directed the third council, and which was contemporary of Dharmâçôka. (Turnour, in Journ. Asiat. Soc. Of Bengal, t. VII, p. 791.) The latter plays a very important role. In the Mahâvaihsa. {Mahâvanso, p. 16 ff, ed. in-A ".) Nothing tells us which of these two Rêvatas has been giving his name to that the text of this legend called " the tank re- "vataka. " This expressionelle own chariot seems well mythological; she recalls the word vimâna, which designates among the Brahmans the divine chariots, or the kinds of mobile palaces that gives the Gods, and which the clouds have probably provided the first idea. (1) I can not find anything in our legends relating to this probably fabulous palace. The Southern Buddhists speak of a place called Sirisa Mâlaka, in the legend of the first buddha of the present day. {Mahâvanso, p. 90 and 93, ed. in-4o.) It was the enclosure that surrounded the tree Sirisa {Çirîcha in Sanskrit), under which the Buddha had attained to his state of perfection. {Ibid., p. 90.) I would not dare to affirm that it is this place which our legend recalls under the name of Çêrî-chaka. This word, which would be more correctly written Çâirîchaka, can however mean " the place of Çirîcha. " (2) We know that the Mount Gandhamadana is a place fabulous; heas was mentioned above, sect. II, p. 158, note 2. However, the continuation of the dialogue of Pindôla and Açôka seems to place this mountain north of Lake Anavatapta. Does he not would not have existed a of this name in the land of Gandhâra? 23

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354 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY as the filaments of the flower of the Kadamba, he addressed this issue: Is this that there is still in the world a Religious who has seen the Buddha? Yes, answered the Sthavira, he in was a who saw the Buddha; it is Pindôla, descendant of Bharadvâdja, and he lives again. Is this that he born could not these? said Açôka.- You will see him, O great king; here is the moment of his coming. Trans- door of joy, the king exclaimed: What an advantage that would be for me, what an advantage superior and incomparable, if I could see this noble creature face to face, which holds by its name to the race of Bharadvâdja! Then the king attended the hands in sign of respect, is held upright the eyes fixed on heaven. And once the Sthavira Pindola, a descendant de Bharadvâdja, surrounded by Sev-thousands of Arhats, who were deployed

to his right and to his left as the end of the crescent of the moon, fell the top of the air, similar to Râdjahâiisa, and came to sit in the place of honor. At these seen from Pindôla the Bharadvâjide, these many thousands of Religious advanced to his meet. The king lives Pindola which the head was white, including the forehead was covered with long eyebrows which quicachaient the apple of his eye, and which fexté-laughing was that of a Pratyêka Buddha; and hardly, had he seen it, that falling to earth of all its height in feet of Pindola, like a tree that would cut by the root, it kissed the feet of the Rehgieux; then having stood up, and having placed on the ground with both knees, he puts his hands together in sign of respect, and look at before the Religious, he said to him, shedding tears : "When after having triumphed over the crowd of my enemies, I have seen together under my unique power the earth with its mountains, to the shores of the ocean who surrounds him, I have not tested much of pleasure in seeing the Sthavira." Your sight, that in your compassion you grant me, do today appears to be born to my eyes the Tathâgata; your sight doubles my benevolent dispositions. <r You 've thus seen, O Sthavira, the ruler of the three worlds, my tutor, the blessed Buddha? So the Sthavira Pindôla, the descendant of Bharadvâdja, under his brows of his two hands, replied watching Aśoka: Yes, I have it seen more than once, the big and incomparable Richi, including the splendor looked like the shine of gold burning; I 've seen adorned with thirty-two signs of beauty, with her face like an autumn moon, with its superior voice like that of Brâhmâ; I 've been living in the solitude. - In what place, O lonely, and how did you see Bhagavat? The Sthavira replied : When Bha-Gavat, O great king, after having put en déroute the army of Mara, went away to the first time, to spend the time of the rainy season in ' Râdjagriha, with five hundred Arhats, I was at that time in this city. It is there that I have seen perfectly that being worthy of respect. And he pronounced this stanza :

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .355 "When, surrounded by religious exempt like him of passions, the great solitary, the Tathagata, is surrendered to Râjagraha to spend the time of Varcha ; <I was in this time in this city, and I found myself in the presence of the perfect Buddha ; so I screw the lonely like yourself you see me today." And moreover, O great king, when in Çrâvastî Bhagavat wanting to conquer the Tîrthyas, opera a great miracle in making appear this crown of Buddhas that stood up to the sky of the Akanichhas, I then found me in this city, and there I live these games of the Buddha. Then he pronounced this stanza : <r When the Tîrthyas, who were walking in the wrong way, were reduced by Bhagavat, who made use of supernatural power, I saw then, O king, then noble games from the hero to ten strengths, who filled of joy the creatures (i).t And moreover, O great king, when after having passed the Varcha time at the Devas Trayastriṃśas, to teach the Law to his mother, to which he had to the day, Bhagavat went back down to the city of Sâmkâçya, followed by the crowd of Gods, I myself found in this time in this city ; I attended to the brilliant Feast of the Gods and of men, and I am also the glorious metamorphosis Utpalavarna of which is transformed into King Tchakravartin (2). And he pronounced this stanza : t When, after having passed the Varcha in the world of the Gods, the most eloquent of men in came down [on the land], I am found in this place, and then I saw Solitaire, this first of beings. <and of more, O great king, when, invited by Sumâgadhâ, the daughter Anâthapiṇḍika, Blessed be returned miraculously to Pundra varddhana (3) escorted off five hundred Arhats, then seizing, by virtue of my supernatural power, the top of a mountain, I threw myself into the air and I went to Pundra varddhana.

El at this moment Bhagavat gave me this order :You will not enterthe Nirvanacomplete, as long as the Law has not disappeared.Then hepronounced thisstance :(1) This is an allusion to the facts related in thelegend of which I havetranslate themore largepart, above, sect. II, p. 163.(2)See more top this that has been said of the trip and of the miraculous descent of Sakyamuniin the cityof Sâiikâçya. (Sect. II,p. 152, note.) As for the miraculous transformation of thebeggar Utpalâ, Fa hian makes a short allusion to it in her visit to Sâmkâçya. {Foe hoe ki,p. 124.) It is has, at rest, in notretexte a new trace of pale or of prâcrit: it is the molsampada for the sanipad Sanskrit (prosperity).(3) See . the additions at the end of the volume.

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356INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY"When, by the force of his supernatural power , the guide, the tutor,on the invitation of Sumâgadha, is returned [to her], then typingby mysuperhuman strength on top of a mountain, I quickly transported myself toPundra vardhana."So thewise,friend of themercy, who was born in thefamily ofSakyas, I gave the order following: You do not enter into the full Nirvanaso that the Act willnot disappeared.vsAnd more, O great king, when once, at the time where Bhagavat was enteredin Râdjagriha to beg for his meal, you threwin his vase ahandful ofground in saying with childish for your age :I 'm going to him to give to the flour,and that Râdhagupta (l) approved of you; when on this occasion Bhagavat madeon youthe following prediction :A hundred years after that I will beentered in theNirvana com-plet, this child will be in the city of Pâtaliputra onking named Açôka ;it will beaTchakravartin, ruler of the four partiesof the earth ;he will be a righteous king,a king ruler who will the distribution of my relics, andwho will establisheighty-four thousand royal edicts of the Law ;when of all these events, II found in this town. And headed this stanza : "When you threw in thevase of Buddha ahandful of earth, wantingwithchildishness of your age him witness the kindness, I myself found herein this moment."The king then resumed:Sthavira, whereare you stayingnow? In the north offirst of the ponds, on theGandhainâlana mountain, replied the Sthavira ;I live, O prince, with other Religious who follow the same rule as me. What is, says theking, the number of thosewhich surround the Sthavira? - My suite, oh kingof men, is of sixty thousand Arhats ;it is with wise cases free fromdesires and conquerors ofsin that I spend my life. But, oh great king, whywould leaveI penetrate the doubt in the spirit of the Assembly of the Religious? Right awaythat the Assembly will havetook hismeal, I will satisfy her bya pleasant instruction.Let it be so that theSthavira orders it, replied the king. As for me, recalledin memory of the Buddha, I give the bath to the tree Bodhi, and immediatelyafter I will offer an excellent food to the Assembly for Religious. So the(1) The presence of the name of Râdhagupta could herecause an embarrassment which thecontinuation of theLegend nousdonne the means to get out. We have seen more high that the young child quijouaitwith Djaya, that is to say Aśoka, in one of his lives where he was a contemporary of Sākya isnamed Vidjaya. (Above, p. 336, note 1.)How then can Piiulôla say, as he doesin our text, that Râdhagupta gave his assent to the liberality of little Djaya? Is that,according to the continuation of the legend which we will see shortly, Râdhagupta, theMinister of Açôka, hadwas this Vidjaya himself, and that Piijdôla names these two characters by the name they bearat the time even where there their talks.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .357king who called the herald Sarvamitra, said to him :I will make present of cent mille [Suvarnas] to Assemblée des Aryans, and I give the bath to the tree Bodhi with the water of a thousand vases. Proclaim in my name [that the Religious will be received by me during] the five months of Varcha.“ At that time Kunâla (1) had already lost the two eyes, and he stood to the right of the king. He stretched out two fingers, without uttering a word; its intention was to announce that he wanted to give the fold. But at the moment where Kunâla thus increased the sum with a sign with his hand, the crowd of people began to laugh. The king, laughing in his turn, said to Râdhagupta :Oh ! which therefore has well doubled the sum? There are many beings, replied Râdhagupta, who have need of the merit of good works ; is a of those Laqui has doubled. Ah well, said the roi, I will make a present of three hundred thousand [Suvarnas] to the Assembly of Arya, and I give a bath to the tree Bodhi with water of a thousand vessels. That we proclaim in my name [that the Religious will be received by me during] the five month of Varcha. At this moment Kunâla raised four fingers ; but the king in anger said to Râdhagupta: Who is then, Râdhagupta, the one who fights thus with me? what is he, this ignorant of the world? At the sight of the angry king , Râdhagupta throwing himself at his feet, said to him :Lord, who would have the power to fight with the king of men? It is the virtuous Kunâla who plays with his father. Immediately the king will turn on the right saw Kunâla and exclaimed :Sthavira, I give to the Assembly of Arya, and before her to the Bôdhi tree , my royalty, my wives, the crowd of my councilors, Kunâla and my person even to except for my treasure ; I will bathe the big one shaft Bodhi with the milk and of water perfumed sandalwood, of saffron, of camphor, and contained in five thousand vessels of gold, silver, of crystal of lapis lazuli, filled with various kinds of perfumes ; I will offer thousands of flowers. That we proclaim in my name [that the Religious will be received by me during] the five months of Varcha. And he pronounced this stance :“ ^^ thriving royalty , my women, the whole crowd of my councilors, I give it all , except my treasure, to the Assembly which is like a vase of virtues; I am giving myself and 'Kunâla, which is full of qualities." So the king having gone out in the presence of the Assembly, at the head of which was the Sthavira Pindôla, descendant of Bharadvâja, had a platform built on the four sides of the Bôdhi tree ; then getting on that platform himself, (1) Kunâla is the son of Aśoka which the queen Tichya rakchitâ had actually burst the eyes, because that he had resisted his advances. On the named thus because of the beauty of her eyes, which re-seemed to those of a bird called Kunâla. Its name is written with an “or an n.

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358 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY he bathed the tree with the water of four thousand vases. And at barely the tree he had so watered, that he again became such as he once was . It is a text which says :“ A sentence the king of men he had given to the tree bodhi this excellent bath that the shaft is covered with a soft and green foliage ; at the sight of the leaves green that he adorned, and of its tender buds, the king felt a joy extreme, as well as the crowd of his ministers who surrounded him." When the king had given the hot tree Bodhi, it is put in duty of intro- of the Assembly of Religious [in its palace]. At this moment, the Sthavira Yaśas he addressed these words :Great King, the numerous Assembly of Arya who is gathered here is worthy of the great respects ; it must be introduced from my deny not to do to him no wrong. This is why the king himself introduced the Religious with his own hand, and to the last (i)." It is was there two

Çrâmanêras, who indulged in a mutual exchange of good offices (2). If one looked at his companion of the flour, the other him in giving too; and they exchanged in this way the food and sweets. The king, in the light, will put in laugh: Here is, if he says, of Çrâmanêras who play to one children's game. However, when the king had introduced the Assembly of Religious whole, he went to sit in the square of honor. At the moment he received this warning of Śhāvira: The king has he not committed by carelessness some inadvertently? None, replied the king. However there are two Çrâmanêras there having fun at a children's game, similar to small boys who joust in the dust. These Çrâmanêras fun with the flour, food and of sweets. Enough, replied the Śhāvira; are two Arhats which will yield each their hand with an equal detachment. At these words, Aśoka, the heart filled with joy, conceived this thought: When I have approached these two Çrâmanêras, I will give to the Assembly of Religious enough material for her to dress. The two Çrâma-(1) I thus translate, by conjecture, the word navakânta; it seems to me that it must be the opposite of vrMdhânta, which is located a line over there in our legend, and who will represent enough frequently elsewhere, always with the meaning of: "The place of the old, the first place." The vriddhânta means in fact, as I believe, "the limit of the old man," the term which reached the old man, and by extension "the place of honor." The word navakânta must mean "the limit" the new in the low end. (2) Here again a phrase rather little clear: Sainrandjamyam dharmam samâdya var-talah. This passage could mean both 'they are found to have received the Inspirational law' affection. "But the prefix sam of the adjective sairandjanîyal me seems to express an idea of reciprocity which decides the meaning. The randj radical, as well as mud, is used in our legends of the North, as in the Pali of the South, with the special meaning of "to please, to be gracious" in a maintenance; and when two characters to meet, this is terms derivatives of these radicals that we use, like rahdjani and safhmôdani, to express the way they open their maintenance.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .359 Neras who guessed the intention of the king was said among them: We have to compete to increase its merits. And immediately one presented himself holding a scale of turtle, and the other brought colors. At this sight the king they said: Çrâmanêras, what are you going to do? We have guessed, they replied, that the king wanted to give to the Assembly of Religious enough cloth for it calves, and we let's come and dye this stuff. I have done that in conceiving the thought is ditte king in himself, and I did not pronounce a single word. So they know the thoughts of others, these magnanimous sages? And immediately falling at their feet with all his height, there they said the hands together in sign of respect: "The descendant of the Mâuryas, with his servants, with his people and the inhabitants all of his towns, reached the peak of happiness, happily celebrated all sacrifices, since the beings virtuous her testimony enough of kindness to make it today one such present (1). q: The king they said then: I want, after having approached you, to give the Assembly wheat of the Religious enough material so that each one has his three garments. In consequence, when the five-month Varcha were completed, the king Aśoka made this to each Religious of three clothes; and when he had given four hundred thousand coats in the assembly, it redeemed from the [Religious] the earth, his wives, the crowd of his ministers, himself and Kunâla [his son] (2). His faith in the teaching of Bhagavat had been increasing; and he established eighty-four thousand edicts royal of the Law." The day where the king promulgated his edicts, Queen

Padmavatî gave birth to a son, handsome, pleasant to see, graceful ;the eyes of this child shone with more lively shine. They went to announce the news to the king :Happiness to the king :hehe was born a son. Transported with joy, Aśoka exclaimed :A joy extreme, a joy unbounded fills my heart .; the splendor of the race of the Mâuryas is at its height ;it's because I rule according to the Law, that a son was born to me ;may he also do flourish the Law !This is why it was given the name of Dharma vivardhana (3).It brought then the child to the king, who in the lamp was filled with happiness and exclaimed :(1) The text is here altered in our two manuscripts; it lacks the latter to a syllable which I reestablished by guesswork.(2) It is really curious to find in the travelers Chinese the historical record of this event, which is shown here as a way very short. According to Fa hian, it existed in-core of his time, close to Pât.aliputra, a column raised by Aśoka which bore this inscription :<i>The King To you (Aśoka) had given the Yan mad H (Jambudvîpa) the Religious of four sides; he bought them for in cash, and so three times. " {Foe, koue ki,p. 255 and 261.)It is for this that in our legend is said qu'Açôka gives everything to the Assembly of Religious,except his treasure. He wanted to reserve for himself the means of repeating his liberalities.(3) See . the additions at the end of the volume.

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360 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY."How pure are the beautiful eyes of this child, those eyes that look like a lily blue well blossomed !His face adorned of beauty shines like the disk of the full moon." The king then said to his ministers :You see, lords, in whose eyes look like the eyes of this child? We do not know no man, resumed the ministers who have the eyes like ;but here is in Himavat, this king [of mountains], a bird named Kunâla, with eyes of which the eyes of your son. This is what this stanza expresses : "On the top of one of the peaks of the mountain, king of the snows, which is rich in boxwood sounds in flowers and in water, lives a bird that is called Kunâla; the eyes your son look like those of this bird. ((That we bring a Kunâla, cried the King. Now the Yakchas heard the orders he gave at the distance of a Yôdjana in the sky, and the Nâgas them heard at the distance of a Yôdjana on the earth. Also the Yakchas him Ame-they born a Kunâla in the instant . The king, after having long examined the eyes of the bird, could not discover any difference between its eyes and those of his son. This is why he said to his ministers : The prince has the same eyes to those of a Kunala; that it therefore gives the name of Kunâla. This is what ex-prime this stanza : "Struck with the charm of his eyes, the king of the earth exclaimed :My son must be peel Kunâla. So that the name of ce prince who had the virtues of an Arya, was famous on earth." When the prince fled when he grew up , he was given a young girl to wife called Kânchana mâla. One day the king went with his son to the hermitage of Kukkuta. At this moment, Yaças the Sthavira of the Assembly, which possessed the five knowledge supernatural, saw that Kunâla do was not be long without losing the eyes, and he it was about the king. Why? [resumed Açôka.]- It is that Kunâla does not do not fulfill his duties. Kunâla, said the king, have well care to run this as you command the Sthavira of the Assembly. Immediately throwing to the foot of the Sthavira, Kunâla said to him :Lord, what are you commanding me ?- Convince yourself , O Kunala, that the eye is something perishable. And he added this stanza : " Constantly reflect , O prince, that the eye is of his nature perishable, that it is the source of a thousand evils; to become too attached to it, many ordinary men commit actions that make their misfortune." Kunâla is set to reflect on this maxim, and he had

always present to the mind. He no longer loved that the loneliness and the rest. Sitting at the back of the palace, in a place lonely, he is represented as perishable the eye and the other senses. I

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .361a Tichyarakchitâ day, the first the women of Asoka, passed by this place and saw Kunâla who was alone. Seduced by the beauty of his eyes, she squeezed him between his arms and said : "At the sight of your eyes beautiful, your beautiful body and in your eyes char-gloves, my whole body burns like the straw parched that burn the fire of a forest. ('At these words, Kunâla is covering ears with his two hands, he replied : Do n't say such sinful words in front of a son, because you are for me like a mother ; renounces a deranged passion ; this love would be for you the path to Hell. But Tichyarakchitâ, seeing it only could she seduce him said in anger : Since you me regrowth here in time whence, transported with love, I come and offer me to you, in a short time, fool, you will have stopped to live. my mother, replied Kunâla, rather die in persistent in the duty and in remaining pure ; I did not what to do a life that would be for the good people an object blame, a life which, in my closing the way of Heaven, become would be the cause of my death, and would be despised and condemned by the wise. From this time Tichyarakchitâ only thought is find an opportunity to harm Kunâla. c it happened that the city of Takchaçilâ, which was located in the North, and who obeyed the king Aśoka, came to serévolter. At this news, the king wanted there make himself ; but his ministers said to him : king, send the prince there ; he will enter the city in the to have to. In consequence, the king having called Kunâla spoke to him thus : My dear son, go to Takchaçilâ, and submit this city. Yes, lord, I will go, Kunâla replied . [This is what expresses this stance:]" The king had learned by then what was the desire of the one he called his son, and knowing in his heart that he could wait for his condition, gave himself even to travel and are destined Kunâla." Aśoka having done decorate the city and the road, and having done away the Vieilbacon, the sick and the needy, ascended in a chariot with his son, and went out of Pâtaliputra. At the time of leaving his son to return to his feet, he threw his arms around his neck, and gazing into his eyes, he said to him, bursting into tears : They are fortunate the eyes, and they have a happy view the mortals who can see constantly the lotus of the face of the prince. But a Brahmin astrologer predict that in little Kunâla would lose her seen. Also the king Açôka, can not before getting tired of contemplating the eyes of his son, exclaimed, when he them had watched : " The eyes of the prince are perfect, and the king feels an attachment to him

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362 ,INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY extreme ; I contemplate today those eyes whose radiance is so pure, which spread the happiness, these eyes for perish. "This city, happy as the sky itself, is filled with joy, because it sees the prince ; but when he will have lost the eyes, all the hearts beyond city will dive in the grief." The young prince soon arrived in the neighborhood of Takchaçilâ. In the new velle of sound approach, the inhabitants having adorned the city and the main road until the distance de deux yojanas and half out to its meeting with vases [full of offerings]. It is what this stanza expresses : "At this news the inhabitants of Takchaçilâ, carrying in their hands vases full of precious stones, went out of respect for the son of King. ((When they had arrived in his presence, they him said them hands réu-born in sign of respect : We will have not revolted against the prince and against the King Açôka ; these are bad ministers who have come to us to fill

in outrage. Kunāla therefore entered with great pomp into the city of Takchaçilâ. "However, the king Aśoka was attacked of a disease terrible. His feces came from the mouth; an impure humor escaped from all his pores, and nothing would cure. He then said: We do come Kunāla, I want the place on the throne. "[Here, the legend tells how Tichya rakchitâ healed the king and seized his mind. I think it is useless to reproduce here this passage that I translated above, sect. II, p. 133, and I beg the reader to kindly see, if he wants to corroborate the result of the story.]" When the king was healed, he asked full of joy to Tichya rakchitâ which she favored her: What now shall I do? he said to her. That the king, replied - she gives me the royalty for seven days. - And me, what will become of me? At the end of seven days, said the queen, the king will resume the power Royal. Açôka therefore gave in the royalty for seven days Tichya rakchitâ. The first thing to which the queen thought was to satisfy his hatred against Kunāla. She wrote [on behalf of King] a letter false which she gave to the inhabitants of Takchaçilâ to pull the eyes to Kunāla. And she added this stanza: "For Aśoka, this king strong and violent, has ordered the inhabitants of Takchaçilâ to tear the eyes out of this enemy; it is the shame of the race of the Māuryas. When the king Aśoka gave an order that must be executed promptly lying, he sealed it with an ivory seal. Tichya rakchitâ is said: I will seal this letter with the ivory seal, while the king is asleep; and it is REN-

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .368 said to Açôka. But at this moment the king woke everything upscared. What is there? said the queen to him. I have just had, replied the king, a sad dream; I saw of them vultures who wanted to tear the eyes Kunāla. Happiness at prince! cried her Queen. A second time again the king woke everything upscared. queen, he said, I come to have a sad dream. And what dream? he asked the queen. I saw, said it King Kunāla which was entered into the city with the hair, nails and a beard long. Happiness at prince! cried the queen. Finally, the King falling asleep with Açôka Tichya rakchitâ sealed his letter with the seal of ivory, and was starting to the city of Takchaçilâ. " However, the king saw his teeth fall out in a dream. As soon as the day was come, he called the soothsayers and they said: Heralded the dreams that I viens d'avoir? king answered the soothsayers, one who die such dreams, one who sees during his sleep his teeth falling out and destroy himself, will see his private son of his eyes and will learn of his death. To these words, the King Aśoka is rising in haste from his seat, and directing his hands together in sign of respect to the four sides of the horizon, began to beg the Divinity, and he pronounced this stance: "May the Godhead who is benevolent to the Tutor, to the Law and to the Assembly which is the first of the groups, that the Rîchis who are the first in the world protect our son Kunāla!" During this time, the letter from the Queen managed to Takchaçilâ. At the sight of this missive, the inhabitants of Takchaçilâ, those of the city and of the country, which were happy the many virtues of Kunāla, did not have the courage to make her aware of the inhuman order that she contained; and after a long time thoughtful, they are saying: The king is violent, he is naturally carried away; if he doesn't through-given to his son, more strong reason not us he spare not. And they pronounce - cried this stanza: (not One who could conceive of the hatred against a prince if calm, including the manners are those of a loner and who do wish that the good of all the beings, how he will be for the other?" Finally, they are determined to inform Kunāla of this news, and to lay the letter. Kunāla having read it, exclaimed: The order is trustworthy; do this who is ordered from you. We

did therefore come from the Tehândâlas, and they were given order to wrest the eyes to Kunâla; but the executioners, reuniting their hands in a sign of respect, cried: "We do not have the courage. And why?" It is that fool who would be able to remove its shine to the moon could only tear the eyes of your face, which looks at the star of the night.

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364 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY" The prince they gave the hair that covered his head, and they said: "Do your duty as a price of this present; [but they refused by saying:] Celtic action must necessarily lead to misfortune. So he presented a man with a misshapen exterior, and covered with eighteen spots of a color repel health, who offered himself to tear off the eyes of the prince. On the day therefore with Kunâla. At the moment, the words of the Sthavira sent to the spirit of the young man; the prince in to the recalling uttered these stanzas: "It is because they foresaw this misfortune that these wise men who know the truth have said: Look, this world all entirely perishable; nobody stays in a permanent situation. (THEY) Yes, it was for me the virtuous friends who were looking for my advantage and wanted my happiness, that these wise, magnanimous, free from passions, by whom I was taught this law." When I consider the fragility of all things, and that I reflect on the seals of my masters, I would tremble more, friend, the idea of this punishment; because I know that my eyes are something perishable." "Qu'on me the hard or they me the preserves, according to that order the king; I have removed from my eyes what they could give of the best, since I have seen that the objects are perishable." Then addressing this man: "Come on, he said, pluck out an eye first, and put it to me in the hand. The executioner was put in duty to perform his office; and in this time of thousands of men uttered the cries dismal: "Ah! woe!" The here that falls from the sky, the moon in the pure splendor; a beautiful lotus is torn from the tuft of white nymphaeas." While this crowd of people made hear these lamentations, the eye of Kunâla it was torn, and he received in his hand. In the taking, the prince says: "Why therefore do you see over the forms as you did just now, coarse globe of flesh? How much they abuse each other and that they are to blame, the in-sensible people who attach themselves to you by saying: "It's me!" Those who, always attentive, know how to recognize in you an organ which resembles to a ball, which cannot be grasped, which is pure, but dependent, those will be to the shelter of misfortune." During that the Prince and was reflecting on the instability of all the beings, he acquired the award of the state of Çrôtâ âpatti at the sight of the crowd of people. Then Kunâla, who saw the truths, said to the executor: "In the second eye now;

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .365 tear it off. The man tore it off, in fact, and placed it in the prince's hand. In this time Kunâla, who is envious of losing the eyes of the flesh, but in whom those of the science were purified, uttered this stanza: "The eye of the flesh, though difficult to grasp, has just been taken away from me; but I have acquired the eyes perfect and blameless for the wisdom." "If I am forsaken by the king, I become the son of the magnanimous King of the Law, whose child I am named." "If I am deprived of the supreme greatness, which leads to its result as of Cha-grins and pains, I acquired the sovereignty of the Law, which destroys the pain and grief." Some time later, Kunâla knew that his torture was not the work of his father Açôka, but that it was the effect of intrigues of Tichya rakchita. To this new he exclaimed: "May she keep long the happiness, the life and power, the queen Tichya rakchita, who put in use by this way that assures me one

ifbigadvantage !" However, Kântchana mâla learned that had ripped the eyes to Kunâla. Immediately, using her right to marry, she rushes through the crowd to go find Kunâla, and see him private of his eyes and the body all covered in blood. At this sight she faints and falls to the ground. One hastens to him throwing of water and of the recall it. When she had started to come to her senses she cried out in shedding tears : (not Those lovely and beloved eyes , which, looking at me , made me happy, now that they are thrown on land and private of the faculty of see, I feel the life abandon my body. ((Then Kunâla, wanting to console his wife, continued as follows : Truce to your lar-my ; you will have to not deliver thee to grief. Everyone collects there ward of actions he has done in this world. And he uttered this stanza : € Recognizing that this world is the fruit of works, and that the creatures are condemned to misfortune ; knowing that the men are made to beseege off those who are their expensive, you do not have to, dear, spreading tears. ((Then Kunâla went out with his wife from Takchaçilâ. the Prince since the when it was conceived in the breast of his mother, had always had a body very delicate. He could not therefore indulge in no trade, and he didn't know than singing and playing of the vina. He went begging for his food, and shared with his wife this she was picking up. Kâfitchana mâla, taking the road by which she had been brought from Pâtaliputra, she followed accompanied by the prince ; and a time

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366 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY arrival in the city, it is put in duty of ePxtrer in the remains of Aśoka. Cornhewere arrested by the Guardian of the door. However, they were introduced into the place where we kept the chariots of the king. At the point of the day Kunâla is put his Vinâ to touch , and to sing how the eyes him had been torn away, and how the sight of the truths him had appeared. And he pronounced this stanza : " The wise man sees with the pure flame of the science the eye and other senses is freed from the law of the transmigration. " If your mind, given over to sin, is tormented by the pains of life, and if you desire the happiness in this world, make haste to abandon forever the object of the senses. " The king Aśoka heard the songs of prince, and he said with a feeling of joy : " It is to me that cater the songs Kunâla and the sounds of Celtic VIII that there are so many of time that I 've heard. The prince is to return to my remains, but he does not want to see anyone. vs Immediately calling one of his guards, the king said to him : Is it that you will find not of the resemblance between this song and that of Kunâla? It seems that this execution betrays some trouble. This voice strongly moved my soul ; I am like the elephant which, having lost its young, would come to hear its voice. Go therefore and bring me Kunâla. The guard is made soon in the place where we contain master the tanks ; he found there Kunâla deprived of his eyes, and that the body was burned by the heat of the sun and by the wind ; but having Pas recognized, he returned to of King Açôka and said to him : king, it is not Kunâla ; he's a blind beggar who was with his wife in the place where it contains the chariots of the king. To these words, the troubled king made this reflection : This is the effect of dreams fatal that I had ; certainly it is Kunâla which the eyes have been gouged out. And he pro-stated this stanza : " From the omens that I have seen once in a dream, no, there are more of doubt the eyes Kunâla have been uprooted. " And bursting into tears he exclaimed : That we bring quickly in my presence this men-diant ; because my heart doesn't can find to calm thinking of the misfortune that has been hit my son. the guard having returned to the tank room , said to Kunâla : Of who are you son, and what is your name ? " Açôka, " continued Kunâla, " this king who

increases the glory from the Mâuryas, to the empire which the terretout fully obeyed submissively, this King is my father, and my name is Kunâla. Corntoday i am the son of the Buddha, this descendant of the race of the sun, which has établlila Act. Kunâla was immediately taken with his wife to

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .367presence of King Açôka. In seeing Kunâla who was private with his eyes, including the body, burned by the heat of the sun and by the wind was covered with clothes miserable man whom the water had tarnished during his journey (1), the king, to whom was unknown the crime, contemplated his son several times without to the recognition, and not seeing before his eyes that a human form, hesays :Are you Kunâla ? Yes, answersay it prince, I am Kunâla. At these words, the king fainted and fell by land. This is what this slance expresses : (fIn seeing the face of Kunâla in which the eyes had been gouged out, the King Açôka, torn by the pain, fell by land burned by the fire of sorrow at the sight of his son's misfortune .<rWe threw the king of the water, is the rose, and one the replaced it on its seat. When he had a little regained his senses, he hugged her son in her arms. That's what that says this stance : " The king, after a few moments, having come to himself, threw the arm around of his neck son; and repeatedly stroking the face of Kunâla, he heard many complaints, the voice broken by the sobs. "Formerly, at the sight of these eyes similar to those of the Kunâla, I called my son Kunâla; today that these eyes are extinguished, how could I go to him give this name?" Then he said to him :Tell me, tell me, my dear son, how that face with beautiful eyes has been deprived of its light and has become similar to the sky in which the fall of the moon would have taken away his splendor. "It's a heartless, oh my son, than the villain who, pushed by her hatred against the man good, foreign asset feelings of hatred, adéruit the eyes from the best of beings, from image even the Solitaire, act cruel which is to me a source of evil." Tell me quickly, O you of which the face is so beautiful. Consumed by the sorrow that me because the loss with your eyes my body perishes, similar to a forest that devours the lightning launched by the Nâgas." So Kunâla having thrown himself into the father, spoke to him thus : "king, he will be not thus lamenting to because of a event that is past ;do n't you have not heard quote the lyric the Solitaire, which says that the Djinas themselves, no more than the Pratyeka Buddhas, can not escape to the inevitable influence of works ?(1) Our two manuscripts are in this place greatly altered; I translate this detail by guesswork otherwise unimportant .

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368INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY" They collect, all as the men ordinary, the fruit of evil actions they have committed here below; it is in this world that we find the reward think of what we has done :How therefore can I call the work of other the treatment that I have experienced?" I committed [formerly] some fault, O great king, and it is under the influence of this fault that I came back [in the world], me that the eyes have been the case of my misfortune (i)." The sword, the lightning, the fire, the poison the birds, nothing will hurt the ether, which is unalterable by its nature ;it is on the body of which the souls are wrapped, O king, that fall the pain cruel that it take some sort for goal. "But Aśoka which the heart was torn by the grief, went well :who So has deprived my son of his eyes? Who then has resolved to give up [for the price of this crime] in the life ce biensicher? The anger goes down in my heart devoured speak fire of sorrow ;tell me quickly, oh my son, on which I have to do down the chastisement is lying. Finally the king learned that this crime

was the work of Tichya rakchitâ. Right away who is called the Queen, he said to him :this How cruel, do you come home-not as earth ? I will make your head fall under the sword or under the ax. I renounce you, woman covered in crimes, woman unfair, all of the same as the wise renounce to the fortune." Then the watching with a face ablaze with the fire of the anger headed : '(Why it would break I not the members after it had ripped the eyes with my nails acute Why does the shall I not stand alive on the pole? Why does it abatrais I not the nose ?" Why it would cut I not the tongue with a razor, or does the would i donot die by the poison ? Such were the torments including the threatened the king of men." The magnanimous Kunâla, full of compassion, having heard these words, said to her father : It will be not honorable for you to put to death Tichya rakchitâ ; act according to honor, and do not kill a woman." There are a not, in fact, to reward to to that of the sympathetic; the patience lord, has been celebrated by the Sugata. Then if throwing of new to his feet, the prince had heard in his father these true words : "king, I have no pain, and despite this treatment cruel, I don't (1) The lack one to a This stance, the words placed in square brackets are added to complete the senses. ^

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .369 feel not the fire of the anger ; my heart is that of the benevolence Pouvmy mother, who gave the order to tear out my eyes." May, in the name of the truth of these words, my eyes become as they were before ! No sooner had he uttered these words, that his eyes reappeared with their first glow." However the King Aśoka, irritated against Tichya rakchitâ, the mad throw in a place of torture where she died in the fire ; and he fit massacre the inhabitants of "Takchaçilâ." The Religious, who had some doubts, thus questioned the respectable Sthavira Upagupta that slice all the doubts : What action had therefore committed Kunâla, so that the eyes he had been ripped off? The Sthavira responds says : Listen, respectable people . Formerly, in the time past, it is had to Benares a some hunter who was in Himavat, and there was killing of animals wild. One day, when he went to the mountain, he surprised at the bottom of a cave five hundred gazelles which it were collected, and he took all in a net. He made then this reflection : If I the kill, I'll be embarrassed all that meat. This is why he burst the eyes of five hundred gazelles. Those animals, private from the view, were unable to escape. This is how he died the eyes of hundreds of gazelles. " What do you think of this, O Religious ? This hunter was Kunâla itself same. By that then he put out the eyes to hundreds of gazelles, he to suffered for the price of this action the pains of Hell for several hundreds of thousand years. Then, to finish expiating the rest of his fault, he had his eyes gouged out for five hundred lifetimes in quality of man. Corn what action had he done to deserve to be reborn in a high family of a-see a pleasant exterior and know the truths ? Listen, respectable characters." Formerly, in the time past, when the lives of men was forty four thousand years ago there appeared in the world a perfect Buddha named Krakutchhanda. When he had fulfilled completely all the duties of a Buddha, he went into the domain of Nirvana, where he will remain nothing of the elements of existence. A king named Açôka fit build for him a Stupa made of four kinds of stones precious. Corn after the death of Açôka, his throne was occupied by a ruler who had not the faith. The precious stones were stolen by thieves, not left as the earth and wood. the people, who had gathered in this place, seeing the Stupa destroyed, will burst into larmes. Or, the son of a chief of artisans se found at that time [among the people]. This young man asked : Why do we cry? the Stupa from Krakutchhanda the Buddha, he said the

370 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY crowd, was made of four kinds of precious stones; it is now destroyed. The youngman [the made up]. It is had, in addition, in this place a statue of Buddha perfect Krakutchhanda, which was of magnitude natural ;she had beendestroyed. The youngman the restored also and uttered this prayer :May il make it enjoyable to a master likein Krakutchhanda !may i notnot himbe rude !" What do you think of that, respectable characters? The son of the chief of arti-without, it was Kunâla himself. It's him that in this time made up the Stupaof Krakutchhanda, and it is as a reward for this actionthat he was born in aillustrious family . Because he restores the statue of the Buddha, hereceived as a rewardthink of this good work to be reborn with a pleasant exterior. Because hepronounced the prayer mentioned above, hehad the advantage of appeal to a mastersimilar to Çâkyamuni the perfect Buddha ,and hedid not displease him, and heknew themtruths(1)." When the king Aśoka conceived of the faith to the law of the Bhagavat, he did establisheighty-four thousand royal edicts of the Law;hefeeds for the fivemonth of Varcha three hundred thousand Religious; it is to know, one hundred thousand Arhats, andtwo hundred thousanddisciples and men regular fullof virtue. The crowd of ha-bitants who covered theeath 'tolimits of the ocean felt the feelingsments of benevolence to the law of the Bhagavat. The brother of Aśoka, which isnamed Vîlâçôka, was favorable to the Tîrthyas.These had convinced him tothis opinion :The issue was not for the śraman.as, sonfrom Çâkyâ ;because theylooking for pleasure and fear of pain. One day the king Aśoka said to his brother :Vîlâçôka, it will be not that you testify to the benevolence which has not tofoundation; it is in the Buddha, in the Law and in the Assembly that you owe your confidence;your benevolence then will have a real object ." One other day the king Aśoka went out to hunt antelope. Vîlâçôka then livesin the forest a Richi who had surrounded the five fires, and which is subjected to fromharsh mortifications. theprince approached him, and havinggreeted his feet,hehimfitthisquestion :blessed, how to time there he has that you live in this forest ?Twelve years, answered the anchorite. - And what do you eat ? - From fruit ofroots. - Andwhat is your clothing? - Scraps and the leaves of Darbha.- What about your bed ? - A carpet ofgrass.- Is theresome pain that bothers you[in yourpenances]? Yes, resumed theRîchi; these antelopes matein theseason of rut. Now when I see their antics, then Iam consumed with desires. Yes(1) This part of the legend has for titlespecial in our manuscripts, Kundla avadâna," Legend of Kunâla. "

OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .371 this hermit, cried Vîtâśoka, notcan by this harsh penance tame the passage-Zion, what will be the Çramanas, son of Çâkyâ, whoseeking the lapis and thewell-extended seats ? How will they be able to triumph over passion ?And hepro-stated this stanza : " YestheRîchis inhabitants of thisdeserted forest , which does not feedthat air,that water andthat ofroots,can not,by alsoroughausterities practiced during atime iflong to reachto master theirdesires,"How the Sakyas could they be making masters of their senses, they whoeata so large quantity of meat, and of rice well seasoned of milk curdand butter ? If it were possible, the mountVindhya would be able to crossthe ocean." Yes, the king Aśoka is completely the dupe of śraman.as, sonfrom Çâkyâ,to which heshows respect."Açôka heard these words ;and like hissprit was fruitful inexpedients,he said to his ministers :Vîtâśoka has of benevolence for the tîrthyas ; it is necessarythat byaddressI make him conceive of similar feelingsfor the Law ofBhagavat.

That control the King? replied the ministers. When I will be entered in the room of bath, said the king, after having left my hair and the Ban-of water, symbols of the monarchy, he will need that, by any means, you attach the hairstyle and the royal headband to Vītāśoka, and that you are the fassiezasseoir on the throne. It will be done so, replied the ministers. The king having left his coif-fure and the headband, symbols of the monarchy, entered in the room of bath. The ministers said then to Vītāśoka :When the king Aśoka be dead, it is you who will be king ;put on, in the meantime, these royal ornaments ;we will tie you there hair and the headband royal, and make you sit on the throne ;we will see if those ornaments on going well or badly. As a result, the ministers parèrent Vītāśoka the marks of the dignity Royal, and placed on the throne ;then they in donation were immediately informed to the king. This adorned Vītāśoka LED hairdressing and the headband, symbols of the monarchy, and sitting on the throne, exclaimed :I live however still, and you you do already the king! Hello! someone. At the same time appeared the covered executors of garments blue, with the hair long and wearing To the hand a bell ;and is prostrating to feet of the king, they said to him :What or-give the king? I am abandoning Vītāçôka to you , he replied. So addressing the prince, the executors him said :We the executioners armed with the sword, we lay hold of you anybody. But the minister threw themselves at feet of Aśoka in the pleading :Forgive, O king ! Vītāçôka is your brother. I him par-give, answered Açôka, but for seven days only ;he's my brother, and in

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372 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY consideration of my affection for him, I it gives the monarchy during these seven days. " Immediately hundreds of instruments were heard blaring ; we greeted the prince the cries of Long live the king ! of thousands of people gathered before him their hands in sign of respect, and hundreds of women surrounded him. But the executors not left not the door of the palace. At the end of the first day they are presented to Vītāçôka and said to him :Here is a day passed, Vītāçôka ;he do you still more only six days. They in did so the second day and the following days; finally the seventh, Vītāçôka adorned with royal ornaments was brought into the presence of Açôki, who said to him :Vītāçôka, how did you find the songs, the dances and the concert of instruments ? I did not see or hear anything , replied Vītāçôka; and he pro-stated this stanza : " I have not listened to the songs, jen'ai not watched the dancing women :how he (Jun has tasted any of these pleasures Could you into giving her opinion?" Vītāçôka," resumed the king, " I have you granted the royalty for seven days ;we have makes sound to you hundreds of instruments ; we greeted you with cries of Vive le King! the crowd got you honored by holding his hands gathered in sign of respect in front of you; you have been served by hundreds of women; how so can you say : I did n't see or hear anything ?" No, replied Vītāçôka, I neither saw the dances, nor heard the sound of songs ;I did not feel the smell, or taste the flavors ;I did not perceive the contact of gold, jewels, necklaces, or bodies that I touched ;the crowd of women could not charm an unfortunate condemned to death." Women, dances, songs, palaces, beds, seats, youth, beauty, fortune, everything that, and even the earth with her jewels varied, has been without charms and empty forme, for that I voyaistranquillement sitting on their seats at my door the executors with their blue clothes ." On hearing the sound of the bell of the executor to dress blue, I re-felt, oh chief of kings, fearsome terrors of the death." Surrounded by the stings of the fear, I did not hear the voice lovely, I did not see the dances, and I did not wish to take

food." Grasped by the fever of the death, I no longer have known the sleep ; I spent the whole nights at consider the death." Hey what ! resumed Açôka, if the fear of death that did was to take away a single life has been able to stop you from enjoying the happiness of being king, with what eye Do you believe that the Religious, frightened at the thought of the dead who must complete the hundred existences, considering all the places where we can be reborn, and the

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM . "373 evils which are attached? In Hell, the sufferings to which is condemned the body delivered to the fire ; among the animals, the terrors that inspires the fear to be devoured them one by the other ; among the Prêtas, the torments of the hunger and of thirst ; among the men, the concern of an existence of projects and effort ; among the Gods, the fear of falling and losing their bliss : these are the five causes of miseries by which the three worlds are linked . Tormented by the pains of the mind and the body, they see in the attributes which is composed the existence of real executioners ; in the sense organs , of villages sorry ; in objects of robbers ; finally, they see all of the three worlds devoured by the fire of instability. And how then the passion could it be born in them ? Then he pronounced these stanzas : 4 Well what ! the fear of the death, which does must , however, take away a single life, preventing you from enjoying the pleasant objects made to flatter the heart, because that the terror will stop for you to trouble !" What pleased the heart of Religious it may therefore find in the food and in the other objects of sense them who are thinking the terrors future of the death, repeated for several hundred lifetimes ?" How the clothes, beds, the seats, the vases, could they in-worse of attachment to the of hearts that only think that the deliverance, whose in these objects of enemies and of murderers, for which the body is similar to a burnt house , and who look at the beings as perissands ?" And how the deliverance does she belong not to those who born want it and who are turning away from existence, to those the heart don't attaches no more to the various causes of pleasure than water to the leaf of the lotus ?" Thus favorably willing, through the cunning of the king, for the Law of Bhagavat, Vîlâçôka said to him, holding his hands together in sign of respect : Lord, I'm looking for a refuge with the Blessed Tathagata perfectly and completely Buddha ; I am looking for a refuge near the Law and with the assembly. And he pronounced this stanza : " I take refuge near that including the eyes are pure as one new lotus flourished, and that honor the Gods, the wise men and men my ; I take refuge with the pure law of the Buddha and with the As-seemed." So Açôka is throwing on his brother's neck : No, he said to her, I didn't have you not abandoned ; but it's a way that I used to inspire you of feelings of benevolence in favor of the Law of Bhagavat. From this moment Vîtâśoka is set

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374 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY to honor the Tchâityas of Rhagavat in their offering of incense, garlands of flowers, and by making resound a multitude of instruments ; and he heard her Law, and he testified of respect at the assembly. One day he went to the hermitage of Kukkutâ ârâma ; there is found the Sthavira named Yaśas, who was an Arhat gifted of the six supernatural knowledge . Vîlâçôka came and sat down in front of him to hear the Law. The Sthavira be put to the look, and immediately he recognized that the causes [of his conversion] were accumulated in him, that he had succeeded in his last-Niere existence, and it was in this body even reach the state of Arhat. This is why he is set to be praised for the life of begging, for the decision to kiss her. Vîlâçôka had no sooner

heard it than he conceived this desire :May i become a beggar under the Law of Rhagavat !So rising, he spoke thus to the Stha-veered, in holding his hands together in a sign of respect :May I kiss the religious life under the discipline of the well- renowned Law ! May I get the in-clothing and become Religious !May i practice before you the duties of the religious life !Friend, he answered the Sthavira, do know your desire to king Aśoka. Vītāśoka having thus made the place where was Laroī, it dit- the hands together in sign of respect :king, give me your permission ; I desire to embrace life Religious under the discipline of the good Law fame, in leaving the house with a faith perfect. And he uttered this stanza : " I was lost like the elephant who no longer knows the sting ; corn thanks to powerful brake of your intelligence, I have been saved from my error by the instructions of Ruddha. " So you must, O sovereign master of kings, grant me a favor; allow-me to wear the signs glad the Law perfectly, from the first light of the world. (On hearing these words, Aśoka is threw, the tears to eyes, around his neck brother, and tells him 'Vītâçôka, renounces this resolution :in the life of a beggar, we have reports and we live with the people of lower castes ; we don't have for calving than the flaps of fabric collected in the dust where the have thrown them slaves ; for food, than what is obtained by begging from the others ; for bed and for office, that of the grass expanse at the foot of a tree. When we are sick, it has to be sleeping as the leaves ; it is difficult to get hold of drugs ; we did for food as this that the others reject (1). And you you are delicate; you are unable to bear the pain of hunger, of the thirst of the heat and the cold :renounce, I beg you , your purpose. No, lord, resumed Vîtâçôka, that would be to think like the man who thirsts for objects; but the one (1) The text says: dhûH bhôdjanam; only would it not rather read : Puti bhôdjanam, " of food" Spoiled? "

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .375 who wishes to embrace religious life does not suffer from the fatigue that they cause us feels; he does n't see the enemy will rob him of his power; he is not reduced to the indigence (1). In the view of the world who suffer from the pain, which is the prey of the dead, which is exhausted in powerless efforts , I have feared to be reborn, and I formed the project to enter in the way of happiness and of security. At these words, the king Aśoka is started to pay deslarmes in wailing. But Vītāśoka wanting the consolations, uttered this stanza : " Since once mounted in the litter agitated the world, the men are doomed to fall, why this emotion does she get hold of you? Do not are we not all made to separate one day ? " Oh well ! Said Açôka, start here your apprenticeship as a beggar. In an enclosure planted with trees, in the middle of the palace, is stretched to the prince a carpet of grass, there he gave to the food. It is started Browse begging the interior apartments , but there did not receive not very good food (2). The king said to the women of the interior apartments : Give him similar food as to those that pick up the religious who beg. As a result, the prince gathered spoiled and rotten oatmeal , and he is set in duty in the area. But Aśoka having seen the in prevented : Leads the life of a beggar because I you there authorizes ; but when thou hast gathered the alms -shows me. " Some time later, Vîtâçôka went to the hermitage of Kukkuta ârâma. However this thinking it came to the mind : Yes I lead here the life of a beggar, I will be in the middle of the crowd. This is why he retired to the countryside of Vidêha (3), and is set to beg there. Finally, after much of the enforcement efforts, he obtained the rank of Arhat. When the respectable Vîtâçôka had reached this high rank, he felt the joy and the pleasure of the issue, and he made this reflection : I am in effect an Arhat. The first thing he did was to be make to the door of king

Açôka. Go, he said to the guardian, and announces to King Açôka that Vîtâçôka is at his door, and that he wishes to see the king. the Guardian is making immediately withof the king, him says :king, happiness to you :Vîtâçôka is at your door, and he wishes to see the king. Go fast, replied the king, and let him in. Vîtâçôka was immediately introduced into the palace. Açôka had no sooner seen his brother, than rising from his throne, he fell from all its height at feet the religious, as a tree cut by the root ; then looking at the respectable Vîtâsoka, he himself said in shedding tears :(1) This passage is greatly altered; I take the sense the more likely. (2) It is necessary, for the clarity of the story, to remove this negation; I would therefore propose to read :âhâram àlabhata, in place of âhâram na lahhatê, and I would translate as : "and he received of" very good foods. " (3) The Vidêha is, as we know, the ancient MitUla or the modern Tirhout .

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, 376 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY "Whatever he sees he does not feel this emotion that always feels the men when they come to be met ; no doubt he is full by the tasty food of the science that it has procured energy of the dis-extinction. " Râdhagupta was the prime minister of King Açôka. He saw the garment patched the respectable Vîtâçôka and a vase of earth, and in this vase a charity of Rice that he had given Luha; and in this view s' being bowed to feet of the king, he said to him , holding his hands together in a sign of respect :king, since this Religious has so little of desires and that he is satisfied, he should he certainly reach to its purpose. ((What could cause the fun in that which has for food that some alms, for clothing but rags gathered in the dust, and for dwelling only the neighborhood of trees ?" The one that the vast heart has nothing that the fastener, which the healthy body is free of disease, and which has at his discretion of his existence, that one sees for him in the world of men a perpetual feast . vs (The king having heard these stanzas, cried out with joy in his heart : "In light free of pride, height and of disorder that offspring of our race, which renounced the family of the Mâuryas, the city of Magadha and all its valuable assets, it seems to me that my capital eager rises purified by the glory." Show us therefore nobly the law of the Sage with ten forces. So the king pressing his brother between his arms, he made as he sat on the seat that was it intended; then he offered of its own hand of the whole food prepared ; finally, when he saw that he had finished his meal, washed his hands and put aside his vase, he sat down in front of respectable Vîtâçôka to hear the law. So the respectable Religious wishing to instruct Açôka by an interview relating to the Law, said to him : Rem-bend with attention the duties of the royal power ; it 's something difficult to obtain only the three precious objects ; honor them constantly, lord. And when he was pleased with the way in a speech relating to the Act, it withdrew. But Açôka with folded hands , surrounded by his five hundred ministers, and accompanied by a procession of several thousand inhabitants of the city of the countryside that surrounded him with respect, is set in duty to follow the respective Vîtâçôka table . This is what this stanza expresses : " The brother is followed by the his elder king , who accompanies him with respect ; this is a visible result and well worth celebrating, of adoption of religious life. " Then the respectable Vîtâçôka, wanting to give an idea of his merit, rushed forward

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .377 in the air by means of his supernatural power , in the sight of the crowds of the little people. And the king Açôka bringing his hands in a sign of respect, and surrounded by several hundred of a thousand inhabitants, kept his eyes fixed on the

sky ;and looking the respectable Yîtâçôka, he pronounced these stanzas : "Royalty any attachment to your family, you're slender like to a bird, we letting in some way bound in the bonds of the passion felt by man for the pleasure." If a sage full of calm and master of his heart seems with this power, it is the fruit of the contemplation, fruit that will be shown to the men blinded by the desire. "This supreme supernatural power covers us with shame, swells us with pride of the prosperity ; this intelligence we bend the head to us exalts the idea of our knowledge." This sage who has touched the goal we frighten us who in our blindness believe we have received our reward; finally a cloud of tears darkens our face; we are not really freed." However the respectable Yîtâçôka he made in the country beyond borders, and he placed there his seat and his bed. There he was struck by a serious disease. The king Açôka in having been informed, he sent the drugs and the servants. When the Religious suffered from this disease, his head was covered with leprosy ; corns soon as the evil was gone, his hair grew back, and he sent back the medications and the servants. It is put to eat especially ' of the foods in which it entered the milk, and is made a consequence near a park in the neighborhood from which he lived as a beggar. "He came to this same time that in the town of Pundra vardhana, a man who was devoted to beggars Brahminists overturned a statue of the Buddha at the feet of a beggar who broke it. A faithful Buddhist informed the king, who immediately ordered that this man be brought to him . The Yakshas heard this order at the distance of a Yôdjana in the sky, and the Nagas at the distance of a Yôdjana under earth to ensure that the culprit was the same moment brought before the king. At this sight Açôka transported in fury cried : That we put to death all those who live in Pundra vardhana. In accordance with this order, we made eighteen thousand inhabitants died in a single day ." Some time later, To Pataliputra, one another devoted man of Brahmins overthrew still a statue of Buddha at feet of men-who he had torn to pieces. The king having learned the facts returned to Pataliputra at the house of the beggar, the devotee, as well as with their parents and their friends, and it all consumed by the fire ; then he did proclaim this order :

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878 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Whoever brings me the head of a Brahmanic beggar will receive from me a Dînâra (1)." However, the respectable Vîtâçôka had retired for a night in the hut of an Abhîra. As he was still suffering from his illness, his clothes were in tatters, and his hair, his beard and his nails of an unbecomingly disproportionate length. The wife of the pastor made this reflection : He is undoubtedly a Brahmin beggar that this man who has come into our cabin to spend the night. She says to her husband : Son of my master, here's an opportunity to gain one Dinara ; let's kill this beggar, and let's take his head to King Açôka. Immediately pulling his sword from the scabbard, the Abhîra moved towards Yîtâçôka. This respectable religious possessed the science of what had happened to him once. He lives he was on the spot to reap the fruits of the actions he had performed himself formerly. Also, of course of the fact, it be kept quiet. The Abhîra him so cut off the head with his sword and he bore the king Asoka, in his saying : Give me a Dînâra. At the moment he cut off the head, the king thought to recognize ; however this light-sown hair did not agree with the resemblance he was looking. We brought in the physicians and servants, who said in the light : Lord, this is the head of Vîtâçôka. With these words the king fell unconscious to the ground. On the way back in her throwing of water, and then his ministers said to him : Your orders, oh king, have brought misfortune on the head even a wise free of passion ; Granted, in the revoking, the Security at all the world. The king therefore

returned there to people in defending that in the future no one should be put to death." However, the Religious, who had conceived doubts, thus questioned the respectable Upagupta that since all the doubts : What actions had therefore committed the respectable Vîtâśoka to have merited, as a result of his conduct of perishing by the sword ? Learn, respectable personages, replied the Sthavira, (1) The use of the word Dinara, which Prinsep has positively demonstrated originally Western and the fairly recent introduction into India {Note on the facsimile, etc., in Journ. Asian Stud. Soc. of Bengal, t. VI, p. 45), is a proof more convincing than all those that I could allege touching the modern date of the legend of Aṣṭaka. This word is seldom used in the Sanskrit books of the North, and I would have never met in those of the Sūtras that I look like elders, at least for the fund. So far I can only cite two examples. The first is borrowed from the legend of Hiranya pini, which is part of Avadāna ṣaṭaka. The hero of this story was named Hiranya Pain, "the one who has to gold in the hand," because at the time of his birth we found him in the hollow of each hand, lakṣanâhatam dînâradvayam, which must mean "two Dînâras marked with signs." {Avad. that L, f. 195.) The second example that I can allege of the use of this word is found in a semi-historical passage Ring of Divyâvadāna, we will see more low. Puchpâmitra, this king of Magadha whom the legend names the last of the Mâuryas, promises, in the city of Çâkala, one hundred Dînâras for each head of Buddhist Religious. {Divya avad., F. 211 b.) In the ancient sūtras, the term which seems the most often is Suvama.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .879 the actions he had done in his previous existences. Once upon a time, O Religious, in a time since long past, lived a hunter who supported his existence by killing antelopes. He was found in the forest a well with which the hunter held out his nets and traps, and there he killed the anti-lope. When there is no Buddha in the world, there is there arises the Pratyeka Bud-dhas. But a sure Pratyeka Buddha had retired in the wells for there to his meal, in came out and went to sit the legs crossed with a tree. Averties of its presence by the smell that there await laissée, the antelopes did come Pasauwell. The hunter to it being made of his hand, recognized that the game did not have appeared as a regular ; and closer and closer it reached the place where was seated the Pratyêka Buddha. In the light, this idea he came to mind : This is the one who has been missing my hunting ; and drawing his sword from the scabbard, he put to death the Pratyêka Buddha." Erase you understand this, respectable characters? This hunter, it was Vîtâçôka himself. Erase it had killed once the antelopes it has been affected, by the effect of this action, of a great disease. Because he had killed the Pratyêka Buddha with his sword, he Toproven, by the effect of this action, the pains of Hell for several miners of years, and he was born again among the men for five hundred years, seeing always her life decided by the sword ; finally it is to expiate the rest of this action that today, although reached the rank of Arhat, he has perished by the sword.- But what action did he have committed to be reborn in an illustrious family and to obtain the rank of Arhat ? The Sthavira replied: He there was under Kâçyapa the Perfectly accomplished buddha a certain Pradâna rutchi who came into life religious. Thanks to him, generous donors used their donations to feed the Assembly of Religious, in him giving a pleasant drink porridge, or inviting in their homes. Thanks to him, umbrellas were erected above the Stupas ; we them honored in their offering of flags, banners, perfumes, garlands, of flowers, and in exécutant des concerts. It is as a reward for this act that he was born into a

high family. Finally, after having fulfilled the duties of a religious for ten thousand years, he has expressed a virtuous wish, and it is by result of this wish that he has reached the dignity of Arhatship (1). "When the king Aśoka had, by the offering of the half a amalaka (2) testified to his faith for the Law of Bhagavat (3), he over there thus to the Religious : (1) This part of the legend bears, in our two manuscripts, the title of VUāçôkaavadâna or Legend of Vîtâçôka. " (2) It is the fruit of phyllanthus emblica, or myrobolan. (3) It will have in the beginning of this piece, which ends the legend of Açôka, a confusion that

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380 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY What is that which, under the Act of Bhagavat, has made the alms abundant ? It is Anâtliya pindika the master of the house, replied the Religious. - At what sum are the alms he has given ? - A hundred Kôtis. This answer made reflect the king : Here, he said to himself, a master of the house who gave a hundred Kôtis for the Law of Bhagavat ! then he said everything above : And I also I want to give one hundred Kôtis. He did, [as we know,] establish eighty-four thousand royal edicts of the Law ; he gave a hundred thousand [Suvarnas] to each of the places where they were, and he did much the place where was born Sakyamuni, where he had become Buddha, where he had been turning the wheel of the law, and where it was entered in the Nirvana complete. He received the Religious during the five months of Varcha, and in this occasioned Zion he gave four hundred thousand [Suvarnas] ; it feeds three one hundred thousand monks, to namely, one hundred thousand arhats and two hundred million disciples and men ordinary full of virtues. He fit present at the Assembly of the Ayras of the great land of its Women in the crowd of his ministers of Kunâla to himself finally, reservoir for however his treasure, and he bought all these goods for four hundred thousand [Suvarnas]. Finally he had in this way given ninety-six thousand Kôtis for the Law of Bhagavat, when came to fall into languor. He then said to himself : Soon I will be more, and this idea the cast in the discouragement. " Râdhagupta was the minister of the king ; it was the one with which, [in one of his existences earlier,] he had given a handful of earth [to Çâkyâ]. Seeing the king fall into the discouragement he worshiped him, and told him the hands united in sign of respect : " Why, Lord, is it flooded with tears this face, who similar to the devouring star of the day, cannot be watched by the crowd of your mighty ones enemies, and which can not be detached hundreds of women in the eyes of lotus ? <LRâdhagupta, replied the king, I do not weep neither the loss of my treasures, nor that of my royalty, nor the misfortune of being separated from the world ; I weep for what that I will be away from Arya. <(No, I will no longer see the Assembly which has all the virtues, who will be not easy to get by, if we did not know with what negligence the legendaries sew together the various episodes of the stories that they transmit the tradition. It 's not after have offered to the assembly of monks the half a amalaka that the king Aśoka inquired with Religious of the name of the one that they had never made the alms the most abundant. The continuation of the story proves, on the contrary, that Açôka did not bear this half of the fruit until he had exhausted his treasures, and that the heir presumptive had taken the steps to prevent abandon the Re-ligious all of which it left. The first sentence of this paragraph may therefore go to a kind of title of the legend, he must listen to little close well : " How Açôka, by " The offering of the half of unÂmalaka, testified to his faith in the law of the Bhagavat. > That which follows this sentence is the

summary of the first part of the legend of Kunâla; that of Vîtâçôka begins with a similar summary .

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .381 is revered of men and of gods ;I will not be able to honor him in him offering excellent food and drink ;and this thought did run my tears." And then, Râdhagupta, my intention was to give a hundred Kôtis for the Law of Bhagavat, and I did not put my project to execution. Having thus spoken, he said to himself: I'm going to meet again four KOTIS to complete my alms ;and from this when it is set to send gold and of money to the hermitage by Kukkuta • ârâma. " At that time, it was Sampadî the son of Kunâla who was the Yuvarâdja or the heir apparent. The ministers said to him : Prince, the King Aśoka no longer long to live, and he send all his treasures to Kukkuta ârâma : or here there are other very rulers who on the great riches ourselves must do not cempêcher the king to be ruined. As a result the young princess defended the treasurer [to give of the money to the king]. It was the habit of his to present to eat in des vases of gold ; Aśoka having taken his meal, is started to send these vases Kukkuta Arama. So we defended from her present vases of this metal, and from that moment its food him was brought in silver vases ;but the king sent them from even in Kukkuta ârâma. The silver vessels were deleted in their turn, and replaced by des vases of iron ;but the king went to the send as the others to the hermitage. Finally he had to present him his food in vases of ar-gile. So Aśoka holding in his hand the half a fruit of amalaka, summoned his ministers with the inhabitants, and they said full of sadness : Who is now king of this country ? The ministers are rising immediately from their seats, and pointing towards Açôka their hands united in sign of respect, said to him : It is you, Lord, that es roi of this country. But Açôka, her eyes darkened by a cloud of tears, said to his ministers : Why then do you say out of goodness what is not true ? I am fallen to the kingdom ; he do me still more than the half of fruit of which I can have as a sovereign." Shame on a wretched power that resembles the movement of waters of a swollen river, since despite the empire I exercise over them, the terrible misery has also reached me !" But who could flatter oneself to make lie these words of Bhagavat : All the fêh cités have to end misfortune ? this does not in fact a misleading language afraid that that of Gâutama who does not lie never (1).(1) I am passing here a stanza which is absolutely unintelligible and barely readable in our two manuscripts; it in lack even the half in the copy of Divyâvadâna that I have.

This stanza certainly contains a of these moral maxims on the vanity of the power humaine, as the legends of the North expressed generally in a style quite Platet quite vul-

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332 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY t After having ordered at the land held under its unique power, after having deleted all the fighting and all the disorder, destroy the crowd of his enemies swollen with pride, and consoled them poor and the unfortunate, the fallen Açôka king lives now without luster in the misery. Like the flower or the leaf which will fade when it is cut or torn off, so is des-dry Açôka." So the king Açôka having called a man who was standing near to him: Friend, he said to her, though I have fallen from my power, please , in favor of my former merits, running the last order that I give. Take the half of Amalaka which belongs to me ; go to the hermitage of Kukkuta ârâma, and make it present to the Assembly. Then bowing in my name the feet of As-seem, talk to him thus : Here is what is reduced now the wealth of sovereign monarch of Djambudvîpa ; it's the his last alms ; he should eat this fruit so that the offering of the king is distributed to all the As-

seemed to which it is addressed. And he pronounced these stanzas :“ Today is my last alms ;my royalty and my power are parties ;private of health, of doctors and medicines, I have no more support than the Assembly of Arya. this So eat this fruit in a way may my last alms be distributed to the whole Assembly , to which my intention is to offer it." It will be done so," replied man to the king ;and taking this half of fruit, he returned to the hermitage of Kukkuta Arama. There will be advanced to the site of hon-neur, he offered, the hands together respectfully, this half of the fruit to TASseemed, and pronounced these stanzas : "The one who, commanding to the land held in its unique power, éclair-would formerly the world, similar to the sun, when he has reached aumiUeu of its stroke, King sentantaujourd'hui prosperity interrupted, be seen betrayed by his works ;and like the sun on the end of the day, he is deprived of his power." Bowing his head respectfully before the Assembly, he made present of the half of this amalaka, sign visible from the instability of the capital.“ Then the Elder of the Assembly addressed himself thus to the Religious : Today, venerable characters, he you are allowed to experience of the pain ;and for-what? Because Bhagavat has said: The misfortune of another is an opportunity congaire. The end of the stanza rolls, if I do my mistake on UUE comparison borrowed in a river which goes up, stopped by rocks detached from a large mountain. I wish that the reader I do not regret the absence any more than I do . Hopefully the least that I forgive this shortcoming in for the ordeal that I myself am imposed by translating manuscripts also incorrect.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .S8Svenable to grieve. And what is the man having from the heart that not to grieve not today ?" Açôka, the heroes of Mâuryas, this model monarch of generosity, after avoi ^ was the sovereign one of Jambudvîpa do have more than a half of an Âmalaka !" Today deprived of his power by his subjects, he gives this half of fruit, thus manifesting his thought to ordinary men who are puffed up with pride the intoxication of enjoyment and of the bliss." Then we pile this half of the fruit, and we reduced it to a mass, that it was circulated in the Assembly." However the king Aśoka said to Rādhagupta: Tell me, dear Rādhagupta, what is now the ruler of country. So Rādhagupta is throwing at the feet from Açôka, he said the hands united in sign of respect: Lord, this is you who you are the sovereign of the country. At these words, Açôka , lifting herself up a little, and walking his look on the four parts of the horizon, cried , pointing his hand together with respect of the side of the Assembly: Today I give to the Assembly of Listeners Bhagava the whole of the big land, up to shores from the Ocean, to the exception, however, of my treasure. And he pronounced these stanzas : " This land which the ocean envelops like a beautiful garment of sapphire, which the face is in some way adorned by the mining of gems various, this land which supports the creatures and the Mount Mandara, I to give to the Assembly ; may I collect the fruits of this action !" I do not wish for a price of this good work nor the possession of the palace of Indra, nor that of the world of Brahmà ; with more strong reason not desired I not the happiness of the kingdom escaping more soon as the water that flows." What I wish for price of the perfect faith with which I do this donation is to exercise over myself that empire so worthy of respect that honoring rent the Arya, and which is a good sheltered from change." After having had this donation written , he recovered [To his minister] and the fit seal with its seal. The king had no soon gave the land to the Assembly, which he is subject to the law of time. The ministers who transported his body in a litter adorned fabrics blue and yellow, it went the

last rites and took care from ^ him give a successor. But- Rādhagupta them said :Aśoka, the king has given the big land in the Assembly. Why did he do this donation ? resumed them ministers. It was his desire replied Rādhagupta ;the king said he wanted to give a hundred Kôtis . for the Law of Bhagavat. He carried his gifts to the sum of ninety-six Kôtis, but the heir apparent prevented him from

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384 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY tinue. Then the king made donation to the Assembly of the great earth. In consequence the ministers paid the Assembly four Kôtis, redeemed from it the possession of the earth, and placed Sampadî on the throne . TO Sampadî succeeded Vrihaspati soundson ;in Vrihaspati, Vrihasena ;in Vrihasena, Puchyadharman ;to Puchyadharman Puchpamitra. The latter called away his ministers and they said :What a way would I have to perpetuate the memory of my name for a long time ? The Ministers him replied :Lord, there are eudans your family a King named Aśoka, which To established eighty-four thousand - edicts of the Law ;her glory will live so many times that remain the Act Rhagavat. You can therefore, following his example, establish four-twenty-four thousand edicts of the Law. The king Aśoka was great and wealthy, said the king ;I wish find a different way to me make famous."The king had as a domestic priest a Rrâhman, who was a man ordinary and who had no faith in the Ruddha. This Rrâhman said to the king :Lord, here are two ways to make your name last . Puchpamitra having then equipped a army formed of four corps of troops, left for Kukutaarama with the project to destroy the Law Rhagavat. Arrived at the door of the hermitage, he heard the roar of the lion (1). Terrified, the King returned in Pataliputra. A second time, a third time, he was thus rejected. Finally he summoned the Assembly of Religious and they said :I want to destroy the Law of Rhagavat :what is what you prefer that I destroy, the Stûpa or the chapel where resides the As-wheat ? The Religious preferred to abandon the hermitage to the king. Puchpamitra therefore overturned from the bottom up and massacred the Religious who inhabited it. Of there he returned to Çâkala (2), and there was this statement :The one who will bring me the head of a Çramana will receive from me a hundred dinaras. Now a Religious offered his head to save the edicts of the Law and the lives of the Arhats (3). The king having heard this, made laughter the Arhats of the land. But he encountered opposition, and don't pushed pas plus away his destructive enterprise ."So leaving this country, he made to Kôchthaka (4). The Yakcha Damchtrâ(1) This term should be taken to figuratively: in the ancient Sutras as in the mo-last, "the roar of the lion "refers to the preaching of the law, regarded as victorious and putting in flight opponents. This figure is probably an application by the name of Sakya simha that gives to Sakyamuni; in fact, a time the sage called "the Lion of Sakya, "it is natural that his word is called "the roar of the lion." " The lion plays also an other role still in the Buddisme; and the columns surmounted by a reclining lion , which we find standing or overturned in the north of India, are an obvious allusion to the name of " lion of Çâkyas. "(2) See surce name a footnote to the end of this volume, Appendix, n " VI.(3) The text is very altered here ; I interpret this sentence from the set of the story.(4) I can not find anything in our legends that allows me to determine the position of this place. But if we compare the name of the Yakcha which, according to the text, seemed there make up residence

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .^ 85Nivâsin then made the following reflection :The law of Bhagavat goes perish ;and me, who observes the precepts, I am unable to do harm to that as it is. The daughter of this Divinity was requested by Krimisêna ;but the father did not want to give this Yakcha, and he answered him :You are a sinner. Damchtrâ nivâsin consented , however, to give to Krimisêna that the requested, provided that would protect the Law of Bhagavat. The king Puchpamitra was constantly followed by a large Yakcha (1) who had mission the defense and for the protection, and it was the power of this Yakcha who made the king invincible. The Yakcha Damchtrâ nivâsin having taken possession of the goalkeeper who was abandoning not the king went for a pil-rinsing in the mountains. However, Puchpamitra directed his march towards the great southern ocean . So the Yakcha Krimisêna having rolled a large Mountain Puchpamitra imprisoned, as well as its soldiers and its tanks. We gave since when the king the name of Munihala (the one who put to death the lonely). At the death of King Puchpamitra, the family of Maurya was extinguished.y>Prior to signal to the reader the main points of this legend which I attempt at the moment his attention, I believe necessary from there join one another fragment extracted from the Avadâna çataka. I borrow it from a caption called the Council. We will soon see why this text needs to be reconciled of the previous one.((Two hundred years after that the blessed Buddha was entered in the Nir-full vana , reigned in the city of Pâtaliputra a king named Açôka. His kingdom was rich, flourishing, prosperous, fertile, people, abundant in men ;we are seeing neither disputes nor disputes; the attacks, the invasions and bigan-dages of thieves There were unknown ;the ground there was covered with rice sticks to sugar and of cows. This righteous monarch , king of the law, rudder according to the law his kingdom. One day he entertained himself with the queen, that with her he delivered to pleasure and to the pleasure, she became pregnant. At the end of eight or nine months it gave birth and put the world a son beautiful, easy to see, graceful, with the eyes similar to those of the Kunâla bird . Once he futné, we celebrated the feast of its birth, and we busied himself with giving it a name. What name will this child have ? se said the parents to each other. Since at time of his birth his eyes were re-seemed to those of the bird Kunâla, his name will Kunâla. the young child was entrusted to the care of eight nurses :two for him to give the breast, both for him name which means " one who lives close to the tooth "what if we remember that one of the teeth of the Buddha, the one believed to have been transported later to Ceylon, was kept in the Kalinga or the modern Orissa , perhaps it will be possible to conjecture that Kôcidhaka is one of the ancient names of the modern city of Katlak. (Csoma, Life of Shakyâ, in Asiat. Res.,t.XX,p. 317. Turnour, Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, l.VI, p- 860 ff .; t.Vil, p. IOR.)(1) After the words Yakchô mahân, we read in our two manuscripts pramâne yûyam, of which I do not then do nothing ; should we read mahdpramânô 'bhavat ?25

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386 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY* to drink the milk, both for the clean up, and two to play with him. One day he was adorned with all its ornaments, the king the holding between his arms, put to the watch repeatedly ;and delighted with the perfection of her beauty, he exclaimed :No I do not have a son who equals it in beauty !€ Now in this time lived in the province of Gandhara a man who was NOM mait Puchpa bhêrôtsa. It happened that a son was born to a certain master of the house including the beauty surpassed that of men, but could exceed not the Gods. To his birth appeared a pond built in precious stones and

full of divine water of scent, and a large garden full of flowers and of fruit, which walked. In some place that the child should bear his not, there appeared the pond and the garden. This is why he was given the name of Sundara (the beautiful). With the Sun-timed aragrows." At some time there, Puchpa bhêrôtša is renditavec of merchants to a certain case in the city of Pâtaliputra. Taking with him a present of Tiné the king, he was made to introduce in his presence ; then prostrating himself at his feet, he offered his present and is kept standing before him. The king did see merchant's son Kunâla. Merchants then he said, have you ever seen in the country as you 've visited, a child gifted with beauty so perfect? The merchants reunited with their hands in a sign of respect, bowed down at the feet of the king ; and after having obtained the assurance that they could speak without fear, they gave him this answer : There are in our land, O king, a young man named Sundara, whose beauty surpasses that of man, but does not equal that of the Gods. At its birth a pond built in stones precious and full of water God of scent, and a large garden, full of flowers and of fruit, which walk. In some place that this young man carries its not, there appear the pond and the garden. ¶ On hearing these words, the king was hit with a surprise extreme ; and full of curiosity, he sent a messenger to Sundara to give him the following notice before : The king Aśoka wants to come to see the young Sundara ; run it as you have to do or prepare. But the great crowd of people, frightened, made this reflection : If the king comes here with a large procession of troops, he may result of large (very Jesa ^). This is why Sundara having done hitch a good char, and is being fitted with a collar made of a thousand pearls for the give in this the king was sent to Aśoka. Arrived at the end of his travel it arrived at the city of Pâtaliputra ; and taking the necklace made of a thousand pearls, he is made from of King Açôka. He would not rather have seen the beauty, the brilliance, the splendor and the perfection of young Sundara, as well as the divine pond and the garden, which he was seized with extreme astonishment .

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .•387" Then the king, to also excite the astonishment of the Sthavira Upagupta, firsting with him the young Sundara, is returned to Kukkuta Arama. In this garden lived eighteen miles ARHAT having their head Upagupta, and a number double of disciples and ordinary men full of virtue. The king having greeted the feet of Sthavira, sat down in front of him to hear the law, and Upagupta to him exposed. So the young Sundara which the provisions were reached their maturity perfect, after hearing the law, felt the desire to enter into the life religious. After in having informed the king Aśoka, he entered into the religious life in presence of the Sthavira Upagupta. After of long efforts, after the studies and a supported application, it recognized that as this is that the wheel of the transmigration, which carries five marks, that is to both mobile and immobile ; and having triumphed in all the ways by which we among in the world, in the détrui-health, in the stunning, in the dissipating, by the dashing, he arrived, by the destruction of all the corruption of evil, to see face to face the state of Arhat. Became Arhat, [etc. as above, page 292, to the fm until :] he was from those that all the Devas, accompanied by Indra and of Upêndra, worship, honor and greet. (vs Then the king Aśoka, feeling of doubts arise in his mind, spoke to Sthavira the following question : What actions has therefore made Sundara for pos-Seder one such beauty? What actions did he take so that [to his birth] have published a pond built of stones precious and full of water divine to smell, and a large garden, full of flowers and of fruit, that walk ? The Sthavira Upagupta

replied :This Sundara, O great king once was, in other existentialthese, made and accumulated the actionsqui have reached to their completion, [etc. likeabove, page 243, to the end of the paragraph.]"Formerly, O great king, when Bliagavat was entered in the full Nirvana, therespectableMahaKâçyapa, which with a series ofcinqcents Religious parcou-ruled the provinces of Magadha, wished to convene an Assembly of the Law. Hearrivedthat a poor plowman saw this great Assembly of Religious that the death ofMaster plunged in the pain, who were tired ofbrowse thecountry, andwhich the body was covered withdust. At this sight heis felt touched com-passion,and heinvitedthe five hundred religiouswith Kâçyapa to come and take areligious bath . There, when he presented them with hot water perfumed with variousspecies of odors, the Religious is bathed and cleaned their coats. Nexthaving offered them foodpreparedwith care, hereceived the forms of refugeas well as the precepts of teaching, and itsaid the following prayer :May I, entering into the religious life under the law of this Śâkyamuni himselfget the state of Arhat!

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388INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY"How do you understand this, O great king? The one who in thistime andat that time was a poor laborer, is the Religious Sundara.Parce itoffered the Religious a sacred bath , hegot this beauty that the distinguished andwith him is appeared that built pondin precious stones andfull of awater scented with sandalwood and a large garden, full of flowers and of fruit,that work because itthen received the forms of refuge and thepreceptsof teaching, heToseen faceface to face in this present existence the stateof Arhat. This is howO great king,than all black actionsisreserved a black award also [etc. as above, page 244, until theend of paragraph.]"From the comparison of this fragment with the more extensive legend of which I have itthat precede itThe result of course that this is theeven king which heis spoken inone and in the other ;the Açôka of the fragment entitled the Council, like the Açôka oflegends say V Alms of a handful of earth, list of Açôka, Historyof Kunâla, is the king, the father of this young man famous by its beauty and by itsmisfortunes. In one as in the other text, Aśoka is contemporary Upa-gupta. Eminent religious whohas been flourishing under the same monarch the Act ofBuddha. This is, I believe, a point thatborncan be questionable.However, in the first of ourof themmoieties, the time of Aśoka is placed in thehundredth yearsince the death of Çâkyamuni Buddha. This date is repeatedmore of a time, usually in the form of prediction, only form to aidofwhich the compilers could include a later legendat thedeath "of Çâkya innumber of books emanating from his teaching and givenfor expression even of hisword.But as if the editors of Ava-dânas would have had doubts about the credulity of the faithful, an indication of aNature apparently more historical to presentin a way to give tothis date all the desirable certainty ;it is the interview of king Açôka and an old manReligious centenarian who said having seen Çâkyamuni.Ce religious is without doubttoo manymiracles, to this point even that its longevity is the least incredible of all.theRehgieux, his memories and his interview with Açôka, all this is not likely.simply a pure invention of the legendaries ;but these diversdétails not ac- iscord not less with thepredictions which place Açôka one hundred yearsafterÇâkyamuni. Inventedby the editors of the legend,where foundby them inthe memories traditional, intervention of Pindola, theCentenary religious andthe contemporary to the time of Śâkyamuni and of

Aśoka, certainly for objectgiving to the time we assign to it the appearance of a historical event. Now in the fragment borrowed to the legend entitled the Council, this

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .389 King Açôka is said to have lived two hundred years after Çâkyamuni. How can we bind these two conflicting informations, if this is not to the tune of these two ways : or recognizing that he has existed two Açôkas, combined into one only by the tradition ; or admitting that there are among the Buddhists of the North a double tradition, or if you want two historical opinions on a single and unique Açôka ? When we compare the traditions of meritorious Buddhism in India with those of the Nepalese, we will see how much the first assumption is more likely than the other. We know, in fact, that the Buddhists from Ceylon recognize two Açôkas : one who has lived around the year 100 since the death of Çâkyamuni ; the other who was ruler of India central, two hundred and eighteen years old after this same event, and to which we attribute the erection of the many Stûpas and the columns of which are found even as of debris in various provinces of India (1). At the moment we have enough to the special object of this Memoir, which is a critical review of the written authorities of Northern Buddhism, of course to state that the collection of Avadânas contains the treatises that belong certainly not to the preaching of Çâkyamuni. And what is more important yet to notice, is that these treatises are involved in the works contemporary with those of Sakyamuni, at least for the funds, without which nothing would warn the reader with the crucial difference that distinguishes the one of the others. We will have to take account of Celtic peculiarity when we study the collection of South, where this confusion against which the critic must be put right on guard, certainly did not happen. It is time to sum up in a few words the results of the discussion to which has given rise to so-called collection of Avadânas or legends. I therefore believe to have established in the course of this discussion : 1. **Whether it is the Avadânas or legends who, in the Sanskrit collection of Nepal, represent the second of the three divisions of the Buddhist scriptures, called the Vinaya or of the discipline ; 2. That the rules of the discipline will be no more dogmatically exposed in the Avadânas than only those of the corporation in the Sûtras, this that I demonstrated by extensive extracts from the Avadânas ; 3. That by studying the Avadânas, we have a treasury of details ancient and contemporary on the ordination of Religious, on the names they bear, on the various orders of which the Buddha's Audience Assembly is composed, on their way of life, both the result of the Master that in the monasteries ; on the hierarchy and on the ranks assigned to Religious based on merit ; on various (1) Turnour, Journ. Asian Soc. of Bengal, t. VI, p. 714 sqq.

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390 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY institutions, such as those of retirement, called the Varcha or for the season rains, and of the denomination ; on the distinction and enumeration of faults ; on various obligations imposed on ascetics regarding the clothing and food, details that I have based on extracts from various Avadânas, and that I have made follow observations on the general character of the Buddhist discipline, on the cult and on the objects to which it is addressed, on the statues of the Buddha and on the Stûpas ; 40 Finally, that between the Avadânas there still need distinguish those which remind the contemporary events of Sakyamuni, and those who tell facts or quote of personages manifesting themselves subsequent to the time of founding of Buddhism. SECTION IV. ABHIDHARMA OR METAPHYSICS. As much as the collection of Nepal, such has

been the gathering Mr. Hodgson's little of books with the title Special of Vinaya, as much she offers us some returning in the section of V Abhidharma or of the metaphysical. The three Sieme of Pitakas or of collections there is amply shown in effect by the three editions of the Pradjna pramita : the first in hundred thousand items contained in four main sections, the second in twenty five thousand articles, and the third in eight thousand. These voluminous collections can now be found at the Royal Library : I have more than a copy of the writing in eight thousand articles, that I owe to the friendship of Mr. Hodgson. The rescue is seen, not lack not for the study of the metaphysical of Buddhism. To these works he must include other books including the goal is in partana-logto that of the Pradjna pramita. These are several Sûtras developed, as the Samadhi raja, treated on the various species of contemplation ; the Dacca bhûmîçvam, exhibition of ten degrees of perfection by which pass a Buddha ; the Saddharma Langkâvatâra or the teaching of the good Law given to Langkâ, of which he will be spoken shortly, and most likely also the Saddharma pundarîka or the Lotus of the good law, including the part dogmatic aims to establish that there are not three distinct means of salvation for the three classes of beings, called the Çrâvakas or i Vuditors, the Pralyêka Buddhas or individual Buddhas, and future Bôdhisattvas or Buddhas, but

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .391 that there is only one vehicle, and that if Çâkyas speaks of three vehicles is only to proportion his teaching to the faculties more or less powerful of those who listen to him (1). It is true that in the most books that I come to mention the part speculative do not dominant, and that she is there scrum at the subjects of another order and generally practical. However he exists as to the writing and the style an indisputable analogy between the Sûtras Yâipulyas and books of the Prajñâ pâramitâ. Celte analogy that I announced more top speaking of the two classes of sûtras, formed one of the Simple sutras, the other of the developed sutras, relates to the preamble by which open the books of the Prajñâ, on the number of persons who attend to the Çâkyamuni Assembly, finally on the rank of these characters, who are almost always fabulous Bôdhisattvas, miraculously come from all the points of the horizon. In a word, the context des divers editors of the Prajñâ is exactly that of such sûtras developed that we want to choose ; and for complete this resemblance, the various editors of the Pradjnâ bear the Title of Mahâyâna sutras or sûtras serving of large vehicle ; are of Veritables Sutras, but of the species of those I call developed. It would seem, having the extent of these works, that if it must be a operation very long as to make the reading complete, it does should not be very difficult to be form an idea of their content by the extracts more or less developed. One would be mistaken, however, to think thus ; and a personal experience, acquired by several tests, I put in right to assert that the second operation is not less difficult than the first would be tedious. It comes from the form even in these books, and of the way the about it is presented. This subject, which is essentially speculative, is exposed with the more detailed de-loppings in the Pradjnâ, but nowhere explained ; the psychological terms and metaphysical which the philosophy of Buddhism is there use are listed in a certain order. Each of these terms forms a Dharma, that is that is, a Law, a condition or a thesis ; because nothing is extended like the meaning of this word of Dharma. Each of these theses is posed in three forms : the first affirmative, the second negative, the third which is neither affirmative neither negative. But what that means each of these terms, the books don't we not learn it. It silently takes no doubt that

that the Assumed known in school, circumstance from which I infer that the great collections where they are Trouville wind have been compiled at a time when the Buddhism was definitely con-(1) This is also what Mr. Schmidt establishes, according to his Mongolian and Tibetan authorities. {Same. of Acad. of Sciences of St. Petersburg, t. IV, p. 125.)

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392 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY. There are also the comments that the fundamental end of each thesis must be etymologically and philosophically analyzed, and Mr. Hodgson cites, in one of his lists, a commentary on the Pradjñā paramitā in eight thousand articles (1); but we do not have in Paris, and maybe it is not easy to find, even at Nepal I will come back to some of these theses, and I put thereader in state of Judging by himself in trouble that one experiences in forming an idea of the metaphysics of Buddhism, according to books where the list stands at just about exclusively the site of the explanation. These difficulties are such that they have stopped Gsoma of Kōrōs itself, which no one will suspect the knowledge and the rare patience. After having reproduced, without no comments, some of the most important series of these terms philosophical, this learned man is to avoue incapable to say more on the doctrine of the Pradjñā paramitā (2). The reading of a comment and study compared to some other texts Buddhist he would no doubt provided the means to get in more great detail on this subject difficult. Fortunately for us, several points of the philosophy of Gākyā have already been, in Asia and in Europe, the object of important work. The portion the most ('stretched to the first dissertation of M. Hodgson is dedicated to systems of metaphysical schools of Népf, and the scholarly research that M. Schmidt has since long begun, and it continues with hard on the books Mongolian and Tibetan, we have made about the point the most elevated of the meta-physics of Buddhism. It is out of my plan to reproduce here all that these authors have taught us about the doctrine attributed to Çākya; their Memoirs, consigné the few in the Research Asia of Calcutta and London, the others in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences of Saint Petersburg, are easily accessible to any reader European, and I do not have to forget that I only the intention to give here an introduction to the history of Buddhism and not a dogmatic exhibition of Buddhism reached at our developments. I have a reason, however, for making a useless frequent dissertations Mr. Schmidt and from those of Mr. Hodgson; is that the first are written from the books that do are not at my disposal, books including Indian origin is certainly not doubtful in my eyes, but to which I had to refrain from drawing, except in cases of absolute necessity, because my goal Special is to study the Buddhism after the books written either by undocumented written, either in an Indian language. The Memoirs of Mr. Hodgson, on the contrary, (1) Notices on the languages, etc., in Asiat. Res., T. XVI, p. 428. (2) Analysis. of the Sher-chin, in Asiat. Res., T. XX, p. 399.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM. 393 are composed with documents which owe their origin both source to which I had particularly appeal to the writing of my work, know, the tradition of Nepal and the books kept in this country. I propose to myself so to summarize quickly, by attaching observations that are pro me pres, the main features of the painting that Mr. Hodgson traced to the metaphysical of Buddhism, and then proceed to the special examination of some points that I will study from the texts themselves. It is, to little de chose close, the walk that I have followed when I analyzed the Sutras. It has now to

Nép \ the four major philosophical schools, those of Svâbhâvikas, the Âiçvarikas, the Kârmikas and the Yâtnikas. The school of Svâ-bhâvikas is that of philosophers of the Nature (1) ;but the word of Nature does make that in a way incomplete [this that the Buddhists mean by Sva ^hhâva ;they there see both and the Nature which exists of itself, the Nature absolute, cause of the world, and Nature own each being that which the constant substitute this is (2). The Svâbhâvikas, whom Mr. Hodgson regards as the more ancient philosophical school of Buddhism currently known in Nepal (3), deny the existence of a spiritual principle . They will recognize that the nature taking absolutely, to which they attribute energies to the number which is com-taking not only activity, but still intelligence. The Nature is éter-it, as well as its energies, and it has two modes, that of Pravritti or of existence, and one of NirvrUti or of the termination of the rest. The powers of the Nature are in their form clean in the state of Nirvrïtti (4) ;they take an animate and material form in the state of Pravritti, state where the Nature between spontaneously, and not by the will or action of any being different from it. The creation and destruction of the universe are the effect of the eternal succession of two states of the Nature, and not that of the will of a creator God who does not exist. To the state of Pravritti or activity belong the material forms of the Nature :they are transient, like the other phenomena in the midst of which they appear. On the contrary, animate forms , forms of which the highest is man, are considered capable of achieve by their own efforts in the state of Nirvrïtti, that is to say they can be after the necessity to reappear in the midst of passing phenomena of the Pravritti(5). Arrived at this point the Svâbhâvikas divide, the one admitting that the souls who have (1) Notices on the languages, etc., in Asiat. Res., T.XVI, p. 423.(2) See . the Additions, at the end of the volume.(3) Notices on the languages, etc., in Asiat. Res., T.XVI, p. 439.(4) Ibid., P. 435.(5) See, on this part of the doctrine of the Svâbhâvikas, the judicious observations of Benfey. {Indian, p. 197, taken from Erschfet Gruber's encyclopedia .)

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394 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY reached the Nirvrïtti will retain the sense of their personality and have conscience of rest which they enjoy eternally (1), the others believing that man issued from the Pravntti and managed in the state of Nirvrïtti falls in the vacuum absolute, that is to say, is annihilated for ever (2). This vacuum is this that the Buddhist your call Çûmjatâ, " the emptiness " state, according to the Svâbhâvikas the more rigid is a good, although it is nothing ;because out of there the man is condemned to spend eternity in through all the forms of the nature, provided with which the nothingness same is preferable. I think I have to send the luminous reader developments (including Hodgson has been followed this presentation, that I reduced to its terms the more essentials. I do not stop not more to report a former division of school Svâbhâvika, who does not bring to this doctrine other change than to put in relief, under the name of Pradjna, "wisdom, " the sum of all the energies Active and intelligent of the Nature, and to absorb the man in the state of nir-vrïtti(3). I am looking forward to expose the principles specific to the school more directly opposite to that of naturalists, I want to tell the school of Âiçvarikas or the theists, who admit a God, intelligent essence who under the name of Adibuddhais for the one the Divinity unique, and for the other the first term of aduality which the second term is the material principle that it is coexisting and coeternal (4). But here let Mr. Hodgson speak himself, for fear of altering his thought : "Although the theists recognize a [immaterial essence and a God, they deny his providence and his

empire over the world ;and although they ret, ardentthe issue as the state of being absorbed in the divine essence, and they will adres-feels vaguely to God as to one who gives the property of the Pravṛtī, theywatch the union of the virtue and the happiness, as we remain in this stateof pravṛtī, as entirely made independent of God. Theybelieve thatthe mancan it happen that by its own efforts, with the help of austerities and of themeditation ;andtheybelieve that these effortscanthemake worthy of beinghonored as a Buddha on the ground, and raise it after hisdead in the sky,Tothe involvementof the attributes and happiness of the supreme Adibuddha (5). 3>on thesees, the idea of God, even in this school which Mr. Hodgson holds for moremodern and less numerous than that of naturalists (6),has not thrown in very(i) Asian. Researches, t. XVI, p. 436.(2) Ibid., P. 437.(3) Hodgson, European Specul. On Buddhism, in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. III, p. 502.(4) Notices on the languages, in Asiat. Hes., T. XVI, p. 438.(5) Asian girl. Res., T. XVI, p. 438.(6) Europ. Specul. on Buddh., in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. III, p. 503. It's naturistshe should be able to say to the place of naturalists.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .395deep roots. Heseems obvious to me that it was superimposed on a systemthat it was earlier and that only the unfamiliar ;because remove this Adibuddha,theontological system of Buddhism, suchthat thedesign thenaturalists,survives more or less in its entirety. It seems that the conception of an Adibuddhahas been accepted by the school theistic as provide an answer more peremptory and pluspopulaire to aquestion which we found that the naturalistsansweredobscurely and imperfectly. When is their asking :Where did you come fromNENT the beings ? theyanswered :Svabhâvat, " of their natureown. ^)- And" Where are they going after this life ?" - In other forms produced by influence" Irresistibleof this same nature. - And to escape this inevitable"necessity of the revival, where does itthey go ? - In the vacuum.)>To theseissues the theists made the responses following which, except the names are of veri-Brahminical solutions tables :The beings come from Adibuddha or from God, whothe has created more or less directly ;and to be soustrairea fate of thetransmigration itthey must return to the bosom of God(1).Let us now summarize what Mr. Hodgson tells us about the other two schools.which he regards as more modern than the previous ones (2),and who gets closerchent morefrom the school of theists than from that of naturalists(3), that of the Kar-mikâs, or sectators of action, and that of the Yatnikas or sectarians ofthe effort. By action Mr. Hodgson means moral action accompanied by cons-cience {conscious moral agency), andby effort,intellectual action accom- paniespagnéedeconscience (conscious intellectualagency). The birth of these schoolsis due to the need to combat the exaggerated quietism of previous sects , whichremoved to the first cause of personality, the welfare and activity, and which deprivedabsolutely the man of freedom(4).Because while admitting the general principlesposed by their opponents, the founders of these two schools have sought to establishthanman canget the happiness, or by the cultivation of meaning moral (what are theKârnîkas), or by the good direction of itsintelligence (thisare the Yâtnikas) (5).But, Mr.Hodgson has itwisely noticed,hedo notnot believe that theseschools have conceived the idea of the providence of God, nor that of free will. Thespringgeneral principles , basisother sects, which the Kârnîikas and the Yâtnikas adoptedlike their opponents, were fundamentally opposedto these two ideas(6).(1) Asian born., T.XVI, p. 440.(2) Ibid., P. 439. Quotat. from Sanscr. anth., etc., in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. V, p. 90.(3)

Notices on the languages, etc., in *Asiat. Res.*, T. XVI, p. 439. (4) *Asian girl. Res.*, P. 439, and *Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal*, t.V, p. 82, note, and p. 90. (5) Notices on the languages, etc., in *Asiat. Res.*, T. XVI, p. 439. Quotat., Etc., in *Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal*, t.V, p. 90. (6) Quotations from Sanscr. author., etc., in *Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal*, t. V, p. 90.

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896 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY The study of commentaries drawn up from the views of these two schools for-would only teach us how far the works belonging to the col-Election Nepal that we have in Paris in support or in contradiction the theories. Because they are in general the same texts that serve from foundation all the doctrines ; explaining one of these texts in mark the tendency naturalist, theist, moral or intellectual. This point was put in all his day by the quotes which Mr. Hodgson has taken from various budget work ethical from Nepal, and he has gathered to serve of evidence to various exhibitions of Ruddhism that he had done to appear in India and in England (1). We can appreciate by this which parthave had to have the how-tators in the training and the development of sects, and in the same time we see that we must admit that the writing texts which they authorize themselves is to much earlier than the birth of the various schools which the interpret each in his interest. here again we are brought back to this observation of Hodgson said that the Ruddhisme is a comprehensive system for the which training have competed and the time and the efforts of more of a philosopher. Distinguish between epochs and doctrines is without doubt a business very difficult, but it must be the purpose of the criticism. Now to distinguish it necessary to limit the scope of the research, examine a few selected texts, and apply only to these texts alone the consequences that we draw from it. It's only when all the books have been subjected to a similar exam we will be doing an idea of their resemblances and of their differences. Here is why I do not insist more nor on the schools of the Kârmikas and the Yâtnikas, to which the Pradjnâ pramita provided without doubt the data, without in being the pound key, or on theistic school, of opinion of wherein the Prajñâpâramitâ is also foreign. Corn I warn those of readers who would like now to form an idea exact of this that I look like the relatively modern developments of Ruddhism that the first two schools are appreciated in the Memoirs often cited by Mr. Hodgson, and that it is in the dissertations of Mr. Schmidt, so rich in extracts from Mongolian texts, that you have to find out how the system primitive of the metaphysical Sâkyâ hashigh in the notion of a divinity absolute and supreme, which has him under me, missed in the original. The summary of the four great philosophical schools that just to read can pass for the expression of the Nepalese tradition verified by the texts to which had access to M. Hodgson. But we 'll see that this summary is not com (1) Quotations from Sanscr. author., etc, at & n & *Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal*, t.V, p. 71 ff., And *Journ. of the Roy. Asian girl. Soc*, t.V, p. 72. *Conf. Europ. Specul. on Buddh.*, in *Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal*, \ .. m, T ^ . 502, drowns.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .S91 plete, and that the information drawn by Csoma to sources Tibetan us révè-slow the existence of other sects on which the Nepalese Buddhists, consulted by Hodgson, keep a profound silence. This is not all ; one of the manuscripts writings discovered in Nepal we provides information all in fact comply the indications Tibetan. One other circumstance adds a ! new interest in information that I will report. Is that they assign to schools buddhi-c the same names that they give

the Comments of Brahmins who have occasion to quote the Buddhists. Mr. Hodgson, bringing together the passages the more specific to establish the accuracy of the statement he had previously given of the metaphysics of Buddhism, has noticed that he did not find in the books from Nepal of texts that justify the classification of philosophical schools of the Buddhists, such as the present Brahmins (1). Somewhat developed that are the information which will follow, they will have a \ less the advantage to fill up a certain point the gap indicated by Mr. Hodgson. To the word Itā (doctrine, system) from his Tibetan dictionary, Csoma us learn that there are among the Buddhists four theories or four systems of philosophy which are called in Sanskrit Vāibhāchika, Sāulrntika, Yôgāicltāra and Madhyamika (2). Here it is Csoma de Cōros speak for himself, in addition to both the indications of his dictionary by those he looks elsewhere on the first of these four systems (3). "The first school, that of the Vāibhāchikas, comprises four main classes with their subdivisions. These four classes had for founders four of the main disciples of Çākya, namely Bāhula, Kāçyapa, Upāli and Kātyāyana. Bāhula was the son of Çākya : his disciples divided into four sections ; they read the Sutra Emancipation (without doubt the Pratimōkcha Sutra) in Sanskrit, and affirmed the existence of all things. Towards the time of the third council, the school which was attached to Bāhula, and which was known under the generic name of Sarvāsti vādāh or those who claim the existence of all things, was shared in seven divisions : 1 <* Mūla sarvāstivādāh, 2 ° Kāçyapīyāh, 3 ° Mahi çāsakāh, 4 » Dharma gwptāh (4), 5 ° Bahu çru-(1) Quotation, etc., in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t.V, p. 82.(2) Tibet. Diction., P. 276, col. 2. Notices of the diff. Systems of Buddhism, in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. YU, ^ . as.(3) Asian girl. Res., T. XX, p. 298.(4) Klaproth inserted in the Foe koue ki a note concerning a division of the scriptures bud-accepted by the Chinese, which may well contain some allusions to the enumerated sects. earned by Csoma. This note is obscure, and perhaps the texts after which it has been drafted would they need to be examined again. The first of the divisions cited by Klaproth has for liter : Tan mo khieou to ; it 's translated by destruction of the dark, and it sees the Sanskrit tamōghna; the title of Dharma gupta, in its pale form Dhamma gutta, would give a

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398 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY tīyāh, 6 ° Tāmra çātīyāk, 7 <» Vibhādya vād'mah. Kāçyapa was a Brahmin ; his disciples were divided into six classes, and they were called La grande commu-nity (the gréai comimmity). They read the Sutra Emancipation in a dia-corrupted read . At the time of the third council, we had five divisions of this school that had the title of Mafia sāmghikāh, Those of the great assembly; they were : 1 ° Pūva çāilāh, 2 <> Avara çāilāh, 3 ° Hāimavatāh, 4 <» Lōkōtiaravādinah, 5® Pradjnapti vādinak. Upāli was a Çūdra; his disciples were dividing in three classes ; they read the Emancipation Sutra in the Pāiçāt- dialectchika It 's called the class honored lot of people. This school had in fact this title at the time of the Third Council ; its members were called Sammalāh ^ and were divided into : 1 " Kāurnkullaicāh (!) 2 * "Āvantikāk, 3 <» Vasī-puttrīyāh. Kātyāyana was a Çūdra ; his disciples were divided into three classes ; they read the Sūtra of Emancipation in the vulgar dialect On the NOM mait The class which has fixed dwellings . They were the Sthāvīrāh of the third council, to know : 1 ° the Mahā vihāra vāsinah, 2 ° the Djētavamyāh, 3 <» the Abhayagiri vāsinah. <In general, the Vaibhāchikas stop the degrees lower than the specularlation ; they take all that contain the entries in the direction themore vulgar ; they believe in everything and do not discuss

anything."The second school, that of the Sâutrântikas, is made up of the followers of the Sûtras ;she is split in two sects, one who tries to prove all things by the authority of the scriptures, the other who employs argumentation for this .1 The third school, that of the Yôgâchâras, has nine subdivisions ;we report the main works of this system to the Religious Arya samgha, who flourished towards the seventh century of our era."The fourth school, one of Madhyamikas, is to properly talk the philosophical system of Buddhism. It owes its origin to Nâgârdjuna, which appeared about four hundred years ago after the death of Çâkyâ (i). Its main disciples were Arya dêva and ^ Buddha pâled. These are probably the founda-teurs of the two classes in which subdivide the Madhyamikas (2)."form more closer to the Chinese transcription. The second division is that of Sopho to :it is attributed to Upâsi, bad reading for Upâli. Would it not be not daring to see here school of the Sammata, who had Upâli for leader? The third division is that of the Kia se kouei; it's probably an altered transcription of the term Kâçyapiya. The fourth is that of Mi chahimself; is this not yet a very strong alteration of the word Mahi çdsaka? The fifth and final Division of the list of Klaproth is one of Pho thso crazy lo; I think I can recognize the Vâtsiputriyas and that I ledir ii longer there. {Foe koue ki, p. 325 and 3:26.) See on the four sects, Lassen, Zeitschr. ^ etc., t. IV, p. 492 sqq. See the Additions, at the end of the volume.(1) Notices on the diff. Systems of Buddhism, in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. VII, p. 143 ff.(2) Tibet. Dict., P. 216. A commentary on these names would be one of the most instructive books .

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .399 If the Tibetans know these names of which they can give the ver-table Sanskrit form, is that these names have existed in the Buddhism Indian ;and the testimony of interprêt tibétains, irrespective of any other evidence, suffice already to establish the authenticity of this separation of Buddhism in four schools bearing the titles that I just listed. But we fortunately we have a more direct proof of their existence. I find in a work already cited, in the commentary on the Abhidharma kôça, this inexhaustible and mine of precious information on the speculative part of Buddhism. From the start of his work, the commentator explaining a word of little importance, believes that the author has used this word to express the thought follows :€ This is the feeling of those who follow the Abhidharma; but it's not the one of us autres Sâutrântikas. the tradition tells us in effect existence author of treaties on the Abhidharma, as by example the Arya Katyayaniputra, author of Djhâna prasthâna; the Sthavira Vasumitra, author of Pra / ca-rana pada; the Sthavira Dêvasarman, author of Vidjma kâya; Arya Çâri-puttra, author of Dharma skandha; the Arya Mâudgalyâyana, author of Pradjhap Hcastra; Pârna, author of Dhâtukâya: Mahâ Kâuchthila, author of Samgitiparyâya. What is the meaning of the word the Sautrântika ? We called and those who take for authority the sûtras and not the books. But if they do n't take for authority the books, how then do they admit the triple division of the books in Pitaka Sutra , Vinaya pitaka and Abhidharma pitaka ? We speak in effect of Abhidharmapitaka in the Sûtras, in the place where he is about a Reli-gieux knowing the three Pitakas. And this is not surprising, because there is SOMEONE Sûtras, like Artha viniçchaya and others, having the name of Abhidharma, in which is given the definition of Abhidharma. For answer to the objection, the author says: It is that Abhidharma was exposed by Bhagavat to medium of other materials (1)."This text is seen, not leaves no doubt about the meaning of the title of Sâutrân-tika; this title designates those who follow a doctrine, where

we admit first of all the authority of the sūtras. As for the double sect of the Sāutrāntikas including Csomateaches us about existence, I not to find it positively indicated by the commentary of the Abhidharma kôça. However he should probably see an allusion to some division des Sāutrāntikas in this way where it is said of a certain author :<? It is neither of the school of the sūtras, nor of that of the simihtudes, na dārchtān-tikah (2). "When we allege a similarity, an example, it must reason for to make the application to the thesis that we want to demonstrate." (1) Abhidharma Jcôça vyākhyâ, f. 9 6 and 10 a, man. Soc. Asian girl. (2) Abhidharma kôça vyākhyâ, f. 32 a and f. 36 b, man. Soc. Asian girl.

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400 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY The title of the yâibhâchika is no less familiar to our author, and he thus defines : " Those who will play, or who walk in the alternative, "Where again " who know the alternative (1). » By alternative we must understand without doubts the use of the dilemma, a process of which he is possible that this school has been particularly usage pour overthrow the positions' of his opponents. It is the school that the author of the commentary on the Abhidharma quoted more often. He attributes to him the belief in the existence of the ether, or from space, that all the buddhist schools also do not recognize . "The Vâibhâchikas, he said, are based on this text which emanates from the teaching of Rhagavat : On what rest the earth, O Gâutama? asks Kâçyapa. - The earth, oh Râhman, rests on the circle of water, - And the circle of water, Gautama, where upon does it rest ? - It rests on the wind. - And the wind, Gâutama, on what rests - does he ? - It rests on the ether. - And the ether, Gâutama, what is it based on ? - You are going too far, O great Râhman, you are going too far. Ether, oh Râhman, has nothing about it rest, he has no support (2). "The Abhidharma commentary also quotes the Yôgâçhâras, in this passage : " By bringing together the receptacles (arraya), the things received (âçrita) and the supports (fdambana), which are each composed of six terms, we have eighteen terms called Dhatus or containers. The collection of six receptacles, these are the bodies of the sight, of hearing, of smell, of taste, of always dear, and the Manas (or the organ of heart), which is the last. The collection of six things received is knowledge produced by the order and by the other senses up to and including Manas . The collection of six supports is the form and other sensitive attributes up to inclusive Dharma (Law or Being) is lying. But, in opinion of Yôgâçhâras, hey has a Manôdhâtu, distinct from six acquaintances (3), "and no doubt perceived by the Manas or the heart. Finally our author indicates the existence of Madhyamikas (4), ^ circumstance which has interest to us in that that school of Madhyamikas is one of the four major sects enumerated by him, on which we own the most of concepts positive and in detail with a real character history. Csomateaches us that it owes its origin to a famous philosopher , Nâgârdjuna, who lived four hundred years after Çâkyamuni, and that it all based whole on the Prudjnâ paramitâ, which she gives (always according to Csuma) an interpretation (1) Abhidharma kôça vyâkhyâ, f. 10 o, man. Soc. Asian (2) Abhidharma kôça vyākhyâ, f. iZ a, man. Soc. Asian girl. All the players that are familiar relating the philosophical processes of ancient Brahmanism will notice the striking analogy of this exhibition with that of some Upanichads. (3) Abhidharma kôçd vyākhyâ, f. 32 b, man. Soc. Asian., F. 28 h of my manuscript. (4) Abhidharma kôça vyākhyâ, f. 477a of my manuscript.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .401 equally distant (madhyama) from the two extreme opinions previously admitted, know that the soul remains eternally, or that it is entirely destroyed, without doubt after the death (1). The Dharma kôça vyâkhyâ is not, as I will say it soon, a book of which he is pretty easy to make use, for I have been able to extract the opinions of Madhyamikûs, which are also rarely cited. These opinions belong to that I call the average age of the Buddhism; and the books that they contain have so little authority, if it is not yet even the sect of Madhyamikas, which they will make no part of the collection of works considered to be canonical in Tibet, and that they only to find that in the Stan-gyur (Bstanhgyur), that is to say in the collection of glosses and the works bed-teraires (2). As for the existence of Nâgârdjuna, I will come back to it in my sketch history of Indian Buddhism; that it is important to look at this time, these are the names of these four schools, those of the Sâutrântikas, of the Vâibhâchikas, of Madhyamikas and the Yôgâçhâras. Now these four schools are exactly those which speak the Brahmins refuted both the Buddhists; are those that cite the famous Vedantist, Çamkaraâtchârya. They are, as has been noted Golebrooke, prior to the Drafting of Brahma Brahmanic sutras (3). They are also in the 7th century of our black era, since that of the Yôgâçhâras recognizes as its founder the philosopher Ârya samgha, that Gsoma places towards this time. Their authenticity quoted established by the quotes that I just borrowed from commentator of the Abhidharma kôça is confirmed again, if it was necessary that the shaft, by the testimony of the Brahmans themselves. No doubt he will still - laws suddenly I should say almost everything to learn about these schools; but it is not off first shot he is possible to complete the table of a doctrine too vast and as complicated as Buddhism. First, let's draw the frame, and hope that the devotion similar to those of MM. Hodgson and Gsoma will give to Europe learned the ways of the remphr more later. In the meantime, I see it as a very curious result of my studies to be able to observe that one of compositions the most expanses of the scholarly literature of Nepal gives us, as to the exposition of the philosophical schools, information which agree as well with those that Golebrooke borrowed, he already has (1) Analysis. of the Sher-chin, in *Asiat. Res.*, T. XX, p. 400. I do me flatters not understand what wanted to say Gsoma in this place. (2) Gsoma, *Asiat. Res.*, T. XX, p. 400. (3) Golebrooke, *Miscell. Essays*, t. I, p. 292, note. I regret deeply although not pouvoi consult the *Gommentaire of Çaiîikara on the Brahma sûtras*- It would have been for me the most large interest to seek if the axioms of philosophy Buddhist cited by this *Gommentaire* be re-found in the books of Nepal that I have under the eyes and which are the basis for my recherches ^26

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402 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY few years to ancient commentators Brahma, and with ceux que Gsoma of Kôrös was found in the authors Tibetans. He is not no less worthy attention to see this information if not forgotten, at least omitted by the Tra-Nepalese edition. Finally he is singular that silence of the Nepalese on the four major sects that I have just enumerated according to the Abhidharma kôça and according to the Sanskrit commentators extracted by Colebrooke, answer the silence that keeps the same Abhidharma on the four Nepalese sects of the Svâbhâvikas, the Âiçva-Rikas, the Yâtnikas and the Kârmikas. I will say in this section of this Memoir devoted to works bearing names of authors, and especially in the sketch history of Buddhism, what consequences seem to me result of this silence. That it is enough for me, for the time to sum up in few of words the results of double exposé that I just do: ^ according to Mr.

Hodgson, who tells us about the existence of two large sects, that of naturalistic and that of theistic, which one is earlier than the other, and two secondary sects, that of the moralists and that of spiritualists, is related more closely to that of the theists; 2 ** according to the Abhidharma kôça, who we indicate four sects, one of Sàulrântikas, the Vaibhâchikas, the Yôgatchâras and the iMadhyamikas. This exposition sums up in a very general form, I confess, everything that we know just at present of divisions the most important aspects of the metaphysics of the Bàuddhas. He is naturally divided into two portions: one which draws its authority from the tradition still subsisting in the Nepal, it is the one which Mr. Hodgson provided us with the elements; the other which rests on the testimony of the Abhidharma kôça, it is the one that I extracted from this book. These two portions most likely represent all phases of variety by which is spent on Buddhism. Determine to what extent the four sects enumerated by Mr. Hodgson return in those that quotes Abhi-Dharma Koca, or show that they are the sects entirely done differently that will have shared inheritance later of beliefs primitive, it's a work for which we need for new aid. Note, however, that the four Nepalese sects of Mr. Hodgson do not exist, according to Csoma, in the Tibetan books, or to speak with more of precision, born not based on written authorities admitted to the voluminous collection of Kah-gyur (1). It is, it seems to me, a presumption in favor of the latter case, of that which look at the four sects des Svâbhâvikas, the Âiçvarikas, the Kârmikas and the Yâtnikas as more modern, at least in name, than those of the Abhidharma Koca and the authors Tibetans. (1) Notices of different Systems of Buddhism, in Journ. Asian Soc. of Bengal, t. VII, p. US.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .403 What that "n" is, and until that the aid which I was talking see you later be reunited, we probably have in the current collection from Nepal, such that has gathered Hodgson, the works sur lesquels has raised the vast building of these developments that the previous observations have made près-feel the expanse. I already find several curious confirmations of the data brought together by Csoma touching the four sects that I have mentioned so many times. It is not however not here le lieu to show everything that contains interesting for the story primitive period of Buddhism the exposition of ancient sects that Csoma de Côtis borrowed from Tibetan authors; this presentation, which I have reproduced more high, will be considered elsewhere with the attention it deserves. I only note here, because it is a information that throws the day on a more voluminous works of the collection Nepalese, that the school directed by Kâçyapa was called The Great Assembly. Now I find among the books discovered in Nepal by Mr. Hodgson a treaty who obviously belongs to this school; this is the Mahâvasin or the great history, large collection of legends relating to the religious life of Çâkyâ. In fact, a considerable portion of this volume wear this title: Àrya mahâsâmghikânâm lôkôltara vâdinâmpathêna, which means: <according to the lesson of the Lôkôltara vadins (those who are claim superior to "world"), one of the venerable ones of the Grand Assembly. > It is not DI) uteux that the Maha sâmgikas or venerable of the great Assembly are the religious who acknowledged to head Kassapa; and he is not more than the Lôkôttara vadins form the fourth of the subdivisions of this school. And that is well worthy of attention is that this volume is éci't ina Sanskrit mixed with pale and preached forms, which is often obscure. I don't do not mean that it is where the dialect corrupted which the Tibetans claim that was using Kassapa, yet unless the Mahavastu has been written such that we have it, from the earliest

days of Buddhism. But assuming that the style of this collection has been reworked, I do not look at least this book as one of compilations of the most ancient that we have kept the collection of Nepal ; and the indication alone who is contained in this title," The lesson of the Mahâsâmghikas, "closer to the Tibetan tradition on the name of the disciples de Kâçyapa, assure him to my eyes a large value and an indisputable antiquity. This opinion seems to me to be further confirmed by the testimony of Fa hian [^] 'sing them Mo ho seng tchi. Religious who were established in Djêtavana in Je-Kôçala. Fa hian teaches us that the opinions of these Religious were [>]to which rattachait the most large number of the disciples of the Buddha, during he was in the world, and he quotes in particular an A pi than or Abhidhamma'y,

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404 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY who their belonged own (1). It may simply mean that the Mo ho seng chee were the subdivision the more numerous the disciples of Sakya ; and it must be good as it is, since the name is The Religious of the big Assembly. I do not doubt in effect that the Mo ho seng chee of Fa hian not be the Mahâ sâmgikas of Mahâvaslu ; and I look at the reconciliation of these two titles, supported and that ballast of the existence of the Mahâvastu, like much more founded as it has suggested to Mr. Wilson the Brahmanic name of Mahâsâmkhya (2). I would have liked to find the titles of other schools in the same way , and especially of that of Katyayana, character that we there'll see elsewhere, has an importance considerable for history Southern Buddhism ; but I have so far encountered in the books Sanskrit from Nepal one name that is rapport à one of these titles ; I will indicate it below in his place. Independently of these scattered indications that he important to collect in the interest of the story, we have the great collections of the Prâdjñâ para-mitâ, to which one of the four sectes sites by the Abhidharma kôça, that of, Madhyamikas, is certainly posterior. Now this would be a result of a great interest in finding, in part of the text, in the Prâdjñâ pdrâmitd, the table of ontology Buddhist, such as has exposed Mr. Hodgson. But the features of this painting are scattered in such huge collections, they are marked with a hand so weak and lost under a mass of words so empty in appearance, that I do not hesitate to say that they have gained a lot by going through a clear and positive mind of the learned Englishman. So if the details in which I will enter do not answer not completely to those as reported Mr. Hodgson after the tradition népa-easy, we should not conclude from there that his table is not exact, or that my details have been poorly chosen. As I will take care à dessein that point particular and consequently very special, it is difficult for me to meet the generalities resulting from the combination of a considerable number of these particular points and above all from the successive work of the centuries, favored by the mutual action of schools the one on the other. But that part of my work will be no unnecessary, if I manage to mark the true place de la Prâdjñâ pramitâ in the en-(1) A. Rémusat, Foe koue M, p. 318. The Mahavastu would it work dont M. A. Rémusat speaks and in its IIEC / terc / ies on the Tartar languages "At the same time (1332), a decree of" The Emperor ordered that write in letters of gold and in characters Uyghur a book Buddhist" In a thousand sections, on the longevity of Buddha, as well as another work of theology, entitled "The Big Story. " {Research, etc., p.21 2.) The book on the life of the Buddha he is the Suvârna prabhâsa?(2) Journ. Boy. Asian girl. Soc, t.V, p. 134.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .405•seems the monuments literature of Buddhism northern, as I have it made for the Sūtras. I said at the beginning of this Memoir, in my general description of the collection Nepal, that of the confession of commentators Buddhist, the section of the Abhidharma had not been exposed directly by. Çākya muni, but that had formed it après a death of a definite number of philosophical passages scattered throughout his teaching. Gathered like the others parts of writing after the death of Çākya, the Abhidharma differs in that it does not offer us actually no book that what that say the Tibetans (1) can pass in full for the word of the last Buddha, while that the Sūtras, by their shape, by their extent, and especially by the view that we in giving the Buddhists themselves are approaching much more of the preaching of the Master be. It includes easily interest, an intelligence like that. In pre-mier place, it is useful to know if in fact Sakya mingled with his sermons, which the most apparent character is that of a pure morality, the exhibition or at all minus the indication of the more general principles by which it had to solve the great problems of the existence of God, of the nature of the mind and of the matter. I have, as for me, the conviction that he does not separated forever the metaphysics of the moral, and that he always unites in the same teaching these two parts of the ancient philosophy. But he does is not here for a demonstration 'priori : his question at this time of criticism; and it is by the testimony of the texts he must see if Sakyamuni has been a philosopher, and how it has been. If, like it seems obvious to me, the founder of Buddhism has solved the questions in his own way. tions that I reported just now, he is by that alone placed at a rank more lofty as this crowd of ascetics as holy perhaps, but less famous than him, who contented themselves with meditating alone on the truths admitted or conceded tested by the various philosophical schools of the Brahmins. He is placed immediately diatement next to Kapila, of Patamdjali. of Gautama, founder of schools phi-sophical flourishing, and it does differ from them only because his philosophy became a religion. But where to find these first tests and these proposals fundamental of the metaphysics of Sakya, if it is not in the books that pass for having kept the deposit of his word, that is to say in the Sūtras? It is therefore to Will be sure that he must come back ; it is in these books that we must study the begin-ments of the metaphysical, everything as we will have studied the beginnings of the moral and of the Disciphne. (1) Csoma, Analy. of the Sher-chin, in Asiat. Res., T. XX, p. 339. The doctrine contained in the Prajñā is attributed in full to Śākya. Next the authors Tibetan, he has exposed this doctrine Sixteen years after he became Buddha, that is to say in his 51 " year.

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406 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY In second place, if the books of which the Abhidharma is composed are collections of principles, axioms, of theses, as we want the name, borrowed too of treaties which do are not exclusively philosophical, the site of the Abhi-dharma is marked immediately after these treaties. But if, on the other hand, books of the Abhidharma form a whole with little near also considerable that the treaties from which they are extracted, it be that oes books were well amply ment developed, either that the development has does that reproduce under proportions more vast the primitive fund, that is he has been allied with new subjects calves. He can not be assumed that this almost complete identity of volume between the Pradjnā pramitā and the class of the sūtras is the result of developed-ment alone, because the metaphysics of Sakya, taking a scientific form, has must necessarily complement each other. Inot afraid however not to affirm that the development (and our language not of words to express the magnitude of

this Development) has been much the more big hand in the identity that I just to mention. I am convinced that any reader who will have the courage to par-run one or two volumes of the Prajñāpāramitā in hundred thousand articles, and of compare them results of the reading with a few portions of sūtras or of legends that I regard as the oldest, will recognize that apart from the consequences she draws from previously stated principles, the drafting of the Pradjñā does not add often that the words in the Sutras. These observations, which seemed to me to be essential preliminaries for the truce of these books, we bring, as we see, to the study of the Sutras and the Avadānas considered from the point of view of the metaphysical. I'm going so extract from these treatises a proper passage to establish that the commentator of Abhidharmaśāstra has been due to make up to these books the original gene of Abhidharma, and by a result of the Prajñāpāramitā which in the collection Nepalese tion represents this part of the Buddhist scriptures. The piece that I will mention is borrowed to the avadāna çataka ; it is a conversation between Çākya and a Brahmin: the object in is the detachment which is happens by the consideration that the sensation is transient. The, so we will thesee, the metaphysical and the moral are intimately united, and with little near insé-parables. This piece gives us of most the Çākya's method, and puts in action this process of his dialectic he applies to all the arguments, the affirmativetion, negation and indifference." The Blessed Buddha (1) was with the Assembly of his Auditors in the city of Rajagaha, in the wood of bamboo, the place named Karandaka (1) Same preamble as for the legend tF ftuded above, sect. II, p. 79.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .407 nivāpa (1). Or in this time ^ there lived in the village of Nālanda a Brahmin named Tichya, who married Çāri, daughter of the Brahmin Mâtijara. When the child of curry came in the eein of his mother, the woman who was talking avec son brother Dîrghanakha, convinced the latter of a flaw in reasoning. This is why Dîrghanakha [defeated], having withdrawn into the Dakchina palha, is set to play a large number of books. During this time the son of Cari [named Śāriputra] came into the world. At sixteen years he had read the grammar of Indra and conquered all those who argued with him. It adopted then the process of time, the life religious, under the teaching of Bhagavat. However this noise reached the ears of Dîrghanakha the beggar: All the Tîrthakaras have been defeated by your nephew • he is, at the moment, disciple of Çramana Gāutama. In learning this news Dîrghanakha conçut de his nephew an idea somewhat advantageous ; and after having traveled, [as he had done himself,] all the science it represented Çāriputra as a disciple who only stayed a limited time with of his master. That is why he is returned to Rājagaha. "In this time Bhagavat, quivenait to be awake, taught off four Assemblies a Law pleasant, sweet as the honey from the bee and full of flavor. Çāriputra was standing behind Bhagavat, holding in the hand a plowfly with which he fanned his master. So Dîrghanakha the beggar lives Bhagavat who taught the Act, placed in the middle of a circle which is deployed from each side like the crescent of the moon, and Çāriputra who, the fly Hunter in the hand, fanning his master, and in this view it addressed himself thus to Bhagavat : Gāutama, I do n't like all that . Bhagavat replied : Opinion, O Agni-vâiçyâyana (2), which makes you say : All it does me please not, did she do to you not like herself ? *Gautama replied the beggar, the opinion that my milk say : I do n't like all this , do me please notherself* (S). - Consequently "oh Agni-vâiçyâyana, if it is so that you know if it is so that you see, is it that you abandoned, as you leave, that you reject

tonopinion without in accepting, without inadmit without produce one another? Yes, Gâutama, answered the beggar, knowingthus and seeing thus, I give up, I leaveandI reject my opinion, without accepting itter without into admit, without producing anyone another. Agnivâiçyâyana, replied Bha-(1) We find a mention of this place in Fa hian and in Hiuan Ihsang. {Foe koue ki, p. 272and 273.) Csoma nousapprend that there had EBIT a Vihara or monastèredont Bimbisara, king ofMagadha was presented Śākyaamuni. {Asian girl. Researches, t.XX, p. 294.}(2)This is a patronymic epithet of Dîrghanakha; shemeans " the descendant of Agni» Vâiçya. " This last name is that of an old family Brahmin.(3) The passage enclosed between two stars is missing in the manuscript, which is here extremelyincorrect; i have itrestored from the rest of the text.This observation also applies tosome other passages of this Sutra, where the reader will find this same sign.-., '.

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408INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYgavât, you aresimilar to the crowd of men ;* As you say it that said the crowdof men by following asuch opinion ,your only deferred not them. Cornthat a Çramana, O Agnivâiçyâyana, or a Rrâhman whoever he may beabandonedan opinion without adopting a different,*we say in the world that it is beingthe most subtle among the beings the most subtle. Now hethere is,ohAgnivâiçyâyana, threeopinion subjects ; and what are they? Here, ohAgnivâiçyâyana, some say, invirtue of an opinion :All this to me please. On the other hand, here again, O Agni-vâiçyâyana, others say, by virtue of adifferent opinion : All this does notnot like . From anotherhand, here again, O Agnivâiçyâyana, hethere by some who say,by virtue of another opinion :This to me pleaseand I do n't like that. But here the opi-nion which makes say :All this pleases me , results in attachment and does not result inthe absence of attachment, results in aversion and does not result in the absence of warningunion , results in error and does not result in the absence of error, results in union anddoes not lead not to the separation, resulting in the corruption and does not result in the purity,resulting in the increase and does not lead to the reduction, leads to pleasure, toacquisition, to the greed.^" The secondopinion which makes people say :I do n't like all thisnot,resulting inthe absence of attachment and does not result in attachment, results inthe absenceaversion and does not lead to aversion, leads to the absence of error and does not lead toTerror not, leads to the separation and does not result in the union, resulting in thepurity and does not result in the corruption aboutitâthe decrease anddoes not succeedto the increase, results in the absence of pleasure,to the absence of acquisition, to the absence of greed.*" Here, finally, the third opinion which says :This I like and it does me pleasenot successful, in which key the proposal.That to me please, to attachment anddoes not result in the absence of attachment [etc. as above, up to :]resultingto the pleasure, toacquiring, at the greed ;and in what key the proposal. Thatdo me please not, it leads to the absence of attachment and does not lead to the Attament [etc. as above, up to :]results in the absence of pleasure,Tothe absence of acquisition, to the absence of greed.Between these threeopinions, aAuditor respectable and that has much studied learns in a distinct wayand perfect the following :YesI havethe first opinion and that I say :All this to meplease, I would disagree with two other opinions, the one that says :All this does notI do n't like the one who says :This to me pleaseand I do n't like that. Of dis-cord will be born the dispute, of the dispute the hatred. Recognizing therefore clearly thatThis opinion carries with it the disagreement, the disputes and hatred, heygive upand notnot adopt one

another. This is how we can give up, quit, reject an opinion without inaccept without admit, without inproduce one another.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .409 To* Here again an Auditor respectable and that much studied learns also distinct and perfect what follows : Yes I have the second opinion and that I say : I do not like all this , I will disagree with two other opinions, the one who says : All this pleases me , and the one who says : This pleases me and it does not do not like. The disagreement will be born the dispute from the hassle of hatred. Grateful So clearly that this opinion brings with it the disagreement, the argument and the hatred, it disclaims and does not adopt one another. This is how we can give up, quit, rejecting an opinion, without inaccept, without in admitting, not produce a time. * Here again an

Auditor respectable and who a beau-studied blow learns in a distinct and perfect way the following : Yes I have the third opinion and that I say : This I like and it does me please not, I will disagree with two other opinions, the one that says : All this to me please, and the one who says : I do not like all this . From disagreement will arise the dispute, from the dispute the hatred. Clearly recognizing therefore that this opinion entails with her the disagreement, the conflict and the hatred, he there renounce and does not adopt one another. This is how we can give up, quit, reject an opinion, without inaccept, without in admitting without enproduce one another." This material and gross body , oh Agnivâiçyâyana, is formed from the reunion of the five great elements. An auditor respectable must stop in the consideration that the body is constantly subjected to the birth and to the death.

I must stop in the consideration of the absence of attachment, in that of annihilation, in that of abandonment. When an Auditor respectable stop in the consideration that the body is constantly subjected to the birth and to the death, then what he feels in his body of love, of attachment, of affection, complacency, of satisfaction, of passion for that body itself, all this, overcome by his spirit, does not subsist. " He There are, O Agnivâiçyâyana, three kinds of sensations ; and what are these three species ? They are the pleasant sensation, the unpleasant sensation and the sensation which is neither pleasant nor unpleasant. In the moment where an Auditor respectable and who has studied a lot perceives a pleasant feeling, the other two sensations, namely the unpleasant sensation and the indifferent sensation , do not exist not for him ; the respectable Auditor does not perceive at the moment that the feeling pleasant ; but this sensation itself is transient and subject to annihilation. safely. In the moment when an auditor respectable perceives a feeling of disagreement, the two other sensations, to know the nice feeling and the sensation indifferent, do not exist for him , the respectable Auditor does not perceive in this moment that the unpleasant sensation, but this sensation itself is passing and subject to annihilation. In the moment when a Listener respectable

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410 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY perceives an indifferent sensation , the other two sensations, namely the pleasant sensation and the unpleasant sensation, exist not for him ; the respective Auditor does not perceive in this moment that the feeling indifferent ; but this feeling itself is transient and subject to annihilation." So he made this reflection : What is the cause, what is the origin, what is the birth, which is producing these sensations ? It is the contact that is the cause, the origin, the birth, the production of these sensations. When takes place the production of such and such contact, such and such sensations are produced ; when has held the cessation of such and such contact,

such and such sensations cease also, are calmed, are cooled and disappear. What that is the sensation that it perceives, it is pleasant, unpleasant or indifferent, he in known in their reality the origin, the annihilation, the decrease, the appearance and the production. Knowing thus in their reality the origin, the annihilation, etc., of these sensations, when these sensations come to be produced it stops in the consideration they are transient, in the account of the destruction, in that in the absence of attachment, in one of the separation, in one of abandonment. Feeling a feeling that lasts as long as his sound lasts body it is born as it is this truth : I perceive a feeling that lasts as long as a hard my body. Experiencing a sensation that lasts as long as his life, he knows as it is this truth : I perceive a feeling that lasts as long as it lasts my life. And after the dissolution of his body, as also when his life does not reach only the half of its duration, all the sensations perceived by him in this world even stop without it in remains anything disappear, are destroyed, are annihilated without it for nothing left. He therefore made the following reflection : Even during that I will perceive a pleasant sensation, the dissolution of my body will take place : it's the what is the term of pleasure (1). Even for that I shall perceive a feeling unpleasant or indifferent feeling, the dissolution of my body will take place : it's here what the end of the pain. Even when he perceives a sensation pleasant, it's perceived loose and not attached. Even when he perceives a sensation unpleasant or indifferent, it is perceived detached and not attached. And what is it detached ? He is east of attachment, of the aversion of the error ; he is of the birth to old age, of the disease, to the death, the sorrow, lamentation, of the pain concerns, the despair, miseries. Here it is, oh Agnivâiçyâyana, this that I say. " But at this moment the respectable Sâripultra, who had not received the investiture that from a half month, stood behind Bhagavat, having the hand a plow (2) The text tells of the pain, but Celtic thesis comes earlier in his place, and it will be repeated two times.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .41 I fly with which he fan his master. This thinking it vintalors in mind : Bhagavat celebrates in this way the abandonment of these conditions ; he in famous the detachment, the cessation, the denial. Why do n't I stop in the consideration of abandonment, in the consideration of detachment, in that of the termination, in that renunciation? In consequence the respectable Çâripultra having stopped in the consideration that the conditions were passed managed, that they were subject to perish ; having stopped in the consideration of detachment of the termination of the denial, rid, by not admitting none, his mind of all its imperfections. From his side the beggar Dîrgha-nakha felt the pure and unblemished view of conditions dawning in him . When he had seen, reached, known the Law ; when he in had probed the profoundeur, he had crossed I doubt and uncertainty, seeking no more the help of others, considering with fearlessness laws of the doctrine where one learns oneself, Dirglia-Nakha, he rose from his seat and having rejected on his shoulder his superior garment laughing, directed his clasped hands in sign of respect the side which was located Bha-gavat, and spoke to him thus : May I, lord, embrace the religious life under the discipline of the law who is well known ! May I get the investiture and the rank of Beligious ! May I fulfill the duties of the viereligious in pre-sence of Bhagavat! In consequence Dirghanakha the beggar embraced life religious under the discipline of the well-known Law ; he got the nomination and the rank of Beligious. When it there was come, that respectable character, single, retired in a deserted place, attentive, applied, mind collected, soon arrived to see by itself, to see face to

face the goal supreme and without equal of the old religious, which is that the sons of families shaving their hair and their beards, and putting on clothes of yellow color, leave their house with a faith perfect forebrace the life of beggar. And when he had received the investiture, he felt in himself this conviction: The birth is destroyed form; I accomplished the duties of the life. religious; I did this as I had to do; I will see no new existence after this one. Having thus arrived at omniscience, this respectable personage became Arhat, and his mind was perfectly free (1). "The goal main of the song that I just to translate is to establish the need the detachment, about which returns almost at every moment in the Sutras and in the legends. It is to this thesis at the times metaphysics and morality that is Rap-carry these beautiful words, which, following a passage from a legend cited above, will have heard in the sky, when it enters the rays luminous produced by the smile of Sakya: " This is passenger celestial misery, it is empty, it is (1) Avadāna çataka, i. 245 & sqq.

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412 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY "private substance (1). "The last two theses are obviously meta-physical; they are the abbreviated expression of these two proposals that occupy so large space in the Prajñā Paramita, that any phenomenon is empty, and that no phenomenon has substance clean, qu'on exprime by the two words çūnya and anātmaka. We must still attach to this order of ideas this axiom, as I have already reported more high: "Any concept or any compound is perishable. "He must now bring the text that I have just to mention a fragment borrowed in the Prajñā paramitā. But he is previously necessary to describe in a rapid manner the voluminous collections which bear this title. These collections are distinguished from each other by the number of stanzas or articles of which they are composed. The first and the most significant is the one that we name Çata sahasrikā, that is to say the one who contains one hundred thousand articles. She so divides into four large books which are attached one another Prajñāpāramitā into twenty-five thousand articles, and the everything forms five Skandhas or divisions that the Nepalese name Pantcha Racha or Rakcha (2). He is probable that the second spelling is the best, and that Racha is a provincial alteration of the sans-wrote Rakcha (protection). All of these divisions receive the name generic of Rakshahhagavaû, which is an epithet referring to as true of this great compilation, Pradjnâ pramitâ. He seems very likely to me that Rakcha hhagavatî represents for the Nepalese the two words Aryâ hhagavati who open the full title of the work thus conceived: "Aryâ hhagavati Pradjnâ Paramita, " The venerable Blessed Perfection of the wisdom (3). " In so that naming the collection Rakcha Bhagavati, the Nepalese not to designate that by the epithets that the compliance or the superstition attached to it; they are to some close like a Christian that the place to call Holy Bible the Old Testament is would content to say the saint. I explain in this way a difficulty that has me stopped for a long time at the beginning of my Buddhist studies; it is on the one hand the frequent use which Mr. Hodgson made of this title of Rakcha bhagavatî in all his memoirs and in the other the impossibility where I am found of the finding one of the manuscripts of the compilation and named. It comes from this that Hodgson has always designated this collection by the title in use today among the Nepalese, and that the manuscripts copied from old originals reproduce exclusively the real title of the collection. (1) It's like a kind of act of faith philosophical. Brahmana Darika, in Divyaavad. ^f. 33 a. Açôka varna, Mi., f. 68 o. Djyôtichka, ibid./f. 133 a. Pâhçu pradâna, ibid.,

F.182 b. Avad. çat., f. 3 a.(2) Hodgson, Notices, etc., in Asiat. Res., T. XVI, p. 423.(3)
Analysis. of the Kah-gyur, in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. I, p. 375.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .413 This title is therefore Pradjnâ paramitâ, and it must mean "The perfection of the wisdom ;" but however clear the meaning of this expression seems to be, the Training does is however not regular, and I do not know not that the word paramita is never used in the works Brahman with the sense of perfection. This word, in fact, is the feminine of the adjective j? ^ Rflwî7 "meaning : "the one" who went to the other side, transcendent ;> but it is neither it can be a substantive. Now it is as substantive as the use of the Buddhists, not out ONLY not only those of the North, but also those of the South, since they have several Paramitas, that of charity, of the charity and of many other virtues which I have already given the names. Perhaps the word of paaramitaa will relate to some implied term, like that of BuddJd ^ "Intelligence," For example, from so that the names of the various perfections should be translated in this way : "[Intelligence] arrived at the other side of the wisdom of alms from the charity "and so on others(1). I do not give however this explanation that as a Guess what I did could support testimony from no text positive, because as I did at my disposal no comments from the Prajñâ. I will say alone-ment that the expression of paramita once introduced into the language with the ellipsis that I suppose, was able to remain there and take there by extension the value of a subs-tantif, because of its outward resemblance to an abstract name, such as those that form the means of the syllable ta, well-known formative of the names of quality. The four sections of the Pradjnâ pramitâ in hundred thousand articles, and publishing(1) The Tibetans, like the Mongols, make of the term & q 'pāramitā a signifying participle € which "has reached the other side. » (C. soma, Asiat. Res., T. XX, p. 393. Schmidt, Mem. from Acad. from sciences of St. Petersburg, t. II, p. 14.) But in their translations they get rid of the difficulty cult that gives rise to the genre of the term purimata: I believe to please the reader by transcribing here two other explanations of this difficult word which I owe to M. Théod. Goldstuecker, with which I 'd talked to this topic. "The first explanation that I propose is to watch paramitâ as an abstract noun in ta, derived ie pradjnâ parami, compound tatpurucha, of which the last part would then be formed, with vrtdhî of the first syllable, by the affix i or in, wherein not used, following panini, only the bypass de patronymiques. In this case, Parami signifi-would trust a descendant of Parama; and if this last word could pass for a denomination of Buddha, the meaning of the abstract compound would be: the Pradjnâ or supreme science, which is a daughter of Buddha. However this explanation to me seems ever so slightly artificial, et je ask rather if there would be no place to look Prajñâ and paaramitaa as two words distinct : the science which is arrived above all the doubts : because I believe that there is no difficulty in using de para in this absolute way, when equivocation becomes impossible. " The latter explained cation are not very far away, as is the sees of it that I offers; only I under-hear Budd / II in place of Prajñâ; as for the first, I think with Mr. Goldstuecker that we only could the defense. I do not think not unless Paramita is considered by the authors Buddhist as a noun, and I find myself confirmed in this hypothesis by the word Pâ-rami, which in Pali is synonymous with Pâramitâ.

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414 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Speed of the same book in twenty-five thousand will sont pas the only treaties phi-Philosophical to which this title of Pradjm applies. One

in quotes two more other editors, one in eighteen thousand articles, the other in ten thousand, which feel the first for the abstract of the editorial staff in a hundred thousand, the second for the extract of the draft in twenty-five million articles (1). Finally the collection ends mine by a shorter writing in eight thousand stanzas, that one even as I quoted at the beginning, and for which the Nepalese seem to reserve special-ment the title of Pradjnâ pramitâ (2). I say shorter writing, so as not to decide nothing on the question to know whether, as they want the Tibetans, it is as an abstract of the larger collections, or if on the contrary this edition is, as they claim to the Nepalese, the book primitive that the others do would that the developments (3). He will be remembered no more the Vadjra tchhêdika, which is an extract more condensed again of all the doctrine contained in the Pradjnâ pramitâ; this is the book that Mr. Schmidt, as well as I've said in the commentary of this volume, has translated the Tibetan and inserted in the memory of the Academie of the sciences of St. Petersburg. The piece that we will read is borrowed from the Pradjnâ pramitâ in eight thousand articles, that is to say in the editorial staff that the Nepalese regard as the most Ancient. I've extracted the first chapter, because it made me seem to indicate, more clearly than any other, the general tendency of this collection. I compared this part with the portion corresponding to the Prajñāpāramitā in hundred thousand articles, and I can affirm that the doctrine is identical in these two collections. This that I say of the first chapter also applies to the whole of the two works. I translated, for my personal use, almost all the Pradjnâ in eight thousand articles, and I have compared a considerable portion with the editorial staff the more expanded in a hundred thousand stanzas. Now I have found in the other collections of the same subjects, treated in exactly the same way, often in the same terms. The difference of the writing the greater to the Editor the shortest is hardly more than in the development and in the fastidious repetition of formulas, which in the drafting of eight thousand articles are sometimes abbreviated." In this assembly, Bhagavat thus addressed the respectable Subhuti the Sthavira: Deploy your strength, O Subhuti, by starting with the Perfection of the wisdom for the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas (4) so that the Bodhisattvas penetrate (1) Csoma, Anal. of the Sher-chin, in Asiat. Res., T. XX ^ p. 394. Journ. Asian Stud. Soc. of Bengal, 1. 1. p. 376. (2) Hodgson, Notices, etc., in Asiat. Res., T. XVI, p. 4 / 7. (3) Hodgson, Notices, etc., in Asiat. Res., T. XVI, p. 424. (4) The epithet of Mahasattva, which means "great being, or great creature," is still

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .415 trent entirely. Then this thought came to the mind of the respectable Çariputra: Is that the respectable Sthavira Subhūti teach the Perfection of the wisdom to the Bodhisattvas in deploying the strength of the energy of his own and personal, and by the blessing of the strength even, or well he will by the powerful sitting of the Buddha? Then the respectable Subhuti knowing with his thought, thanks to the power of the Buddha, the thought and reflection which arose in the mind of the respectable Çaradvatī putra, spoke to him in these terms: All this as the Auditor of Bhagavat say, O Çariputra (1), all that they show, all that they teach annoy, all they develop, all they explain, everything they elucidate, all this must be recognized as the effect of the manly strength of the Tathāgata. Why is that? Is that when they learn exposure of the Law which is taught by the Tathāgata, they see face to face, they have with his character of Law; and when they have seen face to face with this character and that they to possess, everything they say, what they show, what they TEACHING annoy, all

they develop, all this that they explain, everything that they elucidate, all this is in agreement with the character of law that has edifying of the Law made by the Tathāgata. Thus is explained, O Āriputra, how he is made that these son of family, teaching what is the character of Law, do are not in contradiction with what has this character." Then Subhuti, thanks to the power of the Buddha, spoke thus to Bhagavat : When Bhagavat has said: Deploy your force, O Subhuti, by starting spake Perfection of the wisdom for the Bodhisattvas, so that the Bodhisattvas penetrate thirty entirely, he served the tarnished of Bodhisattva MB / iasattva. Corn What, O Lord, that the name of the one we called Bodhisattva Mahasattva ? I do not see, O Bhagavat, be they called Bodhisattva; I don't see no more being that designates the name of "Perfection of the wisdom. »

Do seeing therefore, O Bhagavat, neither Bodhisattva, nor being of Bodhisattva, not completing not, not grasping not it ; not seeing , not including not only seizing not more the Perfection of the wisdom, what that the Bodhisattva that I owe educate, and what that the Perfection of the wisdom in which I have the in-truce? However, O Bhagavat, if while we speak, that exposes and we teach like I just to do it, the thought the bodhisattva does is not dissolved, does not blend not, does not sag , does not feel weak; if she doesn't back down not, if his mind does not retreat defeated, if it does not be frightened , if it do not fear , if he not-attached, in the collections of the Prajñā and in the developed sūtras, the title of Bodhisattva ; I myself am thought exempt from the repeat in this translation.(1) This is the name the more common of the famous disciple of Śākya; that of Āradvatī putra in is a synonym.

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416 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY not prove of terror, this is the Bodhisattva even he must be taught in the Perfection of the wisdom ; it's here what it takes recognize for the Perfection beyond wisdom of Bodhisattva ; is there finally teaching even to the perfection of the wisdom. When the Bodhisattva is thus established, then this teaching takes place. ment, this instruction. this Yet another thing, O Bhagavat. The Bodhisattva who walk in the Perfection of the wisdom, who understands, must study of such manner, that in studying he not pride himself not to have the thought of the Bodhi, or of Intelligence of a Buddha. Why is that ? Is that then even this thought is a non-thought ; the nature of the thought is that of the read-miere (?). " Then Āriputra spoke thus to Subhūti : But, Subhūti, is it that there is a thought that is a non-thought ? Having said that, Subhuti spoke thus to Āriputra : But, Āriputra, in the state of non-thought, is that it is located, do it does exist reality or non-reality ? Āriputra replied : Neither reality, nor absence of reality, O Subhuti. - If therefore, O Āriputra, in the state of no thought here and will be located either reality or lack of reality, do you see not the answer which suits the objection what did the respectable Āriputra, when he has said : Is he there has a thought that is a non-thought? Having said that, Āriputra spoke thus in Subhūti : But what is, O Subhuti, the state of non-thought? The state of no-thought, said Subhuti, is immutable, O Āriputra, he is indisputable. " Then Āriputra expressed his assent to Subhūti: Good, good, Subhūti; he is good that you have been designated by Bhagavat as the head of the Religious who live in the absence of any corruption. This is why the Bodhisattva must to be recognized that he is unable to turn away from the state supreme of Perfectly accomplished Buddha . The Bodhisattva must be recognized as not being not private of the Perfection of the wisdom. The very one who desires to educate to reach the rank of Auditor must listen, learn, retain, recite, understand, enact the Perfection of the wisdom

itself. He must learn in this Perfection of the wisdom ; he should that he applies his efforts to it. The very one who longed for learn to get to rank of Pratyêka Buddha must to listen, learn, remember, recite, understand, enact the Perfection of the wisdom same ; he should he will instruct in the Perfection of the wisdom ; he should he applies its efforts to it. The very one who wishes to be educated to reach the rank of Bôdhisattva must listen [etc. as above, up to :] promulgate the Perfection of the wisdom itself. It takes only one who is endowed with the skillful use of means it applies its efforts to arrive at the understanding of all the conditions of the Bôdhisattvas. Why is that ? Because that is in the Perfection

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .417 of the wisdom even that are taught with extended all the requirements that the Bodhisattva must study, to which he must apply its efforts. The very one who wants to learn to get to the state supreme of Buddha perfectly accomplished must listen [etc. as above, up to :] promulgate the Perfection of the wisdom itself. He be that one who is endowed with the skillful use of means it applies its efforts to arrive at the understanding of all the conditions of a Buddha. Why is that? Because it is in the Perfection of the wisdom even that are taught with extended all the conditions of a Buddha, that a Bôdhisattva must to study, to which he must apply its efforts. " Then Subhiti spoke to Bhagavat thus : For me, Bhagavat, I do not know, I do not understand , I do not understand this very name of Bôdhisattva ", I do not do not know , I do not understand not, I do before no more the perfection of the wisdom. Now in this ignorance in which I find myself on the name of Bôdhisattva and on the Perfection of the wisdom, what is the bodhisattva that I have to learn, and what that the Perfection of the wisdom that I have him teach, that I must teach him ? It would be from me , O Bhagavat, a bad deed, if no known not born, not including not only seizing not the thing itself, I am contrived to explain it by the name alone that it bears, that of Bôdhisattva. Here is Moreover, O Lord, this name even is neither stable nor not steady ; he is neither ins-table, nor not unstable. Why is it? Because that this name has no existence. It is of this manner it is neither stable nor not stable or unstable or not in-table. - If while this profound Perfection of the wisdom is called, exposed, taught at Bôdhisattva, his thought does not dissolve, does not melt , no AF is Faisse not, do not feel no weakness, do not retreat ; if his mind do not back down defeated, if he do not be afraid, if he do not fear , if he do not experience of terror, this Bôdhisattva, which owes to the practice of the reflection its favorable provisions should be recognized as not being separate from the Perfection of the wisdom. Established on the ground of an incapable Bodhisattva to turn away from his goal, he is good established so as to be réellement pas. " Yet another thing, O Bhagavat. The Bodhisattva who walks in the Perfection of the wisdom which the meditating, not should not stop at the form, not more than the sensation, not just the idea, not more than concepts, neither to the knowledge. Why is that ? It is that if he stops at the form, he walk in the notion that the form exists, it not walk not in the perfection of the wisdom. And even if he stops at the sensation to the idea, the concepts, the knowledge, he walks in the notion that all of this exists ; he not walk not in the perfection of the wisdom. Why is that ? Is that the one who walk in the notion 27'

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418' INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY only captures not the perfection of the wisdom, are applied not his effort, not the accompanied not fully folded . Do pas entièrement fulfilling

the Perfection of the wisdom, he not succeed not to omniscience, because it captures what was not entered. For-what that ? It is that in the Perfection of the wisdom, the form does not capture, and that in is of even of the feeling of the idea, the concepts of the connaissance, all things that are not captured in the perfection of the wisdom. Or this state of the form of being not input, it does not the form; and he is of same to the sensation of the idea, concepts, of the awareness. The Perfection of the wisdom itself is not grasped ;because it is so that the Bodhisattva must walk in the Perfection of the wisdom. This is what we call The meditation that not seized any requirement ;immense meditation , placed before [all the others], immeasurably certain, and which is neither specific to Listeners, nor to Pratyêka Buddhas reunited." The omniscience itself is not seized ;because she has no characters by which one can enter. If it could be grasped by any character, the beggar carrying a rosary would not have faith in it ;because the beggar wearing a clasp which has favorable dispositions for omniscience is, according to the degree of his faith, educated in a partial science .Once he is educated, he born captures not the form, not more than the sensation, the idea, the concept, the know-session ;and he not to delight not with pleasure and happiness to will see the science. He does not recognize not the science for that of the interior form ;he not the recognition does not arise for that of the outer form ;he not then not recognize for that of the exterior and interior shape ; he not then not recognize for that of anything other than the form. In the same way he does not recognize the science to that of the sensation of the idea, the concepts of the knowledge inside, not more than one of these conditions outside, not more than that of these internal and external conditions , no more than those of anything other than these conditions. - In the previous enumeration the term of begging carrying a rosary qualified favorably disposed. Now it is when he has, always in proportion of his faith, taken for authority what has the character of Law, that he is said to be favorably disposed towards omniscience. By as such a man no condition is grasped; if he happens to grab one, this condition whatever it is is not apparent. And he not to glorify not arrived at Nirvana." Here, O Bhagavat, this it must be recognized for the Perfection of the wisdom of Bôdhisattva. This Perfection consists in this that only captures not the shape, and for even in this he does grasp not the sensation, the idea, the concept, the connaissance. However he did not succeed for that, in the course [of the existence

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .419 where he found], in Nirvana complete, because it is not / A not acquired the ten forces of a Tathâgata, the four intrepidities of a Tathâgata, the eighteen conditions distinct from a Buddha. Also is it there, O Bhagavat, that he must recognize for the Perfection of the wisdom of Bôdhisattva Mahâsattva." Yet another thing, O Bhagavat. The Bodhisattva who walks in the Perfection of the wisdom, which the meditating, must think, do it well : What is that that this perfection of the wisdom, and who owns it ? Eh what ? is this that the perfection of the wisdom is a condition that does not exist, which do not find ? So thinking and so reflecting , the mind of Bôdhisattva does not melt [etc. like more up to :] if he does not experience not to terror, the bodhisattva must be recognized as being not deprived of the Perfection of the wisdom. " Then Çâriputra spoke thus to Subhûti : Why then, Subhuti, the Bôdhi-sattva should he to be recognized as not being private of the Perfection of the wisdom, when the form is deprived of the own nature of form, and it is of same to the

sensation of the idea, the concepts of the knowledge that all are private of their own ; when omniscience itself is private to the nature of omniscience ?" Gela said, Subhuti spoke thus to Çâriputra : That's it, Çâriputra, it's that very. Yes, the form is private of the proper nature of form; and herein is the same goes for the sensation of the idea, the concepts of the knowledge, which are all private of its own nature . Likewise, O Çâriputra, the Perfection of the wisdom itself is private of its own nature , and it by way of the omniscience. The Perfection of the wisdom is deprived of Attributes of Perfection of the wisdom. The attribute itself is deprived of the proper nature of attribute. The subject himself is private of the proper nature of the subject. The very nature itself is deprived of attributes of their own nature." Having said that, Çâriputra spoke thus in Subhuti : Is that the bodhisattva, O Subhuti, who will thus study will reach omniscience ? Yes, Çâriputra, replied Subhuti ; it is this same ; the Bodhisattva who will study this will succeed to omniscience. Why is that? It is because, O Çâriputra, all the requirements are non-produced, uncreated. The Bodhisattva, O Çâriputra, who walks in this conviction, approaches omniscience. A measure that approaching the omniscience, then approach in proportion, for the maturity of creatures, the perfection of body and of mind, the perfection the attributes of perfection of the Earth of the Buddha, and [the state of] Buddha himself. So it is, O Çâriputra, that the bodhisattva walking in the Perfection of the wisdom approaches omniscience.

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420 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY vs Yet something else. Subhuti, starting with the Bodhisattva, spoke thus : The Bodhisattva walks in the sign, if he walks in the form, if he walks in the sign of the form, if it walks saying : The shape is the sign, if he walks in the production of form, if running in the separation of the form, if walking in the destruction of the form, if walking in saying : The shape is empty, if walking in saying : I walk, if he walks in saying : I am Bodhisattva ; finally in the fact even to conceive this idea : I am Bodhisattva, he walks. And in the same way he walks in the sign, if he walks in the feeling, in the idea, in the concepts, in the knowledge it marches in the sign of the knowledge, if walking in saying : the knowledge is the sign, if walking in the production of knowledge, if walking in the termination of the knowledge, if walking in the destruction of the knowledge, if walking in saying : The knowledge is empty, if walking in saying : I walk, if he walks in saying : I am Bodhisattva ; finally in the fact even to conceive this idea, he walks. If he has this reflexion : The one who walks and walking definitely in the Perfection of the Wisdom, that one 's meditating, he walks in the sign. Now this Bodhisattva must be recognized as not possessing not the skill of the means." Then Çâriputra spoke thus to Subhuti : But how, O Subhuti, the Bodhisattva does walk, when he walks in the Perfection of the wisdom? Having said that, Subhuti spoke thus to Çâriputra : If the Bodhisattva, O Çâriputra, not walking in the form, nor in the sign of the form, nor by saying : The shape is the sign ; if he is not running or in the production of form, or in the termination of the form, neither in the destruction of the form, nor by saying : The form is empty, nor by saying : I walk, or in saying : I am Bodhisattva ; if finally he does not walk in the design even of this idea : I am Bodhisattva ; for even if he does not walk in the feeling, in the idea, in the concepts, in the know-session ; if it does not work in the sign of the knowledge, if he does not work by saying : The knowledge is the sign ; if he does not walk in the manufacture of the knowledge in the termination of the knowledge, in the destruction of the knowledge ; if he does not walk by saying : The

knowledge is empty, insaying :Iwalking in saying :I am Bôdhisattva ;if henot made not thisreflection :The one who walks and walks certainly in the Perfection of thewisdom itto meditate, though,I say hewalking like this, hewalk in the Perfection ofthe wisdom; because by walking in this way, heborndo not pass this judgment :Iwalks, nor this one :I do n't walk , this one :I walk and I do walknot, nor this one :I don't walkno and I do 'm notnot walking ; he does not wearthis judgment :I will walk, this one :I wo n't shop , nor this one :I mar-

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .421cheriai andI will not walknot, nor this one :I wo n't walk andI will be pa ^not walking . Why is that ?Is that all these conditionswhatever theyare not perceived, noaccepted by him. It is there that we called The medi-tationof the Bôdhisattva that accepts no conditions ;meditationimmense,placed before[all theothers], immeasurably certain, andwho is notown or to śrāvakas,nor to the combined Pratyêka Buddhas . The Bôdhisattvawhat *practice this meditation comes quickly to the state Supreme of Buddha par-done.<So Subhuti the Sthavira, thanksto the power of the Buddha, spoke thus :Hehas heard, OBhagavat, to the mouth of the former Tathagatas venerable parfai-ment and completely Buddhas, the prediction that he announced that he will getthe supreme state of Buddhaperfectly accomplished, theBodhisattva who will book atthis meditation. He does not realize that meditation itself, it does is not orgueil-them.I am deliveredTothe meditation, I getthemeditation, I get themeditation, I got the meditation, are reflections that exist not forhim,not at all, in any way, in any way, absolutely not.vsHaving said that,Çâriputra spoke thus to Subhuti :Can it be shown, ohSubhuti, the meditation onwhich book the bodhisattva who has heard of the Boushe of the venerable Tathâgatas , perfectly and completely Buddhas, thepre-diction which announces to him that he will obtain the supreme state of Buddha perfectlyaccomplished? Subhutianswered :No, Çâriputra. Why is that ?It is that this sonof family does not know that meditation itself, thatdoes not have the idea.Çâri-puttra continued :Do not you tell, Subhuti, it does the familiar no, he did notthe idea? Yes, Çariputra, I say so, replied Subhûti ;henot the familiar no, itdoes notnot the idea. Why is that? It is becaufe this meditation are not, it doesdo not know her, that henot in anot the idea."Then Bhagavat testified his assent to Subhuti saying :Well, well,Subhuti ;that is it, Subhuti, that is it itself. Heisalthough, thanks to the powerfulciency of the Buddha, you display your power and that you teach, thanks to the bene-diction of the Tathâgata. This is what theBôdhisattva must study in this way.Whythat? Is that theBodhisattvawho studies thus studieththePerfection of thewisdom.“ Then Çariputra spoke to Bhagavat thus :The Bôdhisattva who studies in this way,O Bhagavat, he studied the Perfection of the wisdom ?Having said that,Bhagavat spokethus to Çâriputra :The bodhisattva who studies and studied the Perfection of thewisdom. Having said that, Çariputra spoke to Bhagavat thus :The Bôdhisattva who studiesso, what condition is he studying ? Having said that, Bhagavat spoke to Sariputra thus :The Bôdhisattva, O Çâriputra, who studies in this way, does not study any condition. For-

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422INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYwhat that? It is that the conditions, O Çariputra, do not exist suchthat thebelieve in it endearing, the men ordinary and ignorant who do noteducated. Çâriputra says :How then do they exist, O Rhagavat ? They existent, O Çariputra, resumed Rhagavat, in such a way that they do not really existnot.And as they

do not exist, to cause this one 's called Avidya, that isie what does not exist, or ignorance. It is to this that attach the hom-my ordinary and ignorant who are notnot educated. They are represented asExisting all the circumstances including any exists. When they are the are repre-felt thus, then chained to two limits, they do not know, they do not seenot the conditions. That is why they are represented as existing allthe terms of which none exists. When they are the are represented as well, theyattach to two limitations. A once attached as well, and .ayant conceived the idea of the in-chaînement the causes and the effects they will represent past conditions,future conditions and present conditions. After theyif the are repre-sented so they attach to the name and to the form. It's like this theyrepresent all the circumstances including any exists.If representative asExisting all theconditions none of which exist, theydo not knownot,they do n't see the real way. Not knowing , not seeing the real horsemin, theydo not come out of the reunion of the three worlds ;theydo not knownot thereal goal ;also they belong to the number of those who are called ignorant ;theyborndo n't believeto the real law. This is why, Çâriputra, theRôdhisattvas does notChent in any condition."Having said that, Çâriputra spoke to Rhagavat thus :The Rôdhisattvawho learnsThus,O Rhagavat, he learnsomniscience? Rhagavat says :The Rôdhisattva, ohÇâriputra, who learns thuslearns omniscience itself. The Rôdhisattva,ohÇâriputra, who learns thuslearns all the conditions. The Rôdhisattva,O Śâriputra, who teaches and learns omniscience approachesof the omniscience, must reachto omniscience.ISo Subhûtispoke to Rhagavat thus :If anyone, O Rhagavat, makes thenext question :Is ahomnieproductof a magical illusion learndraomniscience, will approach to omniscience will reach omniscience? ofwhat manner, O Rhagavat, he will respond to this issue ? Having said that, Rha-gavat spoke to Subhuti thus :Iask yourself about it, O Subhuti ;says the thing as you can. Nothing, Rhagavat, replied Subhûti, whobegan to listen, and Rhagavat spoke thus :What do you think of this, O Subhuti ?The he-is lusionone thing, and the form another thing? The illusion is it athing, and the feeling one another ;the ideaone another, the conceptsone another, theunderstanding one another ? Subhutianswered :No, Rhagavat; no, the illusion is

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .423not one thing, and the form another. The form even is the illusion,andillusion same is the form. No, Bhagavat, the illusion was not a thing, and thefeeling one another, the idea one another. The feeling, the idea and the concepts themselves,ohBhagavat, are the illusion ;illusion same is the feeling, the idea and the concepts. No, Bhagavat, the illusion was not a thing, and the knowledge one anotherthing. The knowledge itself, O Bhagavat, est'llusion ;illusion itself, O Bha-Gavat, is the knowledge. Bhagavat says :Subhûti, is it in the five attributesgoals, causes of the conception (1), that the idea, the knowledge, the admission, thenotion of what is called Bôdhisattva ?"Having said that, Subhûtispoke to Bhagavat thus :Yes, without a doubt, Bhagavat ;Yes,no doubt, Sugata. It is for this, O Bhagavat, that the Bodhisattva who learnsthe Perfection of the wisdom must learn the stateSupreme of Perfect Buddha-ment accomplished, as ifwas a man produced bya magical illusion .Why is that ?It isthat must be held, O Bhagavat, for the man produced bya magical illusion , what we call thefive attributes the causes of thedesignition. Andwhy is that? Bythat Bhagavathas said that the shape was similar to an illusion. Now the form is the union of the five senses and that of the five attributes .(1) These five attributes are what we call the Skandhas or aggregates, namely : the form, the sen-tion, the idea, the concepts and the knowledge on which I

reviendra plus low. I will show, in my analysis of the metaphysical terms of Buddhism, which the five Skandhas embrace the diverse accidents the fact of the knowledge developed in the manner of Buddhists, since that which it gives opportunity to shape up made of the knowledge itself. I agree soon to present that the term attribute is very imperfect, and I will say more below how the means, support seems better respond to a the ideas that the Buddhists to make the word Skandha. However, consider Deres a manner general, the five skandhas are the intellectual attributes of the subject that complete with the five senses and the six elements materials, as well as the shows a shift capital of the Purna avadana. (Above, sect. III, p. 243.) The skandhas are in man this as I'll call the area of the knowledge or of the mind, and it is for this that I consider as the intellectual attributes. But the difficulty is not there entirely; the skandha word is used by our text in composition with that of A'upadana, in this way Upddana skandha, and then we must determine : 1 "the relation of these two terms to each other, 2 ° the meaning of that which is placed the first, that is to say à'upadana. As for the first question, I find two solutions in the Comment of Abhidharma kośa : "It calls Upadana Skandhas the" Sfcandhas or attributes which are produced by V Upddana (the caption or the design). It is a "compound of the kind of those in which the term of medium is removed from this manner : "Upadana [saihbhūtdh] skandjāh, that is to say the attributes produced by the design. It is "like when we call fire grass a fire produced by the grass; fire of straw, a fire produced" By straw. » {Abhidharma kōṣa vydkhyd, f.18 6.) Here now these second solution, those that prefer the commentator : Upddana skandhā designates the attributes which are the origin or* The cause of the caption or in the design, as when one says : a tree with flowers and to fruits." The tree is the origin or the cause of the flowers and the fruit is called tree flowering and to " Fruit. " {Ibid., F.18 . B) It will result in any of there, according to me, that skandha means cause; the idea of cause is on the contrary implied between the two ideas expressed by the two terms skandha and upddana; it is as if one said: the Skandhas or attributes which serve or which lead to V Upddana. This last term will be explained below.

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424^INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY boxwood. It's that Bhagavat has said that the sensation, the idea and the concepts were similar to an illusion. It's that Bhagavat has said that the knowledge was similar to an illusion. But the knowledge, it is the meeting of the five senses and that of the five attributes. O Bhagavat, do the newly Buddhisttas entered into their vehicle, upon hearing this demonstration, not to scare not, will not fear, will not conceive of terror? Bhagavat replied : If the Bôdhisattvas, O Subhūti, newly entered in their vehicle, fall into the hands of a friend of sin, they will be afraid, they they will fear will experience of the terror. But if the Bodhisattvas, O Subhuti, newly entered in their vehicles fall into the hands of a friend of the virtue, they will not be afraid not, they they will not fear, they will not be terrorized." That said, Subhūti spoke to Bhagavat thus : Who are those, O Bhagavat, we must recognize as the friends of virtue to the Bodhisattva? Bhagavat replied : These are those who instruct him and the form in the Perfections, and those who make him see the works of Māra, in him saying : So must to be recognized the faults of Māra, these are the faults of Māra; so must be recognized the works of Mara, are there his works ; he be after they have recognized you they avoid. Here, O Subhuti, those we must recognize as the friends of virtue for a Bodhisattva who is clothed with the great armor, which is entered in the large vehicle, which is mounted on the big vehicle. ; ((Having said that, Subhuti over there thus to Bhagavat: When Bhagavat has said: Here is those he must

recognize as the friends of virtue to the Bodhisattva who is coated with the high armor, which is entered in the great vehicle, which is mounted on the large vehicle ;and when he has pronounced the name of Bodhisattva, What is then, O Bhagavat, being named Bôdhisattvâ ?“ Having said that, Bhagavat spoke to Subhuti thus :It is not a being, O Subhuti, that one which is called Bodhisattva. Why is that ? It is because the Bôdhisattva, O Subhuti, learns to be away from all the conditions. Arrived at the detachment of all the conditions that result to him of what he there recognizes, the Bodhisattva reaches states supreme of a perfectly accomplished Buddha .Comethen to the perfection that results for him of the state of Bôdhi, he is called by this name of Bôdhisattva. Subhuti resumed :But Bhagavat has said :the Bôdhisattva Mahâsattva; now why do we call this being so? Bhagavat answered :We say :He will get the first row in the big mass of creatures, in the great body of creatures ;it is for this that is named Bôdhisattva Mahâsattva. To So Çàriputra parla thus to Bhagavat :I will have the courage, O Bhagavat, II

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .425 to say for what reason this being is called Bôdhisattva Mahâsattva. Bha-ga \ al replied: Have the courage O Śāriputra, retract it that you believe now in his days. the respectable Çàriputra continued :He will teach the Law to destroy these great doctrines and others as well, namely the doctrine of the self, that of creatures, that of life, that of individuality, that of the birth, that of the destruction, one of the interruption, that of eternity, that of body ;it's for this reason that this being is called Bôdhisattva Mahâsattva." So Subhûti spoke to Bhagavat thus :I will also have the courage, O Bha-ga-vat, to say for what reason we call this being Bôdhisattva Mahâsattva . Bha-gavat replied :Have the courage O Subhuti, to say this that you believe now in due time. Subhuti continued :The thought of the Bôdhi who is the one of the omniscience, which is a thought free from imperfections, dissimilar, dissimilar and similar, which is not peculiar to any rāvaka nor to any Pratyêka Buddha, is a thought of which he is neither tied nor chained. Why is that ? It is that the thought of omniscience is free from imperfections, is absolutely detached. But it is because he is neither attached nor chained to the thought of the omniscience, which is free from imperfections and absolutely detached, that he understood the number of those who are called Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas.“ So Çàriputra spoke to Subhûti thus :For what reason, O Subhuti ”is he neither attached nor chained to this thought ? Subhuti replied :This is because that it is a no thought, O Çàriputra, that there is not tied or chained. Here-putra continued :But, Subhûti, does he have a thought that is a no-thought ? Subhuti continued :But, Çàriputra, in the state of no-thought, does he is located, is that he is of reality or of the non-reality ? Çàriputra relays :Neither reality nor absence of reality, O Subhuti. Subhuti resumed :If so, O Çàriputra, in the state of non-thought heard there will be found neither reality nor unreality, how Śāriputra has he been able to say :Is he there has a thought that either a no thought ? Çàriputra replied :It is well, ô Subhûti, he is good that after being appointed by Bhagavat like the leader of those who live in the absence of any corruption, you teach thus." So Pūrṇa, son from Māitrāyaṇī, spoke thus to Bhagavat :The one who is called Bodhisattva Mahasattva, O Bhagavat, is a being coated with the large cuirass, it is a being entered in the large vehicle, mounted on the large vehicle. It is for this that we call Mahâsattva (the great being)." So Subhûti spoke to Bhagavat thus :We call it, O Bhagavat, clothed with the great breastplate, covered with the large breastplate. But up to

what point, oh Bhagavat, the bodhisattva is he dressed for the big armor ? Bhagavat answer-says :It is, O Subhuti, when this reflection presents itself to the mind of the ^ Bôdhi-

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426 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY-sattva :Hebe that I lead full Nirvana the creatures which the number is immense, it be that I the there lead ;hethere is however no creativesures which must be led there, nor creatures which lead there ;and that however before he do not drive less all these creatures in nirvana full. Now heare neither creatures that come to Nirvana complet, nor creatures in con-do others. Why is that? By that, O Subhuti, it is the character of a illusion, that the proper character which constitutes the beings what they are. It is, oh Subhuti, as if a skilled magician or the disciple of a magician was apparentraître in the crossroads offour main roads a huge crowd of people, and that after having done it appear it the FIT disappear. What do you think about it O Subhuti? is there anyone there that a Another has killed, has made die, has annihilated has done away ? Subhuti answered :No, of course, Bhagavat. This is it ,O Subhuti, continued Bhagavat ;the Bôdhisattva Mahâsattva leads to Nirvana full a number huge, uncountable, infinite of creatures ;and hence neither exists creatures that are led there, nor creatures that lead there. If the Bôdhi-sattva Mahasattva, hearing to the exposure of the Act does do n't be afraid and have no fear, he must be recopnu, O Subhuti, as clothed as much of the great breastplate.." So Subhûtîpaila thus to Bhagavat :If I understand correctly the meaning of this that Bhagavat said , the Bodhisattva must be recognized as not being clothed of the great breastplate. Bhagavat continued :This is it, Subhûtî is that very. The Bodhisattva must be recognized as not being clothed of the great kitchen rase. Why is that ? Is that omniscience is not one thing that is done, which is modified, which is composed. Et de even they do not do, they do not change, they would have not made the creatures in the interest which he is covered with the great breastplate." That said, Subhuti spoke to Bhagavat thus :This is it, Bhagavat, this is that same. Why is that? This is because, O Bhagavat, the form is neither linked nor detached, and that in is of even of the feeling of the idea, the concepts of the know-ciency, which will have neither related nor detached. tSo Pûrna, son of Mâitrâyanî, spoke thus to Subhûtî :Don't you say not, Subhûtî :The form is neither related nor detached, and of even the feeling, the idea, the concepts, the knowledge does are neither related nor detached? Don't you say not, O Subhuti :The essence even of the form is not linked or detached ;and of the same essence of the sensation, of the idea, the concepts of the knowledge is neither bound nor seconded dear ? Then what is it , ô Subhûtî, that the form that you call a form who is neither linked nor detached? Similarly, what , then, that the feeling that the idea that the concepts that the knowledge all things that you call or

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .mlinked or detached ? What then, O Subhuti, that the essence of the formne that you call a gasoline of the form that is neither bound nor detached ? Likewise, what so that the essence of the feeling of the idea, the concepts of the knowledge that you call neither linked nor detached ?" Having said that, Subhuti thus spoke to Pûrna, son of Mâitrâyanî :The shape, oh Pûrna, of a man who is only the product of the magic is a form who is not neither linked nor detached. From even the feeling, the idea, the concept, the awareness a human product of the magic sont toutes things that do are neither related nor seconded cherished. The essence of the form, O Purna, a man who is not only

the product of the magic, is neither linked nor detached. From even the essence of the feeling of the idea, concepts, to the knowledge of this man are all things who are not neither linked nor detached. Why is that? This is because that these things were not in exis-real strength, that they are neither linked nor detached; it is because they are iso-that they do are neither related nor spare; it is because they do not pro-picks, that they do are not related nor detached. It is to this way that the Bodhisattva which is coated with the great armor, which is entered in the general chariot, which is mounted on the large chariot, is really not clothed with the large breastplate. That said, Pūrṇa, son of Maitrayani, kept the silence." Then Subhūti spoke to Bhagavat thus: How the Bôdhisattva, oh Bha-Gavat, which is coated to the high armor, is it entered in the big tank, mounted on the big chariot? What that this great chariot, and how should it be recognized as there is in? Whence come out this great chariot, and by what means it are we mounted? Where will he stop? Who will come out by this great chariot? Having said that, Bhagavat spoke thus to Subhūti: The expression of great chariot, O Subhūti, is a word which means immensity. It said a thing huge, because that this thing has not of measurement. As to what you say, Subhūti: How should it be recognized as mounted in this big chariot? where will this great chariot come from? by which means there is it mounted? where will this great chariot stop? who will come out by this great chariot? I answer: Entered the middle of Perfections, he so ridra from the enclosure of the three worlds; Between the means of Ce Qui are not apparent, it will stop in omniscience; it's the Bôdhisattva who will come out. But deep down, Subhūti, he will not come out of nowhere, he is entered by no cause, he won't stop anywhere. On the contrary, it stops in omniscience de manière to not stop really not; and nobody is released, not released, nor does fate by this great chariot. Why is that? Is that the one who would come out, and this by what he would come out, are two beings who do not exist, who born see each other no more one than the other. Comme it thus no being exists, what is the one who would come out, and with the help of what he would come out?" That said, Subhūti spoke to Bhagavat thus: We say: What is called the great

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428 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY chariot, O Rhagavat, triumphant of the world formed by the meeting of the Devas, men and the Asuras, released [the three worlds]. This chariot is large par sa ressemblance with space. From the same as in space there are of the site for the immense creatures, without number and without measure, so here is in this tank of the site for the beings immense, without number and without measure. It is from this so what the big tank of Rôdhisattvas. And we do not see the arrival, and we do not see any more the start, and we do not know more than the station. It is so that we do not see, O Rhagavat, the part prior to this great chariot neither is the posterior part nor the middle visible. He is equal to three times of the length, O Rhagavat; this is why it is called a large chariot ^" So Rhagavat testified thus his assent to Subhūti: Nothing, good, Subhūti; that is it, Subhūti, that is it itself. This is how what is this big chariot of the Rôdhisattvas. The Rôdhisattvas who have learned this have acquired, acquire, gain the Perfection of the wisdom." Then Pūrṇa, son of Mâitrâyanî, spoke thus to Rhagavat: Subhūti the Sthavira, who, through the blessing he received, studied to obtain the Perfection of the wisdom, thinks that the large tank to be shown. So Subhūti spoke thus to Rhagavat: I do not believe, O Rhagavat, to have spoken of the great chariot contrary-ment to the perfection of the wisdom. Rhagavat replied: No, certainly, Subhūti; it is regularly that you define the great chariot, in accordance with the Perfection of the wisdom." Having said

that, Subhûlispoke to Rhagavat thus :It is by the favor of the Ruddha,O Rhagavat. 11 yTomore, the Rôdhisattva does not conceive from the beginning, nomore than at the end, nor by the middle. Why is that? It isthat he does not conceive .As the form has no limits,theRôdhisattva should be recognized assomething close. Similarly, as the sensation, the idea, the concept, theknowledge not of Hmites, the Rôdhisattva must be recognized as SOMEONEthat unlimited thing . He does not understand this :The Rôdhisattva isthe shape, becauseit even does not, does not exist. From mêniB itdoes not design this more :theRôdhisattva isthe feeling, the idea, theconcepts,theknowledge, becausetheeven is not, does not exist. This is howO Rhagavat, only meeting inno way, no way, absolutelynotof conditions (1)from Rôdhisattva, Ido not recognize being to which this name of Rôdhisattva applies. I do not recognizenais not, I do not see not to Perfection of the wisdom.I do not recognize , Iborn(1)I have already warned that the word that I translate by requirement isdharma: I choose on purposecondition because that this word gives a notion abslraile as theSanskrit dharma itself.But I have to hardly necessary to say that the words being, realityand even individual, can, in theduring this singular exhibition, being very often substituted for that of condition.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM . ,429see no more omniscience. Not meetingnot, O Bhagavat, do not recognizehealth in no way, in no way, absolutelynot any of these conditions,what condition will I form andwill I educate ? with the help of what condition, and inwhat condition thewill i do?" The name of Buddha, ohBhagavat, is just a word. The name of Bôdhisattva,O Bhagavat, is just a word. The name of Perfection of the wisdom,O Bhagavat,is just a word ;and this name is unlimited, as when we say :The me ;because theI, O Bhagavat, is something unlimited,because he has not to run. OfSimilarly, what is that the form elusive, unlimited conditions that nodoes it have its own nature ? What is that the sensation, the idea, the concepts ? What is thatthat theelusive, unlimited knowledge ?In even still, the lack of aNature clean to all the circumstances, this isthe state of no limitation. Goldthe status of non-limitation of all theconditions, it is not there that we calledthe conditions themselves. How to eraseI will train, how inslruirai Iin the perfection of the wisdom unlimited, themeans of the state of non-limiting ?However, O Bhagavat, it does not other than in the non-limitation that ismeet all the conditions, either that of Buddha or that of Bôdhisattva,conditions which work towards the state of Buddha."If while we're talking,that we teach, that we explain and that we elucidateso this subject,the thought of the Bôdhisattva does not dissolvenot, [etc. as above,until :] do not feel terror, here is whatthat must be recognized. One such Bodhisattva walking in the Perfection of the wisdom hethe comprises ; hethink aboutthe Perfection of the wisdom he 's meditating. Why is that? It is that in the timethat the bodhisattva réiléchit on these conditions from the Perfection beyond wisdomin thistime even he did not design the form, it does grasps not the form, it does recognizeborn not the production of form, it does not recognize the cessation of the form. Ofeven he did not imagine the feeling, the idea, the concepts, the knowledge ;hedo not seizenot these things; he does not recognize the production, he does not recognizenot the cessation.Why is that? This is because the non-production of the form is not the form ;thenon-destruction of the form, it is not the form ;the non-production and form,it will actually nottwo things is nota difference ;the non-destruction andthe form, it will actually nottwo things, it is not a difference. Elsego,when we pronounce the name of the form,we do is not theaccount of two

things. From even the failure to produce the sensation of the idea, the concepts of the con-
birth, this is not the sensation, idea, the concepts, the knowledge ; the Non-destruction of the
knowledge, it 's not the knowledge ; the non-protion and knowledge, it does
actually not two things, it is not a difference ; the non-destruction and knowledge, it
does actually not two things, this

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4Si3INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY. is nota difference. Elsehand, when we pronounce
thename of know-ciency, it is actually not the account of two things. So that
theBôdhisattva, O Bhagavat, who reflects in all these ways on all the conditionsance to
the perfection of the wisdom, not designs pasdans this time even theform itnot seized not,
itdoes not recognize theproduction of the form, itdon'tnot recognize thecessation ;[etc.as
above, up to :]on the other hand,when we pronounce the name of knowledge, it is
actually not the account of two things. "More than one reader may find that I could have
dispensed with extractinga too long passage, and that instead of giving this fragment
weird, I would have beenby presenting the summary offirst shot and at some near in these
terms :Thebooks of the Pradjiiâ paaramitaa are consacrésà exposure of a doctrine
whichthe aim is to establish that the objectto know or the Perfection of the wisdom does
notmore real existence than the subject who must know or the Bôdhisattva, nor thatthe
knowing subject or the Buddha. This is in fact the trend common toall theeditorial staff of
the * Pradjnâ ;whatthat is thediflerence of developmentsloppements andcircumlocutions
whose envelope is thefundamental thought,all lead to the negation equal the subject and
of the object. CornI pray thereador to point out that this is less here to exhibit in all its
details Îa meta-of the Pradjnâ than to determine, as far as possible, the placethat this
collection occupies in all the books of theNepal.But there is no one whoafter the reading
of aportion ofaforementioned passage , do notcan immediately appreciate thedistance
between the metaphysical sūtras of that of thePradjfiâ. Heisclear that in this last work the
doctrine isreached all its developmentspment, to donot back to the absurdity of its
conclusions ;whilethat in the sūtras the metaphysical engaged usually in the body, in
isstill in its first tests. Alsodo I doubt very much that in any Sutra (I speakthose that I
think the most ancient), itwas possibleto meet a proposition like this :€The name of
Buddha is just a word, "and likethis one :<The Buddha himself, O venerable Subhuti, is
similar to a"illusionconditionsof the Buddha themselves are similar
toa<illusion,alikeToadream (1)."the speculationmay,withoutdoubt, to arrive by a series of
reasoning until thenegation oftopicconsidered in its shape the more high ;but heis hard to
believe that Çâkya-muni would have become the leader of a meeting of ascetics which
was later to form a(1)Vinaya sutra, f.136 b, according to the Prajdnâ pramitâ.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .434body of religious, if he had débutepar of axioms such as
those that I come fromrecall.Hedo is no less true that the germ negations the boldest of
thePradjnâ is already contained in theSutras, and that the Buddha, for example, orman the
more enlightened, in bothhe appears in the midst of phenomena pro-ucts by the chain of
causes and the effects actually hasno more existence that thesephenomena themselves.
Now thetheorycauses
andfromeffectsistoofamiliarofSutrasoldthatthosebigSutrasdeveloped that is called the
Perfection of thewisdom. She is notno moreexplained in thethat one in theothers; but
sheisexposed andToevery moment remembered in all.It's herethe parttrue

philosophicalment oldest of Buddhism, one that we pourrionsappeler the psychologyandontology, of samethat thetheory of four sublime truthsrepresentedespecially the moral ;and the Rev. W. H. Mill has been very fortunatelywell served by the memories of his classical scholarship when, examining thefamous formulephilosophique by which it attributed to Buddha the connais-ciency of all the causes, he recalls the famous line Who potuit Rerumcognoscerecausas, and nameÇākya, the Epicurus of this great oriental system(1).It is notnot to say, however, that these three partsof the speculation are clearly dis-singled out in this double theory, that of causes and effects,and that of the fourtruths. Although the contrary, the relations which unite them all thethrough-ties of the philosophy have (andthis is natural) struck the Buddhist asceticismuch more than the differences which the separate, and theiranalysis did not net-clearly traced the domain of each of them. This circumstance same is whatmakes it very difficult to understand their exposure,which is found mixed the factsof all the orders, and where inespecially lacking in few almost completely thedistinction ofthe mindand of thematter, that is to say, to express myself in amannermore in line with Buddhist ideas ,which lack the distinction ofphenomena which fall within the meaning of thosethat escape them and thatdesigns intelligence. In fact, and this is an item that is important to not forget,for the most large number of Buddhists whoonly believe in the testimony ofdirect observation, all thephenomena, they are hardware or immaté-riels, are essentially homogeneous ;they do are not fundamentally differ-ent the one of the others. Materials, is the callexterior ;intellectuals, wethe appointed interiors ;it is a simple difference of place, and Mr. Hodgson was able to saying that according to the most large number of Buddhists, including the naturalist(1) Journ, Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, t. IV, p. 214 and 215.

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432INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYlists, mindis a modification of the terms, and that the order of the universe,which is one, is the physical order (1).What hein either of these difficulties, Ido 'll not least try to summarizehere that thatmy studies taught me about the important theory of causes andfromeffects. By browsing this part of my work, the reader will want well to Rap-peel that Ihave no comments at my disposal , and that I do not have forshed light on this delicate matter other than the comparison of passagesborrowed from various treatises, all of which are equally obscure, because theybornare usually that the repetition of the one of the other.People who have had the patience to read the aforementioned fragment of the PradjnàParramitâ have thereseen as beings and their qualities exist not for the fact thatordinary men attribute to them . The current ones must their existence toignorance thatdo not know what they are, or rather whodo n't know they don't haveof real existence . Following this doctrine, the point of departure of all the exis-Competencies is VAvidyâ, which, as I shall indicate below, means to both non-to be and not to know. How now this non-being and of this not-knowingcomes out the object which is and the subject who knows?This is what to order to show thetheory of causes or Nidâna, theory which receives the namegeneric of Pratîiyammutpâda, where the outputsuccessive causes of existence, "or the pro-duction of what is successively cause and effect(2). It is therefore importantto exhibitthe terms or degrees in the number of twelve, by which beingphenomenal atbottom comes out of non-being ;but in place to follow the method of the Prajñâ whichdescends from non-being, that is to say from ignorance, I prefer to walk in the directionreverse, and start from the current state of

being to go back to its past. I have garbled-they again here a Buddhist authority of great weight, that of Lalita vis-tara, which we mention Çākya-muni rising by the meditation on the knowledge of this truth, that everything comes from non-being, and hence of the current state of being to find his origin. I will quote this piece, in which he seems to me easy enough to grasp the progress of the philosophical thought which dominates there, it is borrowed from the chapter where Sakya, named in the text the bodhisattva passes successively by the various degrees of the contemplation. "So he remembered all of his many previous dwellings, and those of other creatures, in this way: One existence, two, three, five, ten, twenty, forty, fifty, a hundred, a thousand, a hundred thousand, hundreds of a thousand, several Kōtis, a hundred Kōtis, a thousand Kōtis, ten thousand Kōtis, several hundred of thousands of Kōtis, hundreds of thousand myriads of Kōtis, a Kalpa of the (1) Europ. Specul. on Buddh., in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. III, p. 500. (2) See a note on this expression at the end of this volume. Appendix, No. VII.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .433 destruction, a Kalpa of the reproduction, a Kalpa of the destruction and of the reproduction, several Kalpas of the destruction and of the reproduction, as is the number of lives that he remembered (1). I was in this place, I had a such name, I was of such a lineage, I was of such a family, of such a caste; my life lasted so many times; I remained as of time in the world; I experienced such happiness and such misfortune; after coming out of this existence I was born again in one such location; after coming out of this existence, I was born again in one such place; finally, being out of the former place, I was born here. It is from this way he reminded all of its old houses and of those of all the creatures, each with its own character and its description (2). vs: So the Bodhisattva, with his collected, perfect, completely pure thought, bright, free of dirt, freed of any imperfection, is based in the ease of its action and arriving at immobility (3), the Bodhisattva, I say, at the last watch of the night, at the time when the dawn is going dawning, the time when the sleep is the deepest, and where it is so difficult to be awake, collected his intelligence and brought in himself by the contemplation direct from the science, to help in the view of the knowledge that destroys all imperfection. Then this thought is presented in its spirit: It is certainly an evil that the existence of this world, which is born, ages, dies, falls and is reborn again. But he could not recognize the way of out of this world, which is a large accumulation of pain. Alas! he said to himself, he does not exist of term to this great accumulation of pain that not be composed only of decay, of diseases of death and other troubles, which in is any whole formed. "This reflection he brought the thought to his mind: What is the thing that existing gives rise to the decay and to the death; and what question have the decrepitude and death? This thinking it to his mind: The birth (Djâu) existing, the decrepitude and death exist; because the decay and death were due to birth. Then this other reflection came to the mind of the Bodhisattva: What is the something that exists gives rise to the birth, and what due to the birth? This thinking it then came to mind: Existence or being (Bhava) being, the born-session exists; because the birth to because the existence. (1) For the explanation of these terms, "Kalpa or age of the reproduction and of the destruction, which designate the various periods of the birth and of the annihilation of the world visible, see Turnour, Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. VII, p. 699. (2) This passage is found almost word for word in the Pali books of the Buddhists of the South; he has been translated by Turnour. {Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. VII, p. 690.} (3) My

manuscript is not very correct in this place, and he could that I did would have not perfectly grasped the meanings special of the fifth of the epithets that characterize the thought of the Bôdhisattva; I did not, however, omit anything. 28

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434 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY € Then this other thought came to the mind of Bôdhisattva : What is the thing which existing gives rise to existence, and what cause has existence ? This thinking it vintalors in mind : The existing conception (Upadana) , the existence is ; because life has to question the design. " Then this other reflection came to the mind of the Bôdhisattva : What is the thing that existing gives rise to the design, and what cause has the design ? This thinking it then came to mind : The desire (Trîchnâ) existing, the conception exists ; because the design has to because the desire. " Then this other thought came to mind of Bôdhisattva : What is the something that exists gives rise to desire, and what reason has the desire ? This reflection him then came to the mind : The feeling (Vêdanâ) existing, the desire exists ; because the desire has to because the sensation. vs: Then this other reflection came to the mind of the Bôdhisattva : What is the thing that existing gives rise to the feeling, and what cause the sensation ? This reflection him then came to mind : the Contact {Sparça} existing, the feeling exist ; because the feeling has to because the touch. " Then this other thought came to mind of Bôdhisattva : What is the something that exists gives rise to contact, and what cause has the touch ? This thinking it then came to mind : The six seats [of sensitive qualities] {Châlâyatana} existing, the contact exists ; because the contact has to because the six seats [sensitive qualities]. " Then this thought came to mind of Bôdhisattva : What is the thing who existing gives rise to the six siegesj [sensitive qualities], and what cause have the six seats ? This thinking it then came to mind : The name and the form {Nâma-rûpa} existing, the six seats [of sensible qualities] exist ; because the six seats have for because the name and form. " Then this other thought came to mind of Bôdhisattva : What is the thing that existing gives rise to the name and to the form, and what reason have the name and the shape ? This thinking it then came to mind : The knowledge (Vidjma) existing, the name and form exist ; because. the name and the form has to because the awareness. " Then this another thought came to Mind of Bôdhisattva : What is the thing which existing gives rise to the knowledge, and what cause has the conbirth ? This reflection came to him then in mind r When the concepts {Samskara} exist, the knowledge exists ; because the knowledge has to due the concepts. " Then this other thought came to the mind of Bôdhisattva : What is the thing that exists gives rise to concepts, and what cause have the concepts ?

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .435 This reflection then occurred to him. the mind : Ignorance (Avidya) exists, the concept exist ; because the concepts are caused ignorance. " Also the Bôdhisattva, O Religious, he said these thoughts : The concepts have for good reason ignorance ; the knowledge has to question the concepts ; the name and form have to because the knowledge ; the six seats have for cause the name and the form ; the contact has to question the six seats ; the feeling has to because the contact ; the desire has to because the feeling ; the conception has to question the desire ; existence has to because the design ; the birth was ' to question the existence ; the decrepitude and death, with the sentences, the wailing, the pain, the sorrow, the despair, have to because the birth. This estainsi has held the production this world which is only one big mass of pain. The

production !the produc-tion ![exclaimedtheBodhisattvaj]and as hehad considered face to face, from aso fundamental and toseveral times, these conditions which hedid not haveheard about it before itfelt to produce in it theacquaintance with theview, the science, the fullness [of knowledge]the thinking, the wisdom ;thelight himappeared. What is the thing that does not exist, is that the decay and deathdo not exist ? Or , what is the thing by the annihilation ofwhich one hasinstead the annihilation of the decrepitude and of the dead? This thought occurred to himthen tothe mind :The birth does not existnot, the decrepitude and the death does existnot ;of the annihilation of the birth resulting annihilation of thedecrepitude and of the death." Then this other thought came to mindof Bôdhisattva :What is thething thatnot existing no fact that the birth are not ? Or even whatthe thing by the destruction of whichhas held the destruction of the birth?This thinking it then came to mind :Existence not being ,the birth therenot ;of the annihilation of existence is the result of annihilation of the birth." Then this other reflection came to the mind of the Bôdhisattva :What is thething thatnot existing [andso on , for each of the preconditionstees, up to :]fact that theconceptsdo not exist ;or what is thething by the annihilation of whichhas held the annihilation of concepts?This thinking it then came to mind :Ignorance does not exist, the conceptsdo not exist ;from the annihilation of ignoranceresultsannihilationfromconcepts.Of annihilationfromconceptsresultsannihilationof the knowledge, [andand to subsequently up :] of the annihilation of the nais-session resultsthe annihilation of thedecrepitude,of thedeath, sorrows,lamentations of thepain,of grief andof despair.It isThushas held the destruction of this world that isthan a big onemass ofpains.

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436INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY"It is thus, O Religious, that the Bôdhisattva, who had envisaged face to face,a fundamental way and many times, these conditions which he hadnever heard of it before, felt knowledge arise in him , with theview, the science, the fullness [of knowledge]the thinking, the wisdom ;the light himappeared."It is I, O Religious, who at that time recognized with certainty :Thatis the pain, this is the production of corruption, it isannihilationof the corruption, ceciest the degree which leads to the destruction of thecorrup-tion :these are the truths that I recognized with certainty. This isthecorrup-tion of desire ;that, corruptionof existence ;this, that ofignorance ;that,that of false doctrines. It is here that the corruption is completely destroyed.tions ;it'shere that theimperfections disappear without leaving a trace,withoutleave a reflection.Here is ignorance; here is the production of ignorance; here isthe annihilation of ignorance ;it's herethedegree which leads to annihilationment ofignorance :these are the truths that I recognized with certainty. It ishere that ignorance disappears without leaving a trace, without leaving a reflection ;and soof result for the other conditions. Here are the concepts; here is the productionfromconcepts ;here is the annihilation of concepts ;it's herethedegree which con-leads to the annihilation ofconcepts :these are the truths that I recognized withcertainty. Here the knowledge ;Here the production of knowledge ;here isthe annihilation of the knowledge ;this is the degree which leads to annihilation-ment of the knowledge :these are the truths that I recognized with certainty.Here is thename andshape ;here is the productionthe name and for theshape ;here isthe annihilation of the name and of the form; this is the degree which leads to the anean-invest- the name and of the form :these are the truthsthat I recognized withcertainty. Here are the six seats [of the sensible qualities] ;here is the productionof

the six seats ; here is the annihilation of the six sieges ; it's the degree which leads to the annihilation of the six seats [of sensitive qualities] : these are the truths that I recognized with certainty. Here is the contact ; here is the production of the touch ; here is the annihilation of contact ; this is the degree that leads to the annihilation of contact : these are the truths that I recognized with certainty. Here is the sensation ; here the production of sensation ; here the annihilation of the feeling ; it's there the degree that leads to the annihilation of the feeling : these are the truths which I recognized with certainty. Here is the desire ; here is the production of the desire ; here is the annihilation of desire ; this is the degree that leads to the annihilation of the desire ; these are the truths that I recognized with certainty. Here is the design ; here the birth of the design ; here is the annihilation of the conception ; this is the degree which leads to the annihilation of the design : these are the truths that I recognized with certainty.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .437 are the truths that I recognized with certainty. Here is existence ; here is the production of existence ; here is the annihilation of existence ; this is the degree that leads to the annihilation of existence : these are the truths that I recognized with certainty. here is the birth ; here is the production of the birth ; here is the annihilation of the birth ; this is the degree that leads to the annihilation of the birth : these are the truths that I recognized with certainty. Here is the decrepitude ; here the production of decay ; here is the annihilation of the decrepitude ; this is the degree which leads to the annihilation of the decay : these are the truths that I recognized with certainty. Here the dead ; here is the production of the death ; here is the annihilation of the dead ; here is the degree which leads to the annihilation of the death : these are the truths that I recognized with certainty. Here are the sorrows, the lamentations, the pain, the sorrow, the despair. This is how it takes place the production of this world which is only a great mass of pain, [and of following, to:] and thus has held its annihilation : these are the truths that I recognized with certainty. Here is the pain ; here the production of pain ; here the annihilation of the pain ; it's here the degree that leads to the destruction of the pain : these are the truths that I recognized with certainty (1). "Let's resume Now the result of these words, in the order in which we pre-feel the Lalita vistara, that is to say in leaving of the current state . The one that we find the first and that in production order is the Last, it is the Djarâmarana, " the decrepitude and death. » This term cannot do the object of no difficulty ; only he clearly marks the point of departure to all the buddhist theory ; it's well from the direct observation of the great fact of the destruction by the death of everything that has life, they go to explain the generation of all things. The decay and the dead were held, following the Buddhist authors, in accordance with the fashion and at the assigned time for each being (2). The Brahmin philosophers who, by refuting the Buddhists, cite this theory of the successive sequence of causes and effects, define even the decay and death, after which the departure takes place for one another world, according to the law of the transmigration (3). The first part of this term compound Djâraou the decrepitude of old age, is, according to the Buddhists chi-nois (4) and the Brahmanic authorities to which I am referring, the maturity of (1) Lalita vistara, f. 178 o ff. from my man. (2) Hodgson, Quelleat., Etc., in Jo Mrn. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. V, p. 78 sqq. (3) Colebrooke, Miscell. Essays, t. 1, p. 397. (4) Klaproth, in the Foe Jeou ki, p. 288, note.

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438 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY what are called the five Skandhas or attributes which are united by the born-sance, and which I will speak of below. The decrepitude and

death are the product of the birth ;because everything who is born must die, according to a maxim attributed to Çâkyâ. " It is short, O Religious, the life of men ;the term" In is inevitable ; he must practice the virtue, because the death is the status of this" Who was born (i). 3) The decrepitude and the death are thus the effect of the birth who is the case, and to which we will pass (2). The second term in back is Bjâti ^ the birth wherein is the ^ cause of the term previously explained. Here there are six lanes or roads in which place the birth, and four ways in which it is accomplished. The six paths, of which it is frequently spoken in the texts, are the conditions of Deva, of Man, of Asura, of Prêta, of animal and inhabitant of the Underworld, The four ways in which takes place the birth are defined in accordance with the ideas Brahman, humidity, an egg, a matrix, a metamorphosis (3). We understand according to this why the term of Bjâti is defined sometimes by birth, as the make the Brahmans refuting the Buddhists ; sometimes by genre, as understood other Brahmans (4) and one of the great modern schools of Buddhism (5). In fact, since to be born there must enter in the six paths of existence, to be born is put on one of the varieties of gender which distinguish the one of the other 's natures animated ; from where he follows that for each given nature, the birth can be confused with the kind. I do not think not less preferable to make Bjâti by birth, because of the close of these two conditions, the birth and death, which mark the two terms of the apparent life of the individual. In addition, if we do not see the birth in Djâti, he will have the look, (1) *Abhidharma liôça vyâkhyû*, f. 327 a et b. (2) I think need to add here a note of Mr. Th. Goldstuecker has liked me back on this term, and I will do as much for those who the following. Like it's pretty much the first time that I have the advantage of being able to consult, before printing, a judge competent in the matters which I 'm in charge, the player I will quote a foreign opinion, when even she does not all in fact conform to the mine. " I propose to translate *djarû marana* by usure and destruction; because I believe that *djard* expresses all the conditions that elapse between the birth and death, not only those of the last epoch of life, but the wasting that is the consequence of every past moment. I interpret *marana* by destruction, because as I suppose that this term should be applied to all *Ce* Qui exist as beings animated as the inanimate beings which are also subject to wear and to the destruction. " Mr. Goldstuecker was perfectly right there, and it is in the same thought of generality that I have translated *djard* by decrepitude. Only, as it myself manifests seems that Sakya departed from human to construct his theory of causes and the effects, I do not see any downside to keep the word of old age. the Tibetan translates this term as *rga-chi*, " old and dead." (3) Klaproth, *Foe koue M*, p. 288, note. (4) Colebrooke, *Miscell. Essays*, t.I, p. 396. (5) Hodgson, *What., Etc.*, in *Journ. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, t.V, p. 78 sqq.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .439 as is a school Buddhist, in *Bhava* ^ term which comes immediately - is lying after *Djâti*. But if, as everything points to the believe, these conditions, to measure that they rise, express notions of more in more general, *Bhava* should plutôt désigner existence that the birth. I said on the article pre- yield at the time of the birth will bring together the five Skandhas or attri-goals, and this would be the place to define these five attributes ; but this research we would turn away from the object that we currently occupies . The five Skandhas are moreover subordinate to the condition of the birth or the gender of which they make party, and as such, they born can be properly examined until after that the relation of the born with the conditions the previous will be

clearly determined. But the requirement that the birth is the effect is Bhava or existence, at which I am passing now (1). Existence is the third condition on the way up. Following one of the schools of Buddhists, Bhava is the actual physical existence, which a commentator of this school defines as follows: the birth physics (2). I said earlier the reasons that I had to book the word birth to Djati, and by following the existence for Bhava. This term, 'eli effect, signifies the being or the state; now this notion is more general than that of birth, the birth is not that the fashion of the outward appearance of being. The Buddhists also, and according to them the Brahmins that they refute (3) provide for Bhava or of the existence an explanation taken the heart even of ideas Indian, and that adds more of pre-decision to this idea générale. Suivant the commentators Indians, the Buddhists would define Bhava by "the condition of Dharma (merit) or of Adharma (demerit)," and I hesitate all the less to take for authentic the explanation the Brahmins, that is that one even which is enclosed, although very obscurely, in a passage of a Buddhist Chinese than Klaproth, for lack of brought together opinion the Brahmins, has perhaps été pas completely understood (4). Bhava is therefore to be worthy of reward or of punishment, Yexistence morality (1) Here the notes of Mr Goldstuecker on Djati: "The term de Djati expresses Yexistence real; in the Mimamsa and Vedanta Djati means always kind; in the Mimamsâ, it even seems to be synonymous with the term ânantya, although I do not ignore the nuance that always separates two words apparently synonymous. But I do not find any incompatibility between the gender of Mimânisakas and the birth, or the real existence of the Bâuddhas. Because for the philosophy that knows happen to a be absolute and real, it can be to have a general infinite; while for the one who comes to nothing, this generality itself in any points of view that the look, is something finite, consequently endowed with a perishable existence. And I believe that for the Buddhists, it is the same thing to say general or individual, the existence générale being for them as much as actual existence." The Tibetans translate Djati by Skye-ba, the birth. (2) Hodgson, Quotat., Etc., in Journ. A & iaU Soc. of Bengal, t.V, p. 78. (3) Colebrooke, Miscell. Essays, 1. 1, p. 396. (4) Foe koue M, p. 288, note.

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440 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY such that have made, according to the theory of the transmigrating, the ante action laughing. It is not only material existence or spiritual existence, it is again and above all the moral being that this term designates; and this point is at-so much more necessary to establish, that it is one of those by which the theory budget-ethics of causes and effects is attached to the theory. To the times of Brahma-fuck and Buddhist, of the transmigrating. We see now from what way it should widen the notion of existence; and this word can be given like an example of the difficulties we encounter in translating, in our languages modern, such comprehensive expressions. Existence therefore a law well-determined, he must go back to its cause, which is Upâdâna or the designation (1). This cause is the fourth condition always going up. Her name is Upâdâna, the catch, the caption, attachment, the design. I do not know why Csoma of Kôrös always written this term Apadana, in the resulting by deprivation, ablation (2). The interpreters Tibetan they make not not only by len-pa, like the Pentaglotte Vocabulary, but by nê-bar len-pa, expression that I have found in the earlier piece quoted from the Prajñâ Paramita, when it has been matter of the five attributes of the design (3). These five attributes goals are the Skandhas, which I promised to talk about soon when I have undermined the exposure of the causes and the effects: the socket or the design is

XUpâdâna even which he is here. The expression by which the interpreters Tibetan RENT-tooth this difficult term missing in the dictionaries of Csoma and to Mr. Schmidt ; it will be found that in that of Schröter, which is, whatever we may say, very rich in valuable information . There the term which represents the Upâdâna skandha, namely ner-len-gyi phung-po, is engaged in a sentence that the editor of Schroter has translated as : " The disorder or the pain-born-sant of the transmigration (4). » I believe that the word transmigration is not correct, but he certainly leads us very close to the meaning attributed to the original term of very respectable Buddhist authorities . Thus a text quoted by Mr. Hodgson defines XUpâdâna as follows : " The physical existence of the embryo, " what a commentator determines as follows: " the design of the body (5). » The Brahmins opponents Buddhists, define as it follows this term : (1) According to M. Goldstuecker, Bhava is virtual existence , potential existence , which is comparable to the Sûvap; of Aristotle, as Djâti is to his êvépyetx. (2) Anahjsis of the Kah-gyur, in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t.I, p. 377 ; and Analym of the Sher-chin, in Asiat. Res., T.XX, p. 398 and 399. Conf. Vocab. pent., sect. xxii, n " 9. (3) Above, p. 423, note. (4) Bhotanta Diction., P. 117, col. 1. (5) Hodgson, Quotat., Etc., in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. V, p. 78.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .441 " The exertion of body or of the voice (1); " but I don't know on what this definition is based which has only a vague memory of the meaning of Upadana (taking, accepting). Be that as it may, the Chinese Buddhist extracted by Klaproth is content with representing this word by decision, and in fact an accident of the existence of the man of twenty years old, who is rushing with ardor to seize the object of his passion (2). I don't then believe it either here of man is, and I guess the Chinese Buddhist will have cited as an example " of the taken, of attachment, " the ardor of young man towards the objects of his desire. It therefore prefers the meaning of conception, and I think that it is a question here of the evolution of the being which passes through the conception to come into existence. This notion is binding better with the conditions that follow, all of the same it results quite well to the condition that she goes out. Only, as the design is an act in which being designed is up to a certain passive point , it seems to need, for good judge all the force of the word Upâdâna, grant to the being going through this phase which precedes the existence of a certain degree of activity, which is expressed by the term original from caption, an activity which makes him take for himself, which makes him seize the five attributes goals of the shape of the sensation of the idea of the concepts and of the awareness, which, united with five senses and the elements coarse of which the body is composed , mark its appearance in one of the six paths of existence. That which I confirmed in this idea is that the word Upâdâna has, besides the special reception that we are studying, an all moral sense, that in ' s loose, adhesion, meaning that appears in these five terms : Kâm-upâdâna, " the attachment " To the pleasure; » Ditth-upâdâna, « attachment to false doctrines; » Çîlap-pat-upâdâna, " the opposite attachment or negative with respect to the corporation ; » Attha-vâd-vpâdâna, " the attachment to the dispute (3). » I do not hide that these terms are borrowed in Pali, that is, to Southern Buddhism , and that we can test the correctness of the application that I make of it here to the Sanskrit texts of the North. Can I beg the reader to admit for a moment, which will be amply proven more later, knowing that in fact the terms philosophy and in what key the value of these terms, the paU is used as much for the interpretation of Sanskrit texts of Nepal as the Sanskrit to that of Pali books of Ceylon (4). I add here, to finish, a (1) Colebrooke,

Miscell. Essays, 1. 1, p. 396. This meaning seems too limited.(2) Foe kone ki, p. 288, note.(3) Judson, Burman Did., P. 45. I do 'm not sure of the meaning of the third term; so that mytranslation was certain, itbe that the word original was Çilappalchtipâdâna, for theSanskritçUa-prali-upddâna.(4) I place here before to finish, the explanation of Mr. Goldstuecker : "V Upâdâna or the Upâdânaskandhas are the cause of virtual or embryonic existence , but embryonic, I believe, in

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442INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY passage which shows with some detail the way in which takes place the act that I believe be the design, or the outlet of existence. vs Man, O Religious, is made up of six elements (Dhâtu). This results from this axiom, that thereunion of the six elements is the cause of the descent of germin the breast of the mother. Because these elements are the containers (dhâ-tu) of the birth, because they engender, the feed and make grow. Now, here the element that generates, is one of the knowledge (Whereof the conscience Yidjnâna) because he is the origin of the catch of a new body. The elements who feeds a broader meaning and not restricted to the embryonic state of man. I translate first ivpâdânaby hardware cam . This term has been for me one of the most difficult; However, I believe that the places that I quote him take away a little of his obscurity. It is said in the Vêdânta sâra (ed. Frank, p. 5, 1.23; and P. 6, 1.1 and 2) that Tchâtanya (Brahma) is, by its two forces, nimilta and upâdâna, and we add : like the spider, in relation to its web, is nimitta by its nature and upadana through his body. Windischmann, on Sankara, interpreter (p. 19, on the çloka 12 of the sixth page) vpdâna by causa materialis, by alleging other examples. In all the Mîmâisâ this word has the same meaning, and I am bound to mention a way that in giving a de-finishing full and very satisfactory {Mâdhaviya. Djâimini nytîya mâld vistara, f.58 b of your manuscript) : Ananuchihitasya anuchthnam upâddnam, that is : Upâdâna is the attachment to that which is without attachment, to that which is primitive. But what can serve as a point of attachment not in having, without having to cause, must be, if I can express myself well, palpable, there-quent material; it is therefore the visible cause . And by excess of clarity (which does not often happen to çlôkas of Madhava and to comment that in a given itself), the author adds: Tatchchaliarmavichayah purucha vyûdrah : And where is found, sedit of an object, and becomes the work of the man. This is said in opposition to t; td / i "na which is apravfiUpravartanamel purucha vichayahrabda vydpârah. It ends with :Iti mahân bhêdah. Other places are perfectly compliant to this explanation, which removes any doubt as to the meaningat.'upddâna. The etymology of this word I seem also to give, expressing the object one can enter, DDA, (and therefore is material), but who is Vupa of the senses, that is to say who is the base, the cause; that is to say in-core, the graspable, material cause . If I keep this explanation, the word Skandha also loses of its darkness ; because I would be tempted of the take in its original sense of which the other senses of aggregate, accumulation, etc., derive. I translate Skandka by shoulder, and Upâdâna skandha isa tatpurucha of the way of those panini described (II, i,36), where the Upâdâna theme is for the dative of the word declined. The sense shoulder for the causes material, is derived : that in which lie the material causes , by which they become knowable. In this way, I am consistent perfectly to the commentator you quote, p. 423, note; and the explanation of the Upâdâna skandhas by rapa, etc., according as it's caught by the body or by the mind, becomes in fact clear. I ask even if this word Skandha in his acception d'agrégat or of causes (as said commentator, p. 423), does should not be

necessarily part of a compound. It is under this only on condition that this meaning seems to me justifiable. As for me, I do not remember not to have met him alone in this sense; and that of the verb skandh (to accumulate) is, as it indicates its conjugation and the Dhâtupatha of Westergaard, most probably a formation of nominative made when the reason for the application had been forgotten. I believe therefore that the Upadanaskandhas are the bases of the visible causes which would respond to the invisible elements of the Brahmans, as the actual existence presupposes the elements visible. Thus, for the Buddhists, the Bhava has due to the invisible elements, or the basis of visible causes. " Being somewhat familiar with the doctrine of the Mîmâṃsâ, I do not possess the elements necessary to discuss this opinion; however ingenious it may seem to me, it has not yet been sufficiently demonstrated to me to commit myself to modifying my interpretation at this point.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM. 44. I feel, these are the elements coarse, land, water, fire, the wind, because if brought together, they constitute the body. The element that makes to grow is that of space (Akâśh) because it is the one who gives the place of which he needs. Here is why these elements have the name of Dhâtu; those are Dhâtus, containers, because they contain the principle taking a new body (1). It must now move to the question of which comes Yllpâdâna, word that fault more precise expression, I translate by design. This cause, which is the fifth, is Trichnâ, the thirst or desire. The meaning of this term is not in doubt. The commentator quoted by Mr. Hodgson in this regard is expressed as follows: "Then is born in the archetypal body the desire or worldly love (2); » And the Brahmans who refute the definite Buddhists feel this desire of this way: "The thirst is the desire to renew the sensations" Pleasant things, and that of avoiding what is unpleasant (3). • "Here again the Chinese Buddhist a, at least after Klaproth, attributed to the youth of man this condition which arises at a time certainly more important of its existence (4). If in effect I have well determined the previous word, if VUpâdâna is the physical conception which constitutes the existence of the individual and the preparation to the birth, the Trichnâ is a requirement of the individual prior to the design, or to be archetypal, following Mr. Hodgson; which does not remind badly the Linga çarîra, or the body composed of pure attributes, admitted by the school Sâmkhya, and that seems to define the aforementioned commentator. Let us see, then, that starting from desire, we enter into a series of conditions which are considered independently of any material subject, and which form the shell of a topic ideal. He is not easy to our European minds (I borrow talk after all that for me) to be figure qualities without substance and of attributes without subject; even less easy to understand how these qualities can form an ideal individual, who will later be a real individual. But nothing longer familiar to Indians that the realization and in a way the personification of absolute entities, detached from the being that we are accustomed to see attached to these entities; and all their systems creation will be that of a more or less direct, more or slower of the abstract quality the subject concrete. Making therefore, to the term which occupies us, the application of these remarks (1) Abhidharma kôça vyâkhyâ, f. 48 a and b, raan. Soc. Asian girl. The commentator teaches us in a different location (f. 55 b) that this passage is taken from the Sutra entitled Garbha avakrdnti (the descent of the fetus). (2) Quotations, etc., in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. V, p. 79. (3) Colebrooke, Miscell. Essays, t. 1, p. 396. (4) Foe koue ki, p. 287, note.

444 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY which would be susceptible to longer developments, I would say that in the term of Trīchnā, the thirst or the desire, it would be not to see a material desire, but on ONLY at least an abstract desire, a pure desire, which hinders the evolution of immaterial forms serial and primitive derindividū, and produces the design, which starts the series of its forms, material and current. The desire, although because of the conceptualization, is thus not, according to me, the attraction felt by the two genders one to the other; since then the subject would be changed, as cel-ui or those quidēsirent doare not the one that is designed. Now in this whole series of twelve causes and effects, the subject always remains the same; at least nothing will authorize me to suppose que the last four conditions belong to a being, and that the other eight (including seven we still have to study) designate a different being. The desire (1), which I believe to have thus determined the true character, has for cause the condition that I will examine, the sensation. This cause, which is the sixth, is the vedanā or the sensation, and one way More generally the sensitivity. The question was not more feasible on cet article than on the previous one. The text quoted by Hodgson explains it as follows : <The feeling" is the perception defined "and the commentator adds : "Perception or con-"birth defined, as by example, it is white and this is black ; that" is good and this is bad (2). > Colebrooke defines this word in the same way : <the feeling" station beyond pain and the pleasure (3). > We let us see by the gloss of the commenta-toraforementioned that it is not only a question here of the inner sensation , sensa-tion hemust be considered as giving a perception, that is to say a sensation accompanied by knowledge, but which the Vēdanā still contains the concept or the judgment moral ; which will be not easy to understand, if we will be reminded that these species judgments are the work of Manas or the heart, true internal sense of which the Buddhists, as well as the Brahmans, make a member to equal of the eye, of the hand and of the other instruments of the sensa-tion. Let us add that here again the sensation must be considered in itself, independent of pendently of the subject material, as I have said everything in time for the desire, effect of the sensation. Because we are still in the abstract qualities of the ideal being, who is, in all likelihood, the primitive type to be real, (1) Here is how Mr. Goldstuecker understands this term : " I believe that Trīchnā expresses Vap-petius, the desire to be active, or a inner fermentation experienced by invisible elements to proceed to their creation of Bhava or the elements visible. So we can say that the im-drive, as essence of these elements invisible, is their cause, is what the above virtuelle-is lying. As Bhava is the Syvap.i; of Djāti, in the same way we can suppose that Trīchnā is the Sūvapçof the Skandhai Upādānas. "(2) Quotat., Etc., in Journ., Etc., t.V, p. 79. (3) Colebrooke, Miscell. Essays, t.I, p. 396.

OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .445 which will begin at the design. This is so true that the feeling will appear the number of the five skandhas, or attributes qu'agrège the birth ; whence it follows that there are two sensations or sensitivities, one of the ideal ire before birth, the other of being real since he is not. That said, we can go to the because of the feeling (1) that is to say in contact. This cause is the seventh; it is called Sparça, the touch, the contact. Following the comment quoted by Mr. Hodgson, the contact takes place "when the prin-<cipe thinking endowed with a body in the form of an archetype comes to exercise on the properties of things (2) of Colebrooke gives a definition to little close similar according to Brahmanic authorities : "It's the feeling of the warm and

the cold experienced by the embryo or being endowed with body (3). >I do not need to insist on this question, including the relationship with the sensation that in is the effect is so easy to grasp. It should only be noted that this theory reports to the evolution of the archetypal body a fact that direct observation only shows us in the material body already formed (4). The cause of contact is the meeting of Chadâyatanas, which is placed immediately above. These Chadâyatanas are therefore the eighth leading cause in back ; these are the six places or seats from qualities sensitive and from sense. The text cited through Mr. Hodgson defines thus : "The six seats Where objects outside". laughing at the senses, "and according to one commentator : "The six properties, which can be felt and known for objects natural, moral and physi-ques (5). The explanation taken by Colebrooke from the Brah commentators' holders is less clear : "The seats of the six organs or the places of the senses which are formed the feeling of elements such as the land, etc., the name and" of the shape, or body, in relation to that which they are the organ- "born (6). >The commentator of the Abhidharma gives the word âijalana (place) an explanation which, grammatically speaking, is false, but that he imported to report here, to be understood that as the Buddhists mean by this term : "This is what quiétend (tan-OTI) the output or the birth (ây-tts) of the mind and thoughts (7)." The senses, in fact, by putting the mind in relation- (1) M. Goldstuecker defines this term as follows : "The vedanâ is Virtabilité, which, taken to clean, only applies to animate and organic beings , but which appears herein a similar sense , although more widely "(2) Quotitions, etc., in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t.V, p. 78. (3) Colebrooke, MûcelL Esfays, t. I, p. 396. (4) According to Mr. Goldstuecker, which is therefore in its system of explanations, "the Sparca term designates the sensitivity also élendue to all the nature in all beings indiscriminately. "(5) Quotations, etc. in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t.V, p. 78, note. (6) Colebrooke, Miscell. Essays, t. I, p. 396. (7) Abhidharma kôça vydkhyâ, f. 32 b of my manuscript.

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446 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Port with the flood outside, extend and develop the knowledge, or even [extend in some sort himself in each sensations he perceives. The Shadâyatanas are therefore the six seats of sensitive qualities, or otherwise the six senses, namely the sight, hearing, smell, the taste, the touch and the internal sensor Manas (1). But this name of ayatanaborn applies passeulement to the eye and the other sense, y including the organ internal, sense who are named collectively Adhyâtmika âyatana ^ «interior seats; > is the given again, according to the aforementioned commentator , in the form and the other attributssensibles, including the Dharma, the law, the merit or the being, attributes that are named collectively Bâhya ayatana, "seats exterior (2)." From where here results that the word ayatanarefers to the five organs of sense, there including the body internally, and five QUAbedded sensitive, including the Act as the internal organ alone can grasp. As for the way in which the meaning put the mind in communication with the objects exté-laughing, heyhas among the Ruddhists two opposing views. Some believe that the mind do not seize that an image, that a representation of the object ; the others believe in the direct perception of the object. The latter allow themselves of passage according to unSûtra that quotes one commentator : c Seeing the forms for using of "The eye, it do not understand a secondary representation ; and because it is the eye V who sees, the person (Pudgala) sees through the eye (3). » The six seats of qualities sensitive or the senses (4) have for cause the name and the form that the

foregoing immediately in evolution. The name and the shape *nāmarūpa*, are the ninth cause; it is an expression composed as *Djarāmarana*, the decrepitude and the death. The quoted text by M. Hodgson defines this condition: "the notions individual, on what the commentator adds: "It is an organized and defined body, but which is still only an archetype, and which is the seat of the conscience individual (5) > which he will be talked about earlier. The alleged brahmanic authorities through Colebrooke are expressed as: "In the meeting of feeling or of the consciousness (1) The Tibetans translate *Chadāyatana* as *Skye-mtched*, "the senses." (2) *Abhidharma*, etc., f. 48 b, man. Soc. Asian girl. (3) *Abhidharma*, etc., f. 67 b, man. Soc. Asian girl. (4) Here is the Mr. Goldstuecker's note on the *Ayatana*s: "According to the commentator, the six seats do not just express the six human bodies but also the shape and other sensitive attributes. This application proves to me even more than *Sparṣa*, *Vēdanā* and all the concepts above are the attributes of all the beings; because if they were only the attributes of man or of animate beings, it would be difficult to hear why the six seats embrace also the shape, etc., attributes that now may USING a metaphor, go to the organs by which the inorganic nature is susceptible to sensitivity and irritability. > (6) Quotations, etc., in *Journ., Etc.*, t. V, p. 78.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .447" with the paternal semen and the uterine blood, derives the rudiment of the body, its flesh and his blood, its name, *nāman*, and its form, *rūpa* (1). > He is not doubtful that he does. Whether here name * and in the form of an ideal subject or archetype, as they say the alleged texts by Hodgson; and I will do here the same observation that on the feeling: is that the form will appear all at the time the number five attributes together by the birth; from where here results that the form is double, one that belongs to the body ideal, one that receives the body material. The *Nāmarūpa* therefore represents this that there is of more exterior in the individual duality; but I therefore repeat, this individuality is that to be ideal, type of the real which will be shown outside at the time of the design (2). The name and the shape, or the sign outside of individuality, have to be because the awareness. The knowledge *Vidjānā*, or the feeling because this term is very understanding, is the tenth cause. The text quoted by Mr. Hodgson's defines: the concepts general; > on what the commentator adds: "When the *Samskāra* or the desire which is the cause of *Vidjāna* becomes excessive, the individual consciousness" dual starts to appear (3). d Following the authorities brahmins cited by Colebrooke, "*Vidjāna* is the feeling or the beginning of the consciousness (4). î This term means to properly speaking, the knowledge distinct, and the meaning do is not always easy to identify, even in the monumentalments of the literature Brahman. Here I believe that the knowledge word is the most suitable expression; but he must bring together the notion of feeling and that of knowledge, which are given separately by the self-authorities cited just now. It seems to me that that of pure knowledge would be too restricted, although this is the way adopted by Gsoma, which translates this word through (i) Colebrooke, *Miscell. Essays*, 1. 1, p. 396. (2) This is how Mr. Goldstuecker understands the *Nāmarūpa*: "I believe that *Nāmarūpa* must be ours made by substantiality or, if we conform to Buddhist conceptions reality. For the word of reality has the disadvantage of not not express quite clearly the inseparable reunion (imitated by the compound) of the essence and of the form. The meaning of *nāman* is essence, in all the *Mīmamsā*. He is opposed to the *guṇa*, to the accident that perishes, and used, for example, to designate sacrifices indéfinissables qui

provide empowerment final, the sky, and to the consume from which other sacrifices will be like gunas. In my opinion, Nâmarûpa expresses this substantiality where gasoline is married to the form, and that is, to as it were, the last limit of bodily world. From there everything derives: and in effect the following notions rise or try to rise above the bodily world; because the cause of the substantiality, which is already the idea itself same, but the idea still attached by a part of itself to the corporeal world, by rûpa, by the form of the cause of substantiality, I say, can not be that something ideal. > I have so far been able to justify this interpretation by the texts. (3) Quotat. from origin., etc., in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t.V, p. 78. (4) Colebrooke, Miscell. Essays, t.I, p. 396.

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448 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY cognition (1). The interpreters Tibetans, who are as to their ordinary matter-riellement accurate, make very well the prefix vi by nam-by, <totally, completely, > and then noun djnâna by ches-pa, "awareness; "corn this release do we learn anything of nine on the meaning of Vidjnâna. here Again the lexicon of Schroter comes to our aid in translating this term by "soul, life, reasonable soul C ^)." It is may be a little too much to say, because he is rather here of an abstract quality than of a concrete being; however he must be aware come that this interpretation, which lack the dictionaries of Gsoma and of Schmidt, leads us fairly directly to the idea of consciousness that also expresses the term Vidjnâna (3). I add that the Vidjnâna or the knowledge is of two kinds, one (and it is that which he is here) which is an attribute of being ideal, the other which is the fifth attribute of being equipment. Let's move on to the cause of the knowledge, which is called Saihskâra. This cause, which is the eleventh, is never indicated in the texts of Nepal. by a name in the plural, the Samskâras. I do not believe that this circumstance is entirely made indifferent. She does not however does not seem to have hit the authors who have spoken so far of the doctrine of the evolution of beings. the text quoted by Mr. Hodgson defines the term Samskara as "the illusory impression; " To what the commentator adds: "The belief the principle sensitive non-coated <of a body, in the reality of what is only a mirage, is accompanied" a desire for this mirage, and of the conviction of his merits and of his reality: o- this desire is called Samskâra (4). > According to the Brahmanic authorities cited by Colebrooke, "the Samskara is the passion, which includes the desire, aversion, (1) Arifilysis of the Sher-chin, in Asiat. Res., T. XX, p. 398; and Tib. Diction., P. ^ 55, col. i. (2) Bhotanla Diction., P. 342, col. 2. (3) Here are the observations of M. Goldsluecker on this article: "If I believe that so far all the development of the theory Buddhist is déroulé dans an order perfect and almost irrefutable, despite its enormous shortcomings and the intellectual leaps that the mind is obliged to do for the to follow, I am also convinced that it is in the last three notions, to speak of the tenth, that the abysses begin that it is no longer possible to fill. The term of Vidjnânais, it seems to me, exactly our knowledge, that is to say the amount of knowledge that aman has acquired. So that this word is constantly used in all the courses of Vêdânla, where he is also opposed to DjMna, the true knowledge. So Vidjnâna is the knowledge of this which is: vi, multiple, diverse, without unity, therefore, according to the Vêdânta, false. Djnâna, at the contrary, is the knowledge par excellence, the knowledge of what is, of Brahma ^ it is the true knowledge. And I would even go so far as to say that as Chadâyatana expresses the six organs of man, and the organs of the nature of inorganic, in a word any body in general, Vidjnâna exprime know and all that is the basis of knowledge, all world not real, full of apparitions of varieties. Vidjnâna therefore has this duplicity, intellectual however,

by which he becomes the because of the substantiality, or better to say, the notion to which that of the substantiality is subordinate. I would consequently translate Vidjñāna by the variety, known or to be known. "(4) Quotations, etc., in Journ., Etc., t.V, p. 78.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .449" The fear, the joy (1).» The notion of desire and that of passion seems to me a little too small ; I think well implicitly contained in the term Samskāra, but its value etymological reveals a nuance that masks entirely the completely moral interpretation that I have to mention. Primarily Samskara means accomplishment, completion to clean, then design, apprehension as figured. The samskaras are therefore the things qua form and animus, what that mind creates, makes, imagine (samskarōti) ; these are, in a word, the products of the faculty he has of to conceive, to imagine ; and if the word Samskara was employee singular, I hesitate not the result of imagination (2). The form the plural I decided for the meaning of design ; I have it replaced by that of concepts that is without doubt a little technical, but which avoids the confusion that had been done in a French of conceptions (Samskāra) with the conception (Upādāna). The word of concept, taken in the very extended meaning of product of the imagination (1) Colebrooke, Misc. Ess., T.I, p. 394 and 396. (2) Among many passages by which I could justify the meaning that I attribute to the term of Samskāra, I will content myself with quoting one, which I borrow from a well-respected book, the Lalita Vistara, and that the release tibétaineest between the hands of the learned public. This passage will give me a new opportunity to support by a direct example the general opinion that I have stated more high on the value of these versions. After having announced a day would come when the Religious infidels would refuse to believe in the miraculous birth of Bôdhisattva, Çākya muni adds: Poçya Ananda kiyantam tē mulhapuruchd bahcapunyūbhisamsmram abhisaihsakarichyanti ,yē buddhadharmdn pralikhchpsyanti, lābhafatkūraçlōkābhibhūtā, uichtchāralaynāh, lābhasatkūrābhibhūtā ilaradjātiyāh ; which must mean : " See ^ O Ananda, how are many the imagination nations guilty which will deliver the foolish men who will reject the laws of Buddha; these men slaves of gain, of honor and of the fame, immersed in the mud, defeated by the gain and the love of respect, and naturally coarse. " {Lalita vist., f.51 b.) The Tibetan version has provided to Mr. Foucaux the following translation: "These men" obscured to play in stanzas of perfections acquired and worthy of respect; delivered to impurity, trampling on what is venerable, see them, these men of low condition, "rejecting the doctrine of Sang-gyas and abandoning themselves openly and unreservedly in nations without number engendered the vice. " (P'oucaux, Specimen of Gya tcher king pa, p. 24, and the Tibetan text, p. 32 and 33.) I do not know how the Tibetan interpreters were able to translate so obscure element "will play in stanzas of perfections acquired and worthy of respect, " the epithet so clear from the Sanskrit text, lābha satkūra çlōka abhibhūtāh, "overcome by the gain by the respect and by the fame. " The interpreter Tibetan has certainly troprestreint the meaning of molesçlōka, who wants to say not only stanza, but fame, glory, or that the glory result of stanzas and songs of poets is that çlōka derives a transformation old and now ignored by the raw radical (hear). What it is either, acceptance of stance will not come here, and the interpretation that I am proposing can not cause difficulty. Would n't it even be possible, in there looking around, to translate and very-literally the Tibetan passage : "Ānanda, sic homines stupidi, quæstu et veneratione et laudibus vicli, sordibus

immersi, "honorum splendore victi, ignobiles generates, hi Buddhae legem despicientes, quam multas impias" imaginations lie concipiunt empty. If this version came out, as I suppose, from the Tibetan text, she would have the advantage of making the original verbatim Sanskrit, including the meaning moreover, does not appear to me to be doubtful. 29

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450 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY ginalion, seems to me still justified by the passage following from a commentator Singaporean. The book from which I borrow it is the *Bjñālahkāra*, or the description poetics of perfections of the Djina or of the Buddha, written in Pali and accompanied of a comment made in the same language. The text is asks : a What is the one we call Buddha, *Buddhō ko ti* ? "and the commentator develops this question as follows : " *Buddhō li ko sattō va samkhārō va*. What being " Real, or what conception, is the one we name Buddha (1) ? " In this text, if I am not mistaken, *saiikhāra* (for, the Sanskrit *samskāra*) is opposed *īṣatta* (for *saliva*) ; and *satlva* means creature, to be real, he is not not doubtful that *saiikhāra* does not mean conception. But, he will be not forgotten, these designs or concepts must be taken in a very broad sense ; he must be there see, with the commentator quoted by Mr. Hodgson, conceptions of intelligence, like that of the existence of the outside world, then of the conceptions of the heart, if I can express myself well, as the love and the hatred and the other movements mentions passionate people excited by the sight of this illusory world (2). Here applies again observation already made on the form, the feeling and the consciousness, is that the *Samskāras* or concepts are of two kinds : the few are those whose it just question, the other reappear all at the time the number of five attributes agré- aged by the birth. The former result from the belief in the existence of this which is not, and it is for this that we says * that they have their causes in *VAvidyā*, ignorance or the non-being. To these observations I would add that the term *Samskāra* is often translated a manner very satisfactory by compound ; NS will only give for example a passage that I quoted more high (3), and to which this meaning con-(i) *Djñālam* *Mra*, f. 12 b of my manuscript. (2) Here the notes of Mr Goldstuecker relatively to this capital term : " You have already done *erccsortii* ; the importance of the plural of *Samskāra*, and I am convinced that this number is decisive for the interpretation of this notion. Only, I am let to me take the meaning established in, 1a *Mimamsa*, which, far from being repugnant to your explanation, the makes the contrast perfectly with the only difference a small nuance, which his side restores the good barmonie between your in-pretation and ordinary usnge of the word. Lemot *Sainskāra* expresses in this philosophy the notion of means, in opposition to that of the goal it helps to achieve. The goal is ; the medium is *inva* ^ disappears. *Safiiskāra* is for that the term or the notion of inferiority, because he is never employed only in view of the superiority of the goal. Buddhism can very well say, I suppose, that everything in this world is inferior, is pure means ; and this sentence to the mean, this who wants to say only to inferiority, to the degradation, or rather this inferiority herself then becomes the cause of variety. So many different objects, so many objects that have the nature of medium. In speaking from the views of Buddhism, I can say that the *moyenneté* (the sum of everything that is means to question the plural) is the *SUV* "p ; of the variety. The term " *imagination*, I believe, would apply only to man, while that the term indicated *trouveaussi*

well site in the creative intellectual as in the world body. "(3) Sect. He, p. 74. The Tibetans understand this term the same, because Csoma translated by any real
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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .451 comes better than the concept of imagination. These two interpretations are not indeed as distant one to the other might be the belief in the first suddenly look : they not differ that following the point of view from where we stand. Do we consider the Samskaras in an abstract way ? They are the imaginations, the conceptions, the creations of the mind resulting from a mistaken belief - to the existence of what is not. On the contrary, do we consider them in a way concrete or in reality? the Samskaras are beings, these varied creations, which are true compounds, not only because it is formed of parts (saMskrita, confecta), but because no relative being is absolutely simple. VAvidyâ or ignorance is the twelfth and last cause going up. It is, as it says the text often cited by Mr. Hodgson, "the false know" sance, " to which his commentator adds : " The existence of the world which is " in a perpetual movement derives solely from the imagination or of the " belief in the reality of things ; and this false opinion is the first act of sensitive principle not yet individualized or coated of a " body (1). 5 It is also in this way that, according to Colebrooke, the Brahmanic authorities : " Avidyâ ^ ignorance or error, is the mistake which consists in looking at as durable what is only temporary (2). > He cannot remain the slightest doubt about the value of this term; however, it is important to note that it has a double meaning, the one objective shot of the éiymologie even the word Avidya, that is to say avidyamânam, which will be located not, which does not exist, the non-existence; the other subjective taken from the ordinary use of the word Avidyâ, that is a-vidya, the non-science, ignorance. The non-being and non-knowledge are therefore identical ; and thus the existence of the object is denied in its origin or from world, and to a certain extent, of the subject essentially relative who lives in middle of the world (3). We see it, he will be not much press this principle to in draw the fancied thing \ e word Hdu-vyed, Tibetan synonym of SafnsMra. {Vocab. pentagl., secl.xxn, no 2.) See . the additions to the fm the volume. (1) Hodgson, Quolat., Etc., in Journ.'Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, t. V / p. 78. (2) Colebrooke, Miscell. Essays, I I, p. 396. (3) Here is the note of Mr. Goldstuecker on Avidya: " The term for " Avidya is, in my opinion, different à 'Adjnâna, often used in the Vedanta ; because I do not doubt that it would have been used if the Buddhist doctrine had not wanted to do; out a different concept, or the least nuance of an existing notion. The word for ' ignorance or of non-science gives rise to the difficulty against which I have already done some observations, it is to know that it is applicable only the man. I think rather that the meaning that you have indicated by the etymology avidya-Mana is the one that is would link the best to the concept of samskaras such as I have explained. For avidyamâna would be just the same thing that adjnânamâna, and aurait l'emploi General

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452 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY absolute vacuum as the Râhmans, opponents of the Buddhists (1), claim to be the dogma of the Madhyamika school, a school which, as we have seen, is that of the famous Religious Nâgârdjuna. But to take to the letter the définition précitée de VAvidyâ, he always remains a principle sensitive, as says the commentator of Mr. Hodgson, a spirit or a soul, the subject or the person in a word, who can ignore or know the truth concerning the things, and who, if she ignores it, falls

under the empire of the causes and the effects and rolling, until it has been able to break free, in the circle eternally mobile the transmigration. The books of the Prajñās sometimes speak of this principle which I believe to be their Tchitta (spirit) or their Pudgala (the person, the soul). But he is certain that the theory of causes and effects presupposes its existence ; because it takes much that there has an intelligent subject, since to possibility error Where ignorance To with regard to the object. The existence of thinking subject is, moreover, directly established by the fragment following from a Sûtra, which I quote from the commentator of the Abhidharma kôça. "I will you teach, ô Religieux it that is that the existence (bhava), this that is that the act of receiving the existence and one of thereject it as it is as the one who takes on existence. Listen to this, and fix it well and completely in your mind : I will talk. What is that life ? These are the five attributes, causes of the design. What is that the act of receiving existence ? This is the desire reborn without cease, who is accompanied by love and of enjoyment, which is satisfied here and there. What that act of reject existence ? It is abandonment complete, the rejection absolute expulsion, the destruction, the detachment, the is cleared sion, the termination, the disappearance of this desire that ren: IIT without ceasing, who is accompanied wrapped in love and of enjoyment, and who is satisfied here and there. What is that one who takes on existence? It is the iper & onne (Pudgala), one should say; [but Çākya said:] It is this respectable character that you see, who has one such name which is of such family and of such lineage, who takes such food, who experiences such fun and such sentence has a so great age, who lives for so long, that is so respectable ; this is the one who takes on existence. Now by these words, which cover existence, Çākya hears designate the person, \ e Pudgala. Existence is not the one who clothes existence (2)." which it is needed here . However I do want not identify Avidya with the nothingness; because the pas-wise later in your Memory prove that man must destroy all these notions, and especially their root, V Avidya, to reach the nothingness. I am therefore inclined to believe that ' Avidyâ is illusion, outside that lack of background, the same notion that Maya, with this différence tou-fois that Maya is the reflection of the truth absolute and existing, while qn' Avidyâ is the reflection of nothing. " (Voy. The additions at the end of the volume.) (1) Colebrooke, Miscell. Essays, t. I, p. 331. (2) Abhidharma kôça vyākhyâ, f. 474 a.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .453 I will still cite other authorities which will be not less explicit. It is admitted axiom by the Buddhiistes, no requirement is the soul or the ego, or that all the conditions are non-moi : Sarvadharmâ anâlmânah, and the Abhidharma commentator explain this axiom thus : a The conditions "Nature did not own of soul or me, the me was not in them (1); "then he adds : "The person is not a Dharma, a condition, its pudf / alô na dharmah. Now the person, it is the one who in the proposal : I have in a "time spent in a form, says I or Me. This I or me (aham) is the > nobody, the Pudgala. The me (Atman), this is not the attributes (skandha), or "these seats of quality sensitive (Ayatana), nor the elements (Dhâtu) (2). j> That is to say, in other words, the me is not the body of the individual, who is composed of attributes intellectual, directions and the elements (3). Now this theory is based on texts that I consider as respectable, especially on a passage from Avadâna çataka, which it is important to quote here : I borrow it from the legend of some Guptika which is made Religious. In the time of Çākya . "The young men of his age who accompanied him were carried away by his example to enter into life

religious. Having gone to the place where was the respectable Guptika, they spoke to him thus: Respectable Guptika, what is it who in the world has the status of perishable, and what that in the world does not have the condition of perishable? Respectable personages, replied Guptika, the form has the requirement of perishable; and the Nirvana, which consists in the cessation of the form, not the status of perishable. The feeling, the idea, the concepts and knowledge have, O respectable personages, the condition of perishable, and the Nirvana, which is in the cessation of these various accidents, does not have the condition of perishable. What do you think, respectable figures, the shape is it permanent or temporary? - It is transient, O respectable Guptika. - And this who is a passenger, is it a bad, or is it not an evil? - It's an evil, respectable Guptika. - But, respectable characters, what is temporary, what is an evil, which is about to change, is it likely to inspire a Audi-respectable man, who is very educated, the following sentiments: This is to me; this is me; This is my soul even? - Not at all, respectable Guptika. - What do you think, respectable Listeners, the feel, the idea, the concepts and the knowledge are they permanent or passengers? - They are passengers, respectable Guptika. - And what is temporary, is it an evil, or is it not an evil? (1) Abhidharma kôça vyâkhyâ, i.474 a. This is the idea expressed by VAnâtmaJca, in Tibetan Bdag-med-pa, from the Pentaglotte Vocabulary. (Sect. Xxiv, n » 4.) (2) Abhidharma kôça vyâkhyâ ^ f. 474a of my manuscript. (3) See above ^ sect. III, p. 242 ^ end of third paragraph, and p. 423, note.

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454 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY - This is a bad, respectable Guptika. - But, respectable characters, which is a passenger, which is an evil, which is subject to change, is it in Nature inspiring to a Listener respectable, who is well-educated, the feelings following: This is to me; this is me; This is my soul even? - None-ment, respectable Guptika. "That is why, respectable characters, any form whatsoever, that it either past, future or present, that she either interior or external, whether rude where subtle, that she either bad or good, it is distant or brought together, any form, I say, must be considered as it really is, the help of the perfect wisdom should we do say: This is not to me; this is not me; this, it's not my soul. Any feeling, any idea, everything concept, any knowledge whatsoever, whether that is past, future where present, it is indoor or outdoor, it is gross or subtle, it is bad or good, it is distant or close, toute sensation, say j must be seen as it really is, with the help of the perfect wisdom which must make us say: This is not to me; this is not me; this, it is not my very soul. The Auditor respectable, having learned a lot, oh respectable characters, which is considering this issue in this manner is disgusting even to the shape; he is also disgusted with the perception, of the idea, of concepts and of the knowledge; and a time he is disgusted with it all, he is detached; and when a time it is detached, it is freed. So heat the sight cleared of the science which makes him say: Existence is destroyed for me; I have rempU the duties of the religious life; I did this as I had to do; I wo n't see any more a new existence after this one (1). j> If I do not deceive in doing to the theory of the causes and the effects the applicability of these texts, it would probably be seeing the origin of opinions fundamentals of the school of Yôgâçhâras, which, following the commentators Brahminists, believed that everything is empty, off the principle thinking of which they admitted existence and eternity (2). But at the same time as the enumeration the causes and the effects assumes the subject, does it also assume the object? I don't think not, because the subject is wrong to respect of the object by granting this last an existence that he actually does not. She does not only take

care of these two terms, the world and man :the world, which exists only in the vain existence which man attributes to him in his error; man, who are such that we see that by following his ignorance of the world. It is very probable (1) Avadâna çat., F. 238 a. (2) Colebrooke, Miscell. Essays, t. 1, p. 391.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .455 that this doctrine is that of the Sautrântikas, who flatter themselves to follow exclusively the authority of the Sûtras of Çâkyamuni (1). The doctrine of the twelve causes presupposes so, as well as I have said, one of the two tarnished, which is man; and I believe that the ancient sūtras also admitted it. The Pradjñâ Pâramitû, on the contrary, and in particular the Madhyamikas who take this book for authority, will in law show more than that, and we can not deny that their deductions destroy also the subject and the object. It is there, if I'm not mistaken, at the point that more detailed research will only confirm. But reduced even to the terms of the theory of the twelve causes, the primitive ontology of the Buddhists has a rather large analogy with that of the Brahmanic school of Sâmkhya. Buddhists recognize in man an intelligent principle, a life, a soul, which transmigrates to cross the world; it is the Puruça or the spirit of the Sâmkhyas. In outside its principle, the Svâbhâvikas admit the existence of the Pradjñâ or of the nature intelligent; only would this not, as has already conjectured Mr. Hodgson, the principle of the Sâmkhyas (2)? Prior to making down the life in within the forms coarse, they involve coating various abstract qualities that create for her a sort of ideal body, a type of the material and visible body; this is the Linga çârîra or the body of attributes, that is to say the subtle body of Sâmkhyas. Well, if I judge well as of links new by which the philosophy of Buddhists are connected with one of the Brahmins; but we must however admit that the Sâmkhya doctrine, and in particular the section of this doctrine which denies the existence of God, is not recognized by anyone in India to be strictly Orthodox. I have more of a "once, in the course of this analysis, remembered the five Skandhas or attributes, which will meet when has held the fact of the birth. These Skandhas are of real attributes sensitive and intellectuals, more intellectual same as sensitive; and it does is not surprising, when one thinks to the trend idealist of Buddhism, a tendency which emerges at all times from the evolution of productive causes of living beings. This is to state the principle thinking and sensible, a time he is born, that is to say to its current state, that will relate these five attributes, who are: Rûpa, the form; Vêdanâ, the sensation; Sañjîdjhâ the idea; Sañjîskâra, the concepts; and Vidjñâna, the knowledge. Of these five attributes goals, four have already appeared in enumeration from twelve causes that I have done everything in time; I did come back here only to say that these five attributes do not are more abstract qualities, as above, but the actual attributes of the living subject. (1) Colebrooke, Miscell. Essays, t.1, p. 391. (2) Europ. Specul. on Buddh., in Journ. Asian Stud. Soc. of Bengal, t.III, p. 428.

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456 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY The only one who does not have not yet published is that of the Samjñâ or of the idea; Çoma de Côrôsees consciousness; but the commentators Brahminists, refuting the Buddhists, seem to me to better understand the value of this term, when they translate by "the knowledge or opinion which result from the names of words, signs and characters (1).> The word idea seems to render exactly that shade. But whence comes that these five attributes of living subject are called

Skandhas, branches or aggregates ? The various peoples who have adopted the Buddhism, at least as much as their works are known to me, give us little lights in this regard ; and to not mention that two examples, the Tibetans with their translation of heap, accumulation, and the Chinese, with that of clusters, teach us absolutely nothing of what is the Sanskrit Skandha. Schröder, he is true, translates the Tibetan term phung-po Inga (which is the Sanskrit pañcaskandha) by the five bodies, that is to say the five attributes personal composed (2); but this version is not sufficiently clear. He needs say much of that of bartenders who make and the pale khandha : "Body," Living animal, composed of five parts, namely : the materiality rūpakskandha ; the sensation, vêdanaskandha ; the perception (for me the idea), sannâ- "Nakkhandha ; the will (for me the concepts), sañhâskandha, and the intelligence (for me the knowledge) viññâskandha (3)." This interpretation is more clear, but it exceeds the goal: Skandha cannot mean living body; it would rather be part that it would be necessary to say, the body produced of the birth being formed of the five Skandhas or parts. But I find in the commentary on the Abhidharma unpassage which renders account of a way very satisfactory from the use of this term, which he is so difficult to understand the meaning after the only value etymological. After having exposed that Skandha, mass, is synonymous with râçi, heap, heap, Yaçômitra adds : "The sensation of any kind it is, past, future, present, inter- "higher, external, considerable, subtle, distant, immediate, being reunited" In a single mass, take the name of Vêdanâ Skandha, the aggregate of the "sensation ; and it by way of other aggregates, up and there including one of the " Knowledge (4)." We see by then that in a translation French, through example it there has no problem omitting the word aggregate, since the expression abstract the sensation summarized by its generality even the various accidents of (1) Colebrooke, Miscell. Essays, 1. 1, p. 394. This is also the meaning of the Tibetan Hdu-ches, idea. (2) Bhotania Diction., P. 188, col. 2. (3) Judson, Burman Diction., P. 88. (4) Abhidharma kôça vydkhyâ, î. 31 b of my manuscript.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .457 the sensation indicated in the aforementioned commentary ; these are all the sensations and all their cash. It is with this character of generality that the word Skandha is used in the transition according to unSûtra quoted by the author of Commentary on the Abhidharma kôça : "These conditions of the Buddhas, such as" The terms say Âvênikas and others, oh well ! to caused their subtlety and" Of their excessive depth, he there ignorantly to their regard for "Other than for the Buddha. This is how he is said : Do you know, ô Çâri- has pultra, the mass of the body or throughout the body, cila Skandhas ^ of Tathâ- "Gala, all his meditation, all his knowledge, all his liberation, all his" Science of postage (1)? "To translate this difficult term exactly, it should therefore use the word aggregate; but this term is not clearer than that of Skandha, and it would have need to be of course a perpetual commentary. I doubt besides that it was to give an idea just of the role that this term plays in expression composed upadana Skandhas that to say that the aggregates used in the conception. y> So I preferred the word attribute, because, as I have already said on the occasion of a fragment of the Pradjnâ pramità, the Skandhas which are the form, the sensation, the idea, the concepts and knowledge are of vérité- the intellectual attributes which constitute in man the domain of the intellectual intelligence, in this that they embrace the various phases the fact of knowing, since the point to start that in is in some sense the opportunity, that is to say the form, until the last term which is knowledge itself. A perfect translation- exact ment of the word

Skandha, at least in the compound Upâdâna skandha, would be the one who would make this term by means, helps, in this way : " This means used to the design, i>with little near as hear Mr. Gold-stuecker in a footnote that I transcribed everything in time. But this interpretation, by not showing that the special application of Skandha in the compound Upâdâna skandha, would lack generality and would leave in the shade the sense collective that this word takes when is attached to one or to the other of the five attributes intellectuals, like Vêdanâ skandha, the mass of sensations, to say all the sensations, all espèce de sensation. By starting the analysis of books stored in Nepal who are specialists LEMENT related the Abhidharma or to the metaphysical, Isays that the volumi-Neuses editors of the Prajñâpâramitâ were not the only ones treated where we could draw the knowledge of the party speculative of Buddhism. I quoted, among others, several sūtras, which offer a striking analogy with books (1) Abhidharma kôça vyākhyâ, f.4 b, manuscript of the Asian Society.

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458 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY of the Prajñâ, non not only for the form, but up to a certain point for the fund. I leave of side the Saddharma Pundarika, who did lead to one special point, the one of the unity of the three means of transport, and I don't want to refer only to a book enjoying an equal authority and that the trend speculative is indisputable. This book, which seems also felt among all the peoples who received the Buddhism in India, is already known under the title of Langkâvatâra, that is to say the teaching given to Langkâ or Ceylon. that which confirms me in this last explanation, is that the title of the work, such he is repeated at the end of each chapter, is Saddharma Langkâvatâra ^ "The revelation of the good law in Langkâ (1)." This work, which is composed of one hundred and six sheets or two hundred and twelve very large and very full pages, is given for a Mahâyâna sūtra. He is written in prose and in verse, and the portion poetic of it has quite a few traces of this mixed style of forms prâcrites don't. I reported the existence in the Lotus of the good Law. A stanza that does not do not hold at the original drafting of the work clearly marks the aim everything philosophical of this treatise: " The Sūtra in which he is taught by the King of the Act that the terms (Dharmas) are deprived of soul is transcribed here with "Warning. " Sakya is shown is located in Langkapuri, on the top from the Malaya Giri mountain. Serecalling that the ancient Tathâgatas have exposed the Law in this place, he is sent disposed to the mimic; and Ravana, king of Ceylon, which penetrates his intention, experiences the desire to hear it. Ravana is made from of Çâkyâ and sends him a few stanzas for the pray to teach his doctrine to the inhabitants of Ceylon, as have done the earlier Buddhas. Çâkyâ returns to Ravana's wish, and out of compassion for him, he is manifest in all his glory, surrounded by a large number of devas and of the Assembly ^ of its Audi-teurs. The dialog is established then and will continue in the following between Sakya and Mahamati, one of the Bôdhisattvas of the Assembly ; and he rolls over the nature of laws or of beings, and on a large number of clean points to the Buddhist doctrine, such as the production, destruction, intelligence, the truth sublime, the void of various kinds of causes. Çâkyâ sometimes recalls in a way summary the opinions of the Tîrthakaras (2), name by which he designates the ascetics (1) Mr. G. de Humboldt, who do know! = Is the book which I speak here only by the truncated title de Langkâvatâra ^ had, however, recognized and explained its true meaning, except for one nuance of little importance : Die Schrift von dem auf Langkâ (Ceylon) offenbar Gewordenen. " { Ueber die Kawi-Sprache, t. I, p. 268.) The derivatives

of the group sorting, preceded by *ava* and used in the form causal, is very easily lend themselves to the direction of communicate, to transmit, " literally, " to do " go down teaching. "(2) One might think that the Tirthakaras, of whom this work speaks in more than one place , are

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .459 Brahman, and as I have said above. We see taking part in the dialogue of *ôlres* supernatural as *Krîchnapakchika*, king of the Nagas, who comes under the figure of a Brahmin, ask to *Çûkya* if according to him, he exists another world. I add that the *Saddharma Langkâvalâra* possesses, like the *Saddharma pundarîka*, a chapter of magic formulas, named *Dha-ranîs*, a circumstance which links this book to a certain extent to the class of Tantras (1). We see that there has nothing history in this book, and that we would hope to wrong to use it to support this opinion of the Singhalese, that *Çâkyamuni* came to Ceylon, as had done, they say, the Buddhas past, for there to preach the Law (2). This meeting of *Sakya* with *Bavana* are not less fabulous than the existence of the king of Ceylon, which the Brahmanic tradition makes contemporary of *Bâma*, that is to say of a hero who, if he has never existed, has certainly preceded several centuries *Çâkyamuni* the Buddha. The *Langkâvalâra* me seems a book com-asked dansu school, and at a time when the Buddhism had reached its entire development. I cite as evidence the piece after which exposed the various Opinions that are were doing the various sects from Buddhists and the Brahmins of this goal common to their efforts and for their education, the Nirvana. "Then the bodhisattva Mahasattva Mahâmati spoke of new to Bhagavat in these terms : They said, O Bhagavat, the Nirvana, the Nirvana. What is the thing that designates this name of Nirvana ^ on which do all the Tirthakaras reason ? Bhaga-vat says : Listen , Mahâmati, and write well and completely my words in your mind : I you say that that is what the Nirvana, in accordance with ideas various that the Tirthakaras make of it . Well, Bhagavat, replied the Bodhisattva Mahamati, and it is set to listen. Bhagavat spoke to him thus : "There are Tirthakaras, Mahamati, who définissent ainsi the Nirvana, in saying that by the deletion of intellectual attributes, the elements and the direction, by the deified sages of the Djâinas; but although this name may be borrowed from this sect, which has been without doubt be held at a time quite modern, I believe that in our texts Buddhist the word of Tirthakara is simply a synonym for Tirthika and of Tirthya, terms by which we mean all the ascetics who do are not Buddhists, and beggars Brahminists in particular. (1) *Saddharma Langkâvatdra*, f. 78 a and b. (2) After this analysis of the *Langkâvalâra*, I do not need to warn that I am giving up the point of view under which Mr. Lassen and I had believed each other, hether was already a long time, having to consider this book. {Test on the pale, p. 43.) We we will do not admit more opinion a judge with feelings which I do do not difficulté of me submit; here, in fact, his opinion not based any more than that that I give on the review directly from the book in question. (A. Rémusat, *Nouv. Journ. Asiat.*, T. Vil, p. 295.)

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460 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY indifference to respect of objects by the consideration of the perpetual contradiction of duties, the thoughts and which in result cease to be produced with abundance ; then the termination of any exercise of the thought, produced by an annihilation of its cause, similar to that of a lamp, a germ of wind, and resulting from the oblivion of things past, futures and present, it is there the Nirvana ; it is to there that they just the idea they have of Nirvana. But these men my, oh Mahâmati, who not see that

frustration, only manage not to Nirvana." Further they thus define :This is the issue which is the action of passing in a different place as soon as the wind action that results in the termination of all exercise of the mind towards objects. Other Tīrthakaras thus define :It is the deliverance resulting from the destruction of the sight of these two things, the mind that knows, and the object that needs to be known. Others will represent the issue as resulting from the cessation of any exercise of the faculty of thought, termination of the view of what is passing and of that which is eternal. Further they thus define :leaving of this belief that the crowd of people relating to the attributes brings with it the production of the pain, inability to know the measure of the sight of their own mind, terrified by the fear of attributes, they imagine finding the Nirvana in a characteristic desire for happiness resulting from the sight of attributes. Others knowing at background the both characters special as general that belong to all the circumstances, either internal, or external, will represent the Nirvana as the imperishable substance of being past, future and present. Others represent to the Nirvana like existence imperishable of body, of being, of life, of principle Foster, of the person and of all the conditions. Other Tīrthakaras, Mahāmāti, whose spirit only has a false penetration, is listed as the Nirvana result of the distinction they are of the Spirit of with the Nature and to share one of the successive modification of qualities. Others to represent the Nirvana as resulting from frustration complete the virtue and the vice; others, from the science which destroys completely the pain; others, from the view that the world is the work of a creator God . From at-very claiming that the creation of the universe is the product of action mutual [of the elements], and not of a cause, do not do not notice, in their error, that it's still there admit a reason ; it is according to this point of view that they represent the Nirvana. <Other Tīrthakaras, Mahāmāti, will represent the Nirvana as a result to many perfect intelligence of the truth and of the way. Others are Uvrat to

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .461 review of quality and the about which the supports, pull the ideas that they are the Nirvana of these various points of view : that the qualities and the subject are one, that they are different, they are at the time one and the other, and that they are neither the one nor the other at the time. Others starting from this view, that the proper nature of each being comes to him from his nature [Svabhāva] passing to the state of activity [Pravṛtti], like for example the variety of colors for the peacock, the stones precious in various species for the mines, the property to be spicy for the thorns, represent the Nirvana according to this idea. Further, Mahāmāti, will represent the Nirvana as resulting from the knowledge of twenty-five principles ; and others, of the acquisition of the science that has six qualities and qui protège the home. Other starting from this view that the time is what is, to represent the Nirvana according to the knowledge of following principle : The existence of the world is dependent on the weather. Further, Mahāmāti, will represent the Nirvana by existence ; others by the knowledge of the existence and of the non-existence ; others by this idea, that there is not of difference between the existence and the Nirvana." Further to the contrary, O Mahāmāti, is the account as it follows : do not hear the roar of the lion what pushes the one who has omniscience (the Buddha), that is to say, not recognizing anything that as the design of their own mind (1), admitting neither the existence nor the non-existence of external objects laughing ; considering [Nirvana] to be an essentially private place of four sides ; not falling not in the two extreme terms of the reflection applied to what is visible to the mind,

because they do not see or the object to be admitted, nor the subject that admits; born not believing that all the evidence, whatsoever, can get a principle grasped; rejecting existence of a principle, because that the character illusory of any principle leads to not admit any; possessing each individual the sublime Act; recognizing the double nonexistence of a spiritual element (2); who did stop the two corruption of wrong; having dispelled the two species of darkness; detached from the mind, the heart and of the knowledge that gives the heart, p, as result of the meditation deep the image reflected by the illusory appearance which is in the role of Tathâgala, the more high of all (3); these men will represent the Nirvana according to these ideas. (1) This way I seem to be explained by a different text of the same book, f. 23 6 : "The three" worlds are a pure conception of the mind; they are deprived of me, of substance. " (2) Or maybe, " recognizing that there are two things that do not have me : nâirâtmtja dvaya" avabôdhât, "without doubt the soul and the body. When one has no comments, it is never sure of being able to rigorously determine the meaning of these abstract formulas. (3) Here is a veritable philosophical galimatias, a lot of words for a few ideas. He seems that it wants to say that the role, that is, the condition of Tathâgata, which is the most

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462 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY From such opinions, and other similar that support the logicians of Mauvaises schools of tîrthyas, are in because of their falsity, repoussées par the wise. [All in fact] Mahâmali, will represent the Nirvana from an idea who ar-rete in two terms. These are there, among others, Mahâmali, the idea that all the Other Tîrthakaras to make the Nirvana. But with of such opinions, we NE cannot to say that we are in action (Pravritti), or in inaction (Nirvritti). Cha-that Tîrthakara, O Mahâmati, has his Nirvana; examined from the ideas of their own books, of such opinions are incoûséquentes; they do not support 'not, as they present them. The Nirvana result for person of the movement, of arrival or departure from the heart. After Thee learned of this truth, as well as the other Rôdbisattvas, you must reject all the Nirvanas of the Tîrthakaras of false doctrines (1). "According to the way in which this piece is finished, it seems that all the opinions he exposes on the Nirvana are also repelled by the author. I believe, however, that the last is that which he admits; and this opinion, which is moreover expressed in obscure terms, amounts to the absolute negation of subject and of the object. I am based in believing that this way considering the Nirvana is the opinions dominant in the the Rûddhisme North; that it is very probably the one the various editors of the Pradjnâ, maybe the one from Madhyamikas, and certainly that of Yôgâtchâras, to the opinions which the Langkâvatâra seems to me to lean (2). I still find in this work Further details on the Nirvana returning to somewhat close to those expressed by the last of the opinions reported in the previous piece. After describing the Nirvana as responding to absolute emptiness, in these terms singularly obscure : "the domain of the essence of the emptiness of any proper nature which" belongs to Nirvana, " Rhagavat adds: " Still another thing, Mahâmati: the Nirvana, which is the domain of science as seen by each of the Aryans individually, is to protect the various ideas that are in can do, know that is eternal, that it is interrupted, that it is and that it is not. How will he do it is not eternal? It is that he does not give rise to the idea that he has of attributes either proper or common [to something else]; from there comes that is not eternal. How is it that it is not interrupted? Is that all the past Arya, high of all those which an animate being can reach, really does not exist; that it is an illusory appearance; that the image reflected by this

appearance deprived of reality, that is, without doubt, the Buddha individual, must be for the religious subject of meditation profound, etc. I would have been able to detach myself in shorter proposals; but I thought it was necessary, by a very literal version, to give an idea of this style. (1) Saddharma Langkāvatāra, f. 54 6 ff.; (2) Saddharma Langkāvatāra, f. 3 b, 13 a, 23 b.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .463 present and future one include each individually; from there comes he is not interrupted. Moreover, Mahāmāti, the great complete Nirvana is neither the destruction or the dead. If the great complete Nirvana, O Mahāmāti, was the death after her return. the chain of rebirths. If, on the other hand, it was the destruction, he would fall under the definition of a compound being. It is for that as the largest full Nirvana is neither destruction nor the dead. The Yôginis include as the undead followed the passage into a different world (I). Yet another thing, Mahāmāti: the Nh^{\wedge} vāna is called of this name, because it is not neither removed nor acquired, neither interrupted nor eternal, neither identical nor diverse. Still something else, Mahāmāti: the Nirvana for the Çrāvaka and the Pratyeka Buddhas, is not an idea resulting from the sight of proper or common characters [which would belong to Nirvana], or abstinence from all life active, or of the consideration of the lack of reality of objects (2). "This passage can give an idea of the method constantly followed by the author of this treatise, a method which, as we have seen, is also that of Madhyamikas. From this argument that will recognize no other authority than that of the logic, and that is in itself so sophisticatedly to deny all that we can affirm from any thing, they and the no, here results a pyrrhonianism which has no example in none of the Brahminical schools. I therefore repeat, and it is with this reflection that I wish to end this rapid analysis of the treatise the most important relating to the metaphysics of Buddhism. I do not then believe that such a book, no more than the various editions of the Pradīnā, we give the doctrine spread several centuries before our era by the solitary of the race of Gākyā. Hear not of traces of these theories radically negative in the first Sūtras, or say more exactly, these theories are not there than in germ, and this germ is not much more developed there than it is in the schools Brahman, which, while challenging reality from the outside world, we admit its transient existence, as well as the permanent existence of a spirit supreme, of which the universe is only a sort of visible manifestation. Some danger that it will have to formulate with precision opinions that is so difficult to grasp in through the texts still too incompletely known as those of Nepal, I am faced that Śākyamuni, by entering into the religious life, left the data it provided the atheistic doctrines of Sāikhya, which were in ontology the absence of a God, the multiplicity and eternity (1) This is to say the death real and last in the eyes of an Indian, since for him it that we call the death is the end of a life given, which must be followed by several other existences and so indefinitely, according to the law of the transmigration. (2) Saddharma Langkāvatāra, f. 29 o and &.

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464 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY of souls human, and physical existence of a natural eternal, endowed with qualities, transforming itself, and possessing the elements of the forms which clothes the human soul in the world. Çākya-muni took to this doctrine the idea that there is no God, as well as the theory of the multiplicity of souls human, that of the transmigration, and that the nir-vana or of the deliverance, which belonged in general to all the schools Brahminical. Only he is not easy to see today

what he hears Dait by the Nirvana, because it not the defines nowhere. But as he don't speak never of God, the Nirvana for him cannot be the absorption of the individual soul dual the breast of God Universal, as well as the believed the -Brahmanes orthodoxes ;and as he not speak much more of the material, its Nirvana does not no more the dissolution of the human soul within the elements physical. The word of vacuum, which appears already in the monuments that everything we prove to be the oldest, induced me to penser que Sakya saw the well supreme in the annihilate full weave of thinking principle. He if the represented, as well as the fact SUP-to pose a repeated comparison often, such as exhaustion from the light of a lamp that goes out. We have seen, by the account that I have do more top of the twelve causes of existence, how difficult it is to discover one's true opinion, not on the past of the human soul , but on its very origin . The soul of man, according to he necessarily transmigrates through an infinite number of forms ;that of, more great saint, that of a Buddha, which will come in the full Nirvana, has had aspent huge misery and happiness, virtues and of crimes. Corn hence comes this multitude of individual souls that the Brahmins said outputs of the breast of Brahma, and that the Sâmkhyas believed distinct and be-nelles ? Çâkyâ does not say it, much of moins que I have the recognition ;and I suppose he admitted with the Samkhyas] that they existed from all eternity. Because, ' he will be not forgotten, Sakya has been able to separate completely from the world in the middle of which he lived ;and the company Brahman, the breast from which he was born, must have left on his mind the deep imprint of his teachings mentions. We recognize in particular the traces in the theory just makes orthodox of the transmigration. If therefore his doctrine seems incomplete to us , if it leaves for us in the shadows many problems, the solution of which he does not seem not be busy, is that these problems were not question for him, this est qu'il not challenged not the explanation that in was given until then. Seen from this point of view, his doctrine is placed in opposition to Brahmanism, as a morality without God and as an atheism without Nature. What he denies, he is the eternal God of the Brahmins, and Nature eternal

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM ..465 ielle of the Samkhyas ;this that he admits is the multiplicity and individuality of souls human, the Sâmkhyas, and the transmigration of the Brahmins. What he wants to achieve, it is the issue or the liberation of the spirit, as well as the wanted all the world in India. But he not freed not the Spirit as FA I saient the Sâmkhyas in the Spotter ever the Nature, nor as do-saient the Brahmins in the plunging the breast of Brahma eternal and absolute; he annihilates the terms of his existence on in the rushing into the vacuum, that is to say, to all appearance, by annihilating it. After this, that this doctrine has produced the Pyrrhonism of the Prajñâ and the Nihilism of other schools like that of Nâgârdjuna, it there was nothing there that must surprise. But neither this Pyrrhonism nor ce Nihilisme do are written in all letters in the Sutras emanating from the preaching of Çâkyâ, as they the are in the paaramitaa Prajñâ and in the other works that are based on this collection. It is enough to justify the view that I advanced in commençant this analysis, namely, that there is between the Sutras, regarded as sources of the Buddhist metaphysics, and Prajñâ or books that endépen-tooth, the interval of several centuries, and the difference that separates a doctrine that does is that its first beginnings of a philosophy that has reached to its latest developments. SECTION V. TANTRAS. The part from the Nepalese collection to which is dedicated this section is distinct of un manière if cut of all those that I have discussed so far, that the Tibetans themselves the start of next

in the classification the more general that they make of their books religious calling Mdo or Sutra whatever is not Rgyud or Tantra (1). The Tantras, in fact, are treaties of a very special character, where the cult of Gods and Goddesses weird or terribly with monotheistic system and the other developments of Buddhism northern, that is to say to the theory of a Supreme Buddha and to that from Superhuman Buddhas and Bôdhisattvas. All these characters are in the Tantras the object of a cult of which these books carefully trace the rules; and (1) Csoma, Analysis of the Sher-chin, in Asiatic Researches, t. XX, p. 412.30
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466 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY various of these treaties will be that of the collections of statements made for to manage the devotees in art to draw and to arrange the circles and the other magic figures (Mandala) intended to receive the images of these Divinities. The offerings and sacrifices that they address to be the make favorable and that the prayers and hymns that we chant to their honor, occupy equally in these books a considerable place. Finally they all contain formulas magic or Dharanîs, true charms that you suppose to have been composed by the Gods themselves, which in focus usually the name, and who have the virtue of saving more great perils that that is quite happy for them and repeat them. This part of the Nepalese collection is not the first that discovered Hodgson, and his Buddhists do it in revealed the existence when it had many other works of a different character have already been obtained from them. If, like the title of Tantras suggests, and as the prove the analysis we will read the impure and coarse worship of personifications of the female principle, such that he is admitted among the Çivaïles, has found a place in these books, we understand that Bud-dhiste honest has hesitated to give to a stranger the evidence of an alliance too monstrous. But the other reason is because even subtract long of Hodgson's research this part of Buddhist literature: it is the idea that seem to fail the Nepalese and Tibetans of the value and of the importance of Tantras. Nothing and, in fact, the Buddhism is reduced to proportions more human, and under the conditions of a practical in general easier than in these books. He born more, as well as in the ancient sutras, to be prepared, by the exercise of all the virtues, to one day fulfill the duties of a Buddha. It simply to draw a figure, of the divide by one some number of compartments, of you draw here the image of Amitâbha, the Buddha of a fabulous world like him; that of Avalôkitôçvara, the famous Bôdhisattva, holy tutelary of Tibet; elsewhere those of a few female deities with singular names and terrible forms; and the devotee ensures the protection of those Divinities who arm him of the formula ma-cal or the charm that has each of them. For the gross minds and ignorant of such books have certainly more of value that the moral legends from the early days of Buddhism. They promise the temporal advantages and immediate; they satisfy finally to this need for superstitions, to this love from devout practices through which expresses the religious feeling in Asia, and which does not replied that imperfectly the simplicity of primary Buddhism. It is, at rest, easy to judge the character of this part of the literature Buddhist by the translation of two treaties that has made Mr. Wilson after a
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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .467 manuscript sent by Mr. Hodgson to the Asian Society of Bengal (1). We can see the mythology the more complicated and designs schools the more learned of Buddhism mixed with the names of Divinities including several belongs specific to worship special of Çiva. So much for the general spirit of these two treaties. At these characters fundamentals, which probably form the part of the

most important Tantras, the first of these two treaties in addition some which are clean to Nepal, and which prove that this small book was written in the valley since that the Buddhism is established (2). It is therefore a Buddhist work that composed in Sanskrit outside India ; but this fact does not have in itself one very tall importance, if, as established Mr. Wilson, we have reasons to believe that all the mythological characters in this treaty was already part of Buddhism when he still flourished in northern India (3). Besides the treaty in honor of the Divinities Nepalese where is found this trace with one hand foreign to India born not pass for a book inspired, and here there was no place for him to apply the rules severe to critical of what he is necessary to submit the books admitted in the canon of scriptures sacred. Mr. Hodgson provided Mr. Wilson with a mythological commentary on these two books, which is full of essential details to know ; and Mr. Wilson in his turn has been followed by remarks whose importance is especially appreciated to the point where I believe it is necessary to place for the review of books Buddhist. The first of these remarks is that the Sanskrit vocabulary of Hémachandra and especially the Trikaṇḍa śāstra quotes, besides the names of Çākya provided, those of a great number of Buddhas and other divine personages who play the main role in the Tantras of the Buddhists of Nepal. The author of Trikaṇḍa śāstra, who must have written towards the xth or at the latest towards the eleventh century of our era (4), could not have spoken of those Divinities who are unknown to Brahmanes, if they had not already existed in the Buddhism, which did not again at this time was outlawed in all the parts from India. The second remark, is that so far nothing proves that these developments various of the mythology Buddhist are known in Ceylon, in the kingdom of Ava and to Siam (5) that is to say in the countries where reigns this that I propose to call the school of the Buddhist southern dharmas. It is there an important fact, and including the verification intéressée (1) Wilson, Notice of three tracts received from Nepal, in *Asiat. Res.*, T. XVI, p. 450 sqq. (2) *Asiatic Researches*, p. 470. (3) *Asiatic Researches*, p. 469. (4) *Sanscr. Diction.*, Preface, p. xxvij. (5) Wilson, Notice, etc., in *Asiat. Researches*, l. XVI, p. 468 and 460.

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468 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY to the highest degree the ancient history of this religion. But this was not here the instead to make the application complete and to develop the consequences. This topic will naturally find its place when I compare the Buddhist collection-ethics from the North to that of the South. It is enough for me to say, in the meantime, that the Tantras are also unknown in Ceylon that the Gods many to worship desquel-the they are devoted. The Tantras belong so to the form the more complicated of Buddhism northern. At least we find there the traces of very diverse conceptions which have been able to develop that turn. There by next to the human Buddha, Çākya muni, appear and the system of celestial Buddhas and Bôdhisattvas, that it is very difficult to regard as the primitive form of Buddhism, and the notion of an Adibuddha or a Supreme Buddha responding to the Brahma of Brahmanism concept who, according to Gsoma, would be originally foreign to India and there would not have been introduced before the xth century of our era (1). To the five Dhyâni Buddhas, the Tantras even add a sixth, named Vajrasaliva ^ which responds to the sixth sense, or the internal sense, Manas (the heart), and to sixth object sensitive, Dharma (the merits or the law corporation) that captures the Manas just as the other five Buddhas respond, as he has been said plus haut, of senses and to five sensitive qualities (2). All these notions, joined to worship of the female energies of Buddhas and Bôdhisattvas, and to that other known Deities for the most big party of Siva,

are in these books related to the way the more narrow the worship which Śākyamuni is the object, as well as to the speculative doctrines which his teaching aims to raise. The founder of Buddhism there is even positively shown like the teacher of the ritual and the magic prayers of the Tantras- The mixture of these two orders of ideas which, by their expression and their object, are almost the opposite one of the other, is so intimate in the Tantras, that if we had not had other specimens of Nepalese Buddhism, we would doubt this belief a strong idea far from that we endow the texts which I have spoken of so far. I know well that the character of inspired books is attributed to the Tantras, since, following the example of the canonical works, these treatises are given for the work of the last human Buddha. But these books provide themselves against (1) Csoma, *Analyse. of the Sher-chin*, in *Asiat. Res.*, T. XX, p. 488 and 564. (2) Hodgson, *Quotat., Etc.*, in *Journ. Asian Girl. Soc. of Bengal*, t. V, p. 79, note. Notice of three leaflets, etc., in *Asiat. Res.*, T. XVI, p. 458 and note 1. It is for this that Csoma, in his analysis of the Tibetan collection of Tantras, usually accompanies the name of Vajra sattva, literally "the precious being", "by this definition," "the supreme intelligence." " {*Analyse. of the Sher-chin*, in *Asiat. Res.*, T. XX, p. 491, 496, 503 and 549.)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM. 469 This claim a very strong objection, which is derived from the character of the Divinities which they recommend the worship and practices they enjoin. Nothing proves, in fact, that these Deities are figured in teaching primitive of Śākya; the evidence on the contrary results even from this that they are entirely unknown to the Sutras and to the Buddhist legends of Nepal, that I examined above. There does not appear nor the female energies of Buddhas and of Siva nor the worship of a scene that makes them, or the formulas by which we ensure their protection. To this observation which I believe to be decisive, I will add one other, who, though bearing on a matter of lesser value, do not deserve less to be taken into consideration. I will talk about the extreme difference that we notice between the style of Tantras and that of the Sutras primitive. Besides this style is sometimes obscure and incorrect to the point of barbarism, it employs with any special acceptance a lot of terms which in the ancient Sutras will be present with their meaning ordinary and classic. I will mention in particular the word Vajra (diamond, lightning), who plays a great role in the language of Tantras, and which appears among others in the beginning of the name of Vajra sattva, that sixth superhuman Buddha who is of the invention of the Tantrists. This same word appears still in the name of Vajra âtchârya or priest Buddhist Nepalese. The true character of this priest has been clearly traced by Hodgson (1) and the research of this scientist we learned that the Vajra âtchâryas were of a fairly modern date. This testimony gains force from the observation that I am in time on the use of the word Vajra. I guess then the name of Vajra âtchârya, "the tutor of diamond," or "the precious tutor," which is reported of Mr. Hodgson does not found in no canonical book, belongs at the same time and at the same source than that by Vajra sattva, "one who has the essence of diamonds," "Where" "The precious deed." » Here, no doubt, Vajra must have a figurative meaning, that of precious, supreme (2), like ratna, "jewel," which appearing in expressions sacramental of Triratna, that is to say the three jewels (Buddha, the Law and these seem), has lost its proper meaning to take acceptance general of precious, eminent. I do not then prevent myself from believing that the use so frequent that the ancient texts make Ratna, with the meaning special of precious, has given birth to a word in one of Vajra, which does not less familiar to the authors of

Tantras. Whatever it may be, the rest of the influence that has exerted employment from the word Ratna ⁽¹⁾Quotations, etc., in Journ. Asian Arch. Soc. of Bengal, t. Y, p. 34 and 35. See above, sect. III, p. 301, note 1. (2) Notice of three tracts, etc., in Asiat. Res., T. XVI, p. 475 sqq. See again, for the value application of this word, Schmidt, Geschichte der Ost-Mongol, p. 310.

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470 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY taken in this special sense, on the adoption of the word Yadjra, commonly used in a way analogous to it, do still not less certain than this latest characterized by a special way the Tantra style. I can therefore say to these works that that I have says of the most developed sutras: they belong like them to a second age of beliefs and of the literature Buddhist; no not that I pre-tends to it they have been written in the same time as the Sutras the most extended and that the great collections of the Prajñā Paramita, but it is that they combine the simple notions of early Buddhism with religious practices and the names divine that cite also the great Sutras. My intention is not to dwell at length on this part of the collectivition of Nepal, which I am inclined to regard as the most modern of all, and whose importance for history from human superstitions do not redeem the mediocrity and emptiness. It is certainly not without interest to see the Buddhism, who in his organization first had so little of what is a religion, to achieve to practice the most puerile and the superstitions of themore exaggerated. But this deplorable spectacle has vile tired of curiosity and humiliated intelligence. The idea a God supreme there occupies without doubt an important place; and I want to believe that in the developments qu'après this part of the literature buddhi-that the corporation has had to do as the own. Hebe same as all are either not as poor as this that I know of, since Gsoma of Kórös cites several places of his analysis various Tantras who are at this opinion very beautiful (1). I am surprised, however, that this scholar, who gave a complete analysis of the legends the Yinaya, where the history of the preaching of Çākya muni is sometimes traced in a way so endearing, and that did not leave pierce the slightest feeling interest in these curious tales, did not find words of admiration and enthusiasmsiasm that for the books which seem to me the miserable product of ignorance and of the gullibility of more coarse. But the Tantras, replacing the simple worship of Çākya by the worship of a host of fantastic Divinities, have evidently transmited formed the Buddhism, and have by following given birth to a developing literary Special quia could have as its beautiful sides. I regret only or not to have them not seen, or have perhaps lacked the fortitude necessary for the look. (1) Anahsis of the Sher-chin, in Asiat. Res., T. XX, p. 492, 496, 499, 502, 513 and 545. In a place he expresses himself thus; "Cq Tantra and the previous are worthy to be read and studied," because they give an idea of this that the ancients thought of the soul man and of God. " {Ibid., P. 497.) But would it not have been necessary to establish previously that these Tantras are in effect of old productions? and was it not useful to make out that nothing of what they teach will be located either in the Vinaya, nor in the sūtras, which are on the contrary filled almost entirely from the history of Çākya muni or of his first disciples, and whose anteriority relative cannot be contested by anyone?

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .471 I have to however give analysis of some of these books, and I understand started on purpose by one who seems to be the most famous of all, at

least in the Special Rapporteur Harbor of Csoma Kőrös, that is to say by the Suvarṇaprabhāsa (1). The importance that the Buddhists of the North attach to this work is proved moreover by the fact, he is included in the number of new Dharmas or books sacred of Nepal. It is, as all the books considered canonical, translated into tibétain in the Kah-gyur collection ; but I noticed that the Tibetan version was in general more developed than the transcribed text, of which the manuscript holds to the Asian Society. I conclude that there are two editions of this work which are similar in the background, but which differ one from the other by the étendue due to developments. This conclusion is supported by more than one made. Csoma, in his analysis of the Tibetan collection of Tantras, notes the existence of two Suvarṇaprabhāsas which also deal with the same subject and contain the same materials, but which differ as to their origin, the pre-mier being translated from Chinese, the second from Sanskrit (2). On the other hand, in relation to the passage taken by M. Schmidt from the Mongolian Suvarṇa prabhāsa, I advanced that I did not know the Sanskrit text (3) ; it is that indeed this step-wise not to find in the Suvarṇa prabhāsa India that owns the Company Asiatic. Here to be said as a further fragment extracted by Schmidt 's second chapter of his Mongolian Suvarṇa prabhāsa (4), with this entirely the same subject who does the background of the fragment M. Schmidt and of the second chapter of our Suvarṇa prabhāsa. We must therefore take for certain that the two writings of this book : one that is not very extensive is the one that the Asiatic Society is in the liberality of Mr. Hodgson ; the other who is any further, which is experiencing a translation Mongolian, and to which Mr. Schmidt has made two major loans . It is up to the scholars who both possess the tibétain and the Mongolian he belongs to determine the ratio of versions of Kah-gyur and of the Altan Gerel. As for Suvarṇa prabhāsa Sanskrit possessed the Asian Company, I believed he was required of the distinguished clearly from the version of Mongolian, so we knew well that this that I have to say in this book applies exclusively to a little volume considerably we possess at Paris. The title of Suvarṇa prabhāsa (5) that this volume bears means "The brilliance of (1) Amls. of the Sher-chin, in *Asiat. Res.*, T. XX, p. 515 and 516. (See the additions, at the end of the volume.) (2) *Asian girl. Res.*, T. XX, p. 514 and 515. *Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal*, X. I, p. 388. (3) Above, sect. II, p. 104, note 1. (4) *Geschichte der Ost-Mongol*, p. 307 sqq. (5) The word *prabhāsa* does not, according to Wilson, have the meaning of splendor, and it is doubtful that

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472 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY "gold," and the book passes for a Sutra which would have been preached by Çākya on the mountain of Grīdhra Kuta in the Magadha (1). Ananda asks Rhagavati if he's going to teach her Law ; and he replies that he wants to expose the King of Sutras, the Suvarṇa prabhāsa, of which he is a pompous praise in to mediocre which fill the first chapter. The second opens with the issue that is done a Rōdhisattva, named Rutchira kētu, on the reasons for the short duration of the existence of Sakya, which will be that of eighty years. He finds that Rhagavat was given for reason of a too short life a version that we experience to be deprived of the life as any, and the layout of \ iwe are found to give food to those which in ontbesoin, at the expense even of his own body. At the time when he conceived this thought, there it appears a large building, made of lapis lazuli, and filled the furniture and the objects them more valuable. To the east there sees the Tathagata Akchōbhya at twelve o'clock Ratna Ketu, in the West Amilā-bha, and to the north Dundubhīvara. At the sight of these wonderful apparitions, Rut-chira

kêtune can contain his astonishment ;the question he had always asked himselfong the length of the life of Çàkyamuni is represented in his mind, andthen theTathâgatas which will be shown in its eyes are directed to him in these terms :Borndo not say, oh son of the family, that the life of Çàkyamuni beof short duration ;becausewe don't see anyone in the universe who isable toknow the termof the life of Tathûgata Śâkyamuni, as it is composed of a number incommen-surable of millions of ages and years. In this moment of gods of differentorders are assembled in large numbers in the palaceby Rutchira kêtû ;and sothe Tathagatas that he had appeared to put on exhibit in stanzas measured thelength of the life of Çàkyamuni theTathâgata, in the presence of the assembled Assemblyin front of them.However hethere was in the Assembly of Mount Grîdhra kûta a Râhminnamed Vyàkarana Kâundinya, who havingheard talk of complete NirvanaÇàkyamuni, asked him , in the name of his immense mercy, to grant himthis word is classic in this sense; however he is regularly formed of bhasa, who has thismeaning.(1) Gridhra kûta mountain is the famous Vulture Peak, of which Fa hian speaks in additionfrom a place in his relationship. {Foe koue ki,p. 253 and 269.) Klaproth has fully determined theposition of this mountain, which thename has been preserved, to all appearance, in that ofGiddhaur {Foe koue ki, p. 260 and 270), which currently applies to the fort located on its part thehigher. {The Hist., Etc., of East-hidia, t.II,p.51et seq.) This denomination is, the rest,in ancient India, because it 's already in the traditions collected by theMahâbhârata. TheEarth personified it reveals to Kashyapa that several descendants of the race of Kchaltriyas, andincluding Vrlhadralha, who had escaped to the revenge Paraçurâma, sonof Djamadagni,had taken refuge in Grîdhra kûta. {Mahâbhârata, Çântiparvan, ch. xlix, st. 1796, t.III, p. 428, ed.Calcut.)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .473a favor. Bhagavat kept the silence ;but a young man from the tribe ofLitchhavis, named Sarvasattva priya darçana, who waspresent, said to the Brah-mane :Why then, O great Brahmin, ask Bhagavat for a favor ?I may well grant you one myself. To which Kâundinya replied :I wantown afragment ofRelics of iathâgata, did he was no bigger than agrain mustard, for by doingthe object of religious worship.But the youngLitchhavi replies to him in versethat he will see a relic ofTalhâgata, not even if itthat of the size of a grain of mustard, when he will push the hairs on the backof a turtle. The Brahminunderstands the meaning of these words sufficiently ,and it responds by other stancesapprobatives, where itsays that indeed Bhagavat isnot born like the other men, and we would seek in vainafter him arelic of the volume of a mustard seed , since its body has neither bone nor blood,and that its realbody, its real bones, it is the Law, Dharma kâya, Dharmadhâtu. This profound exhibition disposes the spiritof a large number of Devasto understand what that is that intelligence Supreme a Buddha perfectlyaccomplished, and theirinspires stanzasby which they say that aBuddha does not enternot in the Nirvanacomplete, that his Law does not perish, and that his body is a bodyéternel.'Xe chapter will end with the expression of the joy felt by Butchirakêtû.At the beginning of the third chapter, we learn that the latter lives indreama golden drum resplendent like the recordof the sun, and in allthe pointsofspace of Buddhas in number infinite who taught the Law tohuge assemblies. Then hesaw a Brahmane which hit the drum, andDrum gave poetic stanzas on the Law for his sound .When he wakes up, theBodhisattva Butchira Ketu is rememberedthese stanzas. He then left Bâdjagriha;and accompanied by an innumerable crowd , heis renditsur the mountain of Grîdhra kûta with

Bhagavat, and him recited them he stances had heard in dream. These stanzas, which fill the fourth chapter, are relative to the in-teaching lift of the law, and in particular to the merit of Suvarnaprabhâsa. Kêtu butchira at the same time announces the desire that he has to save the creatures in their exposing this Sutra ; and he made a long confession of his mistakes, so to will make it worthy of the task at which he sucks. In the fifth chapter, Bhagavat takes the word to tell the story of a king named Suvarna bhudjêndra, who praised all the Past buddhas , present and future, and who asked for reward to become one day worthy of exhibiting the Suvarnaprabhâsa. At the beginning of sixth chapter, Bhagavat announces that the laws of the vacuum have been stated in a very considerable number of Sûtras, but that for to facilitate understanding, he the summary is in the Suvarna prabhâsa.

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474 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY He then explains in a few stanzas the action of the senses, the origin and the destruction of the body, the emptiness of all the circumstances and in all beings, the misery of the world and the need to get rid of it. At the beginning of seventh chapter, the four great kings of the four points of space celebrate in prose the merits of Suvarna prabhâsa ; at the same time they promise to protect the creatures of the Djambudvîpa, and in particular the Religious who possess derive from this excellent Sutra. Bhagavat approves the speech of the big four Kings. These circumvent the same subject in the still developing further, still in prose. Blessed with its turn lists the advantages and honors promised than that possess this sutra. I am very shortening this presentation which occupies a considerable place in the work, and which is followed by pronounced stanzas in honour of Çàkya by the four great Kings. In the eighth chapter, the great Goddess Sarasvatî promises her protection and a formula magic to that which exhibit this sutra. They seal the description of some superstitious practices which must accompany the recitation of this formula. Bhagavat approves of his good dispositions. The Brahmin Kâundinya then sings the praises of the Goddess in prose and in verse. At beginning of the ninth chapter appears Mahadêvi, which gives presence of Bhagavat the same assurances of protection to possessor of this Sutra. The Goddess draws at the same time the rules of the worship of which she must be the object of the part of the one who wants to acquire wealth. The tenth chapter, which has only few lines, consists of invocations (Namas) to various Buddhas and Bôdhi-sattvas. In the eleventh, Drîdhâ, the Goddess of the earth, promises to make fertile and flourishing the place where to find the Sutra of Suvarna prabhâsa, or a Religious that the possess. In the twelfth chapter , Samdjaya, the chief of armies of the Yakchas, makes similar promises in favor of the interpreter of the Sutra. The authors of this long and tedious dialogue change in the thirteenth chapter. The son of a king named Raja Balendra Kotu are pleased to have a Book Royal having for title Devêndra samaya. On this occasion the Lô kapâlasor Guardians of the world will gather around Brahma, and he ask how he is done that a mortal king can become the monarch of the Gods. Brahma their replies that is when, after having ruled with justice on the earth, he is reborn among the Devas. Brahmâ then exposes the duties of a good king and the vices of an unjust monarch . At the beginning of the fourteenth chapter, we see the story of King Susambhava, who lived during that the Tathagata Çikhin was in the world. He saw in a dream a Religious exposing the Suvarna prabhâsa, and in its wake it him did eminent honors , and heard from his mouth

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .475this precious Sutra. Çâkyamuni, who tells this story, is application to himself, and learns to his Auditeursque ishimwho was once the king Susambhava, and that Akchôbhya, one of the heavenly Buddhas, was the Religious who exposed to the king the Sutra. the chapter fifteen is devoted to the development that Çâkyamuni makes in verse of this idea, that one pays a worship to all the past Buddhas, present and future by exposing the Suvârna prabhâsa. We learn that the Bôdhisattva Rutchira kêtû will be in the future a Tathagata named Suvârna Ratnakarakêtû tchhatra. This chapter still contains similar predictions for a great number of other characters, and in particular for the ten thousand sons of the Devas which part of the assembly. Bhagavat, to which one of the Deities present, named Bôdhisattva Samutchtchayà, asks what can argue with these gods one such happiness, replies that these are the merits they have accumulated by listening to the Act and says in the chapter sixteen that under the old Buddha Ratna çikhin, here there was a king named Surêçvara, who was eminent by his justice. He had a skillful doctor named Djâtindhara, to whom was born a son named Djâlavâhana, who was filled with all the perfections physical and moral. From terrible diseases came over the kingdom and hit a number of immense population. Touched with compassion, the son doctor is said to himself same : Yoilà a large crowd of sick people, and my father is very old, and he can't save you. Si I was going to ask to my father to communicate to me your knowledge of medicine ? He executed his project and made his request inward. His father communicated various principles of medicine, based on the distinction of the six seasons, in which the twelve months of the year are divided. These principles come back a little about all the need to vary the food and the medicines of man according to the seasons. Djâlavâhana, enough educated, able to heal all the sick of kingdom. In the seventeenth chapter, we learn that Djâlavâhana had from his wife two sons, named one Djâlâmbara, and the other Djâlagarbha. One day Djâlavâhana, is located in a forest, a veryuta host of wild animals and birds that were running toward a pond located in the middle of the woods. He don't task her cause to itself and resolved to clear it up. He arrived, after a long walk, on the banks of the pond, and lives there a large amount of poisonous things that were missing. of water. This shows the emotion of pity, and soon the Gods appeared in his eyes and said to him : Well, well, son of family, you yourself appointed Djâlavâhana (the one who brings water) ; giving of water to the fish ; act according to the meaning of your name. The doctor will put in duty to seek for water, but he found nowhere. Finally he imagines to strip a

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476 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY largest tree of its branches, and to shelter the pond and fish. After good research it discovers that the pond has been previously supplied by a great river, including a being malevolent has diverted the water to do perish them Pisces. Recognizing that he it is impossible for him to return his ancestors to the river, he returns to the city with the king, he tells what he has seen and he asks twenty elephants ; the king grants them to him. So is making to the river, it fills with water bottles that he had brought with him the burden of his elephants, and is making immediately in the pond, in which it the vacuum. There he notices that the fish are doing in crowds on the side where he is present, and guess as soon as the hunger to be the cause of this movement. He sends so his son Djâlâmbara look at the house, with his grandfather, all that there was of prepared food. When her son is in come, he break all these

foods into small pieces and throw them in the pond. He remembered then he learned that one who at the time of his death hears the name of Buddha Ratna çikhin to be reborn one day in the world in the capacity of Buddha. As a result he has the idea of making hear this precious name to the fish he comes to save. But at that time he had two dominant opinions in the Djambudvîpa : one that gave faith to Mahayana, the other that he rejected. Djala vâhana, who followed the first, enters in water up to his knees, and utters the formula of worship in honor of Buddha Ratna çikhin. He then teaches the theory of the causes of existence, to little close in the same terms as the Lalila Vistara ; then he returns with his two sons in the house. The next day all the fish were dead and had resumed a new existence among the Devas Trayastrimças. There is remembered peeling off their past life and grateful to whom they are indebted for their good-happiness now, they take the resolution to go testify their respect to their benefactor, and will make for the night at his house, where they offer of precious necklaces, in the midst of a rain of flowers and the sound of drums divine. When the day was come, the king Sûrêçvara prabha asked the treasurer, his minister, the cause of the miracles which had taken place during the night ; the Minister also learned that the doctor's son had become the owner of a large number of precious necklaces . The king wanted to see this wealthy man , and asked him to tell him the cause of all that was happened. Djala vâhana having answered that perhaps the fish were dead, the king wanted to check the fact, and the doctor sent his son Djalâmbara to the pond to recognize what was arrived at Pisces. It 's found dead, and lives in the pond a mass of divine flowers of Mândâravas. So Djala vâhana be presented to the king, he stated that the fish had changed to stay, and that became devas, they had produced the miracles that astonished him.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .477 This story ended, Çâkyamuni in (ait applying to various characters his contemporaries. The king Surêçvara prabha, it was Dandapani the Çâkyâ. Djâtîm-dhara was King Çuddhâdana, father of Çâkyamuni ; and Djaja vâhana, Çâkyamuni himself. Djalâmbu garbha, the wife of Djala vâhana, is the young Gópâ, from the race of the Çâkyas; his son Djalâmbara is Râhula bhadra, son from Çâkyamuni; Djalagarbha is Ânanda . Finally the ten thousand Devas are the ten thousand fish from the pond; and the Divinity of the tree that Djala vâhana spoils of his branches is the Goddess Bôdhisattva Samuthtchayâ itself, at which one is addressed Bhagavat. In the nineteenth chapter, Çâkyamuni continuing to speak at the same Goddess, he learns that a Bodhisattva must be willing to make the abandoned donation of one's own body for the benefit of others. On this occasion it he tells that one day he did see SHAREHOLDERS 'MEETING of its Religious them relics of an ancient character who had accomplished this difficult sacrifice. It is the young prince Mahâ-sattva, who offered his body in pasture to a tiger who had to put down. Sâkyâ is made to himself the application of this story by saying that it has been previously this prince, and in finding the other characters of this legend in some of his contemporaries, the King Mahâratha in Çuddhâdana, the Queen in Mâyâdêvî, and so of some others among whom he quotes Mandjuçrî and Mâitrêya. This story ended, the innumerable Bôdhisattvas of the Assembly lead towards the Tathâgata Suvârâ ratnâkaratchhatra kûta, and sing her praises. This piece is by worms, as well as praise of Sâkyamuni that fact then Rutchirastubborn. Finally the book is terminated by stanzas in honor of the same Buddha that say the Goddess Bodhisattva Samuthtchayâ, and in which she repeats under several forms that all the beings and all

the conditions are empty. This is the background of this book poor and empty in fact, as the things that he speaks, in spite of the great esteem with which he enjoyed among the Buddhists of the North. Sure if it is the comparison to some of Tantra we have in Paris, he will appear superior in several points. Magic formulas and practices superstitious will occupy much less of space than in other very Tantras almost as esteemed. It is recommended even the worship of Sakya, and observation of the virtues moral of his teaching has been the purpose of spreading; Sakya there is the character main and he is not again replaced, as it takes place almost completely in the other books of same genre, either by the Buddha's imaginary, either by other singular or terrible, of a less peaceful character and less pure. But despite these

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478 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY benefits, how this book is of little value to us, with legends where the real life of Çâkyamuni is traced, and such deep parables of Lotus of the good Law! It bears all the characters of a treatise which does not belong to the preaching of Çâkyamuni, and which must have been composed at leisure in some monastery, when the Buddhism had fully developed. He is written in prose and in verse, like all the compositions of the second age of Buddhism, and parts poetic bear the traces of this mixture. It is preached that I reported in the developed sūtras. Then, and this goes to the very bottom, this book is so filled and the praise that make the Buddha or its Auditors, and the story of the benefits promised to one which the study and the read, that these searches in vain under this mass of praise, and we come to the last page, to little by little without knowing what that is that the Suvarṇaprabhāsa. This feature is, in my sense, entirely made decisive. Nothing, in fact, no better illustration to what mediocre proportions the Buddhism was reduced by the Tantras, that this terrible repetition of the advantages and the merits assured to the owner of a book which in itself, and apart from its development, reduce themselves to little close to some pages. It is the taste and the style of more bad of the Purāṇas Brahminists, those who are exclusively devoted to defending the interests of sect. The piece the least poor of the work is the story of Mahāsattva who feeds a tigress with his body hungry; still doesn't this legend have more of merit than all those whose abound the collections of Divyāvadāna, the avadāna çataka and the Mahāvastu. The reader can judge for himself by the translation given by M. I. J. Schmidt, after the text of Altan gerel, Mongolian version of Suvarṇaprabhāsa (1). The part philosophical, which appertains to a school the more negative of Buddhism, there is very brief and sparsely treated. Finally, we will ask what may be the reasons of the appeal that the Buddhists of the North have for this book. Pretend it does that it comes to this as it is a Sūtra, that is to say a book attributed to Çâkyamuni himself? But this circumstance is neither for the Nepalese nor for us a sufficient reason to the preference to other Sūtras attributed also to the founder of Buddhism. It is clear that the title of Sūtra given to a book does not prove that this book should be placed in the class of primitive treatises. I have already shown, by analyzing (1) Mongolian. Gramm., P. 163 sqq. I compared this translation with the Sanskrit text of our Suvarṇaprabhāsa, and I have found ^ except a small number of points, if exact, you would think it was performed on the Sanskrit and not on the Mongolian. Besides that this circumstance proves the care that M. Schmidt brings to all his work, I conclude that, apart from the differences in development reported every hour is a single and same fund that forms the basis of two editorial staffs of Suvarṇaprabhāsa, that of the Mongols and that of the Nepalese.

OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .479 several sūtras, which there were in this part of the literature sacred of EPO-various questions, easy if not to date, at least to distinguish. The existence of the title of Sutra given to a Tantra only proves that the Sūtras pass to eyes of the Buddhists of Nepal to the word even Śākya, and we back to this result, several times indicated in the course of this research, that it is to the Sūtras should always come back, if we want to find either form the most ancient of his teaching is the form the most popular under which remains of our Jōtirs in the north of India. I have gone through various other Tantras ; and I feel, I admit, what scruples to share the reader's boredom that I caused this study. Jewill quote, among others, the Saiivarōdaya tantra, or the rise of mystery or of Saiivara, if this last word is really a proper name . According to Csoma, Samvara is the name of one of the deities who belong especially to the followers of Tantras and the practices they exhibit. The treaty of which I speak is written less in honor of Samvara to the glory of Heruka, another God of the same species, possibly the same under a different name. I do not dwell not to bring the prayers, the formulas magical and the ceremonies recommended by this book; he is somewhere the substances that are employed are collected hair in the cemeteries and the hairs of camel, donkey and of dog. The superstition the grossest dominates in this work, oh! nothing not recall the Buddhism, if we did not see it appear to of rare intervals the name of the Buddha. The reward promised to those practices ridicules less the state of Buddha than a kind of perfection (Siddhi), which consists in the possession of a supernatural power that serves usually of interest purely human. This book contains a chapter on the signs that announce the dead ; the other on the four Yugas or ages of the world ; the other on the four islands or continents ; one on the preparation of the fire to the sacrifice and on the Homa or offering to the fire, topics which some us away from Buddhism to bring us closer of Brahmanism. In a specially dedicated chapter in Mantras, the worship of the Deities śivaites is positively recommended, and the first Mantra is designed as follows : " Om ! Adoration to the servant of Mahākāla who dwells in the cemeteries. " The Linga face among the objects of this superstitious worship . It will give the way to get rid of an enemy by tracing his image of a certain manner and with specific formulas . At the end of the book to find a full chapter of obscene practices which written in a Sanskrit if incorrect and probably if special, that I do not stop of the have all included; I have seen enough however to recognize that the Tantra bud-

480 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY dhics are not at this point below the Sivaite Tantras . the passage which I do allusion is devoted to the description of the worship we must make to a Yōginī, that is to say to a woman responsible for representing the Divinity female that we adore. The book, which is composed of thirty to three chapters, has the form of a Sutra ; the dialogue held between Bhagavat and the Bodhisattva Vajrapani son of the superhuman Buddha Akchōbhya. He is written in verse of the meter anuchubh, in a very incorrect Sanskrit and rarely mixed with pale forms (for example, bhonti for bhavanti) ; but the incorrectness of the text is the most souwind of the fault of copyist, who may not always have been able to read the manuscript original, which must have been written in the old character Randjâ. The ridiculous practices including I pointed out the existence in the previous Tantra are found in the Mahākāla tantra, of which here is a translation in the Tibetan collection of Kah-gyur (1).

Mahakala is, we know, one of the names the better known from Çiva ; Here again the union of Śivaism with the Buddhism, expressed by its symbols the more coarse, is manifest. We find in this treatise an explanation of the value mysticism of letters which are made the name of Mahākāla ; we teach the means to discover the treasures hidden in through-come the royalty, to get the woman that wants to wife ; we give there several compositions, which one has the wonderful property of REN-dre invisible one who rubs the eyes. I leave for the reader to guess from what substances does this ointment consist of , in which appears in the first line the gall of cat. A chapter contains various details given in the form of pre-dictions touching some cities and some kings of India ; but the text is so confused and the manuscript so incorrect that I not have nothing could shoot. I still find in a different place this information enough curious, that the Bodhisattva Avalôkîṭṣvara remains in the land of Uttarakuru(2) : maybe we should see here an allusion to the northern origin of Avalôkîṭṣvara and the legends that relate to this character, a true tutelary saint of Tibet. This Tantra, which is written in a pitiful style , at the form of a Sutra and a dialogue between Çākya and a Goddess whose I could not find the name ; he is in prose with what that accidental traces of versification. I will not insist any more on this part of the literature Buddhist ; this would however be to make her imperfectly known that to do signal utility which she may be for the literary history of Buddhism, in particular in the time modern. So he it is important to note, among the Tantras, the Kâlatchakra or the wheel of time, of which we owe a detailed analysis to Csoma, but (1) Csoma, *Analys . Of the Sher-chin, in Âsiat. Res., T. XX, p. 495.* (2) Mahākāla tantra, i.79 b.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .481 that we possess unfortunately not in Paris. The topics treated in this book are the cosmography, astronomy, the timeline for where it is joined the description of some Gods. Whether there is an indication of various periods and the calculation time ; it is spoken of the Mecca, as well as to the origin, progress and the decline of Mohammedanism. The work passes for emanating from the supreme Adibuddha, or of this first Buddha, abstract being who responds, like I have said, the Brahma of the Orthodox : "It is, says Csoma, the first book original relating to Tantrika system , which has been drafted in the North, in a city probably fabulous by the name of Shambala, near the Sihoun (the Sita). From there he was introduced in India at xth century, and in the Tibet at xth (1). i> We see that this Tantra is very modern; but he meets a farm of traditions which can Nepal have left of traces in the books more old. The same kind of merit recommends it / flj Mandjuçrt mulla tantra, treated who, attributed as well as all the others to Çākya muni, contains in the form of pre-dictions the indication of some historical events and the names of people important swims . So that Sakya there foretold the coming future of Nāgārjuna, four hundred after him. He announces also that of Pānini, of Chandragupta and d'Arya & amgha ; the latter is the famous philosopher , head of the Yôgât- school Chara, that Csoma up in the vr or VUth century of notre ère (2). These clues confirm this as I said in the beginning, of the site that should occupy the Tantras in the whole of the Buddhist literature of which they form manifestly the game the more modern. However they are already enough to do appreciate the advantage that there would be in carrying out a regular counting of these books, to the effect to extract the document historic that it found scattered. I said more high that met in the Tantras of Mantras and

dhāran.īsor magic formulas, which are to eyes of devotees one of the parts the most important of these books. I could not discover the difference that distinguishes a mantra of Dharani, if it is that the Mantra got mealways seemed to be more^ ourt that the Dharani, which is sometimes very developed. It is this that I concluded from the Mantras contained in the famous leaves of Ablāikit, definitivement translated by Csoma de Cōrōs ; they are in gēnérals plus short, more SEMlar to a formula of worship that the Dhāranīs of which I speak all in the hour (3). It should add this difference that the term of Mantra is a name (1) Analyze. of the Sher-chin, in *Asiat. Res.*, T. XX, p. 488 and 564. (2) Analysis. of the Sher-chin, p. 513. (3) Translat. of a Tibet. Fragm., In *Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal*, t.I, p. 273 sqq. Csoma in agiven, the text lithograph. 3i

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482 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY also familiar with the literature Brahman and to Buddhist literature, while that one of Dhāran appears exclusively own to the second. This word, that Wilson gives in his dictionary as belonging to the Ruddhists, means "That which contains or has a high efficiency. "The Dhāranīs form usually a sentence intelligible, ended with the bizarre monosyllables that usually do n't make sense. Other times they will consist of words, the one significant, the other obscure, which are almost always set to a toral : we find some specimens in the Lotus of the Good Law (1) ; here by some who occupy several lines. Already, in Comparing the simple sūtras the developed sūtras, I said that these the latter had been influenced by ideas familiar to the Tantras, at least in this that they have admitted Dhāranīs or magic formulas, do to ensure untold benefits to those who read the books where they are found. This alliance of dhāran.īs with the sutras Mahayana deserves to be noticed as more of a report. In first place it exists not for the Sutras primitive, where I don't have recognized only one trace. This track single is, and as I have said more top (2), in the legend of Çārdūla karna, where Sakyamuni reveals to Ananda the Mantra of six letters, the famous formula which Avalokiteśvara passes for the inventor, which Mr. Hodgson found engraved in Randja and Tibetan character on a Temple located between the Nepal and Tibet, and who has given Heu at both the indifferent interpretations (3). But I exposed there reasons I had to believe that this legend was not one of the oldest. In second place, the presence of Dhāran.īs in the Mahayana sutras can be explained in two ways : or else the Dhāranīs are there contemporary of the drafting of the text, or well they have been introduced after the fact. It is much difficult to decide between these two hypo-theses ; only I notice that the most important of the Mahāyāna sutras have each their Dharani, and it has even made the collections. He exists in the bibho-library of the Asian Society a compilation of this kind, in which we may get an idea of the composition and of the meaning of these formulas. Each of them bears a title that tells the time and its origin and its destination. So the volume opens with the Dhāranīs of several famous works, such as the Pradjnāparamitā in one hundred thousand stanzas, the Ganda vyūha, the Samādhi rādja, the Sāddharma Langkāvātāra, the Sāddharmapundarīka, the Tathāgata guhyaka, the Lalita vistara, the Suvarnaprabhāsa, la Pradjnā pramitā in eight thousand stanzas. The existence of a (1) The Lotus of the Good Law, ch. xxi, f. 208 a sqq. the text, and p. 238 sqq. of the trad. (2) Sect. II, p. 107 and 108. (3) Remarks on an Inscript, in the Randjā, etc., in *Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal*, t.IV, p. 196 sqq.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .483 Phone collection does décide pas, I admit, the issue that I was asking all at the time, because this collection can be modern and much later

than interpolations which have introduced Dhâranîs in the books that I have just to mention. I pre-however, gives the first solution to the second, and I think that the dhâranîs have not been added after blow in the books where they have taken place. Hey Tomore : the use of these formulas should be generally at the time that have been written these books ; otherwise we would not have felt the need for them to admit it. This is where there remains a point on which I will come back below. We met in the middle of these forms of works of a character a little different, for example named sūtras Mahâyânas, but in which figure even for dhâranîs is often very extensive, and especially Stôtras or praises, in particular the Stôtra des seven Buddhas humans, this one even has translated Mr. Wilson (1) ; that of Aryatara, nicknamed Sragdharâ, Goddess who is the bride of the Buddha superhuman Amôghasiddha ; the one of Vasudharâ, one of the nine great Goddesses ; that of Avalôkitêçvara, a Sûrya çataka or one hundred stanzas in honor of the sun. There it is even in the form of a dialogue between Vasich-tha and Daçaratha, a fragment of Skandha purâna, this inexhaustible collection which provides literature popular of modern India a sib number of legends. Some of these treatises bear the names of authors, such as Sar-vadjîa, Arya Mâitrînâtha, Çrîvadjra datta. But of these three names, the first two are, one of all Buddha and in particular from Çâkyamuni, the other that of Mâitrêya ; and he is likely that these names have been placed at the bottom of these treated by some devotee who wanted to pass them off as the work of these saints characters. A singular rapprochement which results, in my opinion, from an anachronism manifesto shows us Sakyamuni in the palace of Avalokiteçvara, à Pôta-raka, in this city even who is the former capital of Tibet, the Potala our days. However, this city passes, according to the tradition to have been founded by Avalôkitêçvara, a character whose existence is closely linked to the first Buddhist establishments in the Himalayas. This is a record of a fact purely local and own in Tibet, which born maybe contemporary of the time when a duet to live Çâkyâ ; i'm there will come back elsewhere on the occasion of Avalôkitêçvara. I notice yet a different track of the same kind ; it is the name of a divinity if not excluded sively own, at least very famous in Kashmir, country including the name is moreover quoted in the text." Adoration to Blessed Mahâkâla, who has the "names of Nandikêçvara, Adhimuktika, and Who lives in the cemeteries of" Kaçmîra (2). "(1) Collection of Dhâranîs, manuscript of the Soc. Asian., F. 69 a sqq. Asian. girl. Res., T.XVI, p. 453. (2) Collection of Dhâranîs, l. 29 b.

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484 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY The Dhâranîs, or rather the books which contain the formulas thus named, appeared do not be composed exclusively of these formulas ; at least I find in the commentary on the Vinaya Sutra a quote from a book by this kind, which has for title : Vadjramandâ dhâranî. It may be the same work that the Vadjra hrîdaya of the Tibetan collection (1). This song is exclusively speculative, and it we offer a new proof of the intimate alliance that the system of Tantra has contracted with the philosophy Buddhist the most high. I quote it, because it is a passage where the nihilism resulting as it have its fact view of the doctrine of the Prajñâ, is pushed up its latest limits." It's because You employs a stick, because that it takes a piece of wood flammable, because that human shake his hand is, I say, by all Therefore that is born the smoke, and then appears the fire. Now this smoke and this fire will have to be attributed exclusively or to stick, or the piece of wood flammable, or the movement of the hand of man ; it's of the same way, O Mandjuçrî, that for the soul of the man lost by the belief to this which really does not exist ,

is born the fire of love, that of the hatred, one of the mistake. And this fire will be produced or to within [exclusively] nor to the exté-laughing, or independently from inside and from outside." Now, O Mafidjuçrî, whence comes that what we call the error carries this name? It is, ô Mandjuçrî, that the error (AfoAa) is what is just is launched [Product the outside, mukta \ by all the conditions ; it is for this that the error appoints and Moha (2). All the conditions, O Mandjuçrî, are the door of Hell ; this is an axiom of the Dhâranî. Mafidjuçrî continued : How com-take, O Bhagavat, this axiom of the Dhâranî ? - The Underworld, O Mandjuçrî, are created by the men ignorant, who are deceived by the belief in what really does not exist ; they are the product of their imagination. Mandjuçrî continued : On what, oh Bhagavat, rest the Underworld ? Bhagavat replied : They rest on space, O Mandjuçrî. What do you think of that, O Mandjuçrî : the underworld does exist - they only in the imagination [of those that invent] or well - exist with their own nature ? Mandjuçrî continued : It is by an act of their imagination, O Bhagavat, may the ignorant men believe in Hell, to matrices animals, to world of Yama. It is by giving this who is not nota fake reality that they experience the sensation of the pain, that they feel the pain in these three stalls that they are inflicted as punished (Ci) Csoma, Analysis of the Sher-chin, in *Asiat. Re &.*, T. XX, p. 499. (2) That's good bad grammar to support theories that do are worth no more ; the Brahmins in are often of such pitiful.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .485 tion ; and the view that I have of the underworld, O Bhagavat, I have to even the pain Hell. "It is, O Bhagavat, as if a sleeping man is coming, in the midst of a dream, to believe that he has fallen into Hell ; that it believed thrown into Celtic boiler iron, burning, filled with men, of whom we talk so much ; that there éprouvât a sensation of pain cruel, bitter, acute ; he éprouvât there a failure complete of the heart ; that he was afraid ; he felt for the eflroi. That then he exclaims, as if he was awake : Ah ! what pain ! ah ! what pain ! let him cry, he if laments. That at this moment his friends, his parents, his acquaintances, him ask : Where you just the pain you experienced ? But that he responds to his friends and to his relatives : I experience the pains of Hell ; he is put in anger against them, that he swears : I suffer the pains of hell, and you at your turn you ask me : Where you just the pain that you experienced ? What then his friends, his parents and his knowledge speak thus to this man : Do not be afraid, do not be afraid, oh man, for you are asleep, you are not not out of your house. That then the reason returns to him : Yes il 'msleeping ; this that I imagine myself feel has no reality ; and so he find the rest. "In the same manner, O Bhagavat, that this man asleep, having a dream, would believe, by a false imagination, fell into Hell, for even, oh Bha-Gavat, all the men ignorant enchaînés par the belief in what exists really not, will represent as existing the person we name woman ; they will feel jouissant avec it. Man vulgar made this reflection : I am a man, and here is a woman ; this woman is the mine. This is how that chained to false imaginations of desire and of the passion, they will represent like existing the status of women ; [the text repeats the previous sentence too the up to : this woman is mine.] The spirit of man being so obsessed by the desire and by the passion, his thought runs in the illusion of the enjoyment. There in removed as a result of the disputes, the divisions and disputes ; his organs are distorted, and hatred is born in him. With this false imagination that he give these ideas, the man is believing death, imagines he feel of the dou-their in the Underworld for several thousands of Kalpas. Likewise, O Bhagavat, that the friends, the relatives and knowledge of human [sleepy] him say : Do n't be afraid, do n't be afraid,

ohman, you are asleep, you did not get out of yourhouse, likewise, O Bhagavat, the blessed Buddhas thus teach the Lawto creatures troubled by the four speciesof false imaginations. There are ahere, [they tell them,]ormen, no women, no creatures, no life,orspirit,ornobody ;all these conditions have no reality ;all these conditions are
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486INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY.non- existent ;all are the product of the imagination ;all are similarin an illusion, similar to a dream, similar tosomething fake,similar to the pictureof themoon reflected in water.This is the developmentthat they exhibit.The creatures, after having heard this teaching of theLawdone by the Tathagata, see all the conditions freed from passion ;they themsee unobstructed error, not having natureclean, with no link to theenvelope.With their thinking is based on space, thesecreatures, as ifthey had done their time, come in a complete way in the field ofNirvana, where hewill remain no traces ofthe aggregation ofelements constitutive ofexistence (1)."To explain in few of words the result of analysesdéveloppées in thissection, I will say that the Tantra is composed of the mixture of elements the mostvarious. They initially contain the Ruddhisme, and I dare almost say all theRuddhisms each representedby their symbols the most respected :know, thePrimitive Ruddhism by the name of Çâkyamuni ;that of the celestial Ruddhas bythe names of Amitâbha, othersDhyâni Ruddhas and Rôdhisattvas alsocelestial, like Avalôkitêçvara and the others; Finally one of theists by the nameof Adibuddha. To these datatheology is found associated speculationMetaphysical of the order the more abstract, like thenihilism of thePradjnâ.Finally, these elements purely Buddhist ally in the game the more shamefulthe Rrahmanisme popular; to know, to the worship of adored female divinities pal *the sects which outputs the last of the old strain of Śivaism. InIndeed, not content with honoring with an idolatrous cult the Çaktis orfemale energies ,whom they imagine to be the wives of the six divine Ruddhas and the supreme Adibud-dha, the followers of Tantra have adoptedMass all the Çaktis that possé-daient the Tantra Siva, since one of Rrahmâ up the dice Shiva, the morefrequently invoked as a cause of his characterscary and bloodthirsty thatby result of the multitude of names it carries, providingto these superstitionsmiserable inexhaustible subjects of worship. If he had to express the NOMbres the proportions inwhich come into play these so diverse conceptions , wecould say that the practices and the formulas specifically related to Divi-nities females occupy usually two times as much ofinstead that all theel-purely Buddhist elements reunited together; and that among these elementssame, the one who isshows the most rarely, it is the name of Çâkyamuni which(1)Vinaya sutra, f.13 h sqq. This piece is certainly known to Chinese Buddhists , becauseDes Hauterayes, in his Recherches sur la religion de Fo, gives a rather extensive extract which pre-feel the analogy the more striking with our text; heattributes these views to cultists of theInner doctrine. {Journ. Asian., T. VIII, p. 87.)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .487is hardly cited except as a master, thusheTest in all the sūtras. In sothat if the Tantra only if were not givenfor Sūtras, that is to say to thebooks emanating from the preaching ofSakyamuni, his name would have been there no pa-raître, replaced as it would have been by those of the superhuman Buddhas whose existence andthe marvelous qualities satisfy modern superstition much better . It isenough, I think, to prove that these books are the result of sufficient syncretismrecent, and that theycan in no way pass for contemporaries of Çâkyamuni. But this result which, presented thus in a

general way, seems to me to shelter of any objection serious, a need for ETCE admitted definitely be ex-terminated by more closely, because he key to the difficult question of the alliance of Buddhism with the Śivaism, a question which does not can be well resolved in a way also experientive. The two scholars who have studied this subject with the knowledge the more thorough of materials Oriental, MM. Schmidt and G. de Humboldt, will be asked why the Buddhism was rather allied to Śivaism than Vichnu-visme (1). Without looking for the reason for the preference of Buddhists for Çiva, Mr. Schmidt did observe that the deities Siva, considered by the Buddhists as protectors and guardians of their beliefs (2), are in their eyes of mind to properly talk Buddhist {eigne Buddhaische Intelligenzen), which have taken of such forms for certain purposes in individuals, and that in this way only they receive a cult. For his part, M. de Humboldt, challenging the more great part from evidence that the pulling of temple hypogées of Western India, in favor of an old alliance between the cult of Çâkyamuni and that of Çiva (3), admits hardly any other testimony than that of the state current Buddhism in Nepal. Relying in particular on opinion by Wilson which establishes by very specious reasonings that the Çivaism of the Buddhists Nepalese is that of the Indian sect of the Pâçupati, or cultists of Çivanicknamed Paçupati (4), he remarks, according to Colebrooke, that the Pâçupati in (1) Schmidt, Mem. of Acad. of St. Petersburg Sciences, 1. 1, p. 119. G. de Humboldt Ueber die Kawi-Sprache, 1. 1, p. 281. (2) Schmidt, Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen, p. 342 and 355. (3) It is the learned Erskine who, in his often quoted Memoirs, had extended to the temple Elephanta opinion that the Buddhism it was formerly associated with Śivaism. {Transact. of the lit. Soc. of Bombay, 1. 1, p. 231 ff.) M. Schlegel made against this view of objections very well-founded {Ind. Bibl., t. II, p. 447), which M. de Humboldt adopts. {Ueber die Kawi-Sprache, 1. 1, p. 281.) But Mr. de Humboldt pushes perhaps a little too loinle doubt when he advances that, except Buddha Gayâ, the temples and figurative monuments of India do not prove demonstratively the existence of an alliance between the Buddhism and the Śivaism. {Ibid., P. 283.) But the EUora caves are of real temples Buddhist, and the travelers very attentive say that there are statues of Siva there. (4) Asian girl. Researches, t. XVI, p. 472.

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488 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY substituting for the Brahmanic Vêdas a Castra or sacred collection which has become their fundamental book, come closer by this important point of the Buddhists who, as we know, reject the authority of the Vêdas (1). Hethen look in the tendency that the Sivait sects manifest for the exaggerated practice of the Meditation an analogy secret with the Buddhism; but as if Celtic der-Niere evidence that could be argued in favor of the majority of other sects Indian women did not satisfy him himself, he assumes that the Buddhists and the Śivaite have been able to get close less by the funds of the doctrine as the circumstances external, in other words, that the Śivaism was more florissant than the Vichnuvisme in the provinces and in the time when the Buddhism fit alliance with him. Celtic debate is, as everything that is in there pen of Mr. de Humboldt, full of observations informative; the solution even to which he seems to arrive to stop, since exposes the last, is still the most likely of all. So it is less on the result than on the way a little vague which he got what I would dare to do some objections. I find that if never he was necessary to distinguish clearly the monuments and the times, it is in a question too complex than that of the relations of Buddhism with the Çivaism; we will see that there especially it is essential to know well precisely for what else is talking

about. What do we mean by the alliance of Buddhism and the Śivaism? Do we want to talk of these intimate merger of two or of several sects, as history religious of India we in offer so much examples (2)? Was it in view of assimilation this union of Buddhist beliefs and practices of the grosser Śivaism with the easy syncretism of several Viśṇuvites, who took all hands are the elements the more heterogeneous amalgam they derive from the name of Religion? I do not think no one could think of anything to resemble when he thinks of the Buddhism and the Śivaism. Let us read for example the Tantrika treatise that Mr. Wilson has extracted and commented in the Research Asia-Ticks of Bengal, and we recognize that consists of a series of formulas and of ceremonies specific to the Śaivaite Nepalese Buddhists put into practice for an all-time purpose. What Mr. Wilson proved about this treatise can also be said of all those that I have traveled in manuscript. These are whereof real Tantras of Śiva, in which the own ceremonies to adore the Śiva are described and recommended in the name of the last Buddha or from books called Mahayana sutras, because of their shape and of their ten- (1) Ueber die Kawi-Sprache, t. 1, p. 285 and 286. (2) Wilson, Notice of three tracts, etc., in Asiat. Bes., T. XVI, p. 450 and 451.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM. In the dance, books in which the Deities the more often Śivaite appear, it seems to promise the faithful Buddhists their sovereign protection. Here, in terms very general, that we encounter in the Sanskrit Tantras of Nepal, that is to say in those of the Buddhist books where the name of Çākya is found mixed with that of Çiva and with the names of the terrible or bizarre Gods who walk its result. But some general that either this description, it puts us already in possession of two very important points for the rest of our research. First of all her hand, as we see, the data accepted by Mr. de Humboldt, they show that the alliance of Buddhism with the Śivaism not be shown although clearly in the current state of the Religion of Nepal; at the same time, like she kisses the Suvarṇaprabhāsa and other major treatises of the same kind, it brings us back to a different observation of Mr. Schmidt that M. de Humboldt seems to have lost sight of, and on which we will stop at time. So let's see what consequences result from our description. The first is that there is no complete fusion of Śivaism and Buddhism, but that there is only a practice of various ceremonies and a worship of various Śivaite Deities by Buddhists who seem little concerned about the discrepancy that exists between their old faith and their new superstitions. It is so true, that the philosophy the most abstract remains intact in the midst of spells, the diagrams and the posturing of tantra. These are so the Buddhists who, while keeping their beliefs and philosophies, agree to perform certain rites Śivaite which they promise the happiness in this world, and carry the origin back to Çākya muni, in order to obtain the permit more; or if you like, these are the Śivites who, to give credence to their innovations from a people Buddhist, is resigned to believe that Sakyamuni, the apostle of the people, was the teacher of their rites. The first guess seems to me the most probable, and we will see by the historical sketch of the Buddhism that she fits better with the results of the research of Wilson on the introduction from Tantras at Nepal, that he place between the VIII^e and the XII^e century of our era. This union of core beliefs of the Buddhism with the practice of a barbaric śivaism exists currently in Nepal, and it is in this sense that I look at the Tantras which he recommended to the modern. Besides the qualification from modern

isto myrelative eyes ;I hearsay by thatthat the statereligious to which sheapphqueisposteriorToone anotherstatewhich heus ispossibleofto certifyexistence.

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490INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYThe observation that Ijust to make us leads directly to the second con-quence which results from my general description of the books arranged under the category of the Tantras. This consequence is that several of these books, the placeto show us the Buddhists practicing what he has in most ridiculous or of more monstrous in the ceremonies who are addressed to the Sivaite Deities, we present these Gods promise of charms, the formulas and the support of their power formidable to the one who reads such and such a book, which honors such and such relics, and presents offerings to such or such a Buddha. Here it is, in what key alliance of Buddhism with the Śivaism, which seems to most clearly in the Suvarna prabhāsa, such as we possess in Paris. remove the bottom of this book which is composed of a discussion on the duration of the life of Sakya, and of a legend where he is supposed to have once delivered his body in pasture to a tigress, you there will find that the praises of Suvarna prabhāsa sung through the deities of all kinds, the one Brahman in general, the others Śivaite in particular. I say as many chapters admitted in the Mahayana sutras, where there are magic formulas called Mantras or Dhāranīs; these are the deities Siva, usually of Deities females who commit to communicate to the worshiper of Buddha in him providing support of terrible powers that the superstition their attributes. It is there, as we can see, a report new of Buddhism with the Śivaism; and if we want that there is here alliance of two cults, it will have to agree that the treaty has not been concluded on the same basis as the previous. while that in the tantra practices the Buddhist is done Shaiva so that this it is possible, here remains Buddhist in the books like the Suvarna prabhāsa, do not asking the Sivaite deities, as the price of his persevering faith in the Buddha, than their protection and the charms they possess. And in addition, during that the Tantras properly called have hardly kept the name of Çākya except for in to the teacher of rites that they recommend, the part Śivaite of Mahayana sutras conserve à Sakyamuni its ancient and undeniable superiority on the formidable stewards of charms and of spells. Here is presented in all its correctness the observation of Mr. Schmidt touching the relationship of the Sivaite divinities with the Buddha, observation that Mr. Hodgson had already made on his side, and which Mr. Wilson had admitted without discussion (1). Mr. Schmidt was well seen that these Deities do are, in the opinion of Buddhists, that the beings of a power great without doubt, if it is compared to men, but much lower in reality to the Buddha, who entrusts them the (I) Asian. Researches, t. XVI, p. 465, note 26.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .401 custody of her religion. Only does he perhaps go a little too far, when contesting these Divinities for their truly Sivaite character, he sees the Intelligences Buddhist embodied in of terrible images. He must here still dis-tack with care. Without a doubt the Buddhists who practice them Tantras honor certain Deities which are their own (1). Those may be the liypostases which speaks Mr. Schmidt, although I must admit that I did not find any trace of this notion in the texts that I have traveled. But he does still not least a number considerable of Gods and of Goddesses, like Mahākāla, Yamantaka, Bhāirava, Durgā, Mahākālī and so many others, who are of real deities Siva, of borrowing actual facts of the Buddhism to the popular religion of the Indians. If the cultists of Çākya imagine that these large forms are animated by the Intelligences Buddhist,

according to the own words of Mr. Schmidt, this belief, in my eyes very suspicious, must be modern ; because nothing will authorize me to believe that in there the slightest trace of in the Mahâyâna sutras themselves (2). It therefore persists to see in all these forms of Indian Shiva that ^ revere the Buddhist Tantra, and that the Mahayana sutras accept the protection of true Gods Śivaite prior to Buddhism and adopted by it ; these two characters seem to me also obviously recognizable one than the other. From all this I conclude that the transcribed texts of Nepal we present there reports of Buddhism with the Śivaism under a dual aspect, according as the Sivaite divinities are the object of a more or less direct worship , in other words, according to that the honors by the practices special ceremonies , or according to we are glad to their request of charms and of magic formulas. Goldas this dual appearance match the books different, first the Mahayanasutras in which these Gods are only guardians and protectors of faith Buddhist, then the Tantras in which they walk the equal of the Buddha himself, I further concluded that these two classes of works do not take pas également à the same form of Buddhism, therefore they born are not from the same period, and I do not hesitate to believe, as I it said in com-\(1) in particular see the four deities admitted speech Svâbhavika system, which are mvo-quées in the list of the Gods of Nepal. {Asian girl. Res., T. XVI, p, 465, note 25.) Wilson admits also the existence of Tantrikas Deities, which are the original product of the various schools of the Buddhiism. (76î (iv P- ^ 68.) ^..., t ^ -(2) Here again I will repeat that it would be essential to distinguish the systems. Thus the Divi-nities of the Tantras pass, according to the Svâbhavika system , to have been born spontaneously, while that among the Âiçvarikas, their genealogy, such as the give the Brahmins seem adopted without discussion {Asiat. Res., T. XVI, p.465, notes 26, and 30), or reported to Supreme Adibuddha. {Ibid., P. 468.)

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492 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY threatening, that those where the union of Çivaism with the Buddhism is the less in time must pass for the oldest. Finally, if continuing our research, we ask ourselves until what Point this alliance of Buddhism with the Śivaism is general, or up to how much sheseems in the texts of all the times, we find that the names of Siva Deities are also foreign to the Sutras and the ava-moral and metaphysical dânas that they are familiar to the Mahâyâna sutras. I'm already enough explained on this point in speaking of characters that distinguish the Sutra simple sutras developed, and in this section even, in dealing with the Dhâranîs. He So it is enough for me to call back here this result to show what the study teaches us comparison of Buddhist texts questions concerning the alliance of Buddhism with the Śivaism. We can hold for certain that this alliance unknown to primitive Buddhism , because it is contrary to his mind, only starts to be shown than in the sūtras developed, what there is even at his first beginnings, and it will be consumed than in the Tantras, by means of loans manifestos what do the Buddhist to language and of practice from Çivaite. The Sanskrit texts of Népid are the only source of feedback and the con-above, and the reader may find that I have long overdue consult the ordinarily decisive authority of monuments. But he do n't reproach me will not seek , I hope, to imitate here the cautious reserve of M. de Humboldt, for who the alliance of Buddhism and of Çivaism does not appear so clearly written on the monuments it is in the testimonies of the state religious of Nepal. Why, instead of these descriptions where the mythological interpretation occupies so many place, do n't we have exact drawings of the temples hypogeums of Western India , where the distinctive

characters of the Deities they contain are reproduced with a scrupulous exactness? Unhappy-ment, with very few exceptions, the Memoirs to which have given rise to these curious temples are that of the tissue more or less ingenious hypotheses without basis. Descriptions are given in an approximate manner, and it is not uncommon to see the statues, which the determination is the most important, successively receive all the attributions and take turn to turn the names of Buddha, Djina, Indra, Çiva and others. It is fair to say that these descriptions have been made for the most of them at a time when the study of mythologies Brahmanical and Buddhist was still little widespread, and by the per-ringers who did not have a \ ie modest claims to this kind of knowledge. But this concession, which I have no regrets to make, although some

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .493 Memories méritassent all the severity of the criticism does not make any better the position of European scholarship. I think she should be careful not to add to inadequate descriptions of the confusion of assumptions; his task would not be already not so easy, when she would own the collection full of all the editions of the Buddhist caves of India, represented with a scrupulous and learned exactitude. There are however in this matter a small number of points that I want to signal to the reader, less as a firm opinion than as a foreboding buildings that can confirm a day to study more carefully the statues of scenes that decorate the Buddhist temples of India. The first point, it is that if one approximates these monuments represented of monuments messages, this is not the Tantras properly told they are related; in other words, the Tantra does not comment scenes figured in the caves Buddhist. This fact, that one can assert almost with [certainty, confirms the opinion that I have developed touching the modern date of the Tantras. It seems to me obvious that those of temples tombs of India, which must in any insurance assigned to Buddhism, predate of many centuries the mixture of beliefs Buddhist with the ridiculous or obscene practices of the Sivaites. On the other hand, I suspect that the Sivait Deities do not play in these temples a very different role from that which they fulfill in the Mahayanasutras. They are guardians, protectors, who are placed at the door or to first avenue of the temple, to dismiss the enemies of the Buddha of which the statue occupies the most honorable place. If the images of Shiva and scenes of the Sivait Indians, or perhaps even added after stroke and postérieurement to the construction of the temple. This is a point that touches with reserve, because it is the one on which the descriptions current give us the least of lights. What he in any case, we are naturally brought back to opinion of M. de Humboldt's guess that the predominance of the Sivais in West of India, at the time that have been dug the Buddhist caves, explains sufficiently the presence of the statues of Shiva near from those of the Buddha. Any easy it is, and to tell all my thoughts, by this same what is very simple, this explanation seems to me the best. I don't believe in anyway to a union secret of Buddhism with the Sivaism, based on the analogy of philosophical principles. The only point where into meet these two doctrines, it is the power that they attribute to personal efforts of man, since, similar to the Buddha, the Yôgin Sivait do should anything

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494 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY that his kid, and that it is only by the practice of an asceticism all individual that he rises above the world. But it is in this just as if terminal the resemblance of Buddhism with the Sivaism; we would seek in vain also of

preuves de the agreement of these two doctrines, and it must come down up to the Tantras for seeto associate in a constructive way and Unknown to all the schools Buddhist, except for that of the North. I think it would be neither beneficial nor IRES- much easier to push more far this discussion. I will have a double opportunity to come back to it, first when I summarize this that we know of the religious collection of Nepal, then when I will sketch the history of Indian Buddhism .SECTION VI. WORKS BEARING THE NAMES OF AUTHORS. The works to which this section is devoted would certainly be the parts the most curious from the Nepalese collection , if they were dated and if there were more . Dated, they would give us an exact history of the literature Buddhist not inspired ; many, they would offer us a mass more considerable information useful for the knowledge of the doctrine and of its developments. But no-one not be surprised that the works concerning the author names do not introduce themselves in most large number in a collection intended above all to bring together the books that are considered to be inspired, that is say foremanated from the preaching even the last one Buddha. Nevertheless, though rare and in general somewhat important, the compound Sanskrit works by the buddhis religious who are in are avowed the authors are not , thus we will see or without value or without interest. A religion which the productions deemed sacred have been so many has must necessarily have aroused a vast hither movement ; and in fact, what he I was allowed to glimpse from the books that sontentre my hands, I gives the right to assert that this movement has been as varied than extended. Those works, although belonging in all likelihood to the last ages of Buddhism, resume and develop under forms new the traditions and the old opinions. Legends, philosophy, religious practices , they deal of all, and set well for us in a way ultimately the framework of the htéra-

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .495 sacred ture . Because if their authors were able to add to the fund primitive of developed-foreign mentions , they havenot had to innovate to the point of inventing classes and from categories whole of books ; and for the religious write from Avadânas that they signed, he had to have existed first of all in the canon of sacred scriptures of the Avadânas received as the work of Çâkyâ. The part of literature sacred that appears to have the most inspired the authors is that of legends. I find among others, in the collection of Nepal, a volume entitled Avadâna Kalpa Lata ^ and that the true title, such as I the lilies in the manuscript itself, is Bôdhisattva avadâna kalpa latâ. The author is Kchêmên-dra ; this is the least the name that me seems the best respond to various ortho-graphs of our manuscript, Çyômêndra, Kchyêmandra, Kchyêmondra and Kche-mindray following the listing by M. Hodgson (1). It is a collection of legends relating to the former existences of the Buddhas and of their main disciples ; these legends bear, as we know, the name of Djâtakas or births. I'm there have counted twenty-six of , those stories which are written in Sanskrit and in verse from meter anuchtubh ; the author in a borrowed the topicto older stories , and I found the source of some of his Djâtakas in several sūtras or Avadânas from the great collection of legends often cited, the Divya avadâna. The exhibition of Kchêmêndra is extremely accurate, and she serap-close much of the original text as it allows the form poetic meter anuchtubh, which is at rest the softer of all and the less far from the prose. It's still an old legend that is the bottom of the Sapta kumârikâ ava-dana, or of the history of the seven young girls, mixed composition of prose and of verse, and contained in twenty-two leaves or forty-four pages. This little book is given for the work of the Atchârya Bhadanta Gopadatta : this is the story of seven girls of a

fabulous king named Krikin, who is made live under the old Buddha Kâçyapa. These young girls get from their father the permission of -trate in the religious life under Kassapa, and triumph then in opposition that their was Mara. This mediocre fund is developed in worms overloaded with epi-thetes who learn nothing, and who roll in the circle of these common places that we find usually exposed, with much more of talent, in the Mahâkâvyas of Brahmanic literature. We notice a little more of merit in the Buddha tcharita, qui porte the title even from Mahâkâvya or great poem, title who is also familiar with (1) Notices, etc., in Asiat. Researches, t. XVI, p. 431.

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496 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Buddhists than Brahmins. The Buddha Icharita is a poetic exhibition of the life of Çâkyamuni Buddha; this poem, of a not very considerable extent (87 sheets), is attributed to Religious Açvaghôcha. It is written in verse for meters anuchtuhi and indravadjra; the style in is otherwise very poetic, at least correct and perfectly intelligible. The Buddha charita is only a substantial abbreviation of the Lalita yistara; and this circumstance deserves all the more to be taken into consideration, which one notices in the poem of Açvaghôcha none of the particulars. authorities grammatical who belong to the Pali dialect and prâcrit. So we have here a work clearly posterior to the Lalita vistara, which is written in a language more grammatically correct than the Lalita itself, I ^ e nameto ' Açvaghôcha (the one who has the voice of a horse) is, as we see more later famous in the history of migrations from Buddhism. But nothing will we learn that our author is the one whose I will have the opportunity to speak in my summary of the external history of this belief. This name has certainly could be worn by more of a Buddhist religious, and he would need something other than identity of the name to conclude that Açvaghôcha of the North with the Religious Buddhist that the Chinese call Ma ming. It is more likely that our author is the same Religious as the author of Vadjra çutchi, of whom I have speak more high (1). The work of the authors has further expanded has other parts of the literature buddhist. Tantra themselves, or the say more exactly, the ouvra-ages written in honor of deities that the Tantras honor have been commented and explained. Thus the Asian Society has a small volume called Sragdharâ stôtra, "The praise of Sragdharâ," that is to say of that who wears a garland, volume which is nothing more than a literal commentary on a poem with the same title, which looks a lot like these small compositions engendered by the devotion of Śivaite and devoted to celebrate Ci will, Kali, and the other Deities of this special Pantheon. The Goddess named Sragdharâ seems to me be the same that Āryatârâ; at least I find this last name at the margin of manuscript. In this very mediocre work, Amilâbha and Avalôkitêçvara, these two favorite characters of the Buddhists of the North, appear near the goddess Āryatârâ. I do not know, it is true, the name of the author of this Stôtra; it must however be a writer not inspired; because besides that Sakya has been neither preach nor compose such a work, it not would certainly not commented himself when we have here been the author. Corn among the authors of works relating to Tantra practices, it is not (1) Sect. II, p. 192.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM. •four hundred ninety seven not of more famous than Nâgârdjuna, Religious that I already had more than one occasion to quote. I find in the collection of Mr. Ilodgson a book by this writer famous, which is called P ^ / c ^ fl Krama, and which is related a comment having for title Pahlcha Kramatippani: it is a treaty drawn

up according to the principles of Yoga Tantra(1),andwhich is exclusively devoted to the exhibition of leading practices in school Tantrika. We learn to draw the figures magical called mandalas, which appear the image of Buddhas, Bôdhisatvas and other fabulous characters, like Amitâbha, Akchôbhya, Vairôchana, Kchitigarbha, Khagarbha, Vadjrapâni, Lôkêça, Mandjughôcha, Samantabhadra, Sarvanivarana vichkambhin, characters who, as I have said, are all in fact unknown to the Sutras and the ancient legends, and who will appear in the Sutras developed and in the Tantras. The author notes the importance of maxims like this : " My nature proper is that of the diamond of the science of a vacuum or of the precious science of emptiness(2) ; » And it is this same maxim we must say, when we had drawn the diagram said of the truth. Each of these diagrams, one of the sun, for example, and other Divinités, should for-mule corresponding philosophical ; this formula is always borrowed from theories of the most absolute nihilism. On the shows, all the ideas are mixed in this book, which independently of the author's name that it bears, belongs by its content even to the time when all the elements of Buddhism were fully developed. That which it dominates however, it is the doctrine of Tantras, with its absurd formulas and its mono-unintelligible syllables. It is difficult to express the species of discouragement that we experience to the reading of a such composition. It is something sad that of see the men serious offer the syllables and the words the more bizarre as the means of salvation and of perfection moral. And what moral than that of the indifference and of a quiélisme exaggerated, that the distinction of the just and of the unjust, the good and the bad, there is more to it that there is achieved ! This book, in fact, led by degrees the ascetic to enormities which I am deeply convinced, are all in fact foreign to early Buddhism. I will quote a single example, borrowed from the final chapter, which deals with indifference, to the practice of which must strain all the efforts of the ascetic. " : For the ascetic, an enemy or him- Similarly, his wife or his daughter, his mother or a prostitute all this is there the same thing (3) ! " The pen refuses to transcribe doctrines as Miserables, quant to the form, that odious and degrading for the substance. At rest, all (1) Pantcha Tcrama, f.15 & (2) Pantcha krama, Lia. (3) Pantcha krama, f. 33 i " .32

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498 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY in this book does is without doubt not be attributed to Nâgârjuna, because I found the name of Çâkyamitra at the end of a chapter (1). Maybe also this last name is it only a title of Nâgârdjuna. The light that such a treaty can throw on the other monuments of the literature Buddhist is, is it includes very low. The only information that I found is a quote from Lalitavistara, with its Title of Mahâyâna sûtra (2). As for the commentary, which is very brief and which does not extends not to all of the work, it has to author the Pandita Parahita rakchila. The collection of Nepal we offer still other traces of the hand has taken Nâgârdjunato development of the philosophical literature of the Buddhists. Thus we have in one of the volumes of this collection the proof positive he is composed of metaphysical books, and even that these books have acquired enough of authority to become the object of the work of commentators. I want to talk of a volume belonging today at the Royal Library, and bearing the title of Vinaya patra on the first sheet, and that of Yinaya Sutra in the list of books discovered and collected by Mr. Hodgson (3). None of these titles will be found in the book even ; the only that I REN- against to the five chapters is Madhyamaka vrîti, or Explanation of the doctrinal trine Madhyamaka or Madhyamika, work composed by the Atchârya Tchandrakîrti. A few lines introduction teach us that the Madhyamaka vrîti is a commentary on Kârikâs or

memorial axioms including the author is Nâgârdjuna. It is very probably to these Kârikâs that applied the name of Vinaya surlra or Vinaya patra, which has remained at our volume, despite the testimony of the manuscript itself. This treaty confirms the opinion of the Tibetan on the so-called Madhyamika school, school of which they relate the origin to Arya Çri Nâgârdjuna; because the commentator of the Kârikâs, after announcing that these axioms are from Nâgârdjuna, adds that they belong to the Madhyamika school. It is even likely that we have here the original work, or at least one of the main treaties of Nâgârdjuna; because Csoma we learned that Rap-Tibetan port, Tchandra kîrti, of which he has not told of elsewhere, has written a comment on the delivered main from Nâgârdjuna (4). Gold like our manuscript contains the axioms of Nâgârdjuna, explained by Chandra kîrti in a work that takes the form of a perpetual commentary, we have all reason to believe that this is the treaty, or if we want a treaty similar to that as indicated by the Tibetan tradition. (1) Pantcha Tcrama, i. 26 o. (2) Pantcha krama, f. 23 6. (3) Notices, etc., in Asiat. Recherches, t. XVI, p. 431. (4) Notices of diff. Systems of Buddhism, in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. VII, p. 144.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .499 The axioms of Nâgârdjuna are not generally cited by the commentator only in short; nevertheless, and although the manuscript is strong in incorrectness, he is easy to see what are the views from the author primitive and its commentary to: this is the background the same theory as that of the Prajñâ pdrâmitâ, thrust more distant still, if possible. Thus, among the texts of the Pradjñâ, the commentator cites those who say the more clearly it does not exist absolutely, i.e. nothing; it's him who, for example, quotes this axiom reported above: "The Buddha himself is similar to an illusion (1)." We can define the doctrine of Nâgârdjuna a nihilism scholastic. This philosopher not let subsist these theses that we pose in the various Buddhist schools, on the world, beings, laws and soul; he shakes also by the doubt the affirmation positive, negative and indifferent: everything goes, God and the Buddha, the mind and man, the kind and the world. It is probably at this pyrrhonism which his school owes the name of Madhyamiha (intermediate); it is up in effect between the affirmative and the negative, when speaking of things, he establishes that he is no longer possible to affirm than to deny eternity. We hardly to understand how this book can be given for the authorities of the doctrinal trine of Çâkyamuni. He seems that a Brahmin wanting to reduce to nothing this doctrine could not do better than to adopt the negative arguments of Nâgârdjuna and his commentator. At rest, a treaty of this kind is always for us a kind particular of merit, regardless of the more or less considerable value of the words; this merit is that he cites the Beligieux or the commentators, who otherwise we would very fact unknown. In the meantime that other books were present their names, accompanied by some circumstances specific to fix more or less rigorously the time, I believe useful to the mention here: these are the Atchârya Buddha palita (2), Âryadêva (3) and the Âtchârya BHAVA VIVEKA (4). The first two are known to the Tibetans for the main disciples of Nâgârdjuna, which the site quatre cents years after the Buddha, as their master (5). These three authors, by this alone that Chandra kîrti quotes them in his comment, predate the time when he wrote. The gloss by Tchandra kîrti abounds in quotes canonical works, like the Pradjñâ prâmitâ and other sūtras; but these works are those (1) Vinaya sūtra, f. 136 b. (2) Ibid., F. 4 a, 6 6 and 10 a. (3) Ibid., F. 4 b. (4) Ibid., F. 10 a. (5) Csoma, Notices of diff. Systems of Buddhism, in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. VII, p. 144.

500INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY as I reported in the second age of the literature sacred :those areMahayanasutras. Hedo not enter into my plan to reproduce herethese quotes ;i believehowever useful to give two as a specimen of the doctrine which the com- liar has mostly in order to support. I warnonly thereader that themanuscript I am using is extremely incorrect, and that I havesummerobligatoryto omit a word, which is itis true, in an enumeration of termsSimilar and who probably little importance.“ This is what is said in the book entitled Ralnalchûdâ paripritchhâ. Exami- nant the thought (or the spirit, tchitta), itlooking for in recognizing the cutting edge (1).Whence comes, he said, the origin of the idea ? Here is the ideahein fact :Whenheyhas oneSupport [outside], the thinking seems. Cornwhat ? the bracket Isathing, and the thoughtone other thing ? No, what isthesupport,this is theeven thought . If, on the contrary, something else was the support, othersomething the thought,so hethere would be a double thought :so what is theSupport is the thought itself.But how man can he see the thought avecsa thinking ? Thethought seesnot the thought. It is, for example, like a sword bladegivenwho does notmayslicing this blade same ;it is like the tip of a given finger that does notcan touch that same finger :in the same way a thoughtgiven nomaysee that very thought . This is how occupied with this meditation in a waythorough itreally sees in the quality that thethought of not havingplace where sherests,to be neither interrupted nor permanent, tobornnot beabsolute, not to be without cause, do not e (re stopped bya question occasionedsional (2) heit sees, I say, the edge of the thought,his character, hiscondition ;hesees the quality she possesses,to have no place where she rests,to be transient, invisible, contained in itself. This is how hesees realitygenuine, and hedo the deletes not ;hehe really knowsactually sees thecharacter special to the thought. It is there, oh son of the family, theunder the thoughton the thought, and not an act of the presence of the memory (. ^).”I quoted this passage because it contains two of the mostcharacter- Ticks of the psychology Buddhist.thefirst is that the thoughtor the spirit(because the faculty is not here distinguished fromtopic)only appears with thesensationand does not survive him ;the other,that the mindcan not be enter himself, andthat with his eyes on him, henot withdrawn that the conviction jde his powerless(1) EUCE term is explained by the result of the text; it is a figure borrowed from the forma sword with the blade, as says our author, only can be trancherelle yourself. He employsthis figure to show that the thought will be to see herself.(2) I omit a few illegible syllables here .(3)Vinaya sutra, f.18 a.

OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .501to see oneself other than aspassSger and as successive :two thesesof which the second is a consequence of the first, and which are radicallycontrary too pinions of the Brahmans, for whom the perpetuity ofsubject pen- health is an article of faith.The second track, which is stillshorter, is borrowed at a sutra inti-tulé :Ratnakuta sutra. I quote it, because it gives an idea of the dialecticdeveloped sutras.”Thethought orthe spirit (tchitta), 6Kâcyapa, is taken as the object to be soughtexpensive ;what is not understood[by thesense] isjias perceived ;what is notperceived is neither past, future, nor present; thiswhich has not passed,neither future norpresent, has no nature of its own ;what does not have its own nature does notoriginal ;which has not original does not of destruction (1).3)This argument all rests fully on the thesis that the spirit will be per-ceived not by direct observation and external, theonly admitted by theBiid-dhistes. From there to conclude that the mind is not, the path

is neither long nor difficult. At rest, the method and the philosophical point of view of Buddhism is easily recognizable in this piece, as well as in the previous. That which seems especially to have hit the Buddhists, that which dominates all their way to philosophize is admitted fact by them that experienced not given ever that of knowledge particular, it does provide that the multiple, a multiple dispersed, if I can express myself well, and of facts detached from the one of others, subjectively and objectively. The consideration of this principle toward as decisive, to this seems to me, overall of their philosophy, and it has exercised an influence of deep on the notions that they will be made of things. The review of Vinaya sutra, or instead of Madhyamika vritti, commentary Vinaya sutra, despite the interest he provides for the study of the metaphysics of most developed of Buddhism, not fact yet know imperfectly, to because of its extreme speciality, the advantage that we can withdraw from the reading the commentators IM will be delivered to explain either the books canonical, or of works composed by writers modern. It is necessary to be in form an idea, browse a very voluminous compilation, which I have cited several times in the course of these Memoirs, and which contains more for details on the philosophy Buddhist he would not be possible for me to exhibit here without exceeding of many of the limitations of this work. I want to talk huge volume titled Dharma kôça vyâkhyâ, owned by the Asian Society. This book is, (1) Vinaya sutra, L il b. Page 32

502 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY as indicated by its title, the commentaire a book oldest of which the title is Ahldharma kôça ^ " The Treasure of the Higher Law or the metaphysically that, 3) and the author, Vasubandhu. This work, which is composed of four hundred twenty-four leaves, or nine hundred and sixty-eight folio pages, must have enjoyed an authority considerable among the Buddhist monks ; because he passes for the summary of a large number of glosses on the metaphysics, and its author, Vasubandhu, it receives the title sumptuous of " Sage similar to a second ((Buddha.) > The editor of the commentary is called Yaçômitra ; and the commentary even has the title of ^ Sphutârtha, " one of which the meaning is clear. " The observations of the wider between those that suggested to me the examination of this voluminous treatise embraces three main points. the first concerns the drafting and the system from the commentator ; the second, the indications that looks at other works, regardless of the subject it deals with ; the third deals with the subject itself. In what key the drafting and the system of commentator, he must recognize that it belongs to the good school of glossa-Indian hearts . Yaçômitra certainly had all the resources of the language Sanskrit, and he has done a great use for the explanation of the original text. The gloss is in both grammatical and philosophical. He follows, for the grammar, the Pânini school ; and when to the philosophical system , it develops the opinion exposed or only indicated in those of the canonical books that we name Sutras. From this comes the quality of Sâutrântika or philosopher of the school of sûttras, that he takes in a big number of passages. In this respect, the indications that contains this comment are as numerous as varied, and we meet there * against almost at every page of fragments more or less extensive of these treatment stees, including several are found in the volumes we have in Paris. Examination of such a book brings to my eyes the authenticity of the sûttras safe from any dispute ; and he makes to the sacred literature of Buddhists a department of the same such as the one that the comments philosophical the Brahmins go to the Vêdas, which they quote at all times. Yaçômitra admits the division of the Buddhist scriptures into three major classes which the meeting is called Tripitaka, "

the three baskets. »I spoke more high of this division, and I also indicated the existence of the tradition relating to eighty-four mille texts of the Law, according to a passage borrowed from the ou-very work that I am examining at the moment (1). He exposes in a way too detailed and interesting the sources different from the Abhidharma, and made to see that the work that was extracted from the preaching of Sakyamuni all the passages relating to the (1) Above, sect. I, p. 30.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .503 metaphysical, to form a body specially distinguished by the title Ab / ddharma, goes very high and esta little close contemporary of Sakyamuni, since several of his first disciples are believed to have gathered under a shape science the principles of the high philosophy (1). I aided above, in the section relating to the metaphysical, what song I look like very important for the Utterian history of the early days of Buddhism. Thought treaties which it gives us the titles are, as now, just fact in-naked, I have believed it was good for the report in the chapter cited all at the time, because that if ever they succeed until Europe placesera their marked in the series of books where one should draw the knowledge of the metaphysical of Buddhism. Now it is possible to do not give up à l'espérance of them find a day, when we think about this that there is something unexpected in the discovery that Mr. Hodg-his has made our eyes to this mass important d'ouvrages person whose before he did not suspect the existence, and when one reflects on the richness of SOMEONEc libraries of Tibet, where according Csoma of Kórös to retain collectivewere if considerable number of Sanskrit and Tibetan books . But this it is important that moment to notice, it is the great development that the study had taken of the metaphysics in the time of Cākya-muni himself ; because among the authors of the treaties that cites the comment that we occupy, it is in a five, namely Kālyāṇī puttra, Çāriputtra, Māudgalyāyana, Pūrṇa, Mahākāuchthilya, which appear in the sūtras and in the Avadānas, among the first disciples of Çākya. The works of these authors form a body of authoritative texts for those of Buddhists who care exclusively from Abhidharma. But this authority is not so imperative, that it not be allowed deremonter above, it's-to say to seek the principles of the philosophy in the The sutras themselves. Our commentator is of the latter sentiment, and it's which explains, and as I mentioned earlier , the title of Sāutrāntika, or of philosopher of the school of sūtras, which he takes each time it is a question of a point of doctrine important and controversial. These former Religious decorated with the title of ir ^ fl, <res-wpectables, "or Sthavira, "old men, "are in a way the apostles and the first fathers of the church buddhist ; but their authority it gives to one of books inspired, that the tradition is back to teaching of the master himself. He would be impossible for me to note, in this quick review, all the quotes of Sutras or other treaties that enrich the comment of Yaçômilra. Those quotes, sometimes quite extensive, other times very brief, would not prove (1) Abhidharma kôça vyākhyâ, î. S a.

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504 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY hardly for us than the extensive reading and orthodoxy of our author. I am con-will try to add to the extracts that I have just made of the passages that throw of the day on some part of the Buddhist collection in general. In one of these passages the commentator speaks of sūtras known under the title ^ Artha var-gtyas, and which are part of the Kchudraka (1). It is highly probable that these sūtras, to judge by their title, deal with temporal objects , objects which are arranged by all the schools of India under the name generic conjecture à 'Artha. Celte is almost changed

into certainty by this fact, that the collection named Kchudraka ^ which is translated in the Tibetan collection of Kah-gyur, and who therefore form a section special titled Vinaya kchudraka vastu , <Small details about the religious discipline"giuous, >deals, among other subjects, with the customs and practices of the peoples of central india(2). It would be very interesting for us to own a treaty of this like, if however the content responds exactly to the description that gives Csoma. But the title alone that it bears provides us with data that I do not could to make feel all the importance that when I compare the collection of books Pali from Ceylon to that of the Sanskrit books of the North. Let me suffice in this moment deduce that the Singhalese also have the Kchudraka, whom they know under the title Pali of Khuddaka. The second passage that I wish to point to the attention of the reader is relative to of dreams that appeared, said, in a clear King Krikin, songesque Śākyamuni explains as portents of the future destinies of his religion. The commentator, before recall those dreams, announcement that we find the presentation in the Vinaya. The chance me the has made discover exactly such that Yaçômitra there relates in the manuscript of the Sumâgadhâ avâdâna, that is to say in the history of the beautiful Mâgadhienne. This legend which I translated from the Sanskrit text, in case of details curious it gives on the first disciples of Çākya-muni, is also found in the Tibetan collection, from which I have extracted it and com-adorned word for word with the original Sanskrit (3). But the version of Tibetan, the place to place this caption in the section of the Yinaya or of the Discipline the row in the category of Sutras. If our commentator did was not wrong in écrire Vinaya in place of Sutra, he will be noted, at least for this legend, that the Kah-gyur compilers do not follow the classification very exactly Nepali. At rest, the of Kah-gyur himself is not absolutely rigorous ; because we find in the class of the Discipline of the legends which have more (1) Abhidharma kôça vyākhyâ, f. 28 a. (2) Csoma, Analyz . Of the Dul-va, in Asiat. Researches, t. XX, p. 85 and 86. (3) Bkah-hgyur, sect. Mdo ^ vol, ha (xxix), p. 430. I will perhaps publish this work in another occasion.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .505 especially relating to the morality or the philosophy, and that this title had been rather to take place among the sūtras. This that I can always conclusion of this reconciliation is that I was not wrong, in analyzing the class of sūtras and that of Yinaya, to say that the Hmites did were not very strictly marked; and this fact is added to those that I have alleged in my description of the collection of Nepal, to prove that the legends that the Tibetans place in the Yinaya took place, among the Nepalese, in the category from Sutras. Besides the old names of authors to whom I have made allusion above, the com-tary of the Abhidharma ^ Koca in quoting others, the one old too, the other probably more modern. I notice, between others, the Sthavira Azvadjit, who usually appears in the enumerations of the Auditors of Çākya who generally open the Sūtras of Nepal (1) ; I suppose that this wise is the contemporary of Çākya. I still notice the Sthavira Dharma trâta (2) and the Sthavira Buddha deva (3). One more finds frequently the names of the Âtchâ-ryas or masters Gunamali et Vasumitrason follower (4), which have commented the Abhidharma kôça which he explains himself, those of the Atchârya Samgha bha-dra (5), of Bhadanta Çrîlâbha (6), probably the same as the Ârya Çrîlâ-bha (7), from Bhadanta Rama (8), of Rama (9), of Bhadanta Dharma trâta (10), of the Arya Dharma gupta (11), which is perhaps only the previous one, of the Atchârya Manoratha (12), of Bhadanta Gôchaka (13). Finding in the text sound author on name of Bhadanta, whom means in general a Buddhist, but which designates in particular a respectable master (14), he is

delivered, to deter-undermine what is this Bhadanta, to a discussion that I believe useful to translate, formake known, by a short example of how to comment on notreauteur.(1) Abhidharma kôça vyâkhyâ, f.107 b.(2) Ibid., F.32 a.(3) Ibid., F. 475 b of my manuscript(4 ^ Jbidf. 5 a, 93 b, 119 a, 147 b, 153 a, 193 b, 338 6.(5)Ibid. [F. 22 a, 30 b, 99 b, 154 a, 163 b, 164 b, 190 a, 318 b, 345 a, 351 a, 352 b, 391 6, 448 b,462 a.(6) Ibid., F. 44 b el 88 b.(7) Ibid.(8)J6id., F. 327 6, 328 a, 409 6.(9) Ibid., F. 209 b, 210 a, 213 b, 216 a, 218 b, 221 a, m b.\ 0 Ibid., F. 219 ft.(11) 16id., F. 375 6.(12) Ibid., F. 209 o.(U) It is to say in passing, of this liter, which is almost special in Buddhist Sanskrit ,that is derived from the pale liter of bhanta that is usually addressed to Religious.

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506INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY"Rhadanta, says the text; it is a certain Sthavira of the school of the sūtras, or that is its very name . But Rliagavad viçêcha claimed that this title meant the Sthavira Dharma trailed off.To this we will answer in turn :The Sthavira Dharma trala supports the existence of things past and of things future ;he is neither of the school of the Sūtras, nor of that of the Siuilitudes. And yet the text will say later :The respectable Dharma trâta believes in the diversity of existences,since has said : " For the being who transmigrated in the three ways of time, it will to "vs diversity of existence and non- diversity of substance xNow the character who is called the title of bhadanta is presented by the School of the Vibhâchâ asis related to Sautrântika opinions, and we see in various Paswise such as the following :The respectable said, etc.I add that the respectable Dharma trâta is cited by name in passages like this : " The "respectable Dharma trâta said.>All this proves that here, by Bhadanta, the text wants to designate a character of the school of sūtras other than Dharma trâta; he designates as some Sthavira, or some religious [including the name does not given] (1).Among the Religious cited in the previous discussion, he in is one in which the name suggests a remark that the application can become of some interest rêt ;it is Yasumitra, the famous commentator of the Abhidharma kôça. The Mon-gols, to report of M. Schmidt, know a contemporary Vischumitra from Kanichka, king of Kashmir, whom they place three hundred years after entering the Ruddleha in the Nirvana ;and they in are the leader of the third and last council, who, according to the tradition of the North, looked after the care of writing the sacred scriptures, and who admitted in the religious canon the Dhâranîs or magic formulas (2). Kla-prosthesis, which does forgive little similar peccadilloes] when he finds in the others, replaces the Vischumitra Aq M. Schmidt. by Vichnumitra, without warn if Vichmmitra is the real lesson of the Mongolian texts (3).Spelling that prefers Klaproth has the advantage of giving a name regular, while that of Vischumitra is clearly corrupt. But the Mongolian transcriptions are so carelessly executed, that Vischumitra can only be mau-Vaise spelling of the name Vasumitra. If this supposition came to be true-proud, the time of the Religious Vasumitra would relate to one of the largest history events of Ruddlehism; it's a point on which I count come back to my historical sketch .I encounter in addition two or three titles of books which the authors do not have(1) Abhidharma kôça vyâkhyâ, f.32 a ; and man. Soc. Asian., F. 36 b.(2) Schmidt, Geschichte der Ost-Mongol, p. 17 and 315.(3) Foe hoe ki, p. 248.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .507not indicated, such as Pantcha skandhaka (1) and the Nirgrantha çâstra (2).the first is certainly a Buddhist book , but the second is very likely lie a work foreign to the belief of the Buddha, for I find in the legend of Sumâgadhâ

avadâna the title of Nirgrantha employed with the sense that hea in Sanskrit, to designate a beggar Brahmin . This is not the alone opposite work to Biiddhism that our author recalls; so he made in one place allusion to Çatarudrîya, which he says to be the work of Vyâsa (3). This Çataru-drîya is probably the hymn of the hundred Rudras, a Vedic piece which appears in the number of Upanichads, and which is part of the translated collection of Persian by AnquPtildu Perron(4). Our commentator speaks of many Indian sects who seem to have existed in his time, like the Pândaras, the Pâçupalas, the Kâpâlikas (5). He frequently refutes the Vâiçêchikas, a name which designates without doubt the atomist philosophers of the Samkhya school , who recognize Kanada for their founder. He admits that exists among the Buddhists a pass large variety of opinions on several points, and he sometimes happens to him to note various theses on the-which agree all the schools, as for example, when he says that the ilê-manta, winter (November, December), is the first seasons for all the Buddhists (6). Those he cites mostly be for the rebuttal, either alone-ment to see the discrepancies of feeling, are the Buddhists of Kache-mire, those of Ceylon and the Vatsîputtrîyas. The Kâçmîras are named in addition a place (7) ; the author 's foreign appellation (8) ; and refuting in a not-wise of the philosophers that he said modern, he the accounts as recently out of Kachemire (9) ; he is true that the expression which he uses : paschatyahaçtchâdbhavâh, can better yet mean westerners. Whatever sense we choose, he is allowed to conclude from this term that the work we exam-NONS has been made in India : the latest version would do assume that our author wrote in a province located in the east of Kashmir. I think I recognize also born the Buddhists of Ceylon in the Tâmrarnîyas or inhabitants of Tâmrarna, the Taprobane of the ancients, who are cited in a passage where our (i) Abhidharma kôça vyâkhyâ, f. 224 o.(2) Ibid., L 192 a.(3) Ibid., L in a.(4) Ovpnek'hat, t. II, p. 171 sqq.(5) Abhidharma kôça vyâkhyâ, f. 217 o and 6.(6) Ibid., F.241 b.(7) Ibid., F. 61 b, 121 [a, 469a of my manuscript.(8) Ibid., F. 95 has of my manuscript.(9) Ibid., F. 115 a of my manuscript, paçtchâtîyâh Kaçmira mandated paçtchâdbhavâh.

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508 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY commentator puts it this way : "The Tâmrarnîyas are of the substance of <heart (Hrîdaya) asylum of the knowledge and of the intellect, Manas (1). " Elsewhere there uses of this term outstanding : <The text says in all thevsother books, it will say the books of Tâmrarnîyas and other (2) ; " From where I concluded that the collections (Nikâyas) of Ceylon were known to the Ruddhisles of North, and they were quite important in their eyes to be cited the pre-miers, when it was a question of collectively designating the Buddhist works other than those whose authority was admitted in India. As for Vâtsîputtîyas, which are often represented in this work, and which are usually refuted there, it's a name also interesting for history of Ruddhisme than those that I mentioned earlier. I don't doubt not that it does be the Religious forming the third subdivision of the school which recognized originally Upâli for its founder (3). They are without a doubt the same that the sectarians named by the Chinese Pho thso fou lo, and on which Klaproth inserted in the Foe koue ki an unfortunately unclear note (4). This name, according to the Chinese, means calf and has become that of a family ; that is perfectly correct, and the patronymic Vâtsîputtrîya really has for origin the vatsa me (calf). Klaproth makes of this title a class of books where one supports the existence of me, contrary to the opinion of most large number of Buddhist schools . At rest, the commentator of the Abhidharma kôça talks about Vhatsîputtrîyas as characters

perfectly known to him (5). He is the same one where it seems the assimilate into party to Madhyamikas, that is tell the philosophers who follow the Madhyamika system, which owes its origin to Nāgārdjuna. In the passage to which I am referring, after having spoken of an opinion attributed to some Vātsīputrīyas, he adds: "That means those who have the ideas of the Madhyamikas (6)." It is had therefore the Vātsīputrīyas who followed the school of Madhyamikas. At rest, we do not have need for this passage to convince our author knew Nāgārdjuna, because it is obviously him he designates under the name of Sthavira Nāgasēna which he harshly criticizes opinion in one place (7). We will see, in speaking of the Sinhalese collection, that Nāgasēna is famous in the Riddhistes the South; and Renfey already correctly conjectured (1) Abhidharma kôça vyākhyā, t. 28 b of my manuscript; f. 32 b, man. Soc. Asian. (2) Ibid., F. 474a of my manuscript. (3) Csoma, Notices on the life of Shdkya, in Asiatic Researches, t. XX, p. 298. (4) Foe koue ki, p. 326. (5) Abhidharma kôçavyākhyā, f. 56 b, 311 b, 470 b, 471 a, 476 b, 477 a of my manuscript. (6) Ibid., F. 477a of my manuscript. (7) Ibid., F. 475 b of my manuscript.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .509 without have under the eyes the book that we occupy, that the Nāgasēna, which follows the Sinhalese Buddhists converts the king of Sagala, is the same as the Nāgārdjuna of the Buddhists of the North (1). There are also a reason decisively to believe that Yaçōmitra could not ignore the existence of Nāgārdjuna; he is talking in addition from a place of Madhyamika system, which, according to the Vinaya commentator Sutra, owes its origin at Nāgārdjuna. We will further conclude from all this that our author is more modern than this great philosopher, that is to say he came after all the events who had influence on the destinies of Northern Buddhism. His work, he is true, does not contain a few traces of these events, between which he does not quote, to my knowledge, that the three Siamese desconciles which were subject to a review new writings Buddhist (2). These indications do not yet suffice to enable us to fix with precision age and homeland of Yaçōmitra; but he must also agree that the purely philosophical subject to which his work is devoted is not of those where the facts historical are usually placed themselves. This topic even there is not easy to follow in due to the form [of commentary, which takes in isolation lying each word of text and the developing or the drowning in a gloss computer very extensive. It is only very rarely possible to distinguish the text from these comments in the midst of which he is lost. The work of Vasubandhu, that is proposed to explain Yaçōmitra, is himself a composition written on previous sutras. This composition is probably only a comment; at least that is what it would be permissible to conclude from the words of Yaçōmitra, the last commentator, who put it this way: "A lot of" Sutras are omitted because that exposure of the text is lost; the master here (1) Indian, p. 85, excerpt from the Encyclopédie d'Ersch and Gruber. It is probably our Nāgārdjuna which the Chinese or their interpreters transcribe here the name, Nāha Kochuna. This sage would have appeared 800 years after the Nirvāṇa of Çākyamuni, and one of his disciples is said to have composed the book entitled Pe lun or the hundred discourses. (A. Rémusat, Foe koue ki, p. 159.) Elsewhere this sage is called Bôdhisattva. (Ibid., P. 152 and 177.) This name of NDGA Kochuna offers certainly a pretty great resemblance to that of Nāgārdjuna, and the hundred speeches seem to recall the collection of the Çatasahasrikā. That which is also worthy of note, is the date 800 years after Çākyamuni, which the Chinese assign to the coming of the sage. I conclude, as I will try to the

show in my historical sketch, that the Buddhists of Chinese who have adopted this time have wanted to reconcile what they knew of the time real of NâgaKochuna with the dates they had previously admitted for the time of Çâkyamuni. (2) Abhidharma kôça vijâkhyâ, f. 197 a from my man. The text designates this council by the name same that give to these kinds of meetings the Buddhists of the South : Tnlîyam dliarma samgîlîmanvpraviçya; but nothing tells us the date of this council, and we do not know if the author wants designate the one that the Singhalese Buddhists place 218 years after Çâkyâ, or that of the Buddhistsof the North, 400 years since the death of the Master.

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510 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY "Did not doof comments (1)." The master is without doubt another that Vasubandhu, author of the Abhidharma kôça; and this passage, if it must be heard as I propose to do, gives us on the nature and form of the treaty of Vasubandhu of the lights that he is very difficult to find in the other parts of the gloss of Yaçômîtra. Be that as it may, this work is a compilation of texts and of interpretaphilosophical remarks. The author there treats characters general of beings, their requirements or the law, because the word Dharma means all ces choses ; of the quabled sensitive, the sense of the elements of the feeling and of the knowledge ; of the succession of effects and causes ; of the atiection, of the hatred of the error, and other * moral modifications of the subject ; of the birth of man, of the intended, the result of the works, the passing man in the '.diverses ways of existence ; of various degrees of virtue and intelligence which man may reach into this world ; of the action of the sense organs in the fact of the knowledge, and conditions which stop or favor Celtic action ; of the man and of the woman seen in the physical relationship ; passions, and of the necessity of the master ; of pleasure and of the punishment of the need to be into free to reach to Nirvana, that is to say to the perfection of rest absolute ; conditions of human existence and the functions of organs ; of the Pravritti (action) and for the Nirvritti (the rest) ; degrees various of human-nity regard to education, and of the perlection relative of the senses of man ; from supernatural faculties ; of the passage of higher intelligences in the various degrees of existence ; of the Devas and the many classes in which we divide them, Hell and the worlds. These subjects, none of which is examined one way followed, still less dogmatic, are intermixed the some to others, and the same matter is represented in several places of the book. The doctrine in belongs clearly to the school the most ancient of Bud-dhism, that is to say at the atheist school. I find on the question of the existence of God one passing very striking, which will leave no doubt about the trend this work, or at least on the ideas of the last commentator. I believed that this passage deserved to be translated as specimen of the method as follows Yaçômîtra, when his duties of commentator him leave enough of leisure to speak in his own name." The beings do are créésni God (Isvara) or there by the Spirit (Purucha) nor by the material {Pradhana). Yes, in fact, God was the single cause, that this God was Mahâdêva, Vâsudêva, or any other principle, like the Spirit or the (1) Abhidharma kôça vyâkhyâ, L 157 a of my manuscript.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .511 Material, it would, by the mere fact of the existence of this cause, that the world had been created in its totality, a single time ; because we cannot admit that the cause either without that the effect exists. But we see the beings come to the world successively, the one of a matrix, the other a bud ; from there we must conclude that

there is a succession of causes, and that God is not the cause unique. But, it is objected, this variety of causes is the effect of the will of God, which has said: As such be born now, to maniere que such another is born afterwards; it is well that explains the succession of beings, and that it is proven that God is the cause. To that we respond that to admit several acts of will in God is to admit several causes, and that is to destroy the first thesis, that there is only one cause. Here there is more: this plurality of causes does not may have been produced only one time, because God, the source of acts distinct of wills which have produced this variety of causes, is unique and indivisible. Here again reappears the objection done all the time, know, he should admit that the world has been created in a time. But the son of Śākya Tiennent for this maxim, that the revolution the world has not to begin (1). "This passage is remarkable in several respects, and it is just the fastest examination to recognize how the theory that he expresses is far from the 'naturalistic' pantheism of the main ones. Brahminic schools; but the consequences that we can draw from it for the history of Buddhism itself owe above all to us to occupy. It is evident that the work from which this passage is taken belongs at most to an ancient of the Buddhist philosophical systems, to the one who reproduced the way the more loyal the first attempts made by the speculation to regularize the purely metaphysical elements of this belief; and when to comment on this book, I think previous to four of the sects which will now share the philosophers from Nepal. I shoot the consequence of what Yaçômitra do not quote them a single time by their name. The absence of the title (ĪĀiçvarika (deist) seems to me conclusive, especially after the passage that we just to read concerning the issue of the existence of God. Will say we only if author not leaking any allusion to Ādibuddha of Āiçvarikas, he is possible to explain his silence, admitting that exclusively occupied of system he had adopted, he does not have the opportunity to deal with a theory which does not the own? This explanation would in my opinion be insufficient, and I am convinced that the system of a Ādibuddha would have been able to exist time of Yaçômitra, without it to have spoken in his comment. If so, wanting to com-(1) Abhidharma kôça vyākhyâ, f. 171a of my manuscript.

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512 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY beat the belief in the existence of God, it has mentioned that the Mahadeva of Siva, the Vâsudeva of the Vishnuvites, the Spirit or the Matter of the school Sâmkhya ishedid not find in the Buddhism even the belief in the existence of God, he was, however, the interest of its system to refute there where he the meeting trait. These considerations lead me to think that the work of Vasumitra, with the commentary of Yaçômitra which accompanies it, are both earlier at the time which was established in the Buddhism the belief in a supreme God, belief that Csoma do is not go up more high than the end of x^e century of our era. On the other hand, as our author quotes the school of Yôgâtchâras, including the founder Arya sangha lived, following the Tibetans, the vi^e to VU^e century of our era, our commentator is necessarily posterior to this last character, and we must put his gloss between the Vi^e and the x^e century of our era, towards the end of the Middle Ages of (a Buddhist literature). SECTION VII. HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION OF NEPAL. The history of the collection sacred of Nepal is not written in any of the books whose collection is composed; and this has no right to surprise, if we do not examine than those of those books which pass for inspired, that is to say foremanated from the preaching of Çākya muni. In fact, of two things one: Where these books are in reality contemporaneous with Çākya, and

so the information history that we must hope for there find can not wear that on these two points the day even the books, if it is given, and the indication of what-what events contemporaries of the drafting ; or well these books have been compounds long after Sakya and awarded by the faith People to the founder of Buddhism, and then he is easy to understand that we have carefully excluded all the clues that could betray their origin modern. But as the collection of Népal renferme other books that the books inspired ; as we there is, for example, the treated compounds by authors whose names are famous, it is allowed to regret that one of these writers did not composed a history of the Buddhist books , a history for which the tradition and the knowledge of these books themselves had provided a Buddhist of materials that we may never be able to put together.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .513 Is it therefore true to say, with Mr. Wilson, that the story is more foreign again, if this is possible, to the books of the Buddhists than to those of the Brahmins (1) ? This is not here the place to discuss in detail a question whose examination will naturally find its place in the historical outline of Buddhism ; I have to stand here at this key especially to the sacred collection of Nepal, such that Mr. Hodgson made it known to us . However, while admitting that this collection will be to boast of our own work as truly historical as the Mahāvamsa of the Buddhists Sinhalese, or the Bādja taramgini of the Brahmins Kashmiris, he is no less true to say that the books Buddhist North still contain more history, or more generally, can better serve to the story than the Buddhist meque those of Brahmins will make forthat of Brahmanism. Is it not already in these books an advantage as being also decidedly later they are to establish definitive of the company Indian and development of the literature sacred of Brahmins ? Do we have we do not seen above, by analyzing the Sutras, how much these works contain allusions to the state of the company Brahmin, in the sacred literature, finally them in whose midst they have been preaching or written? This is even what distinguishes in general the compositions religious the Buddhists of those from Brahmins. While these never descend from the sky and they stay constantly in the vague areas of the mythology, where the reader does not enter that the forms vain he does it is no longer possible to set in the time in space, the books sacred Buddhists usually present us following events very fact humans, a Kshatriya that is done ascetic, who fight with the Brahmins, who instructed and converted the kings whom these books we have kept the names (2). The only Brahmanic monuments that can struggle in this respect with the books the Buddhists are the portions of them more authentic of epics old, the dramas and some collections of tales (3). For that the various indications that are present in the books from Nepal with the vividness of reality become true history , it suffices only a few the characters mentioned in the books Buddhist are known moreover, and that the time where they have lived is determined by the average independent (1) Abstract of the contents of the Dul-va, in Journ. Asian Stud. Soc. of Bengal, 1.1, p. 6. (2) Lassen, Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenland, t. IV, p. 503 and 504. (3) I am referring here to the collection entitled Kathâ saritsâgara, the publication of which is due to care of Mr. H. Brockhaus. Many of the tales that contains this collection offer of analogies striking with some of our legends. I will mention, among others, that of Udâyana, of which the capital was Kâuçambhî. The traditional Buddhist themade contemporary of Çàkyamuni. I will come back; in the historical sketch, on this interesting synchronism .33

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514 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY during these books themselves. Where does it in effect look for the points at which the editors of the Buddhist works should have linked the events of which they have preserved us the memory, if it is not in the general history of India? But if this story did not yet exist in their time, can we reproach the know less well than those who should have done it? Farther to accuse the Buddhists of being more foreign to any notion of true history than the Brahmins themselves, it must say that if there is no history positive in their hands is that there is in was not in those of their adversaries; because if he had existed in India a body somewhat developed, to the time when appeared on Buddhism, the positive spirit of this doctrine, its materialism and its vulgarity itself, which are here of qualities its position as a reform of an order of things past, tends these circumstances in a word had committed the Drafting keepers of the sacred texts to give all the desirable precision to the facts of which they thought useful to retain the memory. I therefore persuade myself that in carelessly noting the names of the kings who attended teaching of Sakya, and those of the Brahmins that he resisted or who did his disciples in recalling the places where he was born and where he lived, and in setting with a precision remarkable the theater of his preaching, the editors of these sacred books have obeyed to an instinct history we seek in vain in the compositions of the Brahmins, where the Gods hold so many places that man and his story will disappear completely. Enfin it there has a decisive fact and to the advantage of the literature Buddhist, is that the history of India will begin to clear up that at the time of Çâkyamuni. To go to this wise, India central is covered with truly historical monuments and inscriptions; we see settle for precious synchronism between that country and the history of peoples westerners; finally the Buddhist books are enriched with details and indications of a truly positive character, which are still the most interesting of those that we have on the state of India since the 6th century before our time. I add that, although based on personal study of Buddhist books, my appreciation that I am here not to me is special: Benfey date of the time from Çâkyamuni to the history of India; and Lassen in his research on the antiquities of this country, also takes this time to the point of departure assured of all the work related to the history of India in the time prior and posterior to the last Buddha (I). The remarks above have not only to be placed in the books (1) Benfey; Götting. gelehrte Anzeig. May 1841, p. 746 ff., and especially p. 748 and 749. Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, t. I, p. 471. One can not over-study the excellent remarks of this last author; I will come back to this in my historical sketch of Indian Buddhism.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .515 Buddhist in their true light; they are still intended to explain for what there is no need to look for the history of the collection of which they are part. We there will find, know I have improved by the analysis of the Sutras, the board of the company Indian at the time when Çâkyamuni lived, and in addition to these general notions, the indication accurate figures whose preaching the closer. This is where the valuable data which I will try to make use of for a historical sketch of Indian Buddhism. But they tell us nothing about the date of the books we meet, since these books may have been written well long-tens of years after the events they report. The only relief that we possess to study the history of the sacred books of Nepal is the information that we have passed the tradition, and that the in-depth review provides us with a Celtic dual source that are drawn the facts which I will

present the table abrégédans this section, the latter which is devoted to the study of the Buddhist collection of the North. I mean here by tradition not -only all opinions and the facts Mr. Hodgson has collected at Nepal, in his conversations with Buddhists educated, or in study that he made of their books, but the opinions and facts that are recognized by the Buddhists of the North in general, and in particular by the Tibetans. I already said how I thought I was authorized to invoke the testimony of the Tibetans, whenever it is a question of northern Buddhism, although the works which are authoritative among this people are only translations of Sanskrit texts, and that these translations will be not earlier to the eighth century of our era. I am content to add here that this date of the eighth century key is the last limit at which stops in the time modern history from the sacred collection of the Northern Buddhists. This limit is not absolutely strict, since all the translations who took place in the Library Tibetan Kah-gyur of have been executed, the report by Csoma de Coros between the seventh and the ninth century of our era, and that the work of the interpretation is continued later again. But however floating she may be, she assures the party the more important the collection Nepalese few centuries existence of more than one would perhaps tried to him to grant to do con-Derer that the dates of the year 1822 when Hodgson was discovered in the valley from Nepal. Who knows if any of these critics, who to judge history of a people believe they need to know their language and their literature, do not would not be finished, after long meditations, by convincing oneself that the collection buddhist of Nepal has been made with little noise, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, -to the effect to the height to the fraud that had so much success with Brahmanes, when little time before they had done a literature, so

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516 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY to deceive the English they saw coming, and especially to induce harm the gov-European governments which have the naivety to pay a few scholars to teach GNER of language that has ever spoken, and the literature that person has written? At the end of the section of the Vinaya or of the Discipline, which opens the collection of Kah-gyur, we found the details of a great interest on the fact if important the question which occupies us, of the writing of the depositary books of the sign-ment of Çâkyâ. These details clearly preserved by the tradition us learn that there were, at three different times, three successive editions of Buddhist writings, writings made by Religious gathered in council, and invested in what here seems, by public assent, of the necessary authority for this capital work. The first drafting takes place immediately after the death of Çâkyâ muni, not far from Râdjagrîha, by the care of five hundred Religious who had to head Kassapa (1). The task of gathering the words of the Master was réparti entre three of his major disciples, of which one sees the names appear at all times in the legends. It was Kâçyapa who wrote the Abbi-dharma or the metaphysical; Ananda compiled the sûtras, and Upâli the Vinaya (2). The second writing of the sacred books took place one hundred and ten years after the death of Çâkyâ, in the time of Açôka, who reigned in Pâtaliputra. The discord had intro-between the Religious of Vâiçâlî, and seven hundred Arhats felt the need to will meet to prepare for new the writings canonical (3). Finally, a little more of four hundred years after Çâkyâ, in the time of Kanichka, which is said to have been king in the north of India, the Buddhists were separated into eighteen sects that were grouped under four great main divisions, and of which Csoma has told us kept the names. These discords gave rise to a new compilation of paperwork, which was the third and the last of those who speak them Tib-

some(4).Some brief that are these details, some difficultiesthey even do to be born, ifwe themcompares to those that the Singhalese have kept for us onof eventsanalogues, theyarealready, taken in themselves, fruitful in consequencequences precious for the history of the Buddhist collection of the North. we inmust conclude firstthat the three essays that the tradition we have keptthe memory, we have only the last ;or to express myself with aessential reserve, given the silence of the Buddhist writers , wecan say that(1) Csoma, Amlys. ofthe Dul-va, in *Asiat. Res.*, T. XX, p. 41, 91 and 297.(2) Id., *Ibid.*, P.42, 91 and 297.(3) Id., *Ibid.*, P. 92 and 297.(4) Id., *Ibid.*, P. 41 and 298.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .517booksthat we have now in theyes are or theworksold belonging to previous editors , but revised under the influenceof the latter, or the books entirely made new and out exclusivelyof workof the third assembly. Heis allowed to doubt, and that was judiciousciusement noticed Lassen, that the canon of scripture has been fixedin fullfrom the first council, so as to contain, from that time, the totalityof what we are has today (1). I believe that the truth will be foundin adoptionsimultaneous of these twohypotheses, know, that we haveat the same timeand old books emanated either from thefirst, either of thesecondrafting, but modified

bytherevisionfromReligiouscontemporaryofKanichka, andof bookswhile in factnew introduced by the authoritysou-veraine of thislast council,or even some influential sage , likeNâgârdjuna.Two considerations give in this way to consider the issuea very-high degree of likelihood. The first is that the authority of the last con-cile,some great one to suppose, has been going to destroy thebooksprior to them as substitute for allin factdifferent.Hewill be nolose effect in view the circumstances that made necessary the twolast drafting of canonical books . These are the existence and the pretensionsthe sects which in the course of time, and thanksin principleof freedom that REN-closed on Buddhism, were of good time to developthe breast of schoolfounded by Çâkyâ. However, these ancient sects no doubt differed from each other.other than on the way to interpret the scriptures thateach of themalso relied on to support his theories. From the start,andheis allowedof the mean, in all the ages of Buddhism, have had to produce the facts thatweseecorede our days in Nepal (2)and thatFa hian met in Indiaat the beginning of v " century of our era. The same texts served astoritythe views themore divergent,anda différence of sect wasonly a difference of interpretation. Thereby,as the remark Hodgson, thetexts themselves to schoolof naturalists differently explained arebecomethe basis of theistic opinions (3).Henot was is therefore not for thecouncils whichwere coming together for the purpose of putting an end to disastrous divisions, of drawing upof books new, but to dominate the interpretationof old booksto which thecouncil, which was usually that the sect the most numerous,(1) Lassen, *Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, t. III, p. 157. The rest of this researchwill prove the correctness of this opinion.(2) Hodgson, *Quot. from orig. Sanscr. Author.*, In *Journ. As. Soc. of Bengal*, t. V, p. 72, note.(3) *Europ. Specul. on Buddh.*, in *Journ. Asian girl. Soc. ofBengal*, t. III, p. 502, note.

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51 8INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYrecognized the characteristics of orthodoxy. That a few parts subject to con-troversy have been cut off from ancient scriptures ; than other parts, oreven the books whole there aientétéintroduced by this worksystematic,that's what heis easyto design, and thishe will notnot impossible todemonstrate by the facts.But some

extent that it suppose in a similar job, it has never had to be a work of revision, a reorganization of earlier texts, including the form and the funds, kept by the tradition and the religious respect, would not have to be completely changed. In summary, if he is to assume that the last council introduced the books new in the canon of scripture recognized by the councils earlier, he is not less necessary to admit that he has let stand a number more or less comparable of these writings in the changing from the ideas dominating his time. This assumption is too natural not to be admitted, even in the silence of texts. The second consideration is provided to me by the review that lies more up to the collection of the North, and it comes entirely to support of the first. I have acquired, through the study of main works in this collection, a conviction that I myself have tried to make move in the mind of the reader; it is that under forms identical, and often even under a language while in fact similar, to hide the works very different the one from the other, and by the development given to previous opinions, and by the presence of opinions quite in fact new. I was even able to advance without exaggeration that, under the name of Buddha dharma, "the law of the Buddha," the collection of Nepal we had conserved several Buddhismes, three Buddhismes, if I can express myself thus: the one simple Sûtras where does seem that the Buddha human Sakyamuni; that of Sûtras developed and Mahayana, which will meet, next to the Buddha human, other fabulous Buddhas and Bôdhisattvas; that of Tantras finally, where above of these two elements has come to put the worship of the female divinities of Çivaism. I probably should in count a fourth, that of Adibuddha, with the developments that he has given them Nepalese, and which are recorded in the Svayambhû purâna. He is not at all in my thought to bring back these three great forms of Buddhism Northern to the three councils of which the Tibetan tradition speaks. I even admit that I do not could justify this comparison by evidence of a great weight. What I only mean is that the fund of the various parts which is composed the canon of scriptures Buddhist certify a result of Change-elements that coincide with if each of the councils in particular, at least with the fact of the existence of councils; because if there has been of councils, it is that the

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .519 doctrine was changing, and the doctrine is shown in effect changed in the three fundamental sections of the scriptures Buddhist, the Sûtras, the Mahâyâna sûtras and the Tantras. But what are these modifications? I've said, and I did not need to insist more on the results of the comparison that I established between the simple sûtras and the developed sûtras. These modifications are those which the character is not unrecognizable. They let us see a doctrine, simple first, which then grows and is complicated. They allow us to grasp the differences of wording that announce the different eras. These epochs are undoubtedly not dated; but they mark in the development of the literature Buddhist of cuts parfaitement tranchées, which will succeed following an order traced by the laws necessary which the during of a human. Thus we have Hvers which by their content (and over there I hear the facts they report and the ideas they support), must pass for of books old, for the books contemporaries at the bottom of the preaching of Çâkyâ. We as have others where the speculation takes the spot of reality, and where it will remain little more books earlier than the frame and a few proper names. We have finally where the elements the more étranges to the institution of Buddhism, where the practices them more contrary to his spiritual alter the simplicity of the doctrine preserved in the first, expanded and already modified in the second. He it takes no

more, I think, to justify the assumption that I was doing everything in time regarding the existence of works belonging to one or to the other of the first two essays, but more or less reworked by the last. I do not need to add that the other hypothesis, know that the last council authorized books new, not do not stay less very probable. The number and importance of these books depended without doubt the most or less high degree of nervousness which animated the Religious at the time of this council. But from what he is the last, we must boldly conclude that it is his work that has survived in the two assemblies preceding ^toothed and of which we have in large part the results in front of the eyes. The contrary assumption would be, according to me, much too improbable. Neither the tradition nor study of the Nepalese collection do not allow us to go to a more rigorous precision ; we can not with these help alone positively affirm that such part of the collection emanates more specifically that such other of such or such council. I do have , however, not neglect of rap-Procher preceding des observations this that teaches us the Mongolian tradition on the successive editions through which the books have passed religious. Followed Ssanang setsen, of the chronology which I did not to occupy myself in this

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520 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY moment, the Religious who put them first in writing teaching Sakya gathered those of his discourse that is related to the first principle of the doctrine, that is to say the four truths, of which he has been so often questioned elsewhere. The second editors focused on the discourses relating to the doctrine mean, that is to say to the nothingness of all that exists, and the heads of the council joined to the words of the Master a large number of specific subjects to build the mind. Finally the third editors, who had gathered to put end to schism aroused by a false Religious, collected the words relating to the last denied principles of the doctrine, and there began the last hand. This third Collection includes all the Dhâranîs (1). The reflections of which the authors Mongols accompany this classification the three newsrooms him kidnap to My sense a part of its historical character ; we can't believe that the first collection caters exclusively to intelligence the more weak, second to middle intelligences , and the third to superior minds . These distinctions are invented after the fact to give the philosophical reason for a fact which history is very sufficient to explain. But leaving on the account of writing vain Mongols, who will be here no doubt that the copyists of the Tibetans, they explained the purpose of the three councils, I am happy to report these three facts preserved without any doubt the tradition : 1 ° that the first council dealt with the speeches relating to the four truths ; gold is exactly where the subject which treat the most Sou Wind the Sutras that I look like the most ancient ; 2 ° that the heads of the second council united to the speeches of Çàkya various subjects suitable for edifying the spirit ; gold I have conjectured that more than one book again was able to glide in the deposit of ancient traditions ; 3 ° finally that the Dhâranîs belong to the last drafting ; but it comes down to opinion even as I tried to establish, when I analyzed some Tantras, and that I have reported as the part the more modern from the Nepalese collection. Push us However a little further on these reconciliations, and let's see what we are allowed to conclude from this. Jô take for example the sūtras from which I have distinguished for two classes, the simple sutras, and the more developed sutras named Mahâyânas again . I suppose that because of their simplicity we have to watch them Sutras of the first class, where he is told that of Sakya, as the work of first council. He A reservation must

immediately be made in favor of the second council; in fact, the Sutras and legends where Sakya alone is directed offer of traits of resemblance so striking and so numerous with those in which appears Açôka, the king we make contemporary of the second council, that not the in can be separated. The (1) Schmidl, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongol*, p. 17 and 315.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .⁵²¹ Captions relating to Çâkyâ may therefore have been collected by the first council ; but they must also have been reworked by the second, and later even when we wrote those that were reported to King Açôka. There are Tomore, they must also have been done by the third ; because I have already reported in the course of my remarks on the Sutras the existence of some features that are a hundred years more modern than the background even the books where they are located. I don't call back at the moment that the indication of the many sects that the tradition made contemporaries of the last council, circumstance which places the Sutras where the notice much lower than it should be, if they do not meet closed not this index of posteriority (1). But this is not may be there that an interpolation, and the difference between these treaties and those called Mahâyânas remains whole. This difference is such that it is permissible to affirm in full assurance that the same assembly could not write these two classes of works at the same time . At truly the conceptions which dominate in the Mahâyânas would have crept more often in the simple sūtras, where the traces of their presence are on the contrary extremely rare. That being said, if the Primitive sutras are the work of first council, successively reworked by the two councils following, and if reviewing their content exclude the idea that they have been able to be written in the same time as the Mahayana, he does we left that the second and the third council auxquels nous had to attribute the compilation of the most developed sutras . Heare unlikely to emanate of the second ; the time of this council is too close to that of Sakya for that its doctrine has been the time to undergo a transformation as considerable as that to which the Mahâyâna sutras testify . It is therefore from the third council that they emanate; and in effect the high esteem in which they enjoy still today in the North, where they pass, as I have said elsewhere, to contain the word even of the Buddha, is, until a certain point, an argument in favor of this sentiment. I would add that it is in these sūtras that these extensive poetic pieces are found. due, which the Sanskrit is so faulty, circumstance which coincides in a way all in fact remarkable with the tradition that places in the Kachemire and under a king of foreign origin the meeting and the work of the third council. It is there, it is these sees of simple rapprochements where the reasoning has a lani of share that the facts. I dare say, however, that the result of such research should fully confirm. We can not say nothing of more precise touching the Tantras. Here there is however Instead of believing that these books have been written either by the first, nor by the second council. Were they by the third? or already widespread in India through (1) Csoma, *Notices on the life of Shalcyâ*, in *AsiatMes.*, T. XX, p. 298,

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522 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Following mixture of Buddhism with the Śivaism, were they accepted by the third council which has been the push the barrel of scriptures sacred ? These are there two assumptions about the value of which we do not have a lot of means for us to decide, though it is possible, so that I will do see more relate to bring in favor of the second of the arguments of some weight. That I can already say, it is

that here Nâgârdjuna appears to have exerted a considerable influence, and that the tradition agrees with the testimony of one of the books that has been discussed above, the Pafitcha Krama we the accounts as having taken an active part in the propagation of Tantras. If now we let's try to relate to this general overview, which bears only on the books considered inspired, this that we learn analysis from books which the authors are known, we find in the state of complete the history of the collection Nepal and of the track, at least in its spring main phases, almost up to our days. The tradition we have said, we learn that three councils have successively put the hand the writings bud-dhiques, and it puts these three councils in the space of time included between these two extreme epochs, the first year and the four hundredth after the death from Çâkyamuni. This space time embrace this that I call the time old of Northern Buddhism. The end of this time is found naturally marked by the last council. To go to this event, the Buddhism (not cease) have to live in the provinces of India whence it took birth; far from there, it is obvious to me that he continues to develop there, and that he takes a new boom; but the modifications that it undergoes do not receive, at least to my knowledge, the sanction of a council, and they look like the effect of work and effort individual. Buddhism, in a word, between in a new era that I call the middle ages, by contrast the time old with the tradition we have conserved a more or less precise memory. During this second age, which is that of commentators on Buddhism northern destinies had very diverse. From a edge it is maintained, pleind'écilatand of force in the places where it was established for centuries; it gave the day to systems as many as varied; it was attacked successively in all India by the Brahmanism, he ends up disappear entirely from this country. His full eviction date for me is the middle ages which I just to talk, and the beginning of modern times. I do not hide, I admit, how vague this limit is, since the persecution brâhmnique has lasted many centuries (duv® auxiv® of our era) before fully triumphing over Buddhism, and that, on the other, the proscribed cult has left that step by step the various provinces where he had thrown in so deep roots. This limit becomes more precise, however, if we combine

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .523 the data relating to the proscription of Buddhism with those who are rapport to its establishment among the peoples who took it in, especially in the north from India. It is clear, in fact, that as that the Buddhism moved away from his cradle, he lost a portion of life he was pulling of his long stay in the country where he had flourished during both of centuries et qu'obligé to be used, for seto propagate among new peoples, of various idioms and sometimes little docile to the expression of his clean designs, it little by little hid its form original under a borrowed garment. The transformation will be made not everywhere in the time, but she began pretty good time, and is continued until the EPO-ques noticeably brought closer to our time. It is there this that I call the age modern Buddhism northern; it is at this age that I have to stop these research, when the historical sketch that I account tracing of Buddhism Indian will have succeeded. These are the main phases that I believe I can, with some confidence, report in the history of the collection Nepali; they result for me from the combination of data traditional with those that I provided the study of texts. But all is not yet finished; we did not get so far that some dates, or rather a few epochs of which we can well indicate the mutual relationship, but that we do not yet attach to anything. We miss, in a word, from fundamental point, from which it will need from to the place in the

annals of India and in those of the world. This initial point, the Buddhists of North us the supply: it is the death of Çakyamuni, the last Buddha; here is the capital fact which serves as the basis for all the historical development of Buddhism, in particular to this chronology of the councils of which I spoke more high; but the tradition and the texts we leave to little close in the dark about the date of actual of this fact, of the determination positive which depends on the of all those who the follow. In place of a point fixed, the tradition only gives us a collection of dates that differ the one des autres of several centuries, and which none has obtained the consent of Buddhists of all the schools. So we need, before to place definitively in history the series of events relating to the col-sacred election, having made a choice between the many dates assigned by the Buddhists from all the countries in the death of Çākya. We are, we the see, natu-ACTUALLY led to the consideration of this issue difficult for the solution of which depends on the final determination of historical data gathered so far. We can not, however approach it without having carried our eyes on another area where blooms also the Buddhism, and where it was kept until our days in the books written in a language of origin Indian, and that, as those of the North, is claiming inspired; I wanna talk of Ceylon and of the collection
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524 INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF INDIAN BUDDHISM. of books pale that are authoritative for the Buddhists of this island, as well as for those of Barma, Pégu and Siam. The study of this collection is a preparation ration indispensable to the discussion of the date of Gākya, and to the historical of Buddhism Indian who must in be later. In fact, or the collection of Geylon is the same as that of Nepal, and then the value of this increases especially since the identity is more complete: here is only one source United- that for the study of Buddhism; we can any security the track in one or in the other of these two currents, that of the North and that of the South, and it born more remains to be examined that the circumstances which separated this unique trunk into two branches now so distant one from the other. Or although the collection Ceylon differs from that of Nepal, not only by the language, but also by the fund; and then these differences open up a new career for our research, and we offer of valuable subjects of study. What are the number and the scope of these differences, and at the same time what the point of resemblance that exist between the two collections? These differences are they quite significant to betwo schools, one from the North, the other from the South? and the nature of the resemblances we authorizes she- in think that there where they are located, there is the Buddhism primitive? The councils have they exercised some influence on the separation of this belief in two schools, and day and that the number of these councils are they attached to the same way in the North and in the South? These are, in a few words, the main the main questions that the study of the Sinhalese collection contains compared to that of Nepal, on the assumption that these two collections will be recognized different from each other; we see that we can not pass to the historical exposition America's Buddhism India without having examined this collection Sinhalese in itself even and in its relations with that of the North. I am proposes therefore to analyze, so that it may be possible, like I made of that of Nepal; and this analysis completed, I will reconcile the results statements of those provided to me by examining the written Buddhist books in Sanskrit and preserved in the North. So I have the assurance, many facts that I do not have reported that as probable will be recognized for some; many circumstances on which is silent or only obscure to explain the tradition of the North will be placed in their true light; in a nutshell,

the history of the Nepal collection will be illuminated with a new light, and it will now be possible, not alone, to determine the reports that have between them the various parts of which it is included, but to mark its place in all monuments messages of Buddhism. END OF SECOND MEMORY.

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APPENDIX. NM. - FROM THE WORD NIRVANA. ^.' (SECOND BRIEF, SECTION II, PAGE 69.) It is here, I believe, the place to determine, according to examples taken in the texts, the meaning from the word of Nirvana; over there better understood come lie held is possible that the Buddhists divide such diverse applications of it. Recall first that in his memory on the sects heterodox from India, Colebrooke has given the etymological sense. "This word, he said, used in quality" adjective, means extinct, like for example a fire that is consumed, or a light that ceases to glow; he means of more dead, as when it is applied than to a saint who has left this world for the other. This word derives from va, souf-t proud as up, and of the preposition nîr which has a negative meaning here; nirvana" means therefore: calm and not moved by the wind. The notion attached to this word" employee [substantively] in a philosophical sense, is that of apathy" complete. "And more far: "It is not an annihilation, but a apa-" incessant thing that the Djâinas and the Buddhists intend to designate by the Nir- vâna, that is to say the extinction of their saints (1).» I do not know on which self-rity is based Colebrooke to so limit the meaning of Nirvana among the Buddhists; I believe well that it must be there the feeling of some schools, but it is not yet proven that it is that of all, and in particular of the oldest. This question the rest, assuming even that the solution to be possible, will be examined only when we have compared the opinions of Buddhists of North with those who reign in the South. So I come back to the meaning of the word Nirvana, and I notice first that the acceptance proper to this term is that of extinction. I find in a passage the Divyatl) Miscell. Essays, t. I, p. 401 and 402.

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526 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY avadâna the radical where that word derives employee verbally with this meaning special tion. He is there question of a lamp which is offered to the Buddha by a woman, and that Ananda, her faithful servant, can not extinguish. Here is the sentence she says: "Yes I was putting out (nirvâpayâyam) this lamp, he said to himself; and trying to turn it off with your hand, it could not succeed (i). "This circumstance, for to say in passing, is reported to Mâudgalyâyana by the editor of one of the legends that Mr. Schmid has translated the Tibetan (2); and I find there a new confirmation of this that I said in my first Memory (3) touching the inferiority of the Tibetan language with respect to Sanskrit. Here, in fact, the interpreter attaching to meaning clean nirvâpay, it makes a switch off, in Tibetan BsAb-pa; but we have already seen, and we will tell of new que Nirvana in the philosophical meaning is uniformly rendered in Tibetan by exemption of the pain, "to ensure that the great analogy that exists between nirvâpay taken to pro-pre and nirvana employee figuratively can not even be suspected in the release Tibetan. The meaning of extinction is so intimately own that this end of Nirvana, that it is for a fire is extinguished that it compares the Nirvana, which it says that manages a Buddha, when the death completes the mailing of links in the world. I find one proof in this passage curious about Avadâna çataka: Yavad Vipacyî samyaksamhuddliakâryam krîtvâ indhanakchayâd ivâgnir nirupadhiçè- chê ïïrvâm dhâtâu parinirvâh (4), passage of which the Tibetan version can be read

inthe Kah-gyur (5),and which means :“ Until finally Vipaçyin, the Buddha com-
 "completely perfect, after having fulfilled all the ' duties of a Buddha, was," Similar to a
 fire which the food is consumed ,, completely destroyed in" The element of Nirvana,
 where hewill remain more nothing of what constitutes the exist-"Tence. "This sentence
 contains all the expressions relating to Nirvana; heimportant therefore to examine inclose.
 First, I observe that the idea of extinguishingtionit dominates, and a Buddha entering into
 the Nirvana final (parinirvr̥ita)is compared to a firewhich goes out for lack of food.
 Secondly, theterm ofNirvana isaccompanied by the word dhātu, an element on the value
 of which heimportant to befixed.Ilookeddhātu as one of thesedenominationsofcategories
 that abound in thestyleBuddhists,andwho holdtoclassifier system of their doctrines. The
 element of Nirvana is certainly not(1) Divya avadāna, f.42.(2) Ber Weise und der Thor, p.
 262 of the text, and p. 328 | of the translation.(3) Above, first Memorial, p. 11 sqq.(4)
 Avad. çat., f.150 b.(5) Mdo, vol. ha (xxix), f. 254 o.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .527nemenl nothing ofmore than the element says Nirvana, or
 in-other words, than theNirvana.The expression nirupadhiçêcha does not in many
 closealso easy.On thealso finds written anupadhiçêcha (I), which amounts to absolutely
 the same thing . TheBuddhists South give to this word of spellings more divergent.Thus
 the commentary Mahavamsa, which Mr Turnour has been run Ceylona copywhich
 hekindly gave me the use, quote among the epithetsof aBuddha anupâdisesa nibbâm
 sampâpakam (2),"The one who makes get complete-"ment the Nirvana. "The word
 anupadisesa, which Clough writes in the same way (3),isreproduced withone is short,
 anupâdisesa, in a different wayof the same commentary of the Mahāvamsa. Some
 research I havemade in the books bud-ethics written in Sanskrit which areat my disposal,
 Ihave found no share offull commentary on this term. The gloss of Pafitcha krama,
 smalltreaty of whichwhich I spoketop (4), and whois certainly not early daysof Buddhism,
 istheonly book where I haveencountered some trace of explanation,in the following
 passage :sopadhiçêcham pantchaskandhamâtra çûnyam, anupa-dhiçêcham. sarvaçûnyam
 nirvânam (5). If the relationships that I suppose between theseterms actually exist ,
 therethey will have to be translated as follows :*The sopadhiçêcka,or this€in what herest
 of YUpadhi, is empty only of the five Skandhas; Vanupa-vs dhiçêcha, or what in which
 hedoes not remain of Upadhi, is empty " of everything, it is the€Nirvâiia. "What does
 upadhi mean now ?Wilson gives this term the meaning :1 " fraud, 2" wheel of a chariot,
 3 " terror ;but none of thesemeanings doseems to meagree here.I notice, however, that
 themeaning of rouenous rap-close to the explanation adopted by Clough, whoreading
 anupadisesa analysisThusthis term: " na (nol) upâdi (\) ro & \\ cm§) sesa
 (transmigration)," that is to say, " CeQui puts an end to the transmigration, leadingto
 Nirvana (6)." Ilook at this explanation as any in fact unsustainable ;she does not teach
 usthat one thing is the result of Nirvana which is to put an end to the trans-migration.In
 thequotinghere I haveonly intend to show that. ifupadhi had in our Buddhist expression
 the meaning of wheel, we would find therethe elements of the translation given by
 Clough," What where hedon't staynotofwheel, - "to say, of revolution of the world. But
 besides the commentary of(t) Pantcha krama iippanî, f. 16 6.(2) Mahāvamsa tîkâ, f. 2 6
 init.(3) Singhal. Diction., T. II, p. 30.(4) Second Dissertation, sect. VI, p. four hundred
 ninety seven.(5) Pantcha krama tipp., T.16 b, l. 4.(6) Singhal. Diction., T. II, p. 30, col. "2.

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528 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Pancha Krama not said anything of this interpretation, it was not supported davan-tage by the authority of the Tibetan translators . In the passing quoted just now, as well as in various places of the Lotus of the good law ^ the Sanskrit formula nirii-padhiçêchê nirvânadhâtâu parinirvritah isthus translated into Tibetan :phung-pohi Ihag-ma-med-pahi mya-ngan-las-lidas-pahi dbyings-su mya-ngan-las-haas-so. It's this expression hewe laut review to find there opinion genuine Tibetans. Our Tibetan dictionaries provide us , for the explanation of this sentence, the following interpretations : " He is completely delivered from the pain in the element of the exemption of the pain, where it there has no rest aggregate. " Expression composed phung-pohi Ihag-ma-med-pahi, which has the form of a genitive preceding the noun which the steering, responds certainly the compound Sanskrit anupadhiçêchê ; and in this expression upadhi is rendered by phung-po, and went through Ihag-ma. I hear the word phung-po as the result the dic-Tibetan holders : " Accumulation, heap, aggregation of material elements " Riels ; » And what confirms me in this view is that this word phung-po is the ordinary translation of the Buddhist term Sîcandha, aggregate and intellectual ; Schrôter gives us this expression with this meaning. The same sentence which concerns us is also found in Schrôter, in a verbal form , with the direction (the go to heaven. Celtic interpretation is without doubt too restricted, and she has a theistic tendency which is certainly not old. However, it proves that we must look in phung-po la concept of skandhas, or the five constitutive intellectual attributes of human existence . Finally, Csomade Coros understands exactly in this way the Tibetan expression which we occupies, since the translated thus : " Entirely delivered from pain with respect " To the five aggregates of the body (1). " All these connections carry me to believe that the term upadhi designates the collective reunion of the five Skandhas, reunion which is one of the main elements of the individual human, and I propose to give Ace term a meaning analogous to that of support, support, that is , what is based on the attributes intellectual goals of individuality, or of the lead assumption, that is, say what we suppose to be ; of kind that Upadhi designates individuality, socket in some way subjectively and objectively. I will result from all this that expression anupadhiçêcham nirvâmm can be translated to this way : " The annihilation, where he not remain more nothing of individuality. " This is what that the gloss of the Pantcha krama calls the empty of all, the emptiness complete. (1) Asîaf. iies., t. XX, p. 312.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .529 But he do not me too easy of understand the way in which this gloss explains the sopadhiçêcham ,. in there seeing the empty five Skandhas alone. He is clear that this gloss distinguishes two voids : the one where still remains Yupad / ii, or individuality supported or supposedly, if I can express myself well ; the other absolute, or the empty total, in wherein the Tibetan interpreters teach us to * see the annihilation of individuality itself. He if can do However, as the Pantcha krama hears by Upadhi the person himself, or what we call Besides the pudgala, of way that the empty oi X Upadhi still remains represented feel the human person or the pure mind freed from all its attributes. We are stopped here, as we can see, by the absence a special commentary on these difficult terms ; however, as the Pantcha krama is certainly a book more modern as the terms he uses, and as he in fact probably a Application special, his opinion quelle qu'elle be, may disadvantage without being left of side in a debate relating to these clear terms elders. One sees, at rest, appear in all the schools and all the ages of Bud-dhism. I meet one every

complete example in the Sanskrit text of Vajra tchêdika, that we know to be a brief summary of the Pradjà pàramità. Here is this example : Sarve'nnpadhiçêchênirvânadhâtâuparinlrvâpaijilavyâhy and in the Tibetan version : De-dag thams-tchad phung-po Uiag-ma-med-pahi mya-ngan-las-hdas-pahi dbyings-su yongs-su mya-ngan-las hzlaho. Mr. Schmidt, in its German version of Tibetan Vajra tchêdika, renders this passage as follows : " I have, the issuing all fully and without rest from the pain, the trans-((carry in the pain- free region (1))." I do my ilatte not of pos-Seder a pretty big habit of the tongue Tibetan to deny positively may this translation faithfully reproduce the text. He however seems to me that the expression ptmng-po-lhag-ma-med-pahi, which means, according to M, Schmidt, "completely and without remainder, "serelates, by its ending / w, to the term mya-ng an-las- lidas-pahi ^ literally" Of the state of the exemption of the pain "words that represent the Sanskrit Nirvana. Let us add that the likelihood is for this feeling : because if the versions Tibetan are also accurate that is the believe it is allowed to think that the translator Buddhist of Vajra tchêdikawill not have did not want to disturb the relationship of the two Sanskrit terms anupad / iîçêchênirvânadhâtâu, which are one and the other to the rental; while that if the first of these terms is reported to sarvê [all the beings in the world that we are talking about to save], the in-terpreter would have taken care of him give in his version any brand of cases.(1) Ueher das Mahâyâm, etc., in Mém. of Acad. des sciences de S. Pétersbourg, t. IV, p. 130 and 187.34

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530 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY I must however point out that Mr. Schmidt has not consistently translated to this way the expression anupadhiçêcha, and that in a different passing it seems to have come in part to the meaning that I believe the true (1). So he said elsewhere : " The beings without the remainder of any accumulation. " This expression is not sufficiently clear ; and we do not see what he must be understood by Anhœufunçy siit does not the Skandhas. But this translation has yet the downside of doing report anupadhiçêcha to sattvâhy while he must determine nirvâmdhâtâu. Since I have had occasion to speak the word dhatu (element), that to me is allowed to add here a new example of the use of this term, where I suspect that Mr. Schmidt he has given too much of value. He it is a passage of Varljratchhêdika, where Rhagavat establishes that what that is the number of beings saved by a Rôdhisattva, he there has there not be quirellement be saved. Here is the text Sanskrit: Yâvantah sattvâlisattvadhâtâu satlvasamgrahêna samgrililâ andadjâvu djarâyudjâ va samsvêdadjâ va âupapâdakâ goes ; and I the literally translate Thus : " All this that there are beings included in the domain of beings, under the " collection of beings, that they were born from an egg or a womb, or from " humidity, or in a supernatural way . " Mr. Schmidt interprets the version Tibetan of this passageway (2) of the way following : Was wings zu lebenden Wesen sich ans der Ansammlung (Materie) angesammelt hat, which amounts to little close to this : " All this that, out of the accumulation or of the material was " Accumulated as living beings, or to become living beings. » If first notice that the Tibetan version of this passage, Sems-tchan dji-tsam sems-lchan-du bsdu-bas bsdtis-pa, lends itself well in the sense that if in the Sanskrit text, since, meaning literally " everything that there has beings " Gathered by collection in beings, " we are can see, in terms more clear, " All " that it is has beings included in the collection of beings. » Then, and forme keep in Sanskrit, quia here the merit of being the original, it is clear that sattva-dhâtâu can mean the element of beings or

the matter, as the offers M. Schmidt, but that it is one of those colloquial expressions in Sanskrit bud-dhique, where dhātu not a very great value, and where it is all the more the result by field of beings, to say among the êtres. C'est still a trait specific to this Sanskrit, that this tedious repetition of the word to be ^forexpress an idea as clear as that the text. In general, the more the idea is simple, the Buddhists there insist and to develop with a wide appa-ring the words, which in the final will contribute not just to obscure it. (1) Ueher das Mahâyâna , etc., in Mém. of Acad. of Sciences of St. Petersburg, t.IV, p. 202. (2) Ibid., T. IV, p. 187.

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IOF INDIAN BUDDHISM .531N “ II.- OF THE SAHALÔKADHÂTIL

EXPRESSION (SECOND BRIEF, SECTION II, PAGE 82.) The term which is used here the text is Sahalôkadhâtu : it is a familiar term link to Buddhists of all the schools to designate the universe inhabited by men. The last word dhatu, who wants to say element, there is little qu'explétif, and head nothing to the meaning of the word lôka. It is this that shows the way following a comment on the Djina alamkâra, Pali poem in honor of Djina (or Buddha) : tîsûpi lokadhâtu su djetthasethattam patio, <having obtained excellence and superiority in the same three worlds (i). » He should therefore admit that Sahalôkadhâtu does not say more than Sahalôka. He Several explanations of this difficult term have already been proposed . When he appeared for the first time in the history of Kachemire, Mr. Wilson the translatable at the beginning of the second line of the stanza 172, as min sahalôka-dhâlâu, in gave this explanation who is at least obscure : "in this" essence of the world (2).) > Later , speaking of the fabulous universe of Çukhavalî, this fortunate land that the Buddhists of the North imagine to be located in the tooth (3), it distinguished lôkadhâtu, as the special title of a division of the tooth ; and meeting in the little one sent to Calcutta by Mr. Hodgson expression Sahalôkadhâtu, he thus returned : "in the named Lôkadhâtu" Saha. To this translation Mr. Wilson added that the division named Saha apparently designated a part of the Himalayas and embraced the Kachemire ; and while still eligible to declare the sense of the essence of the world that had previously given, he abandoned, however, because that this meaning was not technical in this place (4). Finally, making account in the Journal Asia-tick from Bengal of the first work by Csoma de Còros on the Kah-gyur, he defines a way more general the Sahalôkadhâtu, "the region or the world" of Çàkya, that is to say the world of mortals which is ruled by Brahma (5) > My learned friend, Mr. Troyer, by publishing the text and the translation of the History from Kashmir by Kalhana, had under the eyes edition of Calcutta and the in manuscript (1) Djina alamkâra, f. 5 6 of my manuscript. (2) Asian girl. Research, t.XV, p. 111. (3) Notice of three tracts received from Nepal, d'Asiat. Res., T.XVI, p. 471. (4) Asian girl. Res., T.XVI, p. 473 and 475. (5) Journ. of the Asiat. Society of Bengal, t.I, p. 384.

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532 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY written of the Compagnie des Indes n ^ 310, which also have Sahalôkadhâtu (1) ; but he yielded no doubt the authority of Mr. A. Remusat, who % Dai Savalôka .dhâtu (2), and of Mr. Schmidt, who had aussitrouvé in the authors Mongolian know (3). He therefore admitted in his text çavalôkadhâtu (4) ; and starting from the meaning of çava (corpse), it thus translated all the expression : " In the background of this world ((perishable. " However, the Sahalôkadhâtu lesson was preserved by M. Tur-Nour in his searches on the timeline Buddhist, and he translated through " In the whole

of the world (5).» Lassen, incriticizing with a lot of JUStesse the memory above to Tumor, saw how much was obscureexpressionof Sahalôkadhâtu ;and everything in asking ifbornunable to relate tothree kings Turuchkas iont it indicated the simultaneous presence in theKache-mire, he agreed that this suppositionnot would not remove all the difficultiesofpassagewhere it is located(6).In this state of affairs, hematter fromback to the texts themselves and ofconsult the peoples foreign to India whichhave been forced to translate the expressionssion any Buddhist. Firstly the texts give us the word saha undertwo forms :First such that Icome of the transcribe and composited with theword lôkadhâtu, in this way, SaJia lôkadhâln ;then ended with along and separated vowelof the following lôkadhâlu , with which heis available :Sahalôkadhâtu, sahayâm lôkadhâtâu, etc.In this last form it is a truetableadjective with the noun is lokadhdtu. From the meeting of these two wordsresults aexpression similar to all those by which one designates thefabulous universe with which the Ruddhists populate the space,for example Sukhavatîlôkadhâtu. I find atypical example of the one that weoccupies inceltic sentenceof Saddharma Langkâvatâra :Êvam êva mahâmatê aham apisahâyâm lôkadhâtâu tribhir nâmâsamkhyêya çatasahasrâir balânâm çavanâ-vabhâsam ageatchhâmi. <It is thus, O Mahâmati, that I, in the universe"Saha ^ I knew ignorant as three hundred of thousand of Asamkhyêyas(vsof names (7))."But what can saha mean , which is presented here with the role of an adjective? thisword must certainly belong to the radical sah, in one of its meanings whichwill be that of shades theSome of the other,<support, endure, tolerate,(1) Eist. from Kashmir, t. I, p. 371.(2) Test on the Cosmogon. buddh., in Journal des Savants, year 1831, p. 670.(3)Geschichte der Ost-Mongol, p. 301.(4) Hist. from Kashmir, text, t.1,st.172.(5) Journ. of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, t.V, p. 530.(6) Zeitschrift f.d. Knnde des Morgenlandes, t.I,p. 239.(7) Saddharma Langkâvatâra, f. 57 6.. .

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .533<resist; "andit is without a doubtTadjective sdha, suffering,patient. "Thisexplanation leads us directly to the translation of Chinese Buddhists , atwhich Sahalôkadhâtumeans "the stay or theworld of the patient, because<that, says DesHautesrayes, all the beings who live there are subjected to the tests"of the transmigration and to all the vicissitudes that in are the result (1). "We see that Mr. A. Bémusat knew the true meaning of this term, what-heto haveadopted aincorrect spelling ; but at the same time it is necessary to abandon-n the explanations that this bad spelling suggested to M. Schmidt (2).Heimportant to bring to this phrase the title that we give to Brahmain the Buddhist books of the North as in those of the South. We find it therenamed Sahcmpati, and inPali Sahathpati (3). This title is even composed withthat of Brahmà in the following passage from Thûpavamsa, the story of the Stupas :SahampatiMahâbrahmunâyâtchita dhammadesano, "the onethat thebig“ Brahmà Sahampati prayed to teach the Law (4).”I see here the meeting oftwo words pati (master, lord), and saham (paU for sahâm), genitive plurala name derived directly from the stem sah, andlthetranslate by "the lord"of those who endure, of the patient. "Brahma is in effect the ruler ofSahalôkadhâtu, that is to say, the world of the patient.It is presumablythethis which reach the Tibetans by the term mid-kyi mdjed bdag-po, whorepresents totheir eyesSahâMpati.Thefirst part, mi-mdjed, is translatedin our Tibetan dictionaries by "whois not subject, which is notsubmitted "(Csoma), and by “ not subject, independent ” (Schmidt). This vague expressionlack of the precision required, and the words ^whois notsubmitted "mustto be understood in the sense of " who suffers,

who endure without giving in. "I have to conclude quote here, if only so as not to omit it, the explanation of the term of Sahampati that given Mr. G. Humboldt, without the show, and as if it was sufficiently proven by itself. This scholar believes that Sahampati is identical with Djagat pati," The memory of the universe (5). "It is true that he had borrowed the original term to the bad transcriptions of Upham, which written Sagampati, and that the work was not as discredited as he has become since the publication of the Mahāvamsa. (t) Des Hauterayes, Research on the religion of Fo, in Journ. Asian., T. VIII, p. 43 ; and A. Rémusat, Essay on the Cosmogon. huddh., in Journ. des Savants, year 1831, p. 670. Jib koue% ^) " GeLichte der Ost-Mongol, p. 301, note 8. Mem. Of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, t. II, p. 23. (3) Clough, Singhal. Diction., T. II, p. 722, coi. 1. (4) Thûpavamsa, L 9 ade my manuscript. (5) Ueber die Kawi-Sprache, 1.1 , p. 297. Page 64

534 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY N " III.- THE WORDS Purana AND KÂRCHÂPANA. '(second dissertation, section II, PAGE 130.) He is not easy to arrive at a rigorous assessment of the stated sum in our text, because that the values of bases from which it is possible from the calculate only are not known with all the precision desirable. On the one hand, in fact, these values are varied a few times that do not determine historically mined; on the other hand, the Indian authors themselves give these bases evaluations very different the one from the other, and which are not can explain the divergence that assuming they take this one has used diverment the same sign in the provinces varied. It is however possible to obtain a result approximate to the aid of elements comparison we provide the ^ Golebrooke memory on the weight and measures of India. It is important in the first place to point out that the Purana which he is spoken in the text is a currency of weight, that is to say a currency belonging to one purely Indian system, and consequently prior to the influence exerted in India the monetary system of the Greeks of the Rac-triane. Now in the system to which the Purâna belongs, which is a weight of ar-gent, the unit is the Raktikâ, that is to say the weight of a ^ red seed of Gundjaor of Vabrus precatorii. W. Jones weighed a very large number of these seeds, and noted that their weight average equaled 1 î ^ grain troy English. But Gole-Brooke says that the Raktikâ (commonly Retti) has in the practice a value agreement that goes to the dual of the weight of the seed by Vabnis, and who however reaches not quite done 2 t grain ; it's approaching (near h), says Gole-brooke, 2 û English troy grains (1). In admitting so that the Raktikâ equal 2 T J troy grains, the silver machaka, which is equal to two Raktikâs, vau-dra 4 T i troy grains ; and as hence 16 of these Mâchakas to make a Purana, this last weight will be exactly equal to 70 troy grains ; from where we will get 35,000 troy grains for 500 of these Purânas. Finally, like the English troy grain is, according to the tables of reduction of the Directory of the Bureau des Longitudes, 0.065 French milligrams, the 500 Purânas will be worth 2.275 milligrams, or 455 francs. We understand that happen to a result much more high, if was of a gold weight ; or the use of the word Purâna forbids us absolutely celtic (1) On Indian Weights and Measures, in Asiat. Recherches, t. V, p. 92, ed. iu-S ",

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .535 supposition, since the Purâna is positively given for a weight of silver. This consideration dispenses me from seeking what the 500 Purânas would be worth. in the various following assumptions, namely : that the Mâcha equals sometimes 5 Raktikâs or 10 i troy English grains, and in round numbers he troy

grains ,that is to say 715milligrams; sometimes four Raklikàs or 8 f grains troy,it's-ie 569 milligrams ;sometimes 16 Raktikàs or 35. troy grains , that is to say2 grams275 milligrams. Colebrooke did not sayclearly if hehad toto understand by these Mâchas weights of gold or silver ;but since it has positive-mentally specified the Mâchaka (diminutive of Mâcha) as a silver coin , ityhas a very high probability to believe that the Mashas properly so called areweights of gold. This consequence can also be deduced from the comparisonof the two articles in the Wilson's Dictionary , Celmlôe Mâcha and that of Mâchaka.What he in any case, the terms of Masha and of Machaka belong, asone of Raktikâ, ACEsystem weights provided by the kind andvery probable-very old thing which characterizes the times of still little advanced civilization ;because the Mâcha is a bean ofthe species known as phaseohis radiatus.The text of our legend speaks of yet another currency, the Kârçhàpana,who is, following Colebrooke (1),equal to 80 Raktikàs of copper, that is to sayTo175 English troy grains ,or according to Wilson (to the word Kârçhàpana), at 176 grains.Although the Kârçhàpana could also be aweight of gold and silver thatofcopper, the whole of the text seems to me to prove that it is necessary to see a Kârçhàpanaof copper, as the courtesan will certainly say that it will demand not evento Upagupta the most small sum. Or like theKârçhàpana, at the rate of 175English troy grains would equal11 grams 375 milligrams of copper (i.e.say a coinof 5 centimes de France, with a fraction of 1.375 milligram-my, whodoes not go up to 1 cent), say : " I do n't even want a Kâr-chàpana, 3)is direà little about the equivalent of this: " I do you ask noteven a penny. "No IV. - THE NAMES OF THE GODS AMONG Buddhists.(SECOND BRIEF, SECTION II,PAGE 180, NOTE 1.)Georgihas given, according to the sources Tibetans had gathered the P. Horacede la Penna, a listsuperimposed skiesaccording to the ideas of the Tibetans, that(1) Asian girl. Researches, t. V, p. 93.

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536INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYI think it is useful to compare with that of our Sutra (1).This comparison maybe interesting undermore than one report. Infirst , like the names tib-tain of the heavens and the gods that thelive will be as translations ofnames originally Sanskrit, and that Georgi did not give these last names that it was unknown, it is necessary derapprocher the list Tibetan of theof our Satra,to provide a few more elements to this comparisonof the two Buddhist literatures , thatfrom Tibet andthatofNepal, which doescan that be so profitableto one and tothe other.Then under apoint of viewmore high, heis essential to know which additions theRuddhistshave madeat the PantheonpopularfromRràhmanes that theyhaveadopted, orwhile at least they have not outlawed ;it is, in fact, only according to thenature ofthoseadditionsthat we can judgethe proper character of theirmythology.The enumeration ofGeorgi, who follows the same course as that of our Sutra,starts by rising from the nearest floors of theEarth;but she does not understandeven in the sky of the Tuchitas, and it thus omits the threefirst orders includingour Sutra gives the names. But Georgi takes up this subject in other passagesof his compilation, and heis possible, by bringing together all these passages, to presenta complete picturethe number and of the formation of the stages which are composed theupper world according to the ideas of the Ruddhists.We know that it is on the slopes of Mont Mèru, that is to say of this mountainfabulouswho,according to the exact definition of Mr. Abel Rémusat, is at the same timethe part the most elevated of the world's land and the developed central of sky visible (2)that the Ruddhistsplace the

floors lower heavens that rise gradually lying above the earth. The four continents which is composed of land that we live are arranged around this mountain, which rises above addition of the surface as it dips below (3). The upper part of the Mêru is divided into several floors, including the first going up is inhabited by geniuses which the Tibetans call the prince Gnod-sbyin lag-na gjong-thog (4). I don't know the Sanskrit word corresponding to this name, who is clearly composed. Georgi does not have one given the translation ; but we may interpret it with the help of the dictionary of Csoma, from which Gnod-sbyin means a mischievous fancied spirit, and lag-na gjong-thog (or rather thogs) denotes a imaginary being who holds a basin in his hand. To these notions M. Schmidt adds (1) *Alphab. Tib.*, P. 182 sqq. (2) *Journ. des Savants*, year 1831, p. 609. (3) Georgi, *Alphab. Tib.*, P. 480. (4) *Ibid.*, Etip. 237.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .537 that Gnod-sbyin is synonymous with Sanskrit Yakcha (1), this that I think just made exact, because that the Yakchas are, in the mythology Indian, geniuses whose stay is the atmosphere ; but Mr. Schmidt does not learn nothing from more touching the epithet added to the name of these Yakchas, "who have a vase in their hand, > All that we know is due to Georgi, who 's is busy to dip with their vases the water that the waves of the sea make rebound on the Mount Meru. I did not so far nothing met in the texts of the Nepal , which is related to this class of beings superior to man. But beside that she is not entirely of the invention of the Tibetans, since the Southern Buddhists know something analogous, it is based on a given réelles ent Indian and antique, because nothing is more ordinary than to see the Yakchas appear in the legends. These are geniuses of the air, endowed with a great power, which, like all the other inhabitants of the Pantheon Buddhist, are subject to supreme power Buddha, and even that of the Beligieux or a few privileged figures , like the protective kings of Buddhism. The name that they give the Tib-some remember in part the one of Kumbhânda, which designates beings placed by the Singhaliese immediately above the Earth, the long from flanks of Meru (2) ; I must talk elsewhere about these geniuses purely Indians. The second floor is inhabited by the beings who hold in his hand a rosary ; the Prince which the rules are named after Georgi Pran thoy (3), faulty lesson which is rectified easily with the help of the notion that Georgi we give to these geniuses. If, in fact, we read Phreng thogs, this name will mean "the one who holds a" Garland." This term would translate very exactly the Sanskrit Sragdhara ; corn I do not have met so far in the books of Nepal that a Deity of this name is the Goddess of Tantras about whom I spoke more above in the section devoted to these books (4), and which, I believe, has nothing to do here. I must not, however, forget to say that following Schröter the Tibetans have a word, Phreng-ltan, by which they designate Garuda, the Indian bird consecrated to Krishna (5) ; Phreng-ltan, who means " Having a garland," it is not very far from Phreng-thogs, expression which has the same meaning. If these two words were synonymous, we could assume that the beings who inhabit the second upstairs are the Garudas, including the Buddhists make a class of divine birds . We will see, by studying the classi- (1) *Tibet. Wôrierb.*, P. 308, col. 2. (2) *The Mahâvansi*, t. III, p. 51. (3) *Alphab. Tib.*, P. 481. (4) *Second Dissertation*, sect. V, p. 483. (5) *Bhot. Diction.*, P. 199, col. 1.

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538 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY fication of the Southern Riddhists , that they place the Garudas on the third floor above the earth (1). The third floor is the living room of the beings who are called, according to Georgi, "bii-€vows and stupid, > and which have in

Tibetan the name of Riag myos (2). These two monosyllables to translate literally through "continually intoxicated," and this interpretation accords well with the notion that Georgi we give to these Gods; but here again the texts of Nepal, at least those I can consult, are absolutely silent, and I do not find in our captions the name without-written of these Deities. Perhaps these always drunk geniuses are the Nâgas, or Heavy dragons and stupid that the Buddhists the South place, he is true, at fourth degree. The fourth floor is inhabited by the beings that Georgi called the Lhasa myyin (3), that is to say, "those who do are not gods," in other words, that are Asura; because the Tibetan expression is the exact translation of the latter Sanskrit name. Here again we lack the testimony of the Nepalese texts in which affects the determination precise of stay of the Asura; but their name is not less authentic, and their existence proved by these texts. It is, with the Yakchas, one of those old loans made by the Buddhism to the popular religion of India. The Asuras, like the geniuses of the three floors in laughing, don't not included in the classification of the Gods, inhabitants of the floors celestial superimposed above the earth; but it does not wonder, for they are not Gods. The Asura are on the contrary the enemies of Devas, or of these Deities bright with the Buddhists of all the schools themselves are made of ideas just did conform to designs Brahmin (4). Here is why the Sûtra which is related to this note, parlant des rayons of light that rises in the sky and will light up the homes of the Devas, takes his point of departure to the Tchaturmahârâdjikas, that is to say to the Deities who live in the last of the six superimposed skies which constitute the first the three regions, one of Kâmâvacharas, or the ones delivered to the concupis-cence (5). The classification that I have just explained according to Georgi is found, minus the (1) The Mahdvansi, etc., t. III, p. 51. (2) Alfab. Tib., P. 481, n » 10. (3) Alfab. Tib., P. 481, n » \. (4) A. Rémusat, Foe koue M, p. 138 and 139. (5) See second Memorial, section II, p. 70, note 4. I myself serve to design the word region {Dhdu), to avoid the confusion caused by the use of the word world {Lôka), a confusion that very well done M. Schmidt. {Mem. of Acad. of Sciences of St. Petersburg, t. He, p. 55, note 7.)

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .58 ^fourth floor of the Asuras, in Pallas, including the collection curious merit in general a great confidence in all that concerns the Buddhism of Asia central. This proves that she is very familiar with Mongols; it seems to me indis-thinkable to set it out in a few words. On the lower level of the floors that em-breaststroke the Meru live the, enies with a vase; these are the Yakchas of Tibetans. Above them come those whom Pallas calls free (freye); they apparently respond to geniuses wearing a Georgi garland; because they have above them those who are always called drunk, who are placed in the third fifth degree by Pallas as well as by Georgi; but I do not know the reason for the name of free that Pallas their donne. Les Chinese, and that it will all now, have an order of geniuses they call issued ^ and which meet the free from Pallas. Finally, above these three classes of geniuses come the Macharansa Chane, that is to say the Mahârâdjas kings, who command to all these spirits secondary, and including the palace watching the four points cardinals which they ^ have the protectors (1). We see that Pallas does not speak of the Asura, of which what-ques Tibetans make the inhabitants of the fourth heaven; no doubt he is confused with the geniuses still drunk from the third division of Meru. Mr. Schmidt, to which we owe the memories of the more elaborate on the floors celestial from Mongolian Buddhists, place the Asura in the depths of the raines (2). The Chinese also seem to be familiar with these

various orders of geniuses ; of the less I found in the often-cited memoir by Mr. Abel Rémusat on the cosmo-Buddhist script some details that have a clear relationship with the subject who occupies us . These are the mountains arranged in a circle around the Mèru, and that we represent rising by degrees since the chain that surrounds the earth, up to that which reaches the half of the height of the mount central. These mountains form and of real floors in habité spar of beings superior to the man. I don't think necessary to insist on the number of these chains, which for the one is of seven and for the others of ten ; and do n't stop me anymore to point out the analogy strikingly offered this description with the cosmological system of the Brahmins. I only observe that on one of these channels live the Yakchas, on one another 's immortal qu'on appelle Freed, and finally on that which is the most close of Meru the Asuras (3). The Chinese system , which (1) Samml his LN Nachricht., T. II, p. 16. Pallas, with his exactitude ordinaire, has returned to the presentation of Georgi, which he noted in terms general the divergence of with the own. m Mem. of Acad. des sciences de S.-Petersbourg, 1. 11 , p. 34., , . 3 Journal des Savants, year 1831, p. 606. It will have in this part of the memory of Mr. Remusat several names of mountains of which it is easy to find the Sanskrit term , under 1 alteration

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540 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY consists in placing atmospheric geniuses on back chains concentric at Meru and rising to heights uneven the long sapente, is perhaps preferable to that of Georgi, who represents these geniuses on the sides of this mountain ; at least he fits better with the Brahmanic theory of the great chains that surround the Meru. What he in any case, over the orders of geniuses who inhabit the atmosphere, we place at the fourth station of Meru the 'four great Kings. Georgi us learn that there is in Tibet two opinions on this point (1). Next, in effect, that we attribute to the Asuras the third or the fourth degree, the four great Kings go up to the fourth or go down to the third floor of Meru. I don't balance to me put in the first opinion, which is that of Pallas and of Mr. A. Rémusat ; it seems to me to be based on exact documents and more so-carefully studied than those what is often confused Georgi (2); it's her that I followed, when I had the opportunity to talk about the four great Kings (3). The list of our Sutra begins with this order of Deities which are named the Tchaturmahârudjikas. The Tibetans, according to Georgi, the mean by the name of Rgijel-tchen-bji (4), that he must read Bgyal, etc., which means exact-ment <the four great Kings." the Vocabulary pentaglotte gives their name in this way : Gyal {rgya l} -tMen-bjihi rig's, "the tribe of four great Kings (5) ;" it is the literal translation of the Sanskrit liter adopted by this Vocabulary : Tchatur Maharaja kâyikas. The Tibetans the still name lldjig-rten-skyong-ba bji, <the four protectors of the universe (6),> what is only a translation of the Brahmanic name of Lôkapâla. These kings are frequently cited in the books from Nepal, and I explain their names in the notes of a Sutra that I translated more high (7). I add only her that the term compound and derivative employed by our Sutra means vsthe Gods who form the following of the four great Kings. "It is exactly from enough low of Chinese transcriptions. Thus Yeoukan tho is the Yugaindhara (Mahâvansi, t. 111, p. 67); Ni min tho lo, Nêmîndra; Ku tu mo ti, Kêtumatî. This name will ^ ignifle not, as the said M. A. Rémusat, " vexilli perspicacitas, jbut "the region which has standards; "it seems that the Chinese have made a game of words on the sufflxe Maii, they have taken to mati, word meaning intelligence. The name of Kiei tho lo reminds the Kedara, and tchakra is this chain that the Buddhisies name Tchakravâla and which they make the belt of the earth; hein is very .j0uventmatter

in books Buddhist of Ceylon.(1) Alfab. Tib., P. 481 and 482.(2) Journal des Savants, year 1833, p. 609. Foe koue ki, p. 139 and 140.(3) See second Memoir, sect. II, p. 149, notes 1, 2, 3, 4.(4) Alfab. Tib., P. 482, n " 12.(5)Vocab. pentagl., sect. xlix, n " 1.(6) Csoma, Tibet. Diction., P. 243, col. 2. Schmidt, Tibet. Wörterb., P. 176.(7) See second Memoir, sect. II, p. 149, notes 1, 2, 3, 4.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .541 celtics so that the textspale designate this class of divine beings ;becauseas theyfollow this name with the word Bêva(1),theydo not allow us toto doubt neither the meaning nor the role of the wordTchatarmahârâdjikas. I come to saythan the Vocabularypenlaglotte gives a synonym for this term in the lessonTchatiir Maharaja kâyikâh, "thosewhich form the continuation of the big four"Kings (2) ;îthis is a collective expression of which we will soon see the analogue.The four great kings, considered independently of their court, are calledTchaturmahârâdjas ; Celtic last name is the one that have translated the Tibé-tains. The idea even of the four great kings whoare the guardians of the four pointscardinals, their names, and even the way one of them is placed, are designs purely Indian, that theBuddhists have changed very little.But what theirbelongsin its own right, it is the belief that these Gods occupythelower degree of a composite scaleof sixranks, which included under thegeneric name of Kâmâvatcharas, "Gods of desire, ">constitute the regionof desiresor of love, as the Buddhists of all the schoolsnameKâmadhâlu (3),bythat thebeingswhothe populateareallsubmittedalso, althoughsousdesvarious shapes ,to efielsof theconcupis-cence (4).Above the four great kings, Georgi places the Gsum-btclm-rtsa-gsumor " the thirty-three Gods (5) ;i>these are theTrayastrimças ofblack Sutra and,of the Penlaglotte Vocabulary (6). The Tibetans, so we have to believe Georgihave established between the name of the gods andtheir systemof the land a relationshipwhich ihave found no traces in our Sanskrit texts. They assume that thethirty-three gods are like thisnamed because theyrule the universe, which iscomposed of thirty-three parts, namely :five floors, eight seas, seven mountainsgold, twelve continents andislands, anda wall of iron.This explanationmeseems invented after the fact, and I am firmly convinced that the Trayastrimçasof Buddhists are exactly thethirty-three Gods of Brahmanism, onthe classifications themoreold of Deities atmospheric andelementsilence that we know in India.We know that it is Indra who, for the Buddhists as for the Brahmans,is the King of the thirty-three Gods, or more precisely, of the thirty-two, since(1) Pûrâdjika, L kha r ". Mahdvansi, t. 111, p. 135.(2)Vocab. pentagl., sect. xLix, n " 1.(3) Journal des Savants, year 1831, p. 610. Des Haulesrayes, Researchon the rel. from Fo, inJourn. Asian., T.Vil, p. 315.(5) Alfab. Tib., P. 482, m 13.,-^". ,,.(6)Vocab. pentagl.,sect. xlix, n » 2. The Tibetan name is a little altered in this work.

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542INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYit is the presence of Indra which form the number of thirty-three (1). Georgi givesto Indra the name of Kia-cjin, which is writtenin Tibetan Brgya-byin ;this titleseems to respond to one of Çatamanyu or of Çatakraiu, in which Indra is vul-probablyknown among the Brahmans. At rest, theBuddhists are made, from the skyof thirty-three gods and of the happiness which we are enjoys exactly the same ideathat theOrthodox Indians. Us theplaceat the top of Mêru, and thesayinhabited by the characters as their virtues or their glory there were high ;onlyof course, what appears herespecific to Buddhists, it is the idea ifoftenrepeatedin the Sûtras, that the men and

animals kids may after their death, to be reborn for price of their virtue (2). Mr. Schmidt takes the liberty of this circumscription. tance to advance as the thirty-three Gods do not the only inhabitants of this land of delights (3). I don't then neither confirm nor dispute this assertion ; because books are among my hands not say anything at this égard. Je prefer however believe that at the Buddhists, as in the Brahmins, the number of thirty-three is taken from clean and used in a restrictive sense . The Buddhists have even kept with a perfect exactness the four categories of which these thirty-three Divinities are composed . The Eight Vasus are the eight gods providers of all the goods', this who is a cord with one of the interpretations of the word Vasu, and what remind her ancient formula dâtârô vasûnam, ^ an ^ peçêâwv. The eleven Rudras are the eleven Redoubtable divinities , which is very exact. The twelve Adityas are the twelve manifestations of the sun, and the two Açvins are the two Divinities always young people : we do the do not invoke otherwise in the Vedas or in the Zend Avesta. Immediately above the thirty-three Gods, i.e. the third floor of the region of desires, come the Yâmas, whom Georgi calls Thob-hral-ha (4). He must read, as in the Vocabulary pentaglotte (5), Hthab auplace of Tkob ^ and translate : o: those who are safe from quarrels, ” which comes-Drait the meaning given to that name among the Mongols qui selon Mr. Schmidt the tra-duize by “ free from combat (6).” This explanation is also not very far from that of the Chinese who, according to M. A. Rémusat, give to the name (1) A. Rémusat, *Foe koue M*, p. 64 and 65, 128 and 129, and in addition, the references to other items indicated in these two substantive notes . See. *Journal des Savants*, year 1831, p. 610; Schmidt, *Mem. of Acad. of Sciences of S.-Pétersbomg*, t. II, p. 30 sqq. (2) *Foe koue ki*, p. 144. (3) *Mem. de l'Acad., etc.*, t. II, p. 30. (4) *Al-phah. Tib.*, P. 483, n » 13. (5) *Vocab. pentagl.*, l & ecl. xLix, n ” 3. (6) *Mem. of Acad. of Sciences of St. Petersburg*, t. II, p. 30, and t. IV, p. 216.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .543 of Yâmas the meaning of good time (1). According to Mr. Schmidt, the Gods of this sky have received this name, because they are located outside the domain of good and of bad land minds which are between them in a perpetual struggle, and that the Asura of the abyss can do nothing against them (-2). If this interpretation is really authentic, it belongs to Buddhists, as well as the place they give to these Gods in their classification of the celestial floors : But we don't can say as much of the name even of Yama, who is in fact Brahmanic, and which designates, as we know, a class of gods which the role is not perfectly defined by the mythology, although it is frequently cited in the *Piirânas* (3). The interpretation that give the Chinese the name of Yama is approaching much more than that of the Mongols of the meaning of the primitive Sanskrit from which this name derives. According to them, the Yâmas are thus named because they measure their days and nights on blossoming and the fence of lotus flowers (4). This explanation recalls in part one of the meaning the most ordinary from Sanskrit Yâma, which means "eve of three hours. > Under this point of view, the Yamas are the protective deities of divisions of day Indian. The fourth floor from the region of desires is inhabited by the *Tuchitas*, that the Tibetans name *Dgah-ltan* (5); it's exactly the translation of without-wrote *Tuchila*, " those which are satisfied. » Georgi renders this name quite well in applying it in the sky that these Gods inhabit, *magncB IcBtitm locus*. This meaning is known for Buddhists of all the nations, Mongolians and Chinese (6) ; only the Chinese, according to M. A. Rémusat, see it as the meaning of "knowledge is enough health, * who does not seem to me to be justified by the etymology (7). I don't even know for what

reason. M. Rémusat preferred this interpretation to that of *lœtus* (joyful) he had given of *Tuchila* in his copy manuscript of *Vocabulypenta-glottis*, work on which he had undertaken a work considerably as the dead has unfortunately interrupted (8). The name of the Gods *Tuchitas* is still alone made by the Buddhists at the Brahmanic mythology ; but the *Bud-dhistes*, besides the place they they have given in their classification stages (1) *Foe koue M*, p. 144. (2) *Mem. of Acad. des sciences de S.-Pétersbourg*, t. He, p. 30. (3) *Wilson, Vishnu purâna*, p. 54, note 10. (4) *Journal des Savants*, year 1831, p. 610. (5) *Alphab. Tib.*, P. 182 and 483. (6) *Schmidt, Mem. of Acad. of Sciences of St. Petersburg*, t. II, p. 30. *Rémusat, Journal des Scholars*, year 1831, p. CIO. (7) *Foe koue ki*, p. 145. (8) *Vocab. pentagl.*, sect. xlix, n° 4.

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544 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY celestial, have made of the stay they live the privileged homewhere comes from to be reborn, to descend aday among the men, the one who did more than one existence to pass on the earth, and which is destined to become a Buddha par-done. It's a notion that I had more a time opportunity to speak, and which one finds at any time reproduced in the *Sutras*. The fifth floor of the same region is the residence of the Gods that *Georginames Ilphrul-dgah* (1), and he explains as follows : *gaudium ingensexprodigiis*. This is the name that *Mr. Schmidt* writes, from the erroneous transcription of *Mon-gols, Nirmâmavati*, but that he translates exactly this way : this the region of those who find their pleasure in their own transformations or "tions" (2). "The word production seems to me less exact than that of transformation ; because the original term of *Nirmâ? iarati*, as written in *goodour Sûtra*, means "those who find their delight in their miraculous transformations" *Culeuses*. " It is of this manner that hears *Mr. A. Remusat* dans son work unpublished on the *Pentaglotte Vocabulary* , where he the results : *spiritus gaudens in per-mutationibus* (3). The translations that the same author a préférées more later that of " heaven of the conversion " or " joy of the conversion, " have the disadvantage being obscure : we don't know if we should n't hear conversion in a religious meaning , which would be inaccurate ; because *Nirmâna* and the terms belonging to the same family as this word, never have other meanings, in the style *bud-dhique*, as one of " transformation resulting from the magic. y> The name and role of these Deities belong exclusively to Buddhists, and I can n't find nothing among the Brahmins who are responsive (4). It can not be denied, however, that the idea of assigning the gods the ability to take to their will form SOMEONE on which will be old in India, as it appears already in the *Vedas*. It is, I believe in this notion. of the powers supernatural gods that must be attributed but the idea that the Buddhists had of inventing a special sky for the Divinities who can take all kinds of forms. *M. Rémusat* thought that this sky had was so named because the desires born from the five principles of sensations there were converted into purely intellectual pleasures (5). The sixth floor of the Desire Region is inhabited by the Gods que *Georgi* appointed *Gjan-hphrul-nbang ' bye*, and of which he thus translates the name : *prodigiorum* (1) *Alphab. Tib.*, P. 182, and p. 483, n° 15. (2) *Mem. of Acad. of Sciences of St. Petersburg*, t. II, p. 29, and t. IV, p. 216. (3) *Vocab. pentagl.*, xlix, n° 5. (4) In fact, the *Nirmânaratis*, which, according to the *Vichnu purâna*, form one of the classes of gods of the eleventh *Manvantara*, do not seem to me to have any analogy with the *Nirmâtiaratis* of Buddhists. (See *Vishnu purâna*, p. 268.) (5) *Journal des Savants*, year 1831, p. 610.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .545 dominant virtute (1). Our author is correct in a different location (2) and reads, like the Vocabulary Pentaglotte, *dvang* in place of *nbang* that will give any of our lexicons. The meaning which results from these four monosyllables is not perfect. very clear ; but he is elucidated by the unpublished translation of the Vocabulary *penta-glottis* by M. A. Rémusat, who interprets it as follows : *spiritus permutans aliena* (3), and by that of M. Schmidt, who thus defines the sky in question : " the region of < Lone who acts according to his will on the transformations of others, " that is, say, adds the scholar interpreter, " the region of one to the orders which are " all the forms, which is on all the forms (4). " I must however slide on the other developments in which Mr Schmidt enters on the occasion of this sky which he made the stay Demara, the God of love and of the passion ; not that these developments will be full of views high on the role of Mara in the doctrine Buddhist, but it's that they would take me too far and that, except some details, I can't find any not the justification in our Sanskrit texts. I add only that the interpretations that I have just to mention are verified by the one we can give the term also somewhat obscure *notre Sûtra, Paranirmita vaçavartin*, " those who dispose of shapes as they please what is wrong with < kill the others. " I do not need to warn that these Deities, like the pre-cedent, own to a Buddhist system. With this sixth floor is finished the first of three parts, one of desire and of the lust. I say the first, because that I am the classification of four Sutra, which proceeds up from the earth ; he goes from oneself that I would call this region the third if one descended from the higher spheres , as well as did Mr. Schmidt in the memoirs which I borrow then do better than to resend the drive. By continuing to go up, we are entering into the second region, that of forms, inhabited by more perfect beings ; they are divided into several classes that we will list in their order. Immediately above the Deities to which we attribute the power of miraculously transform and at their discretion the other creatures, come, according to our Sûtra, the *Brahma kàyikas*, that is to say " Those who form the continuation of " *Brahmà*. " It is the name of the Gods of whom Brahma is the head, and the Buddhists from the South do not name otherwise this class of Deities. To this order answer too, in the Pentaglotte Vocabulary , the *Brahma paripalyâ*, spelling *fau-tive* that I do not hesitate to be replaced by *Brahma parichadyâh*, leaning on the (1) *Alphab. Tib.*, P. 182. (2) *Ibid.*, P. 483, no. 16. (3) *Vocab. pentagl.*, sect. *xlix*, n " 6. (4) *Mem. of Acad. des sciences de S.-Pétersbourg*, t. 11, p. U, and t. IV, p. 216. 35

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546 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY easy confusion of letter *ste ^ a* and *Tefcha*. The Tibetan version of the Vocabulary *penta-glottis* translated this name by *Tshanyshkhor*, " *Rahmâ* troop , " where *turna spirituiim Fan*, as understood by Mr. A. Rémusat from the Chinese (1). the Nepalese know also that class of deities, although in transcribing the name in a way faulty, *Brahmaprashadyâ* (2). I will come back lower on these naming differences . *Georgi*, who does not give the Tibetan name of this class of Gods, at least to the place where he would be natural to the search, the replaced by a term collective who embraces four classes of Divinities, and expressed by Tibetan words *Ts / iangs'phahi gnas bji* (or rather *pahi*) (3) ; *Georgi* translates this expression by *sedes quadrup Uci contemplationis* (*jeneri vacantium*, but this translation is manifestly erroneous (4), and the four Tibetan words can only mean that " The four dwellings of *Rahmâ*. " In admitting that the analogy of the list Tibetan and of that of our Sutra is still here with the same regularity that for the previous heavens, one would be led to think that the four

dwellings of Rrahmâ include the three terms of our Sutra where the name of Rrahmâ figure, plus the Parittâbhas who come next ;but that would be a mistake, because we will soon recognize that the Parittâbhas open a new category of Gods. It must therefore be admitted that the four dwellings of Rrahmâ of the Tiber-some answer to the three spheres of our Sutra, know the Rrahmâ kâyikas, "those who form the continuation of Rrahmâ ;" the Rrahmâ purôhitas, has them pre-very or ministers of Rrahmâ, >in Tibetan Tshangs-'pamdin-na hdon (6) ;and the Mahâbrahmâs, in Tibetan Tshangs-pa-tchhen-po (6). It would now remain to be determined which of these two enumerations is preferable, of the Tibetans who admit four heavens of Rrahmâ, and of that of our Sutra which do recognize that three. But some efforts that I have made to find reasons decisive in favor of one or of the other, it my was not to be parvenir. Je have the found the one and the other supported by from equally respectable authorities .So the Georgi's classification allows itself to the opinion of the Nepalese, who according to Mr. Hodgson (7) have four heavens where Rrahmâ dominates, and that the call as well :Brahma kâyikas, Brahma purôhitas, (1) Foca & pen ^ ap'i., sect. L, no 1. (2) Transact. Roy. Asian girl. Soc, t. II, p. 233. (3) Alphah. Tib. ,, p. 182. (4) It seems that it has been borrowed from the title that carries this section in the Vocabulary Pentaglotte : The three contemplative Gods . (5) Vocab. pentagl., sect. 1, n ° 2. (6) Ibid., M 3. (7) Transact. Roy. Asian girl. Soc, t. II, p. 233.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .547 Brahma parichadijas and Mahâbrahmânas. But if we compare this classification to that of our Sutra, it seems that it results from what is divided in Nepal into two distinct orders the Brahmakâyikas and the Brahma parichadyas, that our Sutra and the Vocabulary pentaglotte appear to unite in a single category. On the other hand, the classification which would recognize that the three heavens of Brahma is first adopted by the Sutra which gives rise to the present rating, then by the Vocabulary pentaglotte qui to alter the names, but who after all does not recognize is born only three orders (1), by the Buddhists Singaporean (-2), finally by the My-gols, after Pallas and M .. Schmidt (3). Thus a Sanskrit Sutra of Nepal speaks of three mansions of Brahma ; the Mongols, who usually follow so religiously the Tibetan tradition, will recognize that three houses, and Tibetans in count four. This is one of the differences that Mr. A. Rémusat pointed out .in treating the subject even that we occupies (4), and he will not be possible to reconcile that when we will have the complete translation of the Indian authorities , Tibetan, Chinese and Mongolian on which are based these various classifications. tions; as for the present I regard that of our Sutra as more supported than the other. After all, these discrepancies only affect the number of heavens superimposed; because for the ideas expressed by the names that these heavens bear, they are exactly the same in one and in the other classification. On the one hand we have four orders from gods which thus raise the one above the other : \ ° those who form the continuation of Brahma; 2 ° the ministers of Brahma; 3 ° those which com-feels the assembly of Brahmû ; 4 ° the big ones Brahmâs. On the other side we have three orders : the * * those who form the continuation of Brahma ; 2 ° the ministers of Brahma ; 3 ° the great Brahmâs. It is very easy to understand than the continuation and those of the assembly could have been merged into a single class ; and other be partit is as easily understood as the unique class of Gods named by the one " those who form the continuation of Brahma, " and by the other " those who " Composed his congregation, "

has been able to duplicate, if some reason, to us (1) Vocab. 'pentagl., % QCi.i .. (2) The Mahdvansi, t. III, p. 136. He There is, however, a confusion in Upham's talk ; the Mahâbrahmâs are lacking and are replaced by the Brahma kâyikas. I croisqu'il there has here substituted tuton rather than omission. (3) Samml. hist. Nachricht., T. II, p. 48. Mem. of Acad. of Sciences of St. Petersburg, t.I, p. 101. It is the suppression of the Brahma kâyikas which, among the Mongols, reduces to three the number from the heavens of Brahma; but this class is not, to tell the truth, suppressed, if we admit, as me, that it merges with that of the Brahma parichadyas. We will see, by studying the classification of the Buddhists of the South, that this last order is the only one that they admit, and that thus the Brahma kâyikas and Brahma parichadyas not do that. (4) Journal des Savants, year 1831, p. 610.

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548 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY unknown, demanded that the classification be completed by means of a stage of more. I therefore attach, for my part, relatively little importance to these differences, although I have believed necessary for the report. That which to me seems plus digne remark, it is the systematic nature of this classification, where here seems we have desired enlarge the domain of Brahma by forming two or three orders of Gods approach him. It should then be noted that our texts, in accordance with the translation Nepalese, call the third or the fourth of these heavens the Mahabrahmâs (Mahâbrahmâmh). Here is so several Brahmâs superiors who can plant the third or the fourth heaven, and these Brahmâs are without doubt of beings whom their holiness has raised to this high rank. This does not prevent that in the books of the Nepal, the existence of a Brahma single will be anytime recalled, and that that Brahma will be known in a liter of Brahma sahâhpati, <Brahma the sou-" Verain of beings who suffer. It is probable that the Brahmâ sahâhpati is the more high and the head of the great Brahmâs who inhabit heaven as we come to study. What it could be one of these explanations, on which I do not insist more, for lack of possessing a fairly large number of texts which the confirmed positively, he I seems that the difficulties we are experiencing in our recognition born in this chaos Brahmâs come only from this that the ideas Souput to our examination belong at various times. I am convinced, although I don't can not give to this opinion all the desirable evidence, that the notion of a Brahma single, borrowed by the Buddhists to Brahmaism, is the most ancient of all those that we offer this series of three or four heavens subordinate to Brahmâ. This notion is also shown to be pure and also clear that this is possible in the Brahmâ sahâhpati, ruler of the world inhabited by men. The creation of two or three populated heavens by the beings serving this Brahma is a sort of homage rendered to the greatness of this God, which belonged originally to the religion Indian before the coming of Çâkyâ. But at the same time is the work of a later classification, and which could not run when the Buddhists have felt the need to incorporate into their own system the notions which they had received from their predecessors. Finally I say much of this multiplication of Brahmâs, who seem in the sky of Mahâbrahmâmh, admitting that flaw, as I the offers, take it plural to own. If in the name of Mahâbrahmânah we did was to see a plural, called here by imitation of other heavens inhabited by troops more or less Many of Deities of the same name, there would only have a Mahâbrahmâ, and this concept does is that more Indian. Finally, to complete what we know of these three orders from Gods, I will add that they form the first degree of

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .549spheres of Dhyana or in the contemplation, as it 's called, and that sui-before the Vocabularypentaglotte, they belong to thefirst contemplation.It is a division onwhich weback, when we will be in the state ofembrace it as a whole.Immediately above the Mahâbrahmâs are placed the Gods of the secondcontemplation, which, according to the Vocabularypentaglotte (1), includes threefloors, like the previous contemplation . The common character of these Gods is, and that was well done remarked Mr. A. Remusat (2)the brightness or the light atvarying degrees. thefirst of the floors going up, that is to say the one that isoccupied by the last class of Gods of this new sphere, is inhabited bythe Parîttâbhas, which in Tibetan we call Od-hsal (3). Georgi translates this term^^ x mayni luminis atque splendoris; but this interpretation is certainlyinaccurate, because the reconciliation of the other Buddhist authorities proves that thistitle must mean "thosewhich have a light low, 3)Wherewho are deprived oflight. In our Sanskrit texts from Nepal, parîtta (participatesofpari-clâ) usually the meaning of limited. In addition, the Pentaglotte Vocabulary translates this nameby Od-tchhung, which has the meaning that I found in Panttâhha. The Chinois, according toMr. A. Remusat hear of even the name of the gods ;they saythan in the first degree of the secondsphere inhabitGods whose luster is FAIcorn(4) ;and in its translationunpublished from the Pentaglotte Vocabulary , this authorthranslates the Chinese version ofthe barbaric spelling parîrtâbha (for parUtâ-hhâh) in this way, spiritus fulgens parvus <5).It is, I believe,a point thatcan't dothe object of no doubt.On top of these gods, whose luster is low, we find beings of a character-tery superior, appointed by our Sutra the Aprammiâbhas, that is to say,vsthose“ Whose brilliance is immeasurable.)> The Tibetans the call tshad-med-od,this as Georgi translated exactlyby luce infimita micantium (6). Mr. A. Rémusatnot thereis not deceived more, when hetranslated the corresponding articleofPentaglotte vocabulary by fulgens sine fine {1).Finally above again, and on the third and last floor of this sphere, comeNENT the Âbhâsvaras, or "those who are all shine. » I could not so fardiscoverin Georgi the Tibetan name of this class of Gods ;it is definitely{]) Vocab. pentagl., sect. li.(2) Journal des Savants, year 1831, p. 6G8. Foe koue M, p. U5.'(3) Alphab. Tib., P. 182, and p. 484, m 21.(4) Foe koue ki, p. 145.(5)Vocab. pentagl., sect. li, n ” 1. M. Schmidt understands it in the same way. {Mem., Etc., t.IV, p. 217.)(6) Alphab. Tib., P. 182, and p. 484, n » 22.(7)Vocab. pentagl., sect. u, n » 2. Foe koue ki, p.145. Schmidt, Mém., Etc., t. IV, p. 217.

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550INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYnot Åsa up in any of the lists that it gives celestial floors ;this is whatof which we can be convinced and by examining these two lists(1),and by the observations of which the following sphere will bethe object. But the Penta Vocabularyglottis to give in this form Od-gsal, " thosewhich have a resplendent glow"Rhealth (2). >Here Mr. A. Remusat has been less happyonly for articlesprecedants ;it was believed that the name of Âbhâsvarasdesignated Gods to whom theLight took the place of voice (3), in the assumption that the word of âbhâsvara wasdivide as follows :Abha-svara, " which was to light the voice. » We have translatedthis term in the decomposition as well, â-lhâsvara ;and theChinese appear in-tender in the same way, according toMr. Remusathimself, since in hisunfinished work on the Vocabularypentaglotte, hetranslated this article by spintusfulgensclams (4).This is also the opinionby M. Schmidt.We are now entering the area of the third Dhyana, or of the troi-second contemplation, which following the division of the VocabularyPentaglotte is

com-poses, like the previous one, of three degrees (5). These gods, and that was well said Mr. A. Remusat have to attribute common the virtue and purity (6). We name the gods of the lower floor Parîttacubhas, " those with the purity is limited ;" and in Tibetan Dge-tchhung, what that Georgi makes exactly exiguarum vir -tuiim {!). We see that this class of Gods is named according to the same system as the floors of the previous contemplation . Above come the Apramâna çubhas, " those with the under is incommen-
 Surable. "The Tibetans they call tshad-med-dge, this that Georgi makes exactly by virtutum infmûarum regio (8) ; it is also the idea that will make the Chinese, after M. A. Rémusat (9). The remark indicated on the previous article dent also applies to this one ; it matches on the second floor of the second contemplation, as the previous matched to the first. I observe, in Furthermore, with Mr. Schmidt, that this class of Gods misses to the listing Nepali, but that it is known to the Mongols (10). The third and most high floors of this sphere is inhabited by the (1) Alphah. Tib., P. 182 and 484. (2) Vocab. pentagL, sect. li, n ° 3. (3) Foe Lioue M, p. 145. (4) Vocab. pentagL, sect. li, n ° 3. (5) Ibid., Sect. read. (6) Journ. des Savants, year 1831, p. 668. Foe koue ki, p. 145. (7) Alphab. Tib., P. 182 and 484. You should read in the two places cited tchhung, and not Wmng ; the Vocabulary Pentaglotte do is not that wrong. (Sect. Lir, u ° 1.) (8) Alphab. Ttb., P. 182, and 484, No. 24. (9) Journ. des Savants, year 1831, p. 668. Foe koue ki, p. 145. (10) Mém, de l'Acad, des sciences de S, -Pétersbourg. t.\, p. 102; and t. IV, p. 217,

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .551 Çubhakritsnas, ^ < those which are all purity. "The two lists of Georgi negivenot this phrase to the spot where it should be ; but I acquired the knowledge vicin, after a search careful, that the translation of the word Çubliakrilsnamust be looked for at n ^ 17 of its second list (1), whereas a result of an unexplainedble confusion it was placed, against all the authorities that I have known. Yes, in effect, the place de Ged-rgyes one bed Bge-rcjyas, as in the Pen Vocabulary taglotte (2), we will translate this compound by extended purity, that is to say " those who " Have absolute purity, " exactly like the Chinese and the Mongols enten-Çubhakritsnas tooth (3). Above this stage who ends the sphere of the third Dhyàna, we let's enter the fourth, that is to say in the contemplation than that according to our Sutra is composed of eight degrees, and according to the Penta Vocabulary glottis of nine, for some reason that I say just now. The lower degree of this sphere is occupied by the Anabhrakas or " those which are cloudless. "> We would look in vain in the sterde Georgi the Tibetan denomination of these Gods, if we did not use a little of this freedom that I have allowed myself with regard to from the previous article . In fact, immediately to the result of Dge-rgyas, that I believe to be the Çubhakritsnas, I find the Pri-med (4), a term which in a form faulty hides the Sprin-med compound , that is to say " which is cloudless. " It is there still a correction that is confirmed by the Vocabulary pentaglotte (5). The Chinese and the Mongols hear of even the name of these Divinities (6) ; and Mr. A. Rémusat adds that they are named so by that they have more need of the support of the clouds that are necessary to the Gods placed below of them. After the Anabhrakas come the Punyaprasavas which the name is likely of several interpretations which will be that of the nuances the one of the others. We is the result of three ways : 1 those whose origin is in the purity, that is to say " those who quit of the purity ; " 2 ° " those who produce the " purity ; " S " " those with the productions or the descendants are pure. » The last two interpretations fit in about one in the other, and I hesitate not to prefer the first, like more genius compliant of

the classical language than. The list of Georgi not put out of place the Tibetan translation of this title ;but by continuing the corrections to which this list seems to me susceptible, I find (1) Alfab. m., p. 484, n » 17. (2) Vocab. pentagl. sect. lu, n " 3. (3) Foe koue ki, p. 145. Schmidt, Mem. de l'Acad., etc., t. IV, p. 217. (4) Alfab. Tib., P. 484, n » 18. (5) Vocab. penlagl., sect. him, n " 1. (6) Foe koue ki, p. 145. Vocab. pentagl., sect. Lin, n » 1. Schmidt, Mém., Etc., t. IV, p. 217.

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552. INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY the class of Gods that we are looking for in the expression So-rnam-rgyê (1), that I read Bsod-nams-skyes, like the Pentaglot Vocabulary (2), and that I translate thus : " Those who born of the purity. 3 > Here again I present this correction with even more of confidence, that the article to which it relates is, in the list of Georgi immediately after the title that I have proven match to the previous article, Anabhraka. M. A. Rémusat translates this word according to the Chi-nois by < happy life (3), > which is a bit vague. His unpublished work on the Vocabulary pentaglotte wears spiritus nascens ex diviliis (4), expression where divitiis is certainly improper, but of a kind of impropriety which is found in Bsod-nams, Tibetan words which mean at the both fortune, happiness and moral merit or purity. The Sanskrit punya has fortunately not a so great number of acceptances. The third floor of the sphere of the fourth contemplation is inhabited by the Vrihalphalas, " Those who have the great rewards. " By following the new order that I propose to list by Georgi, we find the Hbres-bu-tchhe-ba (5), this that I corrected and, in agreement with the Pentaglotte vocabulary, Ilbras-bu, etc., and that I translate " great rewards, " that is to say " Those (who have the big rewards. " The Chinese, according to M. A. Rémusat (6), do not hear otherwise this title, which can cause no difficulty. I warn only the people who might be tempted to grant in the Pentaglotte Vocabulary gathers a trust that this collection does not seem to me to deserve completely, that the name of Vrihalphalas is altered so as to not be able to be recognized. III It is also necessary to note the difference offered here by the Nepalese classification, such as Mr. Hodgson has received from his Ruddhiste, with those of our Sûtra, of the Vocabulary pentaglotte and the books Mongolian : is that after the sky of the Vrihalphalas, the Nepalese Arangisattvas place of, or the ones not passionate, including our others lists do not speak (7). It seems that this new name is just a synonyme of the other classes already known, perhaps the Avrihas, to whom we will go, and who do are likely called Gods free from effort that because they are free from passions and from all attachment. I will note further down the existence of another class of Gods specific to the Nepalese, including the invention would also be explained well in this way. I do however notice - (1) Alfab. Tib., P. 484, n » 19. (2) Vocab. pentagl, sect. him, n » 2. (3) Foe hoe ki, p. 146. (4) Vocab. pentagl, sect. him, n » 2. Compare Schmidt, Mém., etc., t. IV, p. 217. (5) Alfab. Tib., P. 484, n » 20. (6) Foe koue ki, p. 146. Pentagl. Vocabulary, sect. him, n " 3. (7) Transact. Roy. Asian. Soc, t. II, p. 234.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .553 quer that the Buddhists of Ceylon have here an order of Gods, that Upham calls Assanjasattkaya (i), and that the title is called, if there the bed Asanyasatta, at the same meaning that the Arangisattvas of the Nf ^ Palais. At fourth degree come the Avrihas, including the name is not perfect clear ; it can mean < those who do not grow " or those who do are not " Of effort. » The Chinese version of the Penlaglotte Vocabulary, such as what hears it Mr. A. Rémusat, gives the latter interpreting the

precision that itman-that ; this learned the makes, in effect, by spiritus sine cogitationibus (2), or " the sky"where hethere apas of reflection. "I will make no difficulty to admit this sense thatI determine with alittle more of sharpness again, in saying : " Thosewhich will make " No effort (to think). "As for the Tibetan translation of this title,is thefind, after havingexhausted the transpositions that I have reported previously,under this form Medium tchhe-ha(3) composed who did me seems likely that aonly meaning,"The one who is not tall. " But this meaning will be Rap-not close enough to ^ nmiûi Avrîha, so that I do not suspect somethingerror ; andI suggest to read Mi-mchhed-pa, which according to the Dictionary ofCsoma could be translated as " thosewhich do not extend ,"with thesamedegree of vagueness than the Sanskrit Avrîha. This is also the version adopted byM. Schmidt, according to his Mongolian authorities , who appear here to follow step by stepthe Tibetans (4).Above the Avrîhas come the Atapas, "thosewho do not feelof(pains. " Georgi 's called in Tibetan Medium dnng-ba (5) ;but hedo not translate no more thisname than the previous ones. I do not hesitate to re-establish here the lesson thatI believethe real one, and to read Mi-gdung-ha ^ «thosewhich are free from sulfurfrance, " exactly like the Pentaglotte Vocabulary .The Chinese intendwell Atapa, and M. A. Rémusat translates their version in these two different ways.annuities, spiritussine mœrore and " the sky without tiredness (6)." M. Schmidt translatedin the same way this name by "the Gods free from suffering. "Then come , in the sixth degree, the Sudriças, "those who see well ;"these are the Chin-tu-ba-mtho Georgi (7) lesson that I correct and,CJiin-u-mthong-ba, to translate ithose who see perfectly. >The Pen Vocabularytaglotte moves this interpretation, in the putting under section which follows, and re-(1)The Mahdvansi, t. III, p. 136.(2)Vocab. pentagl, sect. him, no. 4. Foe koue ki, p. U6.(3) Alfab. Tib., P. 182; and P. 485, n "25; and Mitchhe, in the Vocab. Pent., Sect. Him, n" 5.(4)Same. of Acad. of Sciences of St. Petersburg, l. 1, p. 103; and t. IV, p. 217.(5) Alfab. Tib., P. 182 and 485, n " 26.(6)Vocab. pentagl., sect. him,n " 5. Foe koue ki, p. 146.(7) Alfab. Tib., P. 182; and P. 485, No. 27.

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554INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYopposite ;heis could hewas in this point less exact than Georgi.The explanation that I propose is also that of the Chinese, at leastaccording toM. Rémusat, who translates their version as follows :spiritûs bonus vivus, or " the sky ofto Gods who seebeautifully all the worlds (1). "Here again theVoca-pentaglotte bular greatly alters the Sanskrit term .At the seventh degree of the same sphere are established theSudarçanas, including thename must mean" Those whosethe appearance is beautiful."TheTibetans, afterGeorgi, they give the name of Gya-name-snang-ba (2), which may want to say " Those who have a good appearance. » TheChinese, afterMr. A. Rémusat,understand it so ;because in his translation inédile the Vocabulary Pentaglotte, hetranslated their version of the way, bonus apparent (3) ;but in his noteson the Foe koue kl, itreturns the name of Sudarçana by "the sky of the godsfortwhich all is present and manifest (4). "The first interpretation seems to meof much better ;the second would only reproduce the idea expressed bythe name of the Gods of the previous sky .Above these Gods, andbefore theAkanichthas whowill follow, the listnepaliof Hodgson instead a class very fact unknown to the other self-authorities Buddhist, that of Sumukhas (5). This liter of Sumukha means"The Gods"the beautifulface (6), i>and hereminds us so well of the Sudarçanas that precede, thatI amtried for the look as a mere synonymthe name of

Sudarçana. He will be that this term will be slipped into the list in quality of commentary name last, we would have been without it confused with that of Sudriças. I have already made an observation analogous to with regard to the Arangisatvas ; but I admit that this remark has for me more of value here in the ladder of the Gods that I recall. I add only that means of the addition of these two classes, the Nepalese Buddhists count ten heavens of the fourth contemplation, in place of eight that recognize the Chinese and the Mongols of accord with our Sutra. Finally, in the eighth degree come the Akanichthas, that is to say "the more high, > on the name of which I had the opportunity to explain to me more high (7). (i) Vocab. pentaglot., sect. him, n° 6. (2) Alphab. Tib., P. 182; and P. / t85, n° 28. (3) Vocab. -pentaglot., sect. him, n° 7. The original Sanskrit term is here again almost disfigured by the publisher of this work. (4) Foe koue ki, p. 146. (5) Transact. Roy. Asian Geogr. Soc, t. II, p. 234. (6) S. Schmidt translated this name by : höchste Vortrefflichkeit, <the most high excellence. » I don't know on what is based this interpretation, Mr. Schmidt changes elsewhere in there adding the idea of clarity. {Same. of Acad. des sciences de S.-PtHersbourg, t.I, p. 102; and t.IV, p. 217.} (7) Above, sect. H, p. 154, note 1.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .555 I showed that this name meant literally " those who do are not the most "small." The Tibetans call Og-min "those who do not lower laughs, "exact translation from Sanskrit Akanichtha. Georgi makes this expression through altissimus (1): the good one father, who has hardly any verve except to say injuries to Beausobre, had forgotten to interpret the most large number of words previous teeth ; he was remembered here that he had to translate, or say he did the could not. The Chinese understand the title of these Gods in the same way; thus, in his Work unpublished on the Vocabulary pentaglotte, Mr. A. Bémusat makes by princeps supremus (2) ; but they add, if at least he have to believe the Vocabulary Pentaglotte, a sky most high which crowns the sphere of the fourth contemplation. This is what this work writes in a barbaric manner, Mahêçva-rivasanamra, spelling that Mr. A. Bémusat has re-established by reading Mahêçvaravasanam (3), i.e. the home of Mahêçvara. "I think I can argue that this addition of a ninth heaven to the eight that give our Sutra is justified by any of the ancient Sanskrit books which are at my disposal. She could be at all more by the Tantras ; because the idea of this sky of the great îçvara is clearly alone made to Śivaism. we may boldly conclude that the Pentaglotte Vocabulary was compiled by from Beligious to whom the mixture of Çivaism with the Buddhism was familiar. Maybe this addition has been favored by the necessity in which we find ourselves Vait have twenty-four heaven, since the more down, or one of the four major Wood, up to the highest. In fact, without the deineure the great Isvara, the Vocabulary pentaglotte bular, like our Sutra, has only twenty-three Gods, while that if, in place of three floors qu'assignent these two authorities in the heaven of the Brahmàs, one in account four are the Nepalese and the Tibetans, then the number total of twenty-four is obtained, without it is necessary to count nine heavens of the third tale. -nplation in place of eight. In any way the addition of a sky, Mahêçvara's special stay , is all the more remarkable, than the Buddhists who have gathered the materials that appear in the Vocabulary Pentaglotte could place Mahêçvara in the sky of the Akanichthas, and that have made the Népalaisà against of their Adibuddha (4). She proves that the Buddhists do not know this Ādibuddha, including the Sutras of the North, and as I 've said plus d'une time, do not speak more than books Mongolian (5). (2) Vocab. pentaglot., sect. him, n° 8. fi! ZIZXnl ^ i. Roy- Asiat. Soc,

t. II. p. mr. The Nepalese write the name of this sky Agnichihā. This spelling is all the more faulty as it offers a sense ^ (5) Schmidt, Mem. of Acad. of Sciences of St. Petersburg, t. I, p. 97. Mr. Schmidt confirms that

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556 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Let us now summarize what results from this presentation for the knowledge of the Buddhist mythology. It is evident that since the four great kings until that to the great Brahmās, it is the Brahmanic ideas which dominate, and which prevail in number and importance of the own ideas to Buddhistes (i). What belongs to the latter, it is, in addition to the invention of two orders of Divinities unknown to the Brahmans, the classification based on this hypothesis, that as the heavens move away from the earth, they increase in power and in purity. Above the great Brahmās to the Akanichthas, everything is Buddhist, invention and disposition. These fourteen heavens, which with the four of Brahmā constitute the world of forms divided into four spheres of contemplation, leave well see, as was said Mr. A. Remusat, that it tried to grade the perfection by piling up ideas of purity, light and of magnitude (2). Can we say that all this is contemporary with Çākya? It is this that I would not dare to affirm; he is always certain that these designs are old in the Buddhism, because they belong to the two grandes écoles, which have begun to be separated of the common core, three centuries BC. We will recognize without doubt later he must distinguish between the frame and the way he is filled; the framework is the belief in four degrees of contemplation, that Çākya and his first disciples are thought to have crossed. These degrees of contemplation are purely philosophical, and all the more perfect they are a rank most high. The inhabitants of the three Where four heaven of Brahma, as well as those of the fourteen upper floors are ratta at these four degrees of Dhyāna, probably because each of these Dhyānas is the kind of speculation which these various Gods will be delivered from preference, and which earned them to reside in one of the corresponding spheres dantes (3). I probably say, because I have to admit that I did not find no positive affirmation in this regard in the texts Sanskrit that I have consulted. To complete the exhibition complete of system higher worlds, such the Ādibuddha Supreme is completely unknown to the Tibetans, and it will get not find the slightest trace in their books; However, the Tibetans who translated the Tantras where he is in question, and in particular the Kala tchakra, should they know. Mr. Schmidt's assertion is certainly too general, at least it does account not the Tantras the number of books cano-nics. I am very close to being of this feeling; but I do not believe it no less necessary to distinguish and to say to quelle classe of books we speak. (1) Mr. Hodgson had already made this point. {Transact. Roy. Asian Soc, t. II, p. 248, note 7.} (2) Foe koue ki, p. 146. Journ. des Savants, year 1831, p. 669. (3) A. Rémusat, Essay on the Cosmogon., In Journ. des Savants, year 1831, p. 668.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .557 that the design of the Buddhists, he should speak of the third region, that is of the most high of all, that under the collective name of "Bégion without" Form, or of what has not of form, d comprises four heavens of which the Vo-pentaglotte cabular gives the names (1). I could refer to the Special Memorandum by M. Schmidt in which this learned author gives a philosophical theory of this immaterial region, where the infinity in space and in intelligence is crowned through a sky where he there has neither ideas nor absence of ideas (2). Cornnot having found in our Sanskrit texts from Nepal the confirmation of this theory, that the idea springing is that Buddha is

united in these heavens h the Pradjùà PARAMITA or to aNirvana perfect, apart from any relationship with the subject, I would be obligatory, for the chat, enter into clarifications which would increase con-terribly Celtic note already very long. I will also have a favorable opportunity able to return to this subject in the second volume of this work, in examining a very curious passage from the pale texts ; I will then show which idea the Buddhists have of the creation of all these worlds, which is for them the results necessary for the conduct of beings moral that the live, and not the work of un Dieu creator that the Buddhism has ever known. No V. _ THE SANTAL NAMED GOÇÎRCHA. f (SECOND BRIEF, SECTION III, PAGE 217.) The name of this sandalwood means cow's head ; here seems that this species is the more esteemed of all, because it 's is often cited in the legends. The Tibetans transcribe quite exactly Celtic way gor chi cha, and rightly consider it a proper name that they keep in their versions (3). I am convinced that it is this same name expressed by the Mon-gols by the word of Giirschoscha, species of Sandalwood who, following the legend relative to the discovery of the image miraculous of Avalôkîtiçvara, not growing that in the northern part from the Malayas Mountains (4). Well does not teach us if the Mongols know the true meaning of their Gurschoscha ; but here seems to me obvious that they have known, though in the modifying a little, that of the Sanskrit term (1) Vocah. pentagL, sect. liv. (2) Mem. of Acad. of Sciences of St. Petersburg, t. I, p. 102. See also the same collection, t. IV, p. 217. (3) Schmidt, Der Weise und der Thor, p. 282, text; and P. 353, Irad. German. (4) Jd. Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen, p. 332.

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558 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY primitive, Gôçîrcha. I hesitate not to recognize the sandalwood (summer cow in the species that the Mongols call elephant head (1). This change in signification comes to this that the Mongols have borrowed this name to Tibetan, in the language of which the name of the ox, glang-po, takes, with the bill of tchen (large), the meaning of elephant, that is to say big ox. The Mongols, who must to Tibetans what they know about productions natural resources of India, could well have made this mistake, which after all did not of great importance. The name of Gôçîrcha is also classic in India; is located in the Amara's vocabulary, and Wilson explains it thus: "species of Sandalwood of the LYING" their of copper and a smell strong (2). » He is not less familiar with the Buddhists the South, and Clough on gives dans son Vocabulary Pali in its forms softened Gosîsa (3). Abul-Fazel cites a different species of sandalwood which the name has escaped to the authors of the Kurdish Studies (4); it is that of eMekasiry (5), which is certainly the same as the $j^{\wedge} \ x^{\wedge}$ or the Sandalwood Makassar name that these authors report according to Sprengel. The Tibetan legend of the Avalôkîtiçvar statue speaks of yet another species of sandalwood which the name Mongolian means heart of snake, and which I have not the way to restore the name Sanskrit ; here seems, according to legend, that is a Sandalwood divine who will grow as in the most high region of the sky of the Buddhists, among the Gods Akanichthas (6). It is however not useless to point out that the two heart words of snake, in Sanskrit sarpa hrîdaija, could, if they were displaced, hrîdaya sarpa, take the meaning of " who has snakes in the heart. " However, we know that in some Indian poets, and in particular in Jayadêva, author of Gita Govinda, the trees of Sandalwood Mountains Malayas are frequently pointed out as the lairs of snakes which retreat into the cavities of their trunk. If so he was established as the Sandalwood which speaks the legend Tibetan has been named in Sanskrit hrîdaya sarpa, one would not see in

this name aSandalwood from elsewherefabulous that a figurative expression suitable for designating any species of sandalwood in Generally, after a character common to all the varieties of this tree. It would remain to find the reason of the name of head of cow given to the pre-mother species of Sandalwood. Does it come from the brown color of this wood? It is this that (1) Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, p. 15, 313 and 314. (2) Sanscr. Diction., P. 302, col. 1, ed. 1832. (3) Pali Gramm. and Vocab., p. 28, st. 18 b. (4) Polt and Rudiger, *Kurd. Studien*, in *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* X. V, p. 80. (5) Gladwin, *Ayeen Akbery*, t. I, p. 92, in-4o. (6) Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, p. 330 and 332.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .559 I can not say, because the greyish cows are in general more common in that the cats. Mr. the D^r Roulin, whom I consulted on this subject, thinks as the name of head cow could stick with the analogy that exists between odor a little musky of certain sandals and that which exhales in general the body of fox-type animals. This odor, among the species where it is the most pronounced, exists mainly in the tuft of hairs that covers the forehead. According to this hypothesis, the name of Tchandana Gôçircha tantamount to saying "Sandalwood which has" "The smell of the head of the ox." " Before closing, I should point out that the name of Sandalwood that I just examined is the only one, to my knowledge, that appears in the legends Buddhist. I do not remember having met more a time the name of the sandalwood produced by the Malayan mountains, namely Malayq tchandana. It's in, the legend of the prince who gives his body to a tigress to devour starving, legend that is part of Suvarnaprabhàsa, whose antiquity is according to me very doubtful (1). NO VI. - FROM THE NAME OF ÇĀKALA. (second MEMORIAL, SECTION III, PAGE 384.) This name recalls that of the city formerly famous of Çākala or Sākala, who is already cited in the Mahabharata (2), and that the Greeks were known as the names from 2 to 77 ") ia following Arrien (3), under that of y[^] ù[^] cc according to Ptolemy, and finally under that of È[^] OvS[^] a, name which, according to the same Ptolemy, is synonym of sà[^] s and which is related, as Bayer has long said, in the name of the king bactrian Euthydemà (4). Some difficulties that still exist on the position precise of this city, because of the imperfect knowledge that we have of Current Punjab where all the critics accordant is the look, rien n'est less fabulous than its existence. It would be very difficult to add something we-veal with in-depth discussions which she has been the subject of the hand de Lassen (5) and of Wilson (6). Rappelons seulement that Lassen, while in renouncing on the authority of Droysen, at the idea that the Çākala of the Mahābhārata or the Sangala (1) Suvarna prabhàsa, f. HO a, man. of the Soc. Asian girl. Conf. Schmidt, *Mongol Gramm.*, P. 161. (2) Lassen, *Pentapot. Ind.*, P. 64. (3) *Exped. Alex.*, 1. V, c. xxi and xxii. seen 4 The sen, loc. cit., p. 20 and 36. Conf. Benfey, *Jndt.* " p. 80 of extn. ^; (5) *Lassen Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenland*, t. I, p. 350, and l. 111, p. 157 ff., And p. iSU. (6) *Ariam antiqua*, p. 196 sqq.

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560 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY of Arrien, recognizes that Çākala is the capital des Bahikas, and it is consequently in I Punjab; and of more, that he do not stray further from this region, by making Çākala the capital of Madras. I look like less demonstrated on reconciliation that he try to establish between this name and the Çākala dvīpa of the Mahābhārata. Al. Burnes identifies Sāgala d'Arrien with Lahore (1); and Benfey without going that far, not believed not the two cities very distant one of the other (2). Finally

Masson (3) finds the ruins of Sâgalaou Sangala on the Site of Harrîpa, sixty miles to the southwest of Lahore. It is to this opinion, including Lassen disputes precisely the perfect evidence (4), that seems to store Mr. Wilson (5). The name of Çâkala is cited in the legends Buddhist of the North, without it is possible to discover the real position of the city that the door. At the end of the legend of Açôka, he is said that Puchpamitra, the fifth successor of this Prince, is surrendered to Çâkala for ydétruire the religion of Sakya, promising percent Dinâras for each head of śramana that it would bring (6). The name of Çâkala is also known to the Buddhists of Ceylon, in the form of Sâgala; and Mr. Tumor was given to curious extracts a faded book, the Milinda fainted, where Milinda, king of Sâgala, is represented discussing with the sage Nâgasêna on the main points of the Buddhist religion (7). I will come back, in speaking of Nâgasêna, on this book of which I have a version Sinhalese, and who does not have to my eyes all the importance that it attaches Mr. Turnour. I am content, in what touches the word that we busy, to make for the moment the observations following. The difference of these two spellings, Sâgala and Sangala, cannot do no difficulty. One of Sangala is a provincialism which is located in the Sinhalese transcriptions of a large number of Sanskrit words; so the king Nâgasêna is usually called Nangasêna; Nagara is written Nangara, and the Sâgala from the Pali text of Milinda is read Sangala in the Sinhalese gloss of this delivered. The addition of this nasal before a guttural has usually to effect require the substitution of sign of the vowel short to that of the long one, from manner that the changing sign, the quantity remains the same. In this respect, it compared to the doubling of a consonant in the words faded, doubling who (1) Travels in Bokhara, t. III, p. 182. (2) Götting. gel. Anzeig. May 184), p. 759. (3) Suggest. on Vie site of Sangala, in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. VI, p. 58. (4) Zeitschrift, etc., t. IH, p. 154 sqq. (5) Ariana antiqua, p. 197 and 198. (6) Divya avad., F. 21 1b. Above, second Memoir, sect. III, p. 384. (7) Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. V, p. 530 sqq.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .561 wants to be preceded by abbreviated vowel. Although peculiar to p: \ liof Ceylon, it persuades me that the insertion of this nasal has also taken place in India at ancient times. One finds traces in the original dialects prac-crite, and, to not get out of our subject, the two Greek spellings Sâgala and Sangala cannot be explained otherwise; obviously the first reproduced the learned form, and the second the form popular. I do not need to warn that this rapprochement does not relate only to the name, and he does not prejudge anything on the contested identity of the Sâgala d'Arrien and the towns of Çâkala, Sâgala and Sangala Indians. I added that if my analysis is correct, it puts forward to nothing all the etymology of this word, we would look at taking account of the nasal, as M. Masson tried to do (4). It is not that I'm watching the lesson of sagala as a perfectly correct spelling; I do not hesitate on the contrary, to see in it the alteration of Çâkala ^ as a result of the substitution of the sweet to the strong, which takes place in several dialects of the North of India. The true lesson is certainly that of the Mahâbhârata and the Buddhist legends. We do not no longer be in doubt about the kind of initial wheezing; this must be Çâkala, as written Lassen according to Pânini and a manuscript of Râmâyana (2). This spelling is the only one which lends itself to an etymological explanation. regular logic; I propose, in fact, to see there "The dwelling of the Çakas," in by virtue of a derivation analogous to that than Lassen given to ethnic Simhala, "the home of the lions." » The presence of the Sakas or Sacae in this part of

Turkey, prior to the invasion of Alexander, however new it may seem, is not, however, impossible. We know also that the denomination of Çaka was in antiquity that of the generality of cavalry peoples and nomads, in contrast of peoples established in the cities. This interpretation of the name of Çâkala explains even if it could be more explicitly demonstrated, the reproaches and blame which the Mahabharata with the morals dis-solutions of its inhabitants. N " VII. - OF THE PRATÎTYASAMUTPÂDA EXPRESSION. (SECOND BRIEF, SECTION IV, PAGE 432.) Here is an explanation of the sacramental term of Pratîtya samutpâda, that the commentator of the Abhidharma kôça attributes to the philosopher Çrîlâbha. In this (1) Journ. Asian Stud. Soc. of Bengal, t. VI, p. 60. (2) Zeitschrift, etc., t. 111, p. 212. 36

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562 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY composed, prati has the meaning of succession, repetition; itja means made to go, to go away; it is the suffix? / "(1) which here gives the word itya the meaning of to go away, to disappear; in a nutshell, itya means unstable. The preposition sam means together, in connection; and pad, preceded by ut, means appearance. From there it results that the compound Pratîtya samutpâda can be translated as follows: "The production connected with the conditions made to disappear successively; ifor, adds the commentator, no condition is ever born on its own (2). I will come back to this term important in my review of the singha- collection ease. I only notice here that, although formed of elements all in fact Sanskrit, the word pratîtya does not exist, to my knowledge at least, in the classical language of the Brahmans; I did find pratyaya (3), which means cause, origin. Such must be, I have no doubt, the meaning of Buddhist pratîtya, and if the commentator Çrîlâbha prefers that of unstable in this sense, it is "he will hold more strictly to the etymology according to which pratîtya is a participial adjective; 2 <" that he only considers the philosophical sense of api es which the conditions, which are successively causes and effects, have to character instability. Without going far from the Sinhala, reflecting pratitya by cause, and in holding the authorities of the North, we find the sense of reason given through the Tibetan interpreters, who, remarkably, waive for this word to their system of material literality. So the version Tibetan of Saddharmapundarîka (4) translates Pratîtya samutpâda by rten-tching-hbrel-har-hbyur-ba, "The concatenated, connected production of causes," expression for the interpretation of which Schröter (5) provides the rten-tching-hbyal-bar-hbyuny-ba formula, "Two things united together, like the cause and effect," And the sentence rten-tching-hbrel-bar-hbyung-ba-yan'lag-btchu'gnis-ni, "twelve roots which are United with the causes and the effect," > or perhaps that are united among themselves, in this they are mutually effect and because the one of the others, which is precisely the reunion of the twelve Nidânas. However, if we analyze the Tibetan version, we found there first rten-tching, which Schröter translates as cause; this is the word that responds to Sanskrit pratîtya. Next comes hberl-bar, a word that is present in a form adverbial, and which means "In a related way." » This adverb modifies certainly the word which follows hbyung-ba, "production," And here represents the prefix sam in the expression samutpâda. I go so literally that made by (1) This suffix, in Pânini, is called Kyap. (Pânini, III, i, 109.) (2) Abhidharma kôça vyâkhyâ, fol. 213 b. (3) Derived from the same radical as pratîtya. (4) Sanskrit text, ch. i, f. 11 a. (5) Bhotanta Diction., P. 338, col. 2.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .563related production ^ which gives mefor the entire expression : " The Productionyewrelated causes. " From Celtic phrase Tibetan, quijoue a so large rolein the system primitive of the philosophy Buddhist, the only part that I REN-against in the dictionaries of Csoma and of Schmidt is rten-hbrel, <connection<fundamental, reciprocal agreement . "And as for the first monosyllable, whichin the Lotus version of the good lawis followed bytching, formative of gen-rondif, we see that it translates, as I indicated at the beginning, not the meaningetymological, but the extension value of pratyaya.At rest, the translation that gives the Lotus and Schroter 's composed PratUyasamutpâda is classic; becauseI the finds in the collection ofcaptions publishedrecently by M. Schmidt (1). Heis question,in the third chapter of thiswork, of a Sutra entitled :Rten-tching-hbrel-bar-hbyung-ba-btc / iu-ghis-kyiMDO, that Mr. Schmidt translated :Der years denzw'ôlf gegenseitigen DedingungenEntstandene. The presentnotesufficiently explain why I would translathistitleof the manner following :vsThe Sutra of the TwelveproductionsRelated to" Causes. >I think I remember to have seen a similar title in a collection ofSinhalese Vinaya inpaed; but the research that Imade for the backhave so far been unsuccessful; I hope to be able to come back to it in the second volumeof this book.No Yin. - ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.Page 58 fm the third paragraph. -[For clarification that I have given onthe application that we make of the title of Upadêça to the books named Tantras, itis in-dispensable from the addition of the following.]Hetherehas nothing to rest, thatfrom very natural tosee the Tantras called Upadêça; because this last word, in addition to its general meaningmind, instruction, still has the meaning any special â ^ initiation, that is to say,of "communication of a mantra or formula by which the master initiates<the disciple (2)."This word is familiar to all the schools Brahman, and nothingis more common in India than to hear people say : " \ J Upadêça,or the formula"initiation, of such or such sect is such or such Mantra. "It is exactly inthis last meaning that the Buddhist Tantras use the word of Upadêça, and thisis all the more natural as the Tantra does is that of books originallyçivaites,that is to saythe works which thefund is Indian and independentof(1) Der Weue md der Thor, text, p. 26; trad., p. 30.(2) Wilson, Sanscr. Diction., P. 154, ed. 1832.

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564"INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYBuddhism, and that I try to theprove in the section V of my secondMemory.Page 66, line d 2, and notes \ of the page 67. - Thefour principles of the powersupernatural, or more exactly, the four foundations of this power arelisted in a waymore complete in the Vocabularypentaglotte (1) thatin our text, where two of the names they beardo are shown in abbreviated form.I said in the footnote 4, atto which this addition relates , that without commentwe don'tcould be flattering to understand parfaitementces formulesobscures;However the comparison , in the release that give the Tibetans with thetermsoriginals allows me to attempt an explanation. The fundamental term isRîddhipada, that theTibetans represent by Rdzu-hphrul-gyi-rkang ^ 'pa,"the foundation of miraculous transformations.>The first of these foundsmnts is, for the Vocabularypentaglotte, as for our text, Tchhandasamddhi prahâna satriskâra samanvâgatay compoundwhose examende the releaseTibetan authorizes me to place all the terms in the following report : " Endowed with"The design of renunciation to the meditation of desire. " Where therefollows that thefirst foundation of the power surnaturelleconsiste in the faculty of con-to see him abandon all idea of desire, or is the

effect of this faculty. The second foundation, including the name is not given that in short in the text of our Sutra, is thus developed by the Pentaglotte vocabulary : Tchitta samâdhi prahâna saïiskâra samanvâgata, and we can literally translate into the same system : "Endowed of the design renunciation to the meditation of the thoughts." It follows from there that the second foundation of the power surnaturelle consiste in the faculty of conceiving the abandonment of any idea of thought. The third foundation is Virya samadhi prahâna saïiskâra samanvâgata. After this that I just to say the two words previous ones, I can move forward, without insist more on the last, as the third foundation of the powers supernatural consists in the faculty of conceiving the abandonment of any idea of energy. the fourth foundation is called Mîmâmsâ samâdhi prahâna samskâra samanvâgata; he is in the faculty of design abandoning any idea of research. Here results from all this that the Buddhists attribute supernatural faculties to the one who has managed to imagine that he has given up all idea of desire, of thought, effort, research or of meditation, that is to say to one who has, in some sort, detached from any internal operation. As this is hardly possible in the ordinary state of humanity, we understand that those we believed capable (1) Vocab. pentagl., sect. xxvii.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .565 of this prodigious detachment have could pass for endowed with a power greater than that of man, from people who believed in the possibility of such power. Page 67, note 2. - See again, touching the title of Tathâgata, the discussion to which is delivered M. G. de Humboldt, who distinguished, as he makes the Singhalese, two meanings in Tathâgata, according to that we divide this word thus, tathâ spoiled ; or so, tathâ ageata (1). Page 68, note 2, on the word Sugata. - According to the explanations that M. G. de Humboldt gives to this term, it seems he finds the meaning of "the one who has" Well, that happened in the future, to the perfection (2)." I do not disagree that this meaning does not could be preferred to that of welcome, which I admitted. Among the observations which the title Sugata, as one of Tathâgata, is the object of the hand of M. de Humboldt, I will then help noticing the astonishment he feels that that the titles of Sugata and of Tathâgata, which assume an idea of walking, of departure or arrival, can be applied to primitive Âdibuddha, the independent and invisible being. From my point of view, this apperoneous cation is easily explained. The titles of Sugata and Tathâgata belong to belong to the human Buddha Çâkyamuni; but when was invented the Buddha divine Âdibuddha, it was much the least that we grant him the qualities superior that had possessed a mere mortal. On the decorated so of all these securities had worn Sakyamuni, some practical and material that could be the meaning ; we had by devers so the resource of interpretations mystics, and we could always tell that it was only so that Mortal buddha as the Supreme Adibuddha received these various titles. Page 75, line 46. - The expression that I have translated as " the four supports of the memory " is Tchatur smrityupasthânas ; these smrityupasthânas are listed in the Vocabulary Pentaglotte with the following names : Kâyasmrityupasthânam, Vêdanâ smrityupasthânam, Tchittasmrityupasthânam, Dharma smrityupasthânam (3). Here seems according to it that the objects where the means the four smrityupasthânas are the body, the feeling, the thought and Law. The Tibetans translate that literally this term, he is quite difficult to (1) Ueber die Kawi-Sprache, t. I, p. 270 and 271. (2) Ibid., p. 270. (3) Vocab. pentagl., sect. xxv.

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566 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY to acknowledge their opinion touching her meaning true. It is by the monosyllables *Dran-pa-her-bdag*, without doubt "the action of placing a memory" that they make *smrityupasthâna*. We can however conclude from this that the term original *upasthâna* must be translated by application, in this way: "the application of the memory in body, or to using the body, etc." » The Chinese version, such, at least, the interpreter Mr. A. Remusat nous permet de aller un peu plus loin, since it translates the words corresponding to *smrityupasthâna* by *cogitarerespiciendo corpus*, etc. There is no longer any question here of memory; and in fact the word *smriti* (like the *pali sati*) has in the Buddhist style the meaning special of thought, reflection. It's probably from the way he must hear it here; and *smrityupasthâna*, which literally interpreted means "The placement of the" Reflection, "should perhaps be translated as the application of the thought. "I prefer this last explanation to that of "support of the memory" that I adopted for not having examined fairly closely the enumeration of the *Vocabular Pentaglotte*. Page 104, line 17. - When I sought to establish that the system of *Dhyâni Buddhas* had to be independent of the existence of *Adibuddha*, I could have evoked the feeling of M. G. de Humboldt, who recalls that *Hemalchandra* quotes already in the eleventh century a large number of Divinities, today worshiped by the Nepalese, and which concludes that these deities were honored in India before that the Buddhism would have been transported to Nepal (1). The truth is that Mr. de Humboldt born expresses not a way also so that I am; and I do it the re-mark, so that we do not believe that I want to share my mistake with him, if I commit one. But I have the trust that if he would have had in his hands the materials which are at my disposal, its conclusions would not have appreciably differed from those presented in my text. Page 149, note 5. - The Religious whose exterior decent struck *Çâri-puttra* in when he was not yet a convert to Buddhism, is named *Upasêna* by the *Mahâvastu* (2). *Fahian*, who has preserved for us the tradition of this meet, name this Religious *O'pi* (3). On the other hand *Hsuan thsang*, to report *Klaproth*, the names *A chy pho chi*, that is to say, as was well seen *Klaproth*, *Açvadjit*, name of a religious who is in fact famous among the first disciples (1) *Veher die Kawi-Sprache*, 1. 1, p. 298. (2) *Mahâvastu*, f. 265 a from my man. (3) *Foe koue ki*, p. 262.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .567 of *Çâkyâ* (1). Should it be concluded from this comparison that the names from *Upasêna* and *Açvadjit* designate the same character? This is possible, because these two names are one and the other of the titles military. Page 165, third paragraph, on the name *i ^ tropre Pântchika*. - I forgot to make out, on the occasion of the name proper to *Pântchika* (which the legend miracles gives for that of the General of the *Yakchas*), that it is maybe the same as the *Pantask*, taken by *Fahian*, at least according to *Klaproth*, for a celestial musician, who played the lyre in honor of *Çâkyâ muni*, not far from *Nâlanda* (2). *Cornil* must warn that Mr. A. Remusat translating otherwise its passage, and he made of *Pantask* an air or an instrument (3). Now we know that the Sanskrit numeral *pañc* applies to the fifth of the modes music Indian, we called *Pantchama* or the fifth (4); in addition, the Indians sometimes call the music "the sound of the five instruments. > It is probably between these last two meanings that must be chosen, to explain the *Pantche* of Chinese traveler. Page 168, third paragraph, to the word *Djina*. - The name of *Djina* is one of synonyms of that of *Buddha*, or rather it is one of the many epithets that we give to a *Buddha*. He means winner, in a moral and religious sense. We know it is common to Buddhists and the *Djâinas* (5). Page 178, note 1. - When I have conjectured that the *Sutra*

named Daharain our manuscripts would probably be entitled Dahra Sutra "the Sutra"
 From the fire, y>my intention was to call back,in favor of this conjecture,that
 exists,according to the Singhalese Buddhists ,a treatise called Agqikkhandhaupama, that
 is to say "the Sutra similar to a fire, "that preacheda Reli-gious Yonaka, or country Yona
 (Sanskrit Yavana) name which is one ofthe greek empireof the Bactriana (6).The
 existence of a Sutra says "similar to a" Mass of fire, "gives some likelihoodthe
 substitution that I propose ofto do from dahra (fire) to dahara (small). Princesshas
 appeared to believe that the name ofSutraPali Aggikkhandha was mentioned in the fourth
 edict of PiyadassiTo(1) Foe koue M, p. 267, note 11.(2) Foe koue ki, p. 263 and 264.(3)
 Foe koue ki, p. 263.(4) Sanscr. Diction., P. 493, ed. 1832.(5) Sanscr. Diction., P.
 250.(6)Turnour, Mahâvanso, eh. xii, p. 73, in-4 "

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568INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYGirnar (1).CornI think this is a mistake;
 andtheAgikhmndhânî compoundof this inscription must be reflected inown " the masses
 of fire," to say"The fires of joy,i which are part of the demonstrations by which the king
 wantedthat we celebrate the establishment of the law which it protected.Page 240, note
 1 .-The expression of atyayika piidapâia, which I translated as"alms quickly
 collected,"should probably designate rather"alms or the extraordinary meal, or at the
 wrong time, jof which Fa hian speaks ,and on which M. A. Rémusat has a note in the Foe
 koue ki (2). This suppositionis strongly confirmed by themeaning of the wordatyaya,
 from which the adjective is derivedatyayika :atyaya, in fact, means "the act of going to
 the beyond, to cross; "And inspeaking of a rule, of "transgress. >The meal which heis
 spoken in the passagewhich is related to this rating is, in fact, taken out of time set bythe
 rule of the discipline. The excuse for this transgression is, as it isseesby the examples of
 the text, drawn from such and such a case of force majeure.Page 254, note i. - Heis likely
 that it istheVarcha time that theChinese traveler Fa hian designates by the expression of "
 to stay, or to sit" In summer(3) "etqu'il called in a different place ," the rest of summer
 (4)."Page 259, note 1. - Irealize that I forgot topresent the theory offour truths sublime in
 their form original, according to the text of the North,though I myself Fuisse engaged in
 the notes even inwhich refers the presentaddition. By following the presentation
 byapassage of the Mahâvastu. Like the latterwork is a book which is not canonical, since
 it belongs to the school ofMaliâsamghikas, I compared this passage with a corresponding
 textof Lalitavistara; and having recognized that there was an identity of doctrine
 betweenof thembooks, I did not hesitate to me serve the fragment Mahavastu of that I
 givehere."There are in addition, O monks, four truths sublime. What are they ? Thepain,
 the generation of the pain, the annihilation of the pain, the walkingwholed to the
 destruction of the pain ;each of these terms is a truthgorgeous. Now, O monks, what is it
 that is that the pain that is a truthsubhme? The following :the birth, old age, sickness, the
 death, the meeting(1) Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of ^ engal, t. VI, p. 237, 243 and 266.,(2)
 Foe koue M, p. 107, note 18.(3) Foe koue ki, p. 1; and P. 4, note 8.(4)Ibid., P. 362; and P.
 366, note 11 .

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .569of what we do not like not, the separation from what we
 love, impotence inet what you want and what you are looking for, the form, the feeling,
 the idea, theconcepts, the knowledge, in a word the five attributes of the design, whileit is
 ia pain. That, oh Rehgieux, what that is that the painwho is asublime truth . What that is

that the production of pain which is a sublime truth ? It is the desire without constantly renewed, accompanied by pleasure and of passion, whose seeks to be satisfied here and there. This, O monks, that that is what the production of the pain, which is a truth sublime. What that is than the destruction of the pain who is a sublime truth ? This is the destruction full of this desire without constantly renewed, accompanied by pleasure and of passion, who is looking for to be satisfied here and there; it is the detachment of this desire, it is annihilation, abandonment, annihilation; it is the complete renunciation of this desire. This, O monks, that that is what the truth sublime annihilation of the pain. What that is that the truth sublime of the path that leads to the annihilation of the pain? It is the sublime path made up of eight parts, To know : the right sight , the will, the effort, the action, the life, the language, the thought, the right meditation . This, O monks, that that is what the truth sublime the way who conduit à annihilation of the pain (i). ^ We can still consult Csoma de Côtors touching the four Arya satyâni or underlying truths , which are to be listed (2). Page 307, note 2. - The observation which is the subject of this note is changed in certainty by the passage following from Fa hian : those who will have received the three " Kouéi and the five precepts (3)." In fact, the three i ^ Owei or three supports respond to the expression of Çarana gamana or of Triçarmia, " the three refuges;" and this expression itself is the abbreviated summary of the three Buddhist formulas çaranam gatchhâmi, Dharmam çaranam gatchhâmi, Samgham çaranam gatchhâmi, and that I have made see above (4). As for the five precepts, this ^ are the five commandments fundamental, basic the moral Buddhist, and as indicated a note from M. Landresse on the Foe koue ki (5), exactly as I have conjectured in the note, subject of these remarks. This is what than our texts name Çikchâpada. (1) Mahdvastu, t 357 a of my manuscript ; f. 371 b, man. Soc. Asian girl. See also Lalita vistara, f. 216 a sqq. (2) Asmf. îies., T. XX, p. 294. (3) Foe koue ki, p. 352. (4) Second Memoir, sect. II, p. 71, note 2. (5) Foe koue ki, p. 358 comp. to p. 104.

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570 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Page 310, footnote 5. - To clarify that I given on the term of Tchâitya, I would have been able to add the information that we need to Hodgson concerning the use that in fact the Nepal. According to Amritânanda, Tchâitya is the name of a temple dedicated to the supreme Adibuddha or to the five Dhyâni Ruddhas ; and all high temple to Śâkyamuni or to a different human Ruddha is appointed Vihâra (\). This very modern definition is due to the theistic system of the Reli-gious that consulted Mr. Hodgson. But this scientist gives us a more accurate idea of a Tchâitya, when speaking in his own name, he said that the party 's overessential of a Tchâitya is a hemisphere solid, and that the most large number of the Tchâityas of Nepal have this hemisphere surmounted [by a pyramid or a cone invariably divided into thirteen stages (2). Lower it adds : Châitya means to properly speaking, a temple of the Ruddha ; and Vihâra ^ the dwelling of disciples of the Ruddha who embraced the monastic life . In 'space square left in the middle of the Vihâra, is placed a Tchâitya. At the base of hemisphere of all Tchâitya of Nepal are placed the images of the Ruddhas of the contemplation (8). We see that Mr. Hodgson had particularly in order to compare the Châitya au Vihâra, that is to say the residence of the dead master to that of the master living. It was not quite done here the object of the note to which this addition is refers. I will only add to the observations it contains that i never have seen the name of Tchâitya given to the monuments raised above there lic of another character than a

Ruddha ;fora disciple, for example, is the name of Stupa which employs. Page 330, note 1 .-Since that I have written the notes on the word rādjikâ, I found in the Journal of Prinsep one passage of the Mahāvamsa who had escaped my memory at the moment where I was looking for the meaning of the term of rādjikâ. In here the translation literal according to M. Turnour's edition : " After he had heard the eighty-four thousand articles of the law, the king this of the earth says : I will honor each of them by the consecration of a Vihâra." Having given result ninety-six money Kotis to eighty-" Four thousand cities on the earth, he fit start with the kings of the Vihâras at " Each of these places; but he was started to raise himself the Açôka "ârâma (4)." The text says, Tatta tattheva rādjuhivihâreâradhâpayi; and by rādjuhi M. Turnour hears well the local kings who reigned in each of (1) Tramact. Roy. Asian girl. Soc, t. II, p. 241.(2) Id., IUd., P. 248.(3) Ib., Ibid., P. 250.(4) Mahāvanso, p. 26, ed. in-4o.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .571 these cities. Now, this text closer to the term rādjikâ does not seem not confirm the meaning that I proposed last , in the note to which the this observation is refers to namely of t duty of a king, work of a king? "which can apply just as well to an edict emanating from the sovereign power. raine only to the erection of a religious monument which is the work of a king. We see in addition by this text that the number of eighty-four thousand stupas was an allusion to that of the eighty-four thousand edicts of the Law. I don't have to-while not failing to report a expression that seems to us report to one another interpretation. I the finds in the translation that Mr. Tumor was data of a passage of the Pali Buddhavamsa ;heis of the Act, which is established also solidly "that a Châitya decorated with the embellishments of the law (1). "Bornit does not seem that this expression is a commentary on that of our texts, Dharma rādjikâ? But not having the original Pali of which I am giving the translation according to M. Turnour, I dare not push this comparison any further .Page 332, note 3. - I 'm afraid I have n't Again explained quite clearly-lie on this embarrassed passage. Going forward, agreeing with the text, that the king had to base its distribution the figure of ten million of gold coins , considered as the expression of the wealth of the inhabitants in each of the cities where he wanted to raise a Stupa, I said that this figure was to be achieved and not de-pass. This should be understood in this sense, that the towns where the fortunes of the inhabitants no rose is not ten million of parts were not entitled to a vessel of relics, and that those where the public fortune exceeded ten million, however law that a single of these vases. This is why Açôka responds to the inhabitants of Takchaçilâ, that of their thirty-six Kôtis he in needs subtract thirty-five, by in other words, that here recognized only one.*As for the miracle by which Yaśas the Sthavira satisfied the desire of the king, who wanted to raise in the same day his eighty-four thousand buildings, I remark-querai that it is an absurdity which the Buddhists of Singhalawill be sontpasmade guilty, since they say that this great operation cost three years of work to those that Aśoka in was loaded (2).Page 355, line 26.- I forgot to note, on the occasion of the name of Pundra vardhana, that this must be the same as that of Pundra, which means, according to Wilson (3), the more large part of Bengal and a portion of Bahar.(1) Examin. of pâli Buddh. Amals, in Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t. VII, p. 795.(2) Mahdvanso, p. 34, ed. in-4o.(3) Sanscr. Diction., P. 540, col. 1, ed. 1832.

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57 * 2 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY The inhabitants, named Pundras in Manu (1), pass for Kchattriyas fallen ;and Lassen (2) judiciously notices the original analogy that

exists between this name, which designates a you canewith brown sugar , and that of Gâuda ^another denomination of a part of Bengal, which designates the molasses extracted from the sugar cane . The same scholar has been seen by the merger of two passages from Vichnu purâna (3) and from a verse from the Trikanda çêcha (4), that this denomination Geographic is used with a longer extension or less significant in these various texts. I added, in which key the name of Pundra vardhana, which means " Who does prosper the Pundras, " that the word of Vardhana recalls one of Vardhamana or Bardhwân, "the prosperous country . "These names are the allusions evident in the high fertility of those provinces. This part of the Bengal is named Pâmîdraka in an inscription Sanskrit from the year 1136 of our era (5). Page 359, fourth paragraph, to the word Dharma vivardhana. - It must be placed under this word the notes following, that I omitted the impression of this part of my volume : " The prince is the one that Fa hian called Fa i, and which we translated the name by advantage or increase of the Law. M. Rémusat was very ingeniously conjectured that the Fa i Chinese had to be in Sanskrit Dharma vardhana (6), name that is found in the lists Brahman; our text fully confirms his guess. I would add that we have in the existence of the name of Dharmavivardhana ^ given to a prince than the legend called Kunâla, a new example of this fact, that the Rajas, where more especially the Buddhist kings , have generally carried two names, one which they took from their birth, the other which was religious or political. Thus Kunala is the name that the legend celebrates , and Dharma vivardhana is the official title; because it is under the latter he was yet known time of Fa hian, at V® century of our era, and he was passing to have ruled in the Gandhara. This fact has here even less instead of us surprise, that King Açôka, father of Kunâla, appears in the inscriptions with the name of Piyadassi. "Page 393, line 15. - The second of the two meanings from the word Svabhâva, that I expose in my text, is perfectly indicated in a passage of (1) Mânava dharma çâstra, 1.X, st. 44. (2) Ind. Alterthumsk, t.I, p. 140 and 141. (3) Vishn. pur., p. 177, note; and 190, note. (4) Trikanda çêcha, ch. II, st. 7. (5) Journ. Asian girl. Soc. of Bengal, t.VII, p. 50. (6) Foe koue ki, p. 67.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .573 Pantcha kramatippanî which I think useful to quote. The Yôgin must, according to the text of this work, pronounce the following axiom : Svabhâva çuddhâ sarvadharmâhsvabhâva çuddhâ 'ham iii. <All the terms and all the beings are products of their nature own; I myself am a product of my own nature (1). "I believe that this meaning of Svabhava is the most ancient ; if, like the think Hodgson, the Buddhists mean by this term the Nature abstract this notion Metaphysics may have been added after blow to this word, including the in-natural interpretation is that which spring from the axiom that I have to mention. It is not useless to notice the direction taken by the participating Suddha, " completed, accompanied <fold ;> this effect is common in the Sanskrit Buddhist. Page 397, note 4. - According to the information provided by Klaproth, that the note of the page 397 contains, it must join those given to us by Mr. A. Rémusat in a move relative to one another text of Foe koue ki. Following a Chinese notice of Western countries , at the time of the Thang dynasty , it was in the province of Udyâna five Buddhist sects . The first was that of Fa mi, <silence of "the law. > I guess this is the fourth subdivision of Râhula 's school , the one that Gsoma calls Dharma gupta. The second was that of Houa ti, *con "Version of the earth ; "they are the Mahî çâka of Gsoma. The third was that to ' Yn kouang or Kâçyapa, " drunk light; "these are the

Kâcyapiyas of Gsoma, which belong, like the last two sects, at the school of Râhula. The fourth was that of Clioue ithsi yeou. Mr. Rémusat does not have translated this title; consequently missing the means to recover the Sanskrit synonymy. The fifth was that of Ta tchomg, "the multitude," "This is most probably the Mahâsamghikas or school of Kassapa the famous disciple of Çâkyâ (2). Page 450, note 3. - It must add in addition to these testimonies that of Mr. Turnour, who goes over still far, at least in appearance, since the occasion of the last words uttered by Çâkyâ, he translates the word samkhâra (for samskâra) per perishable thing, in this passage: "The things perishable are" "Transient (3)." "This is the word even as rendered by compound in the translation of the Sutra which are announced the last moments of Çâkyâ-fitted (4). (1) Pantcha Tirana tippanî, f. 1, l. 3. (2) A. Rémusat, Foe koue ki, p. 53. (3) Journ. Asian Soc. of Bengal, t. VI, p. 1051. (4) Second Dissertation, sect. II, p. 75.

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574 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY Page 451, footnote 3. - I had to, to the result of this rating, indicating by a reference in the Appendix the comments that will follow; but this reference has been forgotten, and I have more than the resource additions to repair it. These observations I have been suggested by the manner in which Mr. Schmidt, according to its authorities MON-goles, considers the theory of Nidânas or of the successive causes of existence. As this theory is found encadrédans a piece where are listed all the theses which appear in the Pradjnâ pâramitâ, I believe essential to reproduce the more large part of this piece, in the accompanying short observations intended for the majority to restore the shape Indian of these terms, form to which he must always return in dernière analyse, since only is primitive and original. On the other hand, like the track by Mr. Schmidt is a translation of a Mongolian text, which is probably a translation of a Tibetan text, which is certainly a translation of a Sanskrit text, I have believed that I was exposing myself to born more give nothing to the reader of the original, if I translate-know even in French the last result of these successive translations. We find so here the text even of Mr. Schmidt, divided into short paragraphs and accompanied by the necessary observations. "Es gibt sechs Grundursachen (Stoffe, Elemente), und fünf ausgebildete Kategorien; sharp letzteren sind: die Farbe (die Gestalt, das Aussehen), das Vermuthen, das Denken, das Thun (Handeln, Wirken) und das Wissen" (Erkennen). These six elements are the Dhâtus, one material element of which he will be question more low; and that as the Mongols learned their interpreter call the five ausgebildete Kategorien, are the five Skandhas, cesi-k-diTe the five aggregates or intellectual attributes: Rûpa, the form; Vêdanâ, the sensation; Satndjm, the idea; Satnskârâhf the concepts; and Vidjnâna, the knowledge. I do not believe that the German word Vermuthen could be an exact translation of Vêdanâ, term who do can express that of these three things: 1 ° the sensation restricted to the pure sensitive impression; 2 " the resulting perception of this feeling; 3 " the knowledge resulting from this perception; three meanings, including the first I seem to agree the best with the rest of the list. I do not believe more than Samkara is action; this translation is far too vague, at least qu'on n'entende by this term the action of the imagination or this Faculty has the spirit, forms efjingendi. "Die zwölf Sinnvermôgen (Werkzeuge) nebst den Sinnen sind: die Augen, die Ohren, die Nase, die Zunge, der Kôrper, der Wille (das Verlangen) und demnâchst die Aeusserungen dieser Werkzeuge oder Yermôgen: das Aussehen" (die FarbC) Gestalt), die Stimme (der Laut, Ton), der Geruch, der Geschmack ' "

OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .575((das Gelûhl und dieFeststellung (irgend eines Gegenstandes und dessen"Begriffes). Es gibt ein wissen(Erkennen) mittelst der Augen, eines mittelst der"Ohren, eines mittelst der Nase, eines mittelst der Zunge, eines mittelst des Kôrpers und eines mittelst des Willens(Verlangens). Es gibtferner ein" Auffassen(Aneignen) mittelst der Augen, einesmittelst der Ohren, eines"mittelst der Nase, eines mittelst der Zunge, eines mittelst des Korpers und eines"mittelst des .Willens. Auch gibt es ein Empfmden durch das Aufiasfien der" Augen, ein Empfmden durch das Auffassen der Ohren, eines durch das Auf-" Fassender Nase, einesdurch das Auffassen der Zunge, eines durch das"Auffassen des Kôrpers und eines durch dasAuffassen des Willens. oThispassing is perfectly clear, and the restitution of the terms original dowe in learning not much more than the version of German the text Mongolian.The reason in is easy to understand :these terms are those given by the ob-direct servation ; theideas specific to Buddhism there occupy a spotfairly restricted. The twelve organs or instruments enumerated in the Mongolian textare a share six organs of sense, in Sanskrit Chadâyaianâni, the eyes, theears, nose, the tongue, the body,or rather the skin that envelops the body andwhich is the seat of tact, and finally the internal organ , in Sanskrit Manas, multi- organiple,as moral as intellectual, of which the Mongols do notreproduce only one face,in the resulting by will, desire. In these organs, which are of real instrumentments, he must join the divested function to each of them, the sight, hearing, smell,the taste, the touch and feeling. The way the Mongols representthe latter term is without doubt not very clear; I do the indo n't believelessbased on the knowledge of the theory Buddhist, thoughdoes not expressthat part. The function of the Manas or the heart, as an organ, is to graspthe Dharma, which is the law morality or the duty; of the type as a member givenperceivesan impression, whichis a sensation determined at the time by the objectthat the given and by the organ that the receiving. The object that sendsat Manas the feelingsation that heis intended to receive is every individual being; ableof merit orof demerit, in a word 'of morality. The proper namethis feeling isDharma, thelaw,theto have to,themerit, as we want to call it,in takingaccount of an analytical imperfection that explainssufficiently the antiquity of thistheory. At the same time as the Manas receives, if I can express myself well, the sen-sation of morality, it also receives that of individuality; in other words, heperceivesthe being or the individual subject of Dharma; because it takes a be for that there hasmerit or demerit. It is this second speciesof sensation that represents the de-Mongolian finish . This way to consider the Manas, if however I to understandwell, is consistentto the psychological systemof the Buddhists; because not admitting

576INTRODUCTION TO HISTORYother source of our knowledge than the seas, and convinced that the senses can notgive only notions ofisolated qualitiesthe one of the others, hethey needed abody which might arrest the individual, about one of these qualities many, and that éprouvâtin some way feel the need, or the good and the bad.That which comesafter,in the text translated by M. Schmidt ^ is a summary of thevarious ways in which the senses give us the impressions. It is is said that text,a knowledge that comes from the eyes, and so the other direction, jusquds and are includedthe internal organ , which the Mongols continue to translate by the will; in thisIf the man is passive, the knowledge is offering in some way to him without itis looking for her. Heit is said even this text, a work of capture or ofappropriate theknowledge by the eye, and so of the other

senses; in this second case the man is active. Finally, here there is a feeling, a feeling or a feeling, if I may express myself so that the result of this work to enter or to appropriate the knowledge by the eye and by each of the other senses; in the latter case the man is passive and active all together. c Die sechs Grundstoffe (Elemente) sind ihm bekannt nach : die Erde, das Wasser, das Feuer, die Luft, der Himmel, das Wissen (Erkennen). "This enumeration of the six elements is remarkable under more than one report. First, it summarizes everything that the Buddhists know of the nature and its bases, the same as that of the Râhmans. With this enumeration, the Buddhists can do without speak of the subject, concept abstract from which I do not believe they will be occupied. In addition to the four elements generally accepted in India, the land, the water, the fire, air, and in account with the Râhmans a fifth which is the ether, an element whose existence is disputed by some Buddhist schools. I don't know how it may be that the Mongols translate the original term which designates this element by "the material sky", at least that this translation will be too strict interpretation of the Nam-Tibetan mkhah. That it is of positive is that the word Sanskrit Akâça means among the Buddhists the ether or space, and more often even space than ether. As for the sixth element, which is, according to the Mongolian enumeration, that of knowing or of the knowledge, it is called in Sanskrit Vidjânâ, word that in fact, the meaning that it gives Mr. Schmidt. This is a pure invention of Buddhists, and I believe I can advance it, a fairly modern invention. There is, to my knowledge, no trace of this element in the old sūtras, where the enumeration that we encounter the most often is limited to four words : the earth, water, the fire, the air elements which are listed in the successive order of their immaterial apparent reality. The Pradjñâ pàramitâ adds an even less material element,

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .577 space, and above, this Vidjânâ or intelligence and the mind; caria knowledge being a relative term, if Vidjânâ were to be translated with the precision that he give the Mongols, one would wonder where are the beings between which is happening this fact to the knowledge. The addition of mind or of intelligence to elements hardware does is no less a fact extremely remarkable; and like it will be shown that in the books that I think subsequent to ancient Sūtras, I have all because of the look as a recent invention. It seems to me that to start of their research, the Buddhists do not envisage mind that under his individual form, and in each of the beings they in were gifted. I can not find no trace of an absolute or elementary mind, as must be this Vidjânâ or this intelligence of the Pradjñâ; and if this intelligence shows itself in the theory which form the fund of this collection, is that it has been introduced by the need we felt to regularize and complete a doctrine which, otherwise, would have appeared incomplete. In fact, when we wanted to explain the man, no one knew where to discover the source of intelligent principle that animates it, while we believed ourselves authorized to seek in each of the material elements the origin of the various parts which is composed its body. The addition that we made from intelligence to fundamental elements seem to have been intended to obviate this difficulty. This addition, moreover, is, to all appearance, only an imitation of the Tchit of the Vedantists, and it's probably on her that leaned later the Svâbhâvikas to make of intelligence one of the attributes of the natural material. "Die zwölf dazu gehörigen und damit verbundenen Bedingungen sind ihrem "Begriffe nach : die Thorheit (Verfinsterung), das Thun (Wirken), das Wissen" (Erkennen), die Farbe (Gestalt oder Gestaltung), die sechs Begionen (der "Wesen), das Empfinden, das

Vermuthen (Ahnen), die Begierde (Lust), das Nehmen (Geniessen, Aneignen), der Sansâra (Kreislauf der Geburten), das Geborenwerden und endlich das Altern und Sterben. "What the Mongols here name the twelve conditions are the twelve Nidânas which are chained them each to other as the effect to the cause. I am ambushed in the section of the Metaphysics because of detail for there do not come back here. I only recall the precautions that I have taken to enter the true character of each of the terms of this enumeration. He will be that I there have not completely succeeded ; but the way the Mongols the envisage does not seem to me better achieve the goal. 11 are in their translation of obvious errors. We will judge by the comparison followed by each of their interpretations with the original terms . The first the most high, Avidyâ, ignorance can to the rigor is traduire par Xobscurcissement or Xdarkness; but Xaction or Xagir is a very incomplete interpretation of Sa? 7iskâra. We 37

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578 INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY find in Vidjâna the knowledge or the knowledge of Mongolian interpreters ; but they will certainly too far when they represent Nâmarûpa, the name and the shape, the color and the figure; they moreover omit the idea of name, this necessary element of individuality. I can even less admit the way which they consider the Çhadâyatanas, the six sieges of meaning, where they found the six regions of beings. In addition we do we say not what that is these six areas, he it is easy to recognize where the Mongolian mistake comes from : it's they have taken in proper the word Ayatana ^ place, place. I pass quickly on the four terms which follow : Sparça, the contact; Vêdanâ, the sensation; Trichnâ, the desire; Upâdâna, the conception, of which their version gives sufficient analogues , if they were accompanied by a commentary. But I do then omit to report them in a too general which they translate Bhava, existence, which they believe synonymous with Sa / risâra, the circle or the movement circular birth. The error is certainly Pastres-serious, since it is by the birth that man between in the circle or in the revolution of the world, in other terms, that he is subject to the law of the transmigration. However the birth is just one of the acts of " this passage to around the world, and it is not possible to identify one of the degrees of the revolution with the whole revolution . The fact is that they are the twelve Nidânas, or these twelve terms successively attached to each other, as the cause to the effect, which inevitably bring the man in the circle of the transmigration. I end here this that I to say about the way the Mongols envision the difficult theory of the twelve causes of existence ; he is at a hard need to add that if, surrounded by all the aid which had at their disposal, they have notable to make more clear, it there is there of what to justify all those who will care of same subject and which will succeed not better (1). Page 471. - Prior to pass to analysis of Suvarna prabhâsa, it would have been necessary to indicate the subdivisions of the class of books appointed Tantras, which Gsoma tells us about . According to this author, we recognize in Tibet four classes of Tantras, namely : 1TM Kriya Tantra, the Tantras of the action; 2[°] Atchâra tantra, the Tantras of practices; 3[®] Yoga tantra, the Tantras of the mystical union ; 4[¥] Anuttara yoga tantra ^ the Tantras of Yoga SUPREME laughing (2). These divisions are sufficient to show the considerable development has taken the literature of tantra, I would say not only in Tibet, but in (1) Same. of Acad. of Sciences of St. Petersburg, t.IV, p. 215. (2) Tibet. Diction., P. 245, col. 1.

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OF INDIAN BUDDHISM .579 India and very probably in Kashmir ;because the Sanskrit titles of these divisions I seem to establish that the works they embrace have been primitively compounds in Sanskrit. The major distinction of the Kriya (action) and Yoga (the meditation) is one the known, familiar to Brahmanism. Since I am speaking here of the Tantras admitted to Tibet, I must mention of the existence of a monastery of Religious Lantists, described by Georgi in his prudish language : "Formis anaglypticis carnalium conjugationum duabus" Atque triginta contaminatum (1). "This monastery is appoints, according to him, Ra-mo-tchhehi. These images would they be the representations figured the rites of Tantras? This would be a the footsteps little towns in the Inde, at least in my knowledge of the influence of Tantra on the monuments represented. (1) Alfab. Tib., P. 223. END,

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pour le fond, mais qui diffèrent l'une de l'autre par l'éten-

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