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MEMOIR ON THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM,

READ BEFORE THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,

At their Annual Meeting, in Boston, May 28, 1844.

BY EDWARD E. SALISBURY,

PROFESSOR OF ARABIC AND SANSKRIT IN YALE COLLEGE.

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THE writer of this Memoir begs leave to state, in respect to the orthography of Oriental words, that in all extracts quoted, and in titles of books, the orthography of the French, English, or German author, translator, or editor, is left unaltered; and that, in other cases, he has either written such words as he found them in books to which he refers, with only the alteration necessary to suit the English ear, or has derived his orthography directly from the original language, where this is the Sanskrit, or he has adopted the mode of writing stereotyped by usage.

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MEMOIR.

GENTLEMEN OF THE ORIENTAL SOCIETY:

No one can regret more than myself the disappointment which you experience on this occasion, in the absence of that venerable scholar who was to have addressed you, by whose zeal in biblical research so much has been done to open the field of Oriental learning in our country. I am painfully conscious that the purpose of this anniversary might have been infinitely better accomplished, had that distinguished associate favored us with some observations, to guide the yet inexperienced steps of most of us, in that department of knowledge which our honorable President has set before us in so learned and attractive a manner. But as it became necessary to make some other provision for the occasion, at a late day, and your Directors have done me the honor to call upon me, I have not felt that I could decline contributing my mite to sustain our good cause.

With these sentiments, I offer you a Memoir, on a subject to which my studies have of late been directed — the History of Buddhism. You are all aware of the surprising and important result of philological research — or rather of that fact, which, established by the sagacity of a few German scholars, has become the very basis of the science of philology in the modern acceptation — that the influence of India may be traced over the whole western world, through its ancient language, the Sanskrit. With the luxurious climate of that country, imagination has associated a national character of entire passivity, such as is neither prone to take up influences from without, requiring any moral or physical effort on the part of the recipient, nor inclined to exert itself actively abroad.

Yet the more we know of the East by critical investigation, and the more the results of research respecting the various climes included under that rather indefinite appellation are compared together and with the decisions of the learned in regard to the affinities of the languages and the philosophy of western nations, the more evident does it become, that the wide East, as well as the West, is under obligations, to a greater or less extent, for civilizing impulses, to the peculiar manner of thought and expression in language, which belonged originally to the Sanskrit people of India. The subject which I propose to bring to your notice in this Memoir, affords a striking illustration of the extent of the influence of India. An off-shoot of the Indian mind, not in the fresh days of its prime, but when the stock had apparently become too massive to be thoroughly animated — too firmly encased to burst forth with young life — Buddhism germinated and grew with widening shade, like its emblem the Banyan-tree, planting nurseries of its own branches, till it has become firmly rooted in the minds of not less than four hundred millions of the human race. It would seem as if, when the parent stock was on the point of falling to decay, its forces had all been gathered anew, for the struggle to perpetuate itself; or rather we should say, that the Indian nationality had not yet fully accomplished its part in the providence of God, and was therefore suffered to revive under this particular form, in order to secure results which were still future.

It may be taken for granted, that Buddhism is of Indian origin. The time has been, when from the want of sufficient materials, out of which to form a correct judgment, and from the force of ingenuity seeking to supply that want by theorizing upon fancied etymologies and the like, men of great learning could differ on the question, whether the originator of this religious system was a native of Hindustan, or of Scythia, or a negro. But there is no longer any ground for such disputation. The history of Buddhism, as it may now be gathered from books of the Buddhists themselves, not only of India, but also of China, Tibet, and Mongolia, refers to Central India as the first seat of this religious system; and its doctrines, so far as they are understood, have evidently grown out of Brahmanism. Its mythology too is the Hindu in its principal features.

Among the most important authorities relative to the rise and progress of Buddhism, is the Mahâvanso, a book of history, which bears strong internal marks of authenticity, composed on the island of Ceylon, in the Pâli language, between A. D. 513 and 531, from older annals of that island and of the continent of India, and covering the period from B. C. 543 to A. D. 357. A continuation of this history, called the Suluvanso, is also to be consulted.* Another principal authority is the Râdjataranginî, the annals of Cashmere, written in Sanskrit, which the author professes to have compiled with criticism, from several distinct works of ancient sages. The portion of this history which I have consulted was written about A. D. 1146.† A third authority of importance is the Histoire de la Ville de Khotan, a city of Lesser Bochara, translated from the Chinese by the late celebrated French savant, Abel-Rémusat. It consists of a series of notices, respecting that part of Northern Asia, arranged under successive Chinese dynasties, from that of the Hân down to later times.‡ The only other original source, to be particularly consulted for the history of Buddhism, is the Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen, translated from the Mongol by Schmidt, of St. Petersburgh. The author, named Ssanang Ssetsen, a descendant of Tchinggis Khan, lived about the time of the accession of the Mandchu dynasty, at the beginning of the 17th century. This work contains valuable records of Tibetan history prior to the establishment of the great Mongol

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* The Mahávanso, in Roman characters, with the translation subjoined, and an introductory Essay on Pâli Buddhistical literature. In two volumes. By the Hon. George Turnour, Esq. Vol. i. Ceylon, 1837. This volume, the only one published, contains the whole of the Mahâvanso, and all of the Suluvanso, which has yet been edited. See Introd. p. 2. It will be seen further on, that Devananpiyatisso, one of the kings of Ceylon, began to reign B. C. 242; estimating from this date as a fixed point, we find that Mahâsêno, with whose reign the Mahâvanso terminates, died in A. D. 357, and that Dhâtusêno, under whose auspices this history was composed, reigned between A. D. 513 and A. D. 531. Mr. Turnour places the commencement of Dêvananpiyatisso's reign B. C. 307.

† Râdjataranginî Histoire des rois de Kachmîr traduite et commentée, par M. A. Troyer. Tome i. Texte Sanscrit des six premiers livres et notes. T. ii. Traduction, &c. Paris, 1840. The text of the whole work was published at Calcutta, in 1835, under the title: The Râja Tarangini, a History of Cashmir, &c. This history consists of four parts by different authors, the first of which (Book i. Sloka 52.) contains this passage: "In the present year one thousand and seventy years have elapsed since the era Sâka:" that era being A. D. 76, the date of the composition was A. D. 1146. For the design of the author in composing this history See l. i. Sll. 8—15.

‡ Histoire de la Ville de Khotan, tirée des annales de la Chine et traduite du Chinois, par M. Abel-Rémusat. Paris, 1820.

empire, as well as the history of that empire itself.* But besides these authorities, there are numerous extracts from Buddhist books, published of late years in England, and on the continent of Europe, and in India, which throw much light on the history of Buddhism. My endeavor will be, by a critical use of all these sources of information, to settle some of the most important facts and dates of Buddhist history, in the hope that the results may serve as a useful framework, to be hereafter filled up by further investigation; not altogether neglecting, however, to notice the relation of historical facts to the principles of the religion of Buddha. Although a thorough acquaintance with the doctrinal teachings of the sacred books of the Buddhists, of all countries, is beyond the present stage of learning on the subject, I will venture to propose the following as a theory of Buddhism.

A quickening of moral feeling, then, against the Pantheism of the Brahmans may be said to lie at its foundation. The tendency of Brahman philosophy was to confound the Deity with the works of his creation; though it taught the existence of a divine principle pervading all nature, yet, in practice, it made the creation itself, as God, the highest object of worship, rather than a life-giving Being, essentially separate from visible realities and ideas of the mind; and moral distinctions were consequently obliterated. But that sense of responsibility, which clings to man, could not be entirely destroyed; and in proportion as it reasserted its authority, the notion of the identity of God and nature was necessarily dissipated, opening the way to a new idea of the Deity. Had there been no encumbrance upon the action of conscience, its sublimation of the Deity might have led to the recognition of a supreme moral Ruler. The influence of the age, however, was present to restrain the natural impulses of the soul. Such was the force of a long-established opinion, identifying the Deity with objects cognizable by the senses, or making Him a mere aggregate of ideal forms, that there was a sort of necessity, in opposing Pantheism, to deny all attributes to God, — to conceive of simple abstract existence as the highest Being, according to the signification of

*Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses, verfasst von Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi der Ordus, aus dem Mongolischen übersetzt, &c. von Isaac Jacob Schmidt. St. Petersburg, 1827. For the age of the author, see Vorrede, p. 13.

Svabhâva, applied in Buddhist language to the Supreme Being, which is *self-immanent Substance* — and, on the other hand, to suppose all inferior existence an illusion, unreal, as the Buddhists do, just so far as there was an abstraction of the idea of Deity from those objects of sense, and creations of the mind, which had been imagined to be what they are, only by the divine presence pervading them. It was most natural that the Brahmans, when at length they were aroused to find occasion against the Buddhists, should charge them with being atheists and nihilists. Perhaps many Buddhists, sooner or later, found themselves unable to retain their hold upon the abstraction, to which their philosophising had brought them, as a substantial reality. But what their sacred books express concerning the mysterious *Nothing* — i. e. negation absolute of all that can be predicated — as if it were τὸ ὄντως ὄν, require us to allow that their Deity is a real entity. Such an idea of the Deity having been received, the Buddhist standard of virtue was at once determined by it; as, in all religious systems, the ideal of the highest perfection is conformity to whatever conception may have been formed of the Divine Being. All action, purpose, feeling, thought, having been abstracted from the idea of Deity, the highest attainment which human beings can propose to themselves, is of course a similar sublimation of existence above all qualities. This is the Nirvâna of the Buddhists; and because the only proper criterion of virtue, with them, is a negation of all predicates, it follows, that to pursue any certain course of conduct, to cherish emotions of any sort, to be in such or such a habit of mind, has, according to their system, no intrinsic merit or demerit. As the means of arriving at that highest state of absolute quiescence, Buddhism directs to the acquisition of knowledge of the illusive nature of all created things, by studious application of mind, and moral discipline. The authority of the Vêdas is rejected, because no will is recognized as pertaining to Deity. The Buddhist Scriptures are held to be, not a Revelation of Divine law, but simply instructions of a higher Intelligence, inferior to the Supreme Being, — which are fitted to lead man, through knowledge, to absorption in the incommunicable Substance of all things. The origin of the world is ascribed by Buddhism to a disastrous fatality. While Brah-

manism blinded itself to the perception of evil, by reference to the all-pervading presence of the Deity, and while the ancient Persian religion accounted for evil mingled with good by assuming a twofold original Principle, Buddhism cut the knot by denying, consistently with the idea of Deity which it held, that the Supreme Being has taken any active or responsible part in the creation of the world. Perhaps the difficulty of accounting for the existence of evil may have contributed to produce the vague conception of Svabhâva. A fatality having occasioned the development of self-immanent Substance, the first emanation was Intelligence, or Buddha, together with matter, which elements combined have given origin to all existing species of things, the order of derivation being correspondent to the degree of nearness in nature of each species to that emanated Intelligence, which is a subtle constituent of all created existences, itself taking rank next in the scale of being after the mysterious Substance, and being therefore represented as having the activity only of contemplation. A buddha-state is the last stage at which man arrives in the progress of perfection, before reaching the goal of Nirvâna. But the idea of Buddha, as a teacher of mankind, is founded upon a supposed perpetual and invariable rotation of great Kalpas, or series of ages, in each of which, from the beginning at an indefinite point of past time, after an age of corruption, degradation, and decay, one of restoration has succeeded, more or less frequently, when that first emanation of Intelligence has become embodied among men, in order to promote the disentanglement of human spirits, from the vortex of illusion, by the effulgence of its original light. This round of ages, making a great Kalpa, had been already completed, according to the Buddhists, eleven times, at the commencement of the present Kalpa; and Buddha had often been incarnate. Since the present series of ages began its revolution, Buddha has appeared, it is said, four times, and last in the person of Sâkya-Muni, or *the Sâkya-saint*, who has given the law to the existing age.

Such are, as it seems to me, the fundamental peculiarities of Buddhism, in respect to the idea of Deity, of virtue, of the origin of the world, and of Buddha. It might be interesting to trace some of its modifications, held by different Buddhist sects; as, for example, the doctrine of the Âisvârikâs, who believe that the primary Intelligence is the Ultimate Principle of all things; and that of the Kârnikâs, who, going one step further, ascribe to the so conceived Ultimate Principle a conscious moral activity, and regard creation as the result of its volition. I must not, however, dwell longer on points which are still obscure.* But the superhuman character of Buddha, in the system of Buddhism, as it has now been explained, may have suggested a doubt whether Buddha is not altogether the creation of a philosophical mythology, and not at all a historical personage who originated the Buddhist system. I will therefore ask indulgence here for a few observations, which may lay this radical skepticism: 1. That a plausible foundation of real individuality is discoverable in even the wildest fables which veneration for Buddha has invented; and that the most extravagant have originated out of India, while nearly all agree in making India his native land. 2. That the images of Buddha are not monstrous, but seem to portray real humanity, while those of the old Hindu deities, which are found in Buddhist temples, and of which the design seems to be Buddhistic, since neither temples nor images are mentioned in the ancient Sanskrit classics, are absurdly inhuman. 3. That considerations of policy would have led the Buddhists to hide their peculiarities under the garb of deduction from the ancient authorities, rather than to give to their system the aspect of novelty, by referring it to a

* In respect to the doctrines of the Buddhists, see Hodgson's Memoir, in Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. ii. p. 222, &c. London, 1830. Mélanges posthumes d'histoire et de littérature orientales, par M. Abel-Rémusat. Paris, 1843. pp. 1–131. Ueber die Verwandtschaft der gnostisch-theosophischen Lehren mit den Religionssystemen des Orients, vorzüglich dem Buddhaismus von I. J. Schmidt. Leipzig, 1828. Collection of tracts illustrative of the doctrines and literature of Buddhism, translated from the Singhalese, being vol. iii. of Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon, edited by Edward Upham. London, 1833. Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays. London, 1837. vol. i. p. 378, &c. vol. ii. p. 191, &c. Asiatic Researches, 4to. vol. xvi. p. 409, &c. Calcutta, 1828. La vie contemplative, ascétique et monastique chez les Indous et chez les peuples Bouddhistes, par J. J. Bochinger. Strasbourg, 1831. p. 143, &c. Notices on the different systems of Buddhism extracted from the Tibetan authorities, by Alex. Csoma de Körösi, in Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vol. vii. p. 142, &c. Calcutta, 1838; and Analysis of . . . . . divisions of the Tibetan work, entitled the Kahgyur, by Csoma de Körösi. As. Res. vol. xx. p. 393, &c. Calcutta, 1839. A Memoir on the origin of Buddhism was read by M. Burnouf, before the French Institute, in the spring of 1843, which the writer heard: and a recent number of the Allgemeine Literatur—Zeitung, of Halle, announces, that a memoir on the distinctive characteristics of Buddhism, with special reference to its form in Eastern Asia, was not long since read before the Berlin Acad. of Sciences, by Prof. Schott. These may be looked for with great expectation by those who are interested in the doctrinal peculiarities of the Buddhists.

new Teacher, who set aside the traditionary revelation, and created a new era,—had not the fact of its first promulgation by a particular individual been too notorious to be concealed. As the opposition of the Brahmans was not actually excited until after many centuries, it might be supposed, that the attributing of their system by the Buddhists to an individual author was an after-thought, an act of daring, by which they threw off the disguise of seeming to acknowledge the ancient standards of faith. We know, however, from a passage in the writings of Clemens of Alexandria, that the followers of the precepts of Buddha and the Brahmans were so distinguished in name, long before the time of the persecution of the Buddhists.* 4. That the Buddha of the present age is a historical personage, is proved by the year of his death having been made a chronological epoch, in all Buddhist countries. Whether this has been correctly or uniformly fixed, or not, is here indifferent. It is sufficient, that a civil chronology, based upon a mere mythos, would be a thing without a parallel in our knowledge, and is absurd in itself, since the first coming into use of regular civil reckoning of time must always depend upon the general admission of a particular event, on some historical ground, such as national tradition, or contemporaneous notoriety.

It becomes now an important inquiry, When did the person live, who brought about that revolution of religious opinion, which has extended its influence over half the human race? There are, in the different Buddhist countries, many different computations of his age. A Tibetan author of the sixteenth century, enumerates fourteen distinct calculations of the time of Buddha's death. It is not among these that we can obtain satisfaction. Their discrepancy seems to be owing to attempts to adjust a variety of predictions, which have become incorporated with the Buddhist Scriptures of Tibet, as uttered by Buddha, with respect to the propagation

* Speaking of the Gymnosophists of India, Clemens says: Διττὸν δὲ τούτων τὸ γένος, ὁ μὲν Σαρμάναι αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ Βραχμάναι καλούμενοι· καὶ τῶν Σαρμανῶν οἱ μὲν Ἀλαῖοι περιαγερυόμενοι, οὔτε πόλεις οἰκοῦσιν, οὔτε στέγας ἔχουσιν, δενδρέων δὲ ἐμφύντων φλοιοῖς, καὶ ὑκρίδρυα σιτοῦνται, καὶ ὕδωρ ταῖς χερσὶ πίνουσιν· οὐ γάμων, οὐ παιδοποιΐας ἴσασιν, ὡσπερ οἱ νῦν Ἐγκρατῆται καλούμενοι· εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἱ τοῦτα μεμιμημένοι παραγγέλματα· ὅν δι' ὑπερβολὴν σεμνότητος εἰς Θεὸν τετιμήκασι. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. c. 15, ed. of Reinh. Klotz. Lipsiae, 1831, vol. ii. p. 51. The persecution of the Buddhists did not begin before the fifth century. See below.

of his religion in different parts of the world, in certain periods after his decease; and the tradition of this event, originally received pure from an Indian source, as we shall find reason to believe, has become so much refracted by being interwoven with those fictitious data, that it gives altogether a dubious light.* The Chinese and Japanese place the birth of Buddha in the 24th year of the reign of Tchao-Wang, of the dynasty of the Tcheou; that is, according to Deguignes, in 1029 B. C.; and his death in the 52d year of Mou-Wang; that is, in 950 B. C.† Respecting these synchronisms with Chinese civil history, Abel-Rémusat has observed: "Ces rapprochemens, qui supposent les moyens d'établir à volonté des syncronismes entre l'histoire de l'Inde et celle de la Chine paraissent tirés d'un ouvrage que nous n'avons pas en Europe, mais qui doit être répandu chez les Bouddhistes de la Chine et du Japon; car on le cite.....sans ajouter aucune remarque qui puisse le faire présumer rare ou peu connu." But it is to be objected to this authority, that the Chinese refer events in the history of Buddhism, often quite arbitrarily, to periods of their own annals, on account of their not having always made use of the Buddhist era. It is, therefore, preferable to seek some other safer guide. The chronology of the Râdjataranginî implies that Buddha died in the early part of the 16th century before our era.‡ The objection to this estimate is one which might have been alleged, also, against the last mentioned — that it is at variance with the results of criticism in respect to the age of the Vêdas, and the Sanskrit Epics. It is certain, that the Vêda-hymns

* See Appendix to A Grammar of the Tibetan Language, in English, by Alexander Csoma de Körösi. Calcutta, 1834. pp. 199, &c.

† See Melanges Asiatiques, par M. Abel-Remusat. Tome i. p. 117. Paris, 1825. The date is derived from the *Japanese Encyclopedia*.

‡ According to Râdjatar. i. 56, the first king of Cashmere began to reign, B C. 2450. After him, down to a certain sovereign named Asôka, forty-six kings reigned, to whom, if the average of twenty-two years for each of their reigns is assigned, Asôka will be found to have begun to reign about B. C. 1438. To him succeeded, with two intervening sovereigns, the dynasty of the Turushkâs, the era of which must therefore be dated from B. C. 1372. But in Râdjatar. i. 172, we are informed, that at the beginning of the period of the Turushka dynasty, one hundred and fifty years had elapsed since the death of Sâkya Muni; this fixes his death to B. C. 1522. The language in Sloka, 172, is obscure; but it seems to me certain, that the one hundred and fifty years after Buddha are not to be counted from the close of the reign of Kanishka; and equally so, that they cannot have been intended to be reckoned from an indefinite point of time during the reign of the Turushkas. I must therefore believe, that the accession of that dynasty is spoken of as occurring a century and a half after Buddha's death.

themselves do not belong to a period much more ancient than about 1390 B. C.; and an interval of centuries must have elapsed, after they were composed, before the epic age. But there can be no doubt that Buddhism is a development of the Indian mind, subsequent to the form of religion which we find in the Epics. The Ceylonese, Birmans, and Assamese fix the date of Buddha's death, which is the commencing point of their chronological reckoning, at 543 B. C. This may be shown to be probably correct, by a synchronism between a prince of Central India, named in the Mahâvanso, in a series of kings who are said to have reigned before and after Buddha's time, and one spoken of by the historian Justin, and other classic writers. The Pâli form of this prince's name is Tchandagutto, and that of his royal residence Pâtiliputto,* corresponding to Tchandragupta of Pâtaliputra, the principal character of the Sanskrit drama, Mudra Rakshasa; and the classic writers speak of a Sandrocottus, whose capital was Palibothra, who, in his name, in the condition of life to which he was born, his political elevation, nation, and capital, is identified, beyond question, with that Tchandragupta.† Now, supposing that the Ceylonese history assigns the date of Buddha's death correctly to 543 B. C., its Tchandragupta must have begun to reign, according to its own chronology, in 381 B. C.‡ But Justin says, that Sandrocottus held the sceptre over India, at the time when Seleucus Nicator was laying the foundations of his future greatness, by the taking of Babylon, the invasion of Bactria, and the war with Antigonus. Babylon was taken by Seleucus, about 312 B. C.§ Justin's narrative implies, however, that Sandrocottus had been master of India since within a short time after the death of Alexander, which is supposed to have occurred in B. C. 324 or 323.‖ We can-

* See Mahâv. pp. 21, 22.

† See A. W. v. Schlegel in Indische Bibliothek, B. i. S. 245, and Prof. H. H. Wilson's preface to the Mudra Rakshasa, in Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus. London, 1835. Vol. ii. p. 127, &c.

‡ Buddha is said to have died in the eighth year of Ayâtasattu, who afterwards reigned twenty-four years; (Mahâv. p. 10;) then succeeded fifteen reigns, during one hundred and thirty-eight years; (see Mahâv. pp. 15 and 21;) after which, Tchandragupta was raised to the throne; B. C. 543, less 162 years, = B. C. 381.

§ L'art de vérifier les dates. Pe. i. tome iii. p. 302. Paris, 1819.

‖ The whole passage of Justin here referred to, is in his Historiæ Philippicæ, l. xv. 4. Speaking of Seleucus, he says: Multa in oriente, post divisionem inter socios regni Macedonici, bella gessit. Principio Babyloniam cepit: inde auctis

not, therefore, greatly err, in fixing the commencement of his regal power, according to that historian, in B. C. 320; which differs from the date deduced from the Mahâvanso by sixty-one years. But a duration of only twenty-two years is given, in the royal series of the Ceylonese history, to a certain dynasty of the nine Nandos, (Sansk. Nandâs,) to which Hindu authority allows one hundred years.* The discrepancy being thus susceptible of explanation, at a fixed point, we may suppose an intentional falsification just there, in the annals of India, as recorded in the Mahâvanso, and guard the epoch dated from, against the imputation of incorrectness. I will only add, that Mr. Turnour has made it probable, that Ceylonese annalists allowed themselves to push back events in the corresponding period of their own history, to quite a sufficient extent to account for the sixty-one years, by which Tchandragupta is removed too far back, according to the statement of Justin, — for the purpose of making the commencement of the proper history of Ceylon coincident with the date of the death of Buddha, which they accredited.†

Buddha is said to have belonged to the Kshattriya-, or *warrior*-caste, being the son of a prince who ruled over a small independent kingdom at Kapilavastu, or the *Yellow dwelling* — a site, which has been identified by the narrative of Chy-fa-hian, a Chinese Buddhist pilgrim of the fourth century, in the northwestern corner of the modern province of Oude, on the edge of the Himâlaya mountain range. Yellow was, perhaps, the distinctive color of the principality, and hence it may have been adopted as the badge of the Buddhists, who

ex victoriâ viribus, Bactrianos expugnavit. Transitum deinde in Indiam fecit, quæ post mortem Alexandri, veluti cervicibus jugo servitutis excusso, præfectos ejus occiderat. Auctor libertatis Sandrocottus fuerat: sed titulum libertatis post victoriam in servitutem verterat: siquidem occupato regno, populum, quem ab externa dominatione vindicaverat, ipse servitio premebat. Fuit hic quidem humili genere natus, sed ad regni potestatem majestate numinis impulsus. Quippe quum procacitate suâ Alexandrum regem offendisset, interfici a rege jussus, salutem pedum celeritate quæsierat. Ex qua fatigatione, quum somno captus jaceret, leo ingentis formæ ad dormientem accessit, sudoremque profluentem linguâ ei detersit, expergefactumque blande reliquit. Hoc prodigio primum ad spem regni impulsus, contractis latronibus, Indos ad novitatem regni solicitavit. Molienti deinde bellum adversus præfectos Alexandri elephantus ferus infinitæ magnitudinis ultro se obtulit, et, veluti domitâ mansuetudine, eum tergo excepit, duxque belli et præliator insignis fuit. Sic adquisito regno, Sandrocottus, ea tempestate, qua Seleucus futuræ magnitudinis fundamenta jaciebat, Indiam possidebat: cum quo, factâ pactione, Seleucus, compositisque in Oriente rebus, in bellum Antigoni descendit.

* See Vishnu Purâna, translated, &c. by H. H. Wilson, London, 1840, p. 467, &c.

† See Introduction to the Mahâv. p. 51.

are sometimes spoken of as of the yellow religion. Sâkya was the family name, which deserves notice, because it undermines the ground of an entire theory — that Buddha was one of the Sâkâs, Sacae, or Indo-Scythians, which rests chiefly on the mere sound of his name, Sâkya-Muni.* It would appear that his early years were passed in princely pleasures, but that, having reached manhood, he suddenly resolved to adopt a hermit's life. A Buddhist legend gives us to understand, that the dark side of life had cast a deep shade of sombreness over a susceptible mind, leading him to shun society, and to go in quest of wisdom, which might serve as an antidote to evil. For several years he practised austerities after the manner of his age, but at length gave up that excessive bodily mortification, as not adapted to his purpose. Soon after this he is said to have attained to the supreme wisdom, or to have become Buddha. But he was reserved at first, as is represented, in respect to the communication of his doctrine to others; and this representation is probably founded in truth; for there was a strong sense of fitness, nourished by the Brahman institutions in India, against spreading the light of knowledge among men indiscriminately, — which even the spirit of proselytism might not at once violate. There is evidence, also, that when he began to look for proselytes, he did not yet act upon the recognition, which afterwards became a cardinal point with the Buddhists, that the privilege of religious instruction should have no restrictions; for it is said, that he sought out such persons as he judged fit to understand him. This sentiment undoubtedly was, in part, the result of politic considerations; yet we can see how its development may have been promoted by the fundamental principle of Buddhism, if that was what has been supposed; for opposition to the gross pantheism of the Brahmans could not fail to be accompanied with a more distinct conception of humanity, in the abstract, as possessing its own inherent capabilities, as well as its own frailties, so as to prepare the way for the consid-

* See Mahâv. p. 9, compared with Introd. p. 35, and the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, edited by James Prinsep. Vol. ii. p. 385, &c. Calcutta, 1833, where the origin of the Sâkya race is told in an extract from the Kahgyur, a part of the Buddhist Scriptures of Tibet; also, Foë Koué Ki, ou Relation des Royaumes Bouddhiques, trad. du Chinois et commentée, par M. Abel-Rémusat. Paris, 1836. Chap. xxii. with the notes.

eration of it independently of mere temporary distinctions. Buddha's personal labors, in diffusing the knowledge of which he professed to be the depositary, appear to have extended over the whole of Central India. His cause was espoused by the kings of Mâgadha, who were probably sovereigns of all India at that time. At Shrasvati, in Kosâla, which is Oude, a rich householder is said to have erected several large buildings in a grove, inviting Buddha and his disciples to reside there. Here, it would seem, he spent twenty-three years, and composed the Suttâni, (Sansk. Sûtrâni,) or *Aphorisms*, which make one of the three portions into which the Buddhist Scripture is divided.*

After Buddha's death, a certain individual, named Kassapo, (Sansk. Kasyapa,) took the general supervision of the interests of the Buddhist community, presiding particularly over the clerical fraternity, which had already become numerous, in Buddha's lifetime. He is sometimes spoken of as the successor of Buddha, his official representative, and as if he held authority as a hierarch.† He had probably received a special charge, to stand in Buddha's place, for the propagation and perpetuation of his doctrines. Yet the narrative of the Mahâvanso, where it alludes to some of those who succeeded Kasyapa in the same preëminence over the Buddhist ecclesiastics, clearly implies, that the recognition of their superior rank did not depend upon official station, but upon reputed ability and sanctity. There was, therefore, then, no established hierarchy.‡ But, while that was to be a result of the longer growth of the system, another event, of the highest importance to the future progress of Buddhism, occurred the very year of Buddha's death. A schismatic tendency, which began to manifest itself immediately, made it necessary to fix at once the traditions, which should be orally transmitted,

* Respecting Buddha's personal history, see traditions in notices of the life of Shakya, extracted from the Tibetan authorities, by M. Alex. Csoma de Körösi, inserted in Asiatic Researches. Vol. xx. p. 285, &c.; Calcutta, 1839. Analysis of the Dulva, a part of the Tibetan sacred works, by the same, in As. Researches, vol. xx. p. 46, &c. Also, Mahâv. chapters i. ii. iii. Ssanang-Ssetsen, pp. 13–15, and Leben des Buddha nach Mongolischen Nachricht, in Asia Polyglotta von J. Klaproth. Paris, 1831. But, of course, much that is merely legendary is mingled with these accounts.

† See Mahâv. p. 11; an extract from the Atthakathâ of Ceylon, in Jour. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vol. vi. p. 512; Calcutta, 1837. And notices from the *Japanese Encyclopedia*, in Mélanges Asiatiques, vol. i. p. 118.

‡ See Mahâv. pp. 16, 19, 40.

as comprehending the doctrines of Buddha. In order to accomplish this object, a certain number of the clerical order, selected by Kasyapa, as being those who had made the highest attainments in religious knowledge, by the consent of all, convened B. C. 543, under the protection of the sovereign of Mâgadha, at Râdchagaha, which probably was his capital, as the name signifies *Residence of the king*. At this time were added to the Buddhist rule of faith and practice, those two supplementary parts, which, with the Sûtras, ascribed to Buddha himself, make up the Tripitakan, or *Threefold Treasure*, the most comprehensive designation of the whole Buddhist Scripture. One of these supplements is called Vinayo, (Sansk. Vinaya,) which signifies *Prescription concerning moral conduct*, and seems to have been formed of answers to questions propounded by Kasyapa, in respect to the practical precepts of the Sûtras, their meaning, relative importance, and the circumstances of their promulgation. The other is called Abhidhammo, (Sansk. Abhidharma,) that is, *Appended law*, and was formed, as it appears, of answers given in the same manner, respecting the metaphysical points of the Sûtras. The individuals belonging to this council are supposed to have had a supernatural inspiration, by which they were qualified for the parts which they severally took in the transmission of the instructions of Buddha to after ages. The Tripitakan was not yet committed to writing, but provision was made for its preservation by oral tradition, each of its three portions being committed in trust to a particular individual, who was to teach it to others after him.*

A second council was held, a century later, under favor of the reigning sovereign of Mâgadha, Kâlâsoko, at Visâli, for the suppression of certain practices, which were contrary to the rules of the clerical order. The king is said to have listened to arguments on both sides, after which he took the part of those opposed to innovation; but he left the clergy themselves to "provide for the due maintenance of religion

* See Mahâv. pp. 11–14; the Ceylonese Atthakathâ, in Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vi. pp. 511–527. As. Researches, xx. p. 297, from Tibetan sources; and Ssanang Ssetsen, p. 17, with note, p. 315. Respecting the transmission of the Buddhist Scriptures from the first by oral communication, see Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vi. pp. 727, 728. This was a mode of handing down the productions of one age to another, altogether in accordance with Hindu usage, as there is good reason to believe, that the ancient Sanskrit literature of India was thus preserved during many centuries.

according to their own judgment." The innovators were then degraded. After this, "for the purpose of securing the permanence of the true faith," a select number of the clergy, who "were depositaries of the doctrines contained in the three pitakas," met together at Visâli, to revise the whole of the Abhidarma and Vinaya. This must be what is intended by Tibetan authorities, which tell us, that, one hundred and ten years after the death of Sâkya, a second compilation of the sacred books was made in the reign of Asôka. Some suspicion has been thrown over the date assigned to this council, from the circumstance, that the Mahâvanso speaks of eight of its members as having seen Buddha. But whether this apparent inconsistency can be reconciled, or not, yet if the synchronism of Tchandagutto with Sandrocottus is admitted, and the period of the Nanda-dynasty is lengthened accordingly, the tenth year of Kâlâsoka, in which this second council was held, falls, by the chronology of the Mahâvanso, exactly one hundred years after Buddha's death, that is, in B. C. 443.*

The period to be next noted as particularly important in the history of Buddhism, is the reign of Asôko, (Sansk. Asôka,) of Pataliputra, or Patna, the grandson of Tchandragupta, who succeeded to the empire of all Central India, and part of the Deccan, about B. C. 258.† Before going on to that, however, it may be well to say, in a few words, what appears to have been the ecclesiastical establishment of the Buddhists, up to the close of the third century of their his-

* If Tchandragupta came to the throne B. C. 320, and eighty three (22+61) years, are allowed to the nine Nândas, the commencement of the reign of their predecessor, or the close of that of Kâlâsoka, must have been B. C 425. See Mahâv. p. 21, and Vishnu Purana, p. 467; therefore, as Kâlâsoka ruled twenty-eight years, his tenth year fell upon B. C. 443. On the second council, see Mahav. chap. iv. Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vi. pp. 728–730; As. Res. xx. p. 297; Ssanang Ssetsen, p. 17, with note, p. 315, and the local tradition of Phi-che-li, or Visâli, which the Chinese pilgrim learned on the spot. Rel. d. Roy. Boudd. p. 243. Visâli was situated a little eastward of the river now called Gunduck, and northward of its confluence with the Ganges, in the modern province of Behar. See Rel. d. Roy. Bouddh. pp. 235, 236, 242.

† Deducting the reigns of Tchandragupta and his successor from the assumed date of his accession B. C. 320, we obtain B. C. 258, for the year of the commencement of Asôka's sovereignty. See Mahâv. p. 21. The statement of the Mahâv., that two hundred and eighteen years had elapsed since Buddha's death, when Asôka was inaugurated in the fourth year after his accession, (see Mahâv. p. 22,) has been shown by Mr Turnour to be probably an error, arising from the attempt to verify a certain prediction, pretended to have been made in the second convocation of the Buddhists. Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vi. p. 719.

tory. It consisted chiefly of vihâros, (Sansk. vihâras,) or *cloisters*, built by royal bounty, or the charity of the wealthy, which were occupied by persons of the male sex, living upon the alms of the devout. These were the clergy; or, more properly, they were friars; for it is impossible not to perceive that they foreshadowed these recluses of a later age, within the pale of the Christian church. Their distinctive name was Bhikkhus, (Sansk. Bhikshus,) or *Mendicants*. A short extract from Buddhist Scripture, in Pâli, called the Kammavâkyan, or the *Ceremonial*, which has been lately published, enables us to form an idea of what was essential to the ceremony of initiation into this order.* The noviciate had first to choose some one among the brotherhood as his instructor, then to receive from him a clean, whole garment, and a patera for alms. He was then introduced to the whole body, and charged to answer truly, whether he was free from disease, of the male sex, having his own free will, clear of debt, not owing military service, whether his patera and garment were whole, and what was his name and that of his preceptor. After this interrogation, he was to ask admission three times, and again he was questioned as before. No obstacle arising, his preceptor called upon the brotherhood to approve his admission by silence, or to express any objection. Having been approved, he received a charge respecting his food, his clothing, and his mode of life; celibacy was strictly enjoined, and theft and the killing of animated beings forbidden, on pain of excommunication. It is evident that all classes of society were admissible: perhaps the living together in a community was designed partly to counteract the feeling of caste by familiar contact, as well as to facilitate discipline and instruction. The special business of the inmates of the vihâras appears to have been, to become thoroughly indoctrinated into the principles of Buddhism, and trained to its higher grades of virtue, so as to be prepared for the most efficient exercise of self-denial, in behalf of "the religion of the vanquisher." There was no obligation to enter the clerical order. But the highest merit of the lay Buddhists consisted in subservience to those who had obtained the odor of sanctity, by devoting themselves to the monastic life.

* Kammavâkyan. Liber de officiis Sacerdotum Buddhicorum, palice et latine primus eddit, &c. Fridericus Spiegel. Bonnæ, 1841.

The emperor of India, Asôka, who began to reign B. C. 258, was the most zealous promoter of the faith of Buddha, of whom we have any record. At this point, Buddhist history is remarkably illustrated by existing monuments. We learn from the Mahâvanso, that Asôka, having embraced Buddhism, caused a great number of religious edifices to be erected in all parts of Central India. These buildings are called vihâros, tchêtiyas, dahgôbs, and thûpos, names expressive of their style and destination: dahgôb, which is evidently the same with the Sanskrit word dêhagôpa, signifies *relic-depositary*: thûpo, corresponding to the Sanskrit stûpa, may be rendered by *tumulus*, and indicates the structure of the dahgôb: as a place of resort for the worship of relics, it is called a *temple*, tchêtiya, (Sansk. tchâityam:) the residence of ecclesiastics near by being required, their dwellings, the vihâras, gave name to the whole group of buildings consecrated to sacred uses. But we are enabled to form a much more distinct idea of the stûpa, from existing architectural remains, found principally on the west of the Indus. I allude to those strange, dome-like structures of earth and stones, discovered of late years in the country watered by the Indus and its tributaries, which are called topes in the present vernacular language. The examination of these remains, independently of any historical data, would not indeed have invested them with that interest, which is given to them by the narrative of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, already referred to. But from the accounts of this traveller it can be made out most conclusively, that the topes, which he calls Sou-tou-pas or Sou-theou-phos were places of deposit for relics of Buddha, and commemorative monuments; and their peculiar shape would appear to be derived from a legend, that Buddha was wont to compare life to a water-bubble.* These remains afford the more direct and interesting illustration of Asôka's architectural works for the Buddhists, mentioned in the Mahâvanso, since, as we shall presently find, the influences of Buddhism were communicated beyond the Indus, from India, in the reign of this very prince. That no similar remains have been discovered in the plain of the

*See Mahâv. pp. 26, 34–36: Die Stupas (Topes,) oder die architectonischen Denkmale an der Indo-Bactrischen Königsstrasse, &c. von Carl Ritter. Berlin, 1838, and Rel. d. Roy. Bouddh. pp. 27, 74, 76, 77, 85, 167, &c.

Ganges, is probably to be attributed to the exterminating spirit of the Brahmans at a later period. But an ancient Birman inscription, in the Pâli character, was found, a few years since, half buried in the ground, on the terrace of an old Buddhist temple, at Gaya, in the ancient Mâgadha, which gives to the narrative of the Mahâvanso the support of local tradition in a very striking manner. It reads as follows, in the translation published at Calcutta: "This is one of the 84,000 shrines, erected by Sri Dharm Asôka, ruler of the world, at the end of the 218th year of Buddha's annihilation, upon the holy spot in which Bhagavan (Buddha) tasted milk and honey," &c. Though the original structure was doubtless long since obliterated, yet we have here a genuine tradition of the place, that there once stood on this spot, a shrine (a stûpa, and buildings connected with it) erected by the great Asôka. The language, in which this inscription is found, may be explained by the custom, which the Birmans once had, as there is reason to believe, of making pilgrimages to the spot.* Similar local traditions are preserved also, in the narrative of a Buddhist pilgrim of the seventh century,† and in parts of Central India there are monuments of a different sort from the topes, which still stand to testify to the zeal of Asôka in behalf of Buddhism. These are columns, generally bearing a lion on the summit, in allusion to one of the names of Buddha, Sâkya-Sinha, or *Sâkya-lion*, and inscribed with proclamations of this Asôka, enjoining the observance of the Buddhist rules of conduct. They are mostly dated in the twenty-seventh year of his reign.‡

In the seventeenth year of Asôka's reign, which falls about B. C. 241, a third council of the Buddhists was held, in order to purify the fraternity of the Bhikkhus from certain heretical

* See Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal, iii. pp. 214, 215, Calcutta, 1834; and Rel. d. Roy. Bouddh. p. 278. In the date 218 years after Buddha, this tradition errs with the Mahâvanso, (see note †, p. 95:) for it appears that Asôka's Buddhist buildings were erected between the fourth and the seventh year after his accession. See Mahâv. pp. 23, 26, comp. with pp. 22 and 34.

† See Itinéraire de Hiuan-thsang, in Rel. d. Roy. Bouddh. p. 375.

‡ See Interpretation of the most ancient of the inscriptions on the pillar called the lât of Feroz Shâh, near Delhi, and of the Allahabad, Radhia, and Mattiah pillar, or lât, inscriptions which agree therewith. By James Prinsep, in Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vi. p. 566, &c., and further notes on the inss. on the columns of Delhi, Allahabad, Betiah, &c. By the Hon. George Turnour, ibid. vi. p. 1049, &c., and see the Birman tradition respecting the three Buddhist councils, in a Birman inscription found in Arracan. Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal, iii. p. 210, &c.

doctrines, which had been introduced by persons jealous of the progress of Buddhism, who had of themselves assumed the yellow robe, and intruded themselves into the vihâras for the purpose of creating a schism. These interlopers had so multiplied as to outnumber the true Bhikkhus, who for several years refused to join with them in performing the religious ceremonies of the cloisters. To cure this evil, the king caused a general assembly of the Mendicants of India, in order that they might declare in his presence, what they held to be the religion of Buddha; and all who proved themselves heretics were excommunicated. On this occasion, a certain number of the clergy, selected from those "who were sustainers of the text of the Tripitakan, and had overcome the dominion of sin, and were masters of the mysteries of the three Viyya," or *sciences*, consulted together on the traditions of Buddhist doctrine, and are said to have restored them to their integrity.* It is questionable, however, whether the standards of Buddhism were not somewhat modified from their original form, at least the Dharma and Vinaya, at each of the great councils, to meet the requisitions of an advanced period of its history. A Mongol author, quoted by Schmidt, speaks of the three revisions of "the words of Buddha," as so many collections of them, and says: "The substance of the first words reveals to the general comprehension, only the doctrine of the lesser means of deliverance, and serves for the salvation of believers of a narrow and contracted capability. The substance of the middle words includes doctrines belonging to the great means of deliverance, which is partly simple and partly requires deeper investigation, and it serves for the salvation of those believing participators in the means of deliverance, whose capability and understanding is of the medium sort. The substance of the last words comprises exclusively the deep signification of the great means of deliverance, and serves for the salvation of the believing wise, of lofty and penetrating understanding."†

Now began the great age of Buddhist missions. The head of the mendicant fraternity, "having terminated the third convocation," as it is said in the Mahâvanso, "and per-

* Mahâv. pp. 41, 42, and Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vi. pp. 732–737.

† See Ssanang Ssetsen, notes, p. 315.

ceiving that the time had arrived for the establishment of the religion of Buddho in foreign countries," appointed missionaries to Kâsmîra-Gandhâra, and Mahisamandala — to Mahâratta — to the Yôna country — to the Himavanta country — to Sôvanabhûmi — and to Lanka: also to Vanavâsi and Aparantaka. These two last-named countries, and Sôvanabhûmi,* I am unable to identify. But from each of the other names may be derived, with more or less certainty, a very interesting view of the propagation of Buddhism out of India at this early age.

Kâsmîra is identified by the Mahâbhârata with the modern Cashmere. But it is apparent from the Râdjatarangini, that the dominion of the kings of that country frequently extended far beyond the limits of the celebrated valley, which is commonly known by that name. Gandhâra is not expressly said to have been conquered from Cashmere; yet it is mentioned in a manner which shows that its princes had conflicts with the Cashmerian;† and we are fully justified in supposing, that by Kâsmîra-Gandhâra is intended Gandhâra subject to Cashmere. The country called Gandhâra is a land of the Mletchtchhas, or *Barbarians*, according to the geography of the Sanskrit Epics, and appears to have been in the upper part of the Panjab, and to have extended westward of the Indus.‡ If now we turn our attention to the period when the mission to this country was sent, according to the Mahâvanso, a Mongol tradition meets us, that "three hundred years after Buddha had disappeared in Nirvâna, when king Kanika was master of alms-gifts, (grand almoner of the mendicants,) a collection, of the last words of Buddha, was made in a cloister in the kingdom of Keschmeri. At that time all the words of Buddha were put into books." § This is evidently a legend respecting the third Buddhist council, confounded with the mission to Cashmere. The period designated coincides remarkably with the date which the Mahâ-

* Suvannabhummi is mentioned in the Birman inscription above referred to, and may possibly be some part of Further India.

† See Râdjatar. ii. 145; iii. 2.

‡ See Notes of Troyer in tome ii. of Râdjatar, pp. 317-321, and Foĕ Kouĕ Kip. 379.

§ See Ssanang Ssetsen, notes, p. 315.

vanso assigns to that council.* And how can the disagreement, as to the country in which it was held, be better explained, than by the fact, stated in the Ceylonese history, of a mission from India to a part of Cashmere, or to a country very near to it, and connected with it, soon after the council broke up? What could be more natural than that the newly authenticated traditions of Buddhist doctrine, having been introduced into the kingdom of Cashmere at that time, should be represented in the legendary tales of the Mongols, as collected there? Allowing our conclusions thus far to be correct, the name of the sovereign of Cashmere, when the mission came there, as preserved among the Mongols, enables us to make another step in verifying the statement of the Mahâvanso: for the Râdjatarangini gives us reason to believe, that a king of the name of Kanishka, one of the Turushkas, and a friend to the Buddhists, reigned over Cashmere as late as the middle of the third century before Christ.† All these coincidences leave us no room to doubt, that Buddhism had extended itself to the site of some of the topes, already, in the third century before Christ.

The name of the country Mahîsamandala, to which missionaries were also sent, leads us up to the mountainous borders

* If Asôka, the Emperor of India, began his reign B. C. 258, the 17th year of his sovereignty, when the third council met, falls upon B. C. 242-241, which is about 302 years after Buddha's death. The missions, it will be remembered, were despatched a little later.

† See Râdjatar. i. 168 — 172. If the Turushka-dynasty came in one hundred and fifty years after B. C. 543, it follows, allowing the average of 22 years to each of the three sovereigns mentioned as belonging to it, that the last or Kanishka continued to reign till B. C. 327. But the expression of the Râdjatar. i. 171, "during their long reign," seems to imply that their whole line occupied more time than the usual average of a reign thrice repeated. And this suspicion is strengthened by another circumstance, that the chronology of the Râdjatar. is found to require, for consistency, an intercalation, somewhere about this period, of seventy-eight years: for from the time of the third sovereign after the Turushkas, named Gonarda III., to the year in which the author wrote, (known by another calculation to have been A. D. 1146,) are said to have elapsed 2330 years, i. 53. The age of Gonarda III., according to the author, was therefore B. C. 1184. But between Asôka, the third prince before the Turushkas, whose reign, by the chronology of this history, began B. C. 1438, (see note ‡, p. 89,) and Gonarda III. inclusive, we have only eight princes mentioned, who with the average of 22 years to each of their reigns, fill up only 176 years, which, subtracted from 1438 B. C., bring us only to 1262 B. C.: so that we are obliged to add to this interval 78 years, in order to put Gonarda III. as far down as B. C. 1184. Adding then this number of years to the average sum of the reigns of the Turushkas, we obtain 144 years as the entire length of their dynasty, which, deducted from the date of its accession, brings its termination down to B. C. 249. The Kanishka named in the Râdjatar. may have been either the last of the Turushka line, or a predecessor of the same name.

of India; for Mandala, as Lassen has observed, often stands for the enclosed mountain-valleys of the Himâlaya,* and Cashmere is sometimes called, in the Râdjatarangini, Kâsmîra-Mandala. Mahîsamandala signifies properly, the *Great region having alpine valleys*, and may best be referred to the whole of the western part of the Himâlaya range, including Cashmere.

The record of the mission to the Mahâratta country derives confirmation from the existence of those stupendous monuments — the cave-temples — in Salsette, at Ellora, and elsewhere along the western coast of Hindustan. It has been noticed that there seem to have been neither temples, nor images of deities, in India, in the age of its great Epics: and, judging from probabilities, we should say, it was less likely that architecture and sculpture were produced under the influence of the separation into sects, which succeeded the epic form of Hindu religion, than that the rise of Buddhism led to the development of those arts; for such a division into sects, as that was, could not but impair the vital spirit of Brahmanism; it was indeed a first breach made in the system, by the disintegrating infidelity of the mass of the people; but Buddhism, while it founded itself upon philosophical grounds, restored the Hindu mythology to its integrity; so that we might expect to find some monuments, testifying that the ancient deities of India were invested by the Buddhists with those outward attractions which sculpture united with architecture are known to have lent to popular mythology, so generally, both in rude and cultivated nations.† Accordingly, the construction and bas-reliefs of most of the celebrated cave-temples of India, prove them to be Buddhistic. Of their age we have indeed no certain knowledge: but their localities, and the circumstance, that no similar works are to

* See Zeitschrift für d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes. ii. p. 25. Göttingen, 1839.

† Such had been, in ancient times, the relation to each other of the three principal Hindu deities, that the division into sects, by the recognition of one to the exclusion of the others, implied a practical indifference to all; for the human mind could not devoutly reverence either the creative, preservative, or destructive power in nature, without a recognition of its correlatives; and it is evident, that each one of the divinities, to which such opposite attributes had been ascribed, could not at once, by a single step, become invested with the combined qualities of all three. It needed, therefore some extraneous impulse, stirring the listlessness of the parties thus heedlessly opposed, in order to that magnifying of their respective divinities, which at length made each to engross all divine attributes. Buddhism itself probably supplied that needful impulse.

be seen along the slopes of the Himâlaya, and the scale upon which they have been wrought, seem, with one accord, to associate their origin with the influx, through commercial intercourse, of wealth and knowledge of foreign art, as well as with a high degree of zeal for Buddhism: and the supposition cannot appear unreasonable, that many of them were the work of the time of Asôka, when Buddhism was most zealously promoted in foreign parts, and Ptolemy Philadelphus had given, not long before, a powerful impulse to maritime commerce between Egypt and India.

The Yôna country, mentioned in the account of the missions under Asôka, is readily associated with Yavana, a name applied in India, from ancient times, as is well known, to signify the western nations, generally: and of the particular signification of the term in this connection, some highly valuable existing monuments enable us to judge, to a certain extent. One of these monuments is a proclamation of Asôka, inscribed upon a rock at Girnar, in Guzerat, which refers to the establishment of Buddhist usages in the dominions of Antiochus the Great. I will give the substance of the inscription in its own words, as translated by the distinguished paleographist, the late Mr. James Prinsep, of Calcutta; "Every where within the conquered provinces of Râdja Piyadasi, as well as in the parts occupied by the faithful, even as far as Tambapanni, (which is Ceylon,) and moreover within the dominions of Antiochus the Greek, (Antiyako Yona,) of which Antiochus's generals are the rulers, — every where the heaven-beloved Râdja Piyadasi's double system of medical aid is established, — both medical aid for men, and medical aid for animals; together with medicaments of all sorts which are suitable for men, and suitable for animals. And wheresoever there is not (such provision,) — in all such places they are to be prepared, and to be planted; both root-drugs, and herbs; and wheresoever there is not (a provision of them,) — in all such places shall they be deposited and planted, and in the public highways wells are to be dug, and trees to be planted for the accommodation of men and animals."* That Antiochus

* See Jour. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vii. p. 156, &c. Piyadasi has been shown by Mr. Turnour to be another name of Asôka. See Jour. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vi. p. 1054, &c. For the identity of Tambapanni with Ceylon, see De Taprobane insulâ veteribus cognitâ Dissertatio, qua . . . . invitat Christianus Lassen. Bonnæ, 1842. pp. 6–9.

the Great is here intended, is proved by the reference to Ceylon, as already occupied by the so-called faithful: for this brings the date of the inscription down below B. C. 242 – 241, when that island was first made a sphere of Buddhist influence; and no other Antiochus, except that one surnamed the Great, reigned subsequently to this period, who was contemporaneous with Asôka.* Another edict of Asôka has been discovered in an inscription, apparently containing the name of a Ptolemy of Egypt, in the form of Turamayo, together with an allusion to the propagation of Buddhism in his kingdom: and from a comparison of dates, it appears, that Ptolemy Euergetes, or Ptolemy Philopator, must be the one referred to.† The Yôna country of the Mahâvanso extended, therefore, into the empire of the successors of Alexander, and perhaps to Egypt.‡

The Himavanta, or *Snowy country*, to be distinguished from Mahîsamandala, must be explained as designating the higher regions of the Himâlaya, further eastward than Cashmere, or the cold plains on its northern side. It is evident, that the Mahâvanso intends an abode of tribes not belonging to India; for it calls the inhabitants by names, such as Yakkhos, or *Genii*, Nâgos, or *Dragons*, and Gandhabbos, or *Sprites*, which must always have meant those living out of the limits of Brahman civilization, even after they had ceased to convey a reproach; for they correspond, in their original signification, to Râkshasâs, or *Monsters* —

The duty of providing for animals, as enjoined in this edict, is one of the most prominent moral principles of the religion of Buddha.

* In L'art de vérifier les dates, pe. i. t. ii. p. 313, the reign of Antiochus the Great is placed between B. C. 223 and B. C. 187. As Asôka is said to have reigned thirty-seven years, (see Mahâv. p. 122,) he may have been still emperor of India in B. C. 221.

† See Jour. of As. Soc. of Bengal. vii. p. 219, &c.

‡ H. Ritter, the author of the *Geschichte der Philosophie*, says, in reference to the influence of Indian philosophy on that of the Greeks, that the comparison of doctrines, as well as other considerations, necessitate the belief that the later Greek philosophy was modified by that of India, and yet that, in the absence of all historical indications, every one must be left to make his own supposition, with regard to the manner in which "these Oriental doctrines penetrated from India to Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and other countries of Greek culture." (See Ritter's Gesch. d. Philos. iv. p. 414, &c.) But have we not in these edicts of Asóka, connected with the Mahâvanso, the best historical explanation of the influence supposed, which could be expected? It cannot be affirmed that the very doctrines of Greek philosophers, which Ritter marks as evidently of Indian origin, belong particularly to the Buddhist system; yet they seem to approach nearer to it than to the systems of the Brahmans, and the probability is not inconsiderable, in this view, apart from all historical facts, that the later Greeks became acquainted with Indian philosophy, through the Buddhists.

a name which is known to have been contemptuously applied by the Brahmans to the inhabitants of all foreign countries.

The importance of this era of the Buddhist missions will justify the introduction here of some words of another inscription of Asôka, which give the same view with the Mahâvanso, of the extent of the missions for the conversion of foreign nations to the Buddhist faith, in his reign. The translation is borrowed from Mr. Prinsep: "Thus spake the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi: For a very long period of time, there have been no ministers of religion, properly so called. By myself, then, in this tenth year of mine anointment, (properly, the thirteenth year of his reign,) are ministers of religion appointed, who shall be intermingled with all the hundred grades of unbelievers, for the establishment among them of the faith, for the increase of religion, and for their profit and gratification through the context of the sacred doctrines, in Kambocha and Gandhâra, in Sulâthika and Pitenika, and even to the furthest limits of the barbarian countries; who shall mix with Brahmans and Bhikshus, with the poor and with the rich, to bring them to the righteousness which passeth knowledge, for their benefit and pleasure, and for those bound in the fetters (of sin) this new bond of precious knowledge is made for their final emancipation, which is beyond understanding; and among the terrible and the powerful shall they be mixed, both here (or at Pâtaliputra) and in foreign countries, in every town; and among all the kindred ties even of brotherhood and sisterhood, and others, every where and here also having penetrated, — for there is religious darkness even in the very metropolis of religion, — every question shall be asked among the charitable, and these being themselves absorbed in righteousness shall become ministers of the faith. For this express reason is this religious edict promulgated: for evermore let my people pay attention thereto."*

*See Jour. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vii. 225–254, and 266–268. Instead of "to the furthest limits of the barbarians" in the inscription, can be read, "in the barbarian borders of Aparâta," which may have been, as Prinsep suggests, the country of the Απαρύται, whom Herodotus puts with the Γανδάριοι and other tribes in the army of Xerxes, belonging to the seventh prefecture of the Persian empire. We may also, possibly, recognize here the Aparantika of the Mahâvanso. Sulâthika is probably to be read Surâthika, and to be identified with the Σηραστρηνή of the Greek geographers, the modern Guzerat. Kambocha is to be looked for in the country of the Indus:

The introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon made of itself an era in the history of the system: for Buddhist institutions underwent a material modification there, and Ceylon afterwards became the great centre of Buddhist influence, especially to Further India, and to the islands of the Indian Archipelago. There is a tradition that Buddha himself visited this island: but as the detailed narrative, which we have, of the planting of Buddhism in Ceylon, not only does not call for such a tradition, but is opposed to it, it is to be rejected, as wholly groundless. The author of the Mahâvanso leaves us no room to doubt, that what he calls Lanka is the island of Ceylon, which indeed, according to Lassen, is spoken of in the Ramayanam under no other name.* A popular tradition points to the derivation of the name Ceylon from Sihalo—the appellation of the race which first civilized the island.† This race, descended from the royal lines of the Vangus, or Bengalese, and Kalingas, or inhabitants of the maritime northern Circars, had established itself in a principality in the Mâgadha country, at the end of the fourth century before Christ; and in the next generation is said to have emigrated to Ceylon.‡ The Buddhist missionaries landed

"A wild multitude
Of Sakas, Yavanas, and mountaineers:
The fierce Kâmbojas, with the tribes who dwell
Beyond the western streams, and Persia's hosts,
Poured on us like a deluge."

H. H. Wilson's trans. of Mudra Rakshasa, in "Specimens," &c. ii. 179.

For the year of Asôka's inauguration, see Mahâv, p. 22. The date of this edict, which appears, from what is contained in it, to have been published before the Buddhist missionaries were despatched, is about four years earlier than the year which the Mahâvanso fixes upon as the date of the third council. Perhaps the will of the sovereign, that such missions should be undertaken, though already expressed in the thirteenth year of his reign, could not be carried into execution until his seventeenth year. It is evident from the edict itself, that the ecclesiastical establishment of the Buddhists, at the time of its promulgation, was in great disorder, and the occurrence of the third council, as related in the Mahâvanso, indicates the same state of things. All is consistent, if we suppose that this edict was the occasion of the revival of Buddhism, which reached its height in the third council, and led to the execution of the missionary enterprise immediately afterwards.

* See De Taprobane Insulâ, as above, p. 19.

† "By whatever means the monarch Sihabâhu slew the Siho (lion,) from that feat his sons and descendants are called Sihalâ, (the lion-slayers.) This Lankâ having been conquered by a Sihalo, from the circumstance also of its having been colonized by a Sihalo, it obtained the name of Sihalo." Mahâv. p. 50.

‡ See Mahâv. pp. 43–68. The statement of the time of this colonization of Ceylon from the Indian continent is only an approximation to the truth, grounded on the number of generations which the Mahâvanso counts between the founder of the principality in Mâgadha, Sihabâhu, and his descendant Dêvânâmpriyatissa. These are five and a half, Dêvânâmpriyatissa himself not included. If we estimate them

on that part of the island, which was governed by Devanampiyatisso, (Sansk. Dêvânâmpriyatissa,) a prince of this Indian family, whose capital was Anurâdhapûra; who is said to have been "united with Asôka by the ties of friendship, from a long period, though they were personally unknown to each other." The Ceylonese prince had, the same year, on his accession, made a present to the emperor of India, of pearls and gems and other valuables, which had been reciprocated by Asôka, with the acompaniment of this message: "I have taken refuge in Buddho,—his religion and his fraternity: I have avowed myself a devotee in the religion of the descendant of Sâkyo. Ruler of men! imbuing thy mind with the conviction of the truth of these supreme blessings, with unfeigned faith, do thou also take refuge in this salvation." The mission was conducted by Mahindo, a son of Asôka, who had entered the order of the Bhikshus, and made himself master of the Tripitakan.* He was, without doubt, known to the king of Ceylon, as the son of his royal ally. But,

at 30 years each, and consider that Dêvânâmpriyatissa was in the first year of his reign when the mission of Asôka was sent to Ceylon, i. e. in B. C. 241, (see Mahâv. pp. 76, 77,) allowing half a generation for his age at the commencement of his reign, we are led to the conclusion, that Sihabâhu's kingdom was established between B. C. 421 and B. C. 391, and the colonization of Ceylon from Magadha will be placed between B. C. 391 and B. C. 361. An interesting counterpart to the result of this calculation is afforded by Pliny, who represents Taprobane as connected with Central India, commercially, in the age of Alexander. His words are as follows. "Taprobanem alterum orbem terrarum esse diu existimatum est, Antichthonum appellatione. Ut liqueret insulam esse, *Alexandri Magni ætas resque præstitêre.* Onesicritus, classis ejus præfectus, elephantos ibi majores bellicosioresque, quam in India, gigni scripsit: Megasthenes flumine dividi, incolasque Palæogonos appellari, auri margaritarumque grandium fertiliores quam Indos. Eratosthenes et mensuram prodidit, longitudinem VII M. stad. latitudinem quinque M., nec urbes esse, sed vicos septingentos. Incipit ab Eoo mari, inter ortum occasumque Solis Indiæ prætenta, et quondam credita XX dierum navigatione a *Prasiana gente* distare: quia papyraceis navibus, armamentisque Nili peteretur, (mox,) ad nostrarum navium cursus. VII dierum intervallo taxato. Mare interest vadosum. . . . . Siderum in navigando nulla observatio. Septentrio non cernitur: sed volucres secum vehunt, emittentes sæpius, meatumque earum terram petentium comitantur. Nec plus quaternis mensibus in anno navigant. . . . . *Hactenus a priscis memorata.*" See C. Plinii Nat. Hist. vi. 24. Though Pliny goes back no further than to the accounts of Alexander's contemporaries, yet, plainly, what they relate must have been an order of things established some time previous to their own observations. On the nation of the Prasii, see Ritter's Erdkunde B. iv. Abth. i. s. 507, &c., and ibid. iv, Ab. ii. s. 14, &c.

* See Mahâv. pp. 68–70, comp. with pp. 36, 37. The ruins of Anurâdhapûra are yet to be seen at Anurodgburro, on the borders of the province of Jafnapatam; and "traditions still exist among the Ceylonese, that a long race of kings reigned at this place." There were pillars here with inscriptions, in the time of the Portuguese and Dutch colonies: but whether still existing we do not know. The inscriptions have not, it is believed, been decyphered. See an account of the island of Ceylon, by Capt. Robert Percival, London, 1805, p. 252.

however this may have been, it appears that the religion of Buddha and its ministers were received at once with great favor. Numerous vihâras, rock-cells, parivênas, or perambulation-halls, and magnificent stûpas for pretended relics of Buddha, received from India, are said to have been constructed: and gardens laid out, and tanks dug also, for the convenience and pleasure of the Mendicants: and the story is, that the banyan was extensively propagated, from a tree which had shaded Buddha, when he attained to the supreme wisdom. It seems not improbable, that Buddha himself made allusion to the growth of the banyan, as significant of what might and should be the extension of his new doctrine; and that this tree was introduced from India into foreign countries, as a Buddhist emblem, just as the architectural form of the stûpa carried abroad another of the symbols, by which Buddha illustrated his doctrine.*

A feature of the Buddhist institutions, which we first trace in Ceylon, was the establishment of separate vihâras for females. It is not certain that this was not of higher antiquity. But the Mahâvanso gives no intimation of it, until it mentions, that Sanghamittâ, a daughter of Asôka, who had received consecration as a Buddhist mendicant, went to Ceylon, to initiate into the same order a princess of the royal household there, and a number of other females, who all secluded themselves with her in apartments specially provided for them, after which a new cloister is said to have been erected, for their separate accommodation.†

Mahinda lived till about B. C. 193,‡ "having propagated over Lankâ the supreme religion of the vanquisher, his doctrines, his church discipline, and especially the means by

* See Mahâv. pp. 78–124.

† Comp. Mahâv. p. 85, with pp. 120, 121. It is worthy of remark, as indicating the influence of Buddhism in elevating the female sex in India, that the Sanskrit dramas, which generally put some vulgar dialect into the mouths of their female characters, thus placing them on a low social level, ascribe higher dignity, on the contrary, to Buddhist women, by making them speak the classic language. We might expect to find, however, that the more liberal principle of the Buddhists did not until after several generations prevail over the base sentiment of ancient times, which had subjected the Indian female to a humiliating ministry to the pleasure of the other sex: so that the absence of any earlier indication of sisterhoods among the Buddhists, devoting themselves to the interests of their religion, is not surprising.

‡ He died in the eighth year of Dêvânâmpriyatissa's successor, and Dêvân reigned forty years. Mahâv. p. 124. B. C. 241 less 48=B. C. 193.

which the fruits of a state of sanctification are to be obtained in the most perfect manner." The history of Ceylon speaks of him, as "a luminary like unto the divine teacher himself." It is certain, that no event contributed to the perpetuation and strengthening of Buddhism, so much as the conversion of Lankâ under Mahinda. The constant intercourse of this island with the parent country of Buddhism, and its participation in the ancient civilization of the continent of India, afforded the religion of Buddha, there, a soil at once congenial and renewed, so that the transplanting made it grow the more luxuriantly. Though it was here too met by Brahmanism, there had not been centuries of secret jealousy, as in India, to make this antagonist rigid; and perhaps the Brahmanism of Ceylon was always a mere mythology, rather than a philosophical system. But, whatever may be the reason, the fact is unquestionable, that Buddhism assumed a fullness of development and a fixedness in Ceylon, which it never had previously. Its establishment there is sometimes called by the Buddhists, using a figure of the old Brahman mythology, the Lankâvâtaram, which signifies, that there was in Lankâ a new avâtar or manifestation of Buddha. Perhaps we may reasonably suppose, that Mahinda, who being of regal descent, could not but exalt the place which he took, of head of the mendicant order, first brought to distinct and conscious existence that hierarchical element, which was afterwards so characteristic of Buddhism in Tibet, and which became represented by an imaginary succession of so-called Bodhisatvas, or superior beings next after Buddha in the scale of creation, and supposed to have derived their authority originally from Buddha himself. It accords with this, that while, in the earlier history of Buddhism, the whole fraternity of the Bhikshus were, to judge only from the Mahâvanso, always dependent in some measure upon the countenance of the sovereign, and acknowledged a feeling of the necessity of his active coöperation with them in any important ecclesiastical proceedings, that same authority mentions events of a later period, which indicate that the Buddhist mendicants in Ceylon became used to political intrigue, inclined to take upon themselves political functions, and were accustomed to dupe the king's conscience for their own aggrandizement.*

* See Mahâv. pp. 157, 158. 194, &c. 201, 205–207.

A few years before the commencement of our era, the oral law of the Buddhists was first committed to writing in Ceylon. "The profoundly wise Bhikkhus had heretofore orally perpetuated the text (the Pâli) of the Pitakas, and the commentary (the Atthakathâ). At this period, these Bhikkhus, foreseeing the perdition of the people, assembled: and in order that the religion might endure for ages, recorded the same in books."* The Buddhists of Further India and Ceylon, name the language of their sacred books the Pâli, or the Mâgadhi, — the latter evidently distinguishing it as a dialect of the province of Mâgadha, — the former referring to its religious use, whether the signification of the word Pâli, as it occurs in Asôka's inscriptions, where it means *ordinance of sacred law*, or that of *scriptural text* in opposition to commentary, which appears in the passage just quoted from the Mahâvanso, is considered to be the nearest to the original meaning. But the dialect of the Sanskrit, which the Indian grammarians call Mâgadhi, though it has been found to be the language of the oldest monuments of Buddhism, of the age of which we are sure, Asôka's edicts, is even more deteriorated from the classic model, than the Pâli of the Buddhist books. This phenomenon will be explained if we suppose, either, that the oral tradition of the precepts and dogmas of Buddha always remained so true, even to the peculiarities of the dialect in which they were first formally published, that it did not fall in with any variations of that dialect in later times: or, that the principles of the new religion were not expressed by Buddha and his immediate followers, in the popular language just as spoken, but with certain modifications, which, while not unfitting it for the popular ear, gave to it such a degree of superiority, that it can be compared to advantage with the language of the people three centuries afterwards, even though it may have participated, in the progress of tradition, in the changes of the spoken language: or else, that when the oral law of the Buddhists came to be fixed in writing, the language was accommodated to some extent to that model of written composition, which existed in the ancient literature of India, — in order that it might better compare with the style of the sacred books of the Brahmans, at the same time

* See Mahâv. p. 207. This event took place under a Vattadchâmini, who began to reign one hundred and seventy-eight years and eight months after Dêvânâmpriyatissa's death. B. C. 201 less 179–178=B. C. 23—22.

that it retained its more popular character. The latter explanation is altogether the most plausible.*

In the latter half of the fifth century, a prince of the name of Mahânamo (Sansk. Mahânâma,) occupied the throne of the first patron of Buddhism in Ceylon.† The Mahâvanso gives us a glimpse of the condition of the Buddhists in Central India, in his reign, which deserves to be noticed, in the absence of all circumstantial accounts of Indian Buddhism after the time of Asôka. The period of the reign of Mahânâma was also an era of importance in respect to the wider

* That the primitive Buddhists used the vernacular tongue altogether has been disputed by Mr. Hodgson, English resident in Nepal: "Why," he asks, "should men, with the Sanskrit at command, and having to defend their principles in the schools against ripe scholars from all parts of India, (for those were days of high debate, and of perpetual formal disputation in palaces and cloisters,) be supposed to have resorted to a limited and feeble organ, when they had the universal and more powerful one equally available. The presumption that they did not thus postpone Sanskrit to Prâkrit is, in my judgment, worth a score of any inferences deducible from monumental slabs, backed as this presumption is by the Sanskrit records of Buddhism discovered here (in Nepal.) Those records came direct from the proximate head-quarters of Buddhism. And if the principles of this creed were not expounded and systematized in the schools of India in Sanskrit, what are we to make of the Nepalese originals, and of the avowed Tibetan translations? In my judgment, the extent and character of these works settle the question, that the philosophic founders of Buddhism used Sanskrit and Sanskrit only, to expound, defend, and record the speculative principles of their system, principles without which the vulgar creed would be for us mere leather and prunella. Nor is this opinion in the least opposed to your notion, (mine too,) that the practical system of belief, deduced from those principles, was spread among the vulgar of the spot, as well as propagated to remoter parts, by means of the vernacular." To this Mr. Prinsep replies: "There can be no doubt, as Mr. Hodgson says, that all scholastic disputation with the existing Brahmanical schools, which Sâkya personally visited and overcame, must have been conducted in the classical language. The only question is, whether any of these early disquisitions have been preserved, and whether, for example, the life of Sâkya, called the Lalita Vistâra, found by Prof. Wilson to agree verbatim with the Tibetan translation examined simultaneously by Mr. Csoma, has a greater antiquity than the Pitakattayan of Ceylon." He then adds an extract of a letter of Csoma de Körösi, which proposes a solution of the apparent difficulty, urged by Mr. Hodgson against the opinion of the Buddhists themselves, that the dialect of Mâgadha was the primary language of their sacred writings "In reference to your and Mr. Turnour's opinion, that the original records of the Buddhists in ancient India were written in the Mâgadhi dialect, I beg leave to add in support of it, that in the index of register of the Kahgyur it is stated, that the Sutras in general, excepting the Sher-chhin and Rgyud, (i. e. those parts treating of transcendental theology, and the mysteries of religious worship. See Asiatic Researches, xx. pp. 393 and 487,) after the death of Shâkya, were first written in the Sindhu language, and the Sher-chhin and Rgyud in the Sanskrit; but part of the Rgyud also in several other corrupt dialects. It is probable that in the seventh century and afterwards, the ancient Buddhistic religion was remodelled and generally written in Sanskrit, before the Tibetans commenced its introduction by translations into their own country." Jour. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vi. p. 682, &c.

† Mahânâma began to reign four hundred and seventy-six years and seven months after Vattadchâmini, who reigned twelve years. B. C. 10 plus 476=A. D. 466. He reigned 22 years, till A. D. 488.

propagation of the religion of Buddha. "A brahman youth, born in the neighborhood of the terrace of the great bo-tree (in Mâgadha,) accomplished in the 'wijja' and 'sippa;' who had achieved the knowledge of the three 'wêdos,' and possessed great aptitude in obtaining acquirements: indefatigable as a schismatic disputant, and himself a schismatic wanderer over Jambudìpo, (Gangetic India,) established himself, in the character of a disputant, in a certain wihâro, and was in the habit of rehearsing, by night and by day, with clasped hands, a discourse which he had learned, perfect in all its component parts, and sustained throughout in the same lofty strain. A certain mahâthêro, Rêwato, becoming acquainted with him there, and (saying to himself,) 'This individual is a person of profound knowledge; it will be worthy (of me) to convert him;' inquired, 'Who is this who is braying like an ass?' (The brahman) replied to him; 'Thou canst not define, then, the meaning conveyed in the braying of asses.' On (the thêro) rejoining, 'I can define it;' he (the brahman) exhibited the extent of the knowledge which he possessed. The thêro criticized each of his propositions, and pointed out in what respect they were fallacious. He, who had been thus refuted, said, 'Well, then, descend to thy own creed;' and he propounded to him a passage from the 'Abhîdhammo' (of the Pitakattaya.) He (the brahman) could not divine the signification of that (passage;) and inquired, 'Whose manto is this?' 'It is Buddho's manto.' On his exclaiming, 'Impart it to me;' (the thêro) replied, 'Enter the sacerdotal order.' He who was desirous of acquiring the knowledge of the Pitakattaya, subsequently coming to this conviction: 'This is the sole road to salvation;' became a convert to that faith. As he was as profound in his (ghôsô) eloquence, as Buddho himself, they conferred on him the appellation of Buddhaghôso, (Sansk. Buddhoghôsha) the *Voice of Buddha;* and throughout the world he became as renowned as Buddho. Having there (in Jambudîpo) composed an original work called 'Nanôdayan;' he, at the same time, wrote the chapter called 'Atthasâlini,' on the Dhammasanginî (one of the commentaries on the Abhîdhammo.) Rêwato thêro then observing that he was desirous of undertaking the compilation of a 'Parittatthakathan' (a general commentary on the Pitakattaya,) thus

addressed him; 'The text alone (of the Pitakattaya) has been preserved in this land: the Atthakathâ are not extant here; nor is there any version to be found of the wâdâ (schisms) complete. The Singhalese Atthakathâ are genuine. They were composed in the Singhalese language by the inspired and profoundly wise Mahindo, who had previously consulted the discourses of Buddho, authenticated at the three convocations, and the dissertations and arguments of Sâriputto and others, and they are extant among the Singhalese. Repairing thither, and studying the same, translate (them) according to the rules of the grammar of the Mâgadhas. It will be an act conducive to the welfare of the whole world.' Having been thus advised, this eminently wise personage rejoicing therein, departed from thence, and visited this island in the reign of this monarch (Mahanâmo.) . . . . . Taking up his residence in the secluded Ganthâkaro wihâro at Anurâdhapura, he translated according to the grammatical rules of the Mâgadhas, which is the root of all languages, the whole of the Singhalese Atthakathâ (into Pâli.) This proved an achievement of the utmost consequence to all languages spoken by the human race. All the thêros and achârayos held this compilation in the same estimation as the text (of the Pitakattaya.) Thereafter, the objects of his mission having been fulfilled, he returned to Jambudîpo, to worship at the bo-tree (at Uruwêlâya, in Mâgadha.")* From this passage we learn that the Brahmans of India were now actively engaged in repelling the extensive encroachments of the Buddhists; and that Buddhism had at the same time lost something of its vigor there, inasmuch as the true interpretation of its sacred books, the Atthakathâ, made up by the experience of its ancient teachers, from the age of the first council, was no longer possessed either in oral tradition, or in a written form. This important appendix and support to the Pitakas, must have fallen away, however, by degrees; so that the religion of Buddha may be said to have begun to decline in its native country in the first centuries of our era. Meanwhile the ancient Atthakathâ was preserved in Ceylon; and by the restoration of it to India, from that island, there was a reciprocation of influence in behalf of

* See Mahâv. pp. 250-253.

Buddhism upon its parent country.* But Buddhaghôsha's Pâli version of the Atthakathâ was adopted in Ceylon: and probably that traditionary comment had never before been written in the dialect of Mâgadha. The literary labors of Buddhaghôsha, which are noticed in the Mahâvanso, as destined to "conduce to the welfare of the whole world," and as having "proved of the utmost consequence to all languages spoken by the human race," are historically connected with the introduction of Buddhism into Further India.

Col. Symes, the English ambassador to Ava, informs us that the Arhans of Birma, profess to have received their religion from Zehoo (Pâli, Sîhalo) or Ceylon by the way of Arracan. Ceylon is their holy land, and, in common with all the inhabitants of Further India, they speak of Buddha as the son of a king of that island, and their sacred era corresponds exactly with that of the Ceylonese. With the Buddhists of Siam, too, Ceylon is the original seat of their religion; and the Ceylonese era of Buddha's death is theirs; their sacred language also is the Pâli. According to their own story, the immediate source of Buddhism with them was Kambodja and Laos. In these other countries of Further India again, we find the Pâli to be the sacred language, and that Ceylon is the place of pilgrimage to the devout Buddhist.† On all these grounds it appears certain, that Buddhism was carried to Further India from Ceylon. But as to the time of its introduction there, we have only the statement of P. Carpanus, on the authority of a Birman history, called the Mahârazoen (from Sanskrit Mahâ, *great*, and Râdchan, *king*,) that the Pâli books and character were brought from

* The existence of an interpretation, of ancient authority, supplementary to the Buddhist Scripture itself, probably led the way in the progress of time, as further explanation became necessary and was suggested, to that immense multiplication of books esteemed sacred, among the nations which received Buddhism later, as the Chinese, the Tibetans, and the Mongols. We read in the Mahâvanso, that Buddhaghôsha's translation of the Singhalese Atthakathâ "was held in the same estimation as the text (of the Pitakas.") That this ancient interpretation should require for itself a comment, on account of the language in which it might happen to be made known, or the nature of the ideas expressed, (which would be most likely to occur on the introduction of Buddhism among people so different from the Indians, as the Chinese and the natives of northern Asia,) was sufficient to give occasion to an enlargement of it by additions, which should in their turn obtain currency, and even became incorporated into the code of Scripture itself.

† See Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava, by M. Symes, Esq., London, 1800, p. 299, and Die Erdkunde von Asien, von Carl Ritter, iii. 1165–1169. Arhan, or *Venerable*, is a common title of the Buddhist ecclesiastic.

Ceylon to Pegu by a Brahman, named Buddhaghôso, in the 940th year of their era, or A. D. 307.* It is, however, asserted by Mr. Turnour, that the Pâli books of Buddha, of the Birmans and Siamese, do not differ from those of the Ceylonese, which points to the identity of the Buddhaghôsha of Ceylon, to whom, as has been already stated, the Buddhists of that island refer their Atthakathâ, with the person of the same name mentioned in Birman history, especially when we take into the account the wide circulation in foreign lands, which his Pâli Atthakathâ is said to have had. As to the discrepancy of a century between the Birman date, and that assigned to Buddhaghôsha in the Ceylonese history, we might, with so good a reason for identifying the persons, allow it to pass as a misstatement of Carpanus; but possibly the tradition of the Birmans may have confounded the first propagation of Buddhism among them with their reception of its sacred books. The religion of Buddha was, therefore, made known to the Birmans not later than the close of the fifth century, nor earlier than the beginning of the third. Another means of ascertaining by what way Buddhism came to Further India, and its relative age in the several countries included under that name, is a careful criticism of the Pâli alphabets which are found there. This has been carried out in a most satisfactory manner by the learned Burnouf and Lassen in their *Essai sur le Pâli:* and we may here draw some important inferences from the results of their valuable labors. Supposing the tradition, that the Buddhist books were transmitted from Ceylon to Further India, to be correct, we should find somewhere eastward of Hindustan, an alphabet associated with Buddhism, which is derivable from some ancient character of Ceylon, or, as Ceylon affords us no such specimen of an ancient alphabet, one which will serve as a medium between the ancient Dêvanâgarî of Hindustan and the modern Singhalese, at the same time that the forms of the Pâli alphabets of Birma and Siam may be derived from it. Such an alphabet appears in the Akchara Buddha, or *Alphabet of Buddha*, of the island of Java, which may therefore be supposed to have been once used by the Buddhists in Ceylon,

* Alph. Barman. p. 14, ed. 1787, quoted in Essai sur le Pâli par Burnouf et Lassen. Paris, 1826, p. 62.

either in the same or an older form,* and to have been transmitted thence with Buddhism to Further India. But if this is allowed, then undoubtedly the Buddhism of Java had its immediate origin in Ceylon: and since the Akchara Buddha, compared with the oldest written character of Birma, the square Pâli, has marks of higher antiquity, it further follows that Java received the religion of Buddha sooner than Birma did. The Pâli alphabet of the Siamese is still more modern than the square Pâli: but the tradition of Siam referring to Kambodja and Laos as the proximate source of its religion, forbids deriving it through the old Birman,—and would rather lead to the supposition, that in Kambodja or Laos may be found an alphabetical character to connect it with the Akchara Buddha of Java, and that the Buddhist religion and its accompanying influences came across from Java to the eastern side of the continent of Further India, and in that way at length reached the Siamese.

The island of Java, according to its own chroniclers, received Indian colonies from the Deccan in the first years of the era of Salivâhana, beginning with A. D. 76: and we have a literary monument in the Kavi language of that island, which in the attitude of mutual antagonism in which it presents certain indigenous divinities and deities of India, bears marks of belonging to a period of Javanese history not far removed from that event. But even this oldest specimen known to us of the literature of Java, contains a mixture of Buddhist doctrine, from which we may perhaps infer, that Buddhism began to spread in Java as early at least as the second century of our era. Another similar work, exhibiting a predominance of Indian mythology, and "proceeding almost entirely from Buddhist doctrine," indicates the further progress of Indian civilization and Buddhism together.† The Chi-

* A tradition of Ceylon speaks of the first introduction of writing there under Dêvânâmpriyatissa. Asiatic Researches, vii. p. 422. Calcutta, 1801.

† See Mémoire, Lettre et Rapports relatifs au cours de langues Malaye et Javanaise fait à la Bibl. Royale, &c., &c., par Edward Dulaurier. Paris, 1843, pp. 20, 27, 29, and Ueber die Kawi-Sprache auf der Insel Java, von Wilhelm v. Humboldt. Bd. i. Kap. ii. Beurtheilung des Alters und der Art der Verbindungen mit Indien aus dem Zustande Java's in Sprache, Einrichtungen und Gebräuche. Berlin, 1832. Humboldt observes: "Der Buddhismus auf Java hat sich offenbar auf Sanskritische Büchen gegründet" . . . . "dass das Pali auf Java gar nicht eingewirkt hat, zeigt sich daran, dass man im Kawi, so wie im Javanischen selbst, keine Spur derselben antrifft. Das Kawi führt bloss auf reines Sanskrit zurück, und gibt gar keinen Anlass Pâli darin zu vermuthen. Die Buddha-lehre gelangte nach Java, ohne durch das

nese pilgrim, whose narrative has already been of so much service, informs us of the state of Java in the beginning of the fifth century in these few words: "Arrived at a kingdom called Ye-pho-thi (Yava Dvîpa, or *island of Yava.*) Heretics and Brahmans are very numerous there; the law of Foĕ is there out of the question."* Java was probably the centre from which Buddhism spread to other islands of the Indian Archipelago: for, after its colonization from India, it became the leading island of the group, both in a political and a religious point of view, and continued so to the end of the fourteenth century. We may expect, however, more light than we yet have, on the migrations of the Buddhists over the Indian Ocean.

We must now turn back to notice some events in the history of Buddhism in the north of India, and beyond the Himâlaya. We have already seen that a country included in the kingdom of Cashmere received a Buddhist mission, B. C. 241. But the Râdjataraṅgini says, that one Asôka, whose reign it makes to begin eighty-four years after Buddha's death, or 459 B. C.,† "having extinguished within him every vicious inclination, and embraced the religion of Dchina (the *Vanquisher*, or Buddha,) spread stûpa-heaps widely in Suschkala here, where is the mountain of Vitastâ." The

Medium der Pâli-sprache hindurchzugehn, also in einer Zeit und aus einer Gegend, wo die heiligen Buddha-schriften in Sanskritsprache gelesen wurden:" and he seems inclined to believe, that Buddhism was brought to Java from Kalinga on the eastern coast of Hindustan. But there may have been Sanskrit books in Ceylon which were transported to Java; and Humboldt makes it evident that the Javanese Buddhism was of a philosophical mould. We may perhaps be allowed to suggest, whether the translation of the Pâli Scriptures into Sanskrit, which Csoma de Körösi supposes was made in the seventh century and afterwards, evidently with reference to the introduction of the Buddha-religion into Tibet and other northern countries, had not in fact been begun in Ceylon at a much earlier period, even at the beginning of our era, when the oral law of the Buddhists was first written in Pâli. It is not at all unlikely, that the conflict with Brahmanism led the Buddhists to go yet a step further, than to refine their provincial dialect, as it has been shown they probably did, for the sake of better appearance, on first committing it to writing, and that from that time they gradually embodied their Scriptures in the true classic language. The more metaphysical writings would naturally, according to this view, have received the improved dress sooner than others of a more popular character, and such may have been carried to Java. Were it true, that the Foĕ Kouĕ Ki speaks of Sanskrit books of Buddhism in Ceylon, in the fifth century, as Humboldt states on secondary authority, this theory would have some historical support: but the *language Fan* cannot be proved to signify in that narrative the Sanskrit any more than the Pâli, its proper meaning being the language of India, indefinitely; see note to Foĕ Kouĕ Ki, on p. 15.

* See Foĕ Kouĕ Ki, pp. 360, 364.

† See Note †, p. 101.

same history adds, "the Vitastâ here in the city was to be seen amid consecrated groves, and vihâras: the tchâitya ordered to be built was one of which the eye could not reach the summit."* The river called the Vitastâ in this passage is the Jelum, or Hydaspes, as the observation of an English traveller, Vigne, enables us to affirm.† The mountain of the same name must have been not far from this river in some part of its course: but whether Sushkala was in the valley of Cashmere, or not, cannot be determined; though there is no reason to doubt that it belonged to the dominion of the Cashmerian king. But the history of Cashmere represents Buddhism there, as from the first consisting merely in the worship of Buddha, together with Siva and Vishnu: that the people and their princes were Buddhists to some extent, in certain periods, is chiefly indicated by the building of vihâras and stûpas, and the erection of Buddha-images; or if, as is the case, one of the moral precepts of Buddhism, that no animated being should be destroyed, appears to have been sometimes recognized, we find, that there might be at the same time no worship paid to Buddha, and that the study of the Vêdas was encouraged.‡ Such was the incoherent form of the Buddhism of Cashmere, in general. Yet it is very possible, that it had a stricter character within the precincts of the vihâras, and that the principles of the religion were there inculcated.§ One period, however, formed an exception to this general representation of Cashmerian Buddhism. It has been already referred to, but deserves a more distinct notice. The Râdjataranginî says of the Turushkas, who reigned in Cashmere: "These kings, though of the race of the Turushkâs, were protectors of virtue. In the plain Sushka, and elsewhere, they built retreats for sacred studies, tchâityas, and other edifices. During their long

* See Râdjatar. i. 102, 103, and on the name Dchina, Troyer's Râdjatar. i. pp. 352, 353.

† "The Jelum, above Islâmabâd, is called the Sandren; thence to Baramala it is known only by the name of the Vet, or Wet, or Beyah: thence in the pass it retains with the Hindoos its Sanskrit name, the Vetasta." See Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vi p. 767.

‡ See Râjatar. iii. 2—96; v. 29, 43, 64.

§ There is not in the Râjatarangini a single expression of the writer, which implies either that he was a Brahman or a Buddhist; he cannot, therefore, be supposed to have been guilty of a want of honesty, owing to religious prejudice, in handling the national traditions, and the conviction is strengthened, that he has given us, as he professes to do, the result of unbiased research.

reign, for the most part, the valley of Cashmere was in the power of the Bâuddhas, of great fame for their roaming about." A more graphic description of Buddhist Mendicants, zealously engaged in propagating their religion, could scarcely have been drawn: and it clearly appears, that the religion of Buddha was dominant in Cashmere under that dynasty, or between B. C. 393 and B. C. 249, according to a computation which has been already stated.*

But it is chiefly on account of the name of that race of princes, that reference is here made to it. The great geographer, Carl Ritter, supposes they may have been a Bactrian, or Geto-Scythian Turkish tribe of the north;† and perhaps it was through them, when their dynasty at length gave way to the line of native princes in Cashmere, that a knowledge of the religion, which they had so long fostered abroad, was first carried to their native plains; and possibly they were accompanied by some of those roaming mendicants, whom they had allowed to gain so much influence in Cashmere, but who, with the change of dynasty there, might not have retained their power in that country, had they remained behind. With the expulsion of the Turushkas from Cashmere, may indeed, with some plausibility, be connected those traditions of Northern Asia, which speak of Cashmerian Chamens or Srâmanas, that is, Buddhist *Mendicants*, who left their native land to spread "the religion of the vanquisher" in that wide domain of barbarism, where it was destined to exert so astonishing an influence.‡ Let us, therefore, examine whether there is any particular tradition, which may give a more historical air to this suggestion. It is known, that Khotan, the western part of Lesser Bochara, was a great mart of commercial intercourse in ancient times, between China and Persia, and of the traffic of the remote East with the countries westward of the Persian Empire, by the way of the Oxus and the Caspian Sea; and that it had also intimate relations with Central India, across Cashmere, is conclusively proved by the names of many places there, as given

* See Note †, p. 101.

† See Ritter's Erdkunde von Asien, B. ii. s. 1100, &c.

‡ See Histoire de la Ville de Khotan, pp. 41, 45, &c. With Srâmanas, in Prâkrit Sâmanos, is probably connected the appellation, Σάμανσιοι, given by Greek writers to certain of the Indian philosophers.

by the Chinese authors, of which, according to Rémusat, the Sanskrit origin may still be recognized. We further know, that at the time of the Mongol conquest, Khotan had been long a centre of Buddhist influence; for the Buddhists of countries further to the east were then wont to make pilgrimages thither, to inquire after the sacred books, and the traditions of their religion.* The period of the introduction of Buddhism into that country is entirely undetermined, unless a certain tradition, which was current in Khotan in the time of the Chinese dynasty of the Thang, may afford the desired clue. The tradition is, that the prince of Khotan was miraculously descended from the deity Pi-chamen, which, if it has any foundation in fact, can scarcely be interpreted to signify less than that the civil state had been established under Buddhist influence. But we have the information of a Chinese author, that from the time of Wouti of the dynasty of the Hân, an emperor whose reign was from B. C. 140 to B. C. 87, Khotan began to have political relations with China, and that the succession of its princes was not afterwards interrupted, down to the age of the Thang ;† consequently, the tradition respecting the establishment of the principality must refer to a period as remote, at the very least, as the close of the first century before our era; and, though beyond this there is ground only for conjecture, it is worthy of remark, that the tradition relates to an event, which might very naturally have been connected with the expulsion of the Turushkas from Cashmere, about B. C. 249. Within what limits the religion of Buddha anciently spread in Northern Asia, or to what extent it still exists there, is not precisely ascertained.‡ So far as we know, its influence has been most powerfully felt in Tibet and Mongolia, which, under the great Mongol emperors, were united into one Buddhist diocese. Its history in these countries, therefore, has claims upon our attention.

According to a tradition of the Mongols, the foundation of Buddhism, in Tibet, was laid in A. D. 367, when certain books and objects held in veneration by the Buddhists as emblems,

* See Hist. de la Ville de Khotan, préface, and Ritter's Erdkunde von Asia, i. 228, &c.

† See Hist. de la V. de Khotan, pp. 37–40, and pp. 1 and 83.

p. 289, &c.

‡ But see Recherches sur les langues Tartares, par M. Abel-Rémusat. Paris, 1820, p. 289, &c.

are said to have appeared in a mysterious manner ; and it is added, that they were preserved as sacred treasures, unexplained in respect to their origin or their real value, until A. D. 632, when the reigning sovereign, named Srongdsan Gambo, sent to India to obtain an alphabet, in which the Tibetan language might be written, for the purpose of spreading the religion of Buddha in that country.* But it is evident, that whatever knowledge of Buddhism may have existed in Tibet previously to this period, in the seventh century, it had not been acquired from any books of that religion; for then the alphabet of such books would certainly have been adopted at once for the Tibetan language, when the object was to clothe the sacred words of Buddha in a more intelligible form; and there would have been no occasion to send abroad for an alphabet. Nor does tradition say, that it was any part of Srongdsan's design in sending to India, to obtain a key to those books, which, it is pretended, had been so carefully treasured for nearly three centuries, and which, if that had been the case, he would certainly have made it his first object to decypher, when he was seeking an alphabet for his native tongue. Most probably, therefore, the Buddhist books were first brought into Tibet in the seventh century, and the story of their previous introduction and preservation was a state trick, designed to give them more authority in the view of the people. We have only to suppose that the Buddhist religion had become, a short time before, somewhat known, and had already produced a movement in favor of civilization, which, according to tradition, took place in the reign of Srongdsan Gambo, and it will appear quite likely that this sovereign sought to procure an alphabet for the Tibetan, with a view to the wider promulgation of the religion newly introduced. His sending to India may have been merely because that land was famous in the north as a home of learning, or it may indicate that Buddhism was brought from thence into Tibet. One story gives the particular circumstance, that the mission deputed by Srongdsan Gambo went as far as to Southern India, with which coincides the account of native authors, that the most ancient sacred character used in Tibet was the Landsha, — a name

* See Ssanang Ssetsen, pp. 25, 27, 29, 31, and notes, pp. 326–328.

which is the proper Tibetan form of Lankâ, — and the fact, that the alphabet of Tibet, with which we are acquainted, as used for sacred purposes, has clearly a resemblance to the Akchara Buddha of Java, which probably came from Ceylon. The establishment of Buddhism on a firm footing in Tibet seems to have dated from about the middle of the seventh century, (A. D. 639–641,) when Srongdsan, as it is said, married two princesses, the one of China, the other of Nepal, who each brought with them to the Tibetan court large collections of Buddhist books, as well as images of Buddha. This was the era of the first general translation of the sacred writings of the Buddhists into Tibetan, and of the appropriation to its object, on an extensive scale, of the alphabet imported from India. A commission was appointed, consisting of an Indian Pandit, two Nepalese teachers, one Chinese, and a Tibetan, to translate "the books of doctrine and the ritual," which consequently were possessed, in part, in each of the languages of the foreign interpreters; and though this would not of itself justify the inference that some of them were in Sanskrit, yet the late discovery of Sanskrit Buddhist books in Nepal, from which a portion of the Tibetan version appears to have been made, is at once a strong presumption in favor of it, and a confirmation of this whole account of the embodying of the Buddhist writings in the Tibetan language.* By this translation of the "words of Buddha," "the sun of the religion was made to rise upon the dark land of Tibet." Yet that development of Buddhism, which seems to have been peculiar to Tibet, or Lamaism, was reserved for a later age. Under the Mongol

* See Ssanang Ssetsen, pp. 35, 37, and notes, pp. 333, 343. That Buddhist books were brought from Nepal at this time, and that learned Nepalese were concerned in the translation into Tibetan, shows that Buddhism had become acclimated there before it was in Tibet. See also, on this point, S. S. p. 335. The whole collection of the Tibetan Buddhist books consists of the Kahgyur, or *Translation of commandment*, in one hundred volumes, and the Stahgyur, in two hundred and twenty-five volumes. The latter, probably, corresponds in subject to the Atthakathâ of Ceylon. The former is sometimes called Dé-not-sum, which is equivalent to Tripitakan, and comprehends the three divisions, Dulva, or Vinaya, Do, or Sûtra, and Chhos-nonpa, or Abhidharma. See Analysis of the Tibetan sacred works, by Csoma de Kőrösi, in Asiatic Researches, 4to. vol. xx. p. 41, &c., and p. 553, &c. It should be added, that not all the Tibetan translations were made under Srongdsan Gambo, but that in the eleventh century, after a temporary suppression of Buddhism in Tibet, when many of the Buddhist books had been destroyed, or withdrawn from circulation, "the sacred writings not before known" were translated by an ecclesiastic of Hindustan. See S. S. p. 53, and note, p. 366. Comp. pp. 363, 364.

Tchinggis-khan, in the thirteenth century, temporal and spiritual power were first united in the person of the recognized head of the clerical order of the Buddhists, on his becoming elevated to the rank of a sub-king in Tibet, then included within the empire of the Mongols; for so is to be interpreted the message of the conqueror to one of the Lamas of Tibet, which tradition has handed down in these laconic terms: "I was minded to call thee; but as my race of worldly business is not run, I have not called thee. From here I trust to thee, defend thou me from there."* After the middle of the thirteenth century, when Buddhism had extensively spread among the Mongols themselves, a grandson of Tchinggis-khan made the Grand Lama of Tibet "king of the doctrine in the three lands," that is, Grand Lama, or Patriarch of the religion of Buddha for the whole empire; and, at the same time, this spiritual chief of the Buddhist religion was treated as having the prerogative of dispensing temporal power by consecration, just as the sovereigns of Europe, before the Reformation, were wont to receive their crowns and the unction of royalty at the hands of the Roman Pontiff.† Under the dynasties which succeeded the brief period of the Mongol empire, there seems to have been an increased parade of veneration for the Buddhist Patriarchs, while at the same time less power was in their hands. In these circumstances the ecclesiastical system of Buddhism reached that acme of absurdity, the lama-worship, which first became known to Europeans, through the Jesuit missionaries.

* See S. S. p. 89, and note, p. 393, where may be found an extract from a Mongol author, who speaks of the different periods of the history of Buddhism among the Mongols, and says: "the first of these periods is that, when Bogda Tschinggis Khaghan sent an ambassador to the head Lama, with the following order: Be thou the Lama, to advise me now and in future: I will become Master and Provider of the alms-gifts, and make the rites of the religion a part of the state-establishment; to this end have I exempted all the clergy of Tibet from taxation."

† See S. S. pp. 115, 117, and note, p. 397. The proper signification of Lama is, *One who shows the way*, that is, takes the lead of others in consecration to spiritual concerns. It does not necessarily indicate hierarchical preëminence; and probably was applied to any Buddhist ecclesiastic in Tibet, before it became appropriated to denote spiritual supremacy under Tchinggis-khan. In speaking of a clerical head of the Tibetan Buddhists, whom the policy of Tchinggis-khan raised to a higher elevation, there is intended to be implied no more than that subordination with reference to relative attainments and reputation, which must exist among the Buddhist ecclesiastics, as a result of their monastic training. How far this had become a more fixed distinction of rank, in Tibet, even before the time of the great Mongol conqueror, it is not easy to say.

It is not surprising, that the Jesuits imagined a work of the Devil in the near "resemblance of the institutions, which constitute the exterior form of the worship of the Grand Lama, to those of the Roman church." "Chez les Tartares, en effet," says Abel-Rémusat, "on retrouve un pontife souverain, des patriarches chargés du gouvernement spirituel des provinces, un conseil de lamas supérieurs, qui se réunissent en conclave pour élire le pontife, et dont les insignes même resemblent á ceux de nos cardinaux, des couvens de moines et de religieuses, des prières pour les morts, la confession auriculaire, l'intercession des saints, le jeûne, le baisement des pieds, les litanies, les processions, l'eau lustrale." The same writer goes on to say: "Tous ces rapports embarrassent peu ceux qui sont persuadés, que le christianisme a été autrefois fort répandu dans la Tartarie; il leur semble evident, que les institutions des lamas, qui ne remontent pas au delà du xiiime siècle de notre ere, ont été calqués sur les nôtres. L'explication est un peu plus difficile dans le système contraire, parcequ'il faudroit avant tout prouver la haute antiquité du pontificat, et des pratiques lamaiques."* That a knowledge of Christianity and of institutions associated with it, may have been disseminated in Tartary in the thirteenth century, is indeed easily conceivable, from the known extent of the conquests of Tchinggis-khan and his successors, which drew many strangers to their court from nominally Christian countries, from the zeal of the Nestorian missionaries, and of those sent out by St. Louis, and from the readiness of the Mongol emperors to give free scope, within their dominion, to all forms of faith and worship. But what M. Rémusat justly considered essential to the explanation of the resemblances in question, on other ground than that of imitation of the Roman Church, the proof of the high antiquity of the Buddhist pontificate and the lama usages, is in part afforded by the progress which Buddhism made in manifesting its principles in Ceylon; for we see, that there the Buddhist ecclesiastics were inclined to usurp power in the state, that a matured monastic institution was established, that processions were the most common ceremony of religious worship, and that auricular confession was in use, before the close of the sixth century; and there is not the least evidence that

* See Recherches sur les langues Tartares. Disc. Prélim. p. 7.

Christianity was known so early on that island. Had M. Rémusat been acquainted with the contents of the Mahâvanso, which was first published several years after he wrote the passage above quoted, he would not have so far countenanced the opinion, that the similarities between the Buddhist institutions, as observed in Tibet, and those of his own church, are to be ascribed to a modelling of the former upon the latter. The truth seems to be, that the Buddhist and the Papal ecclesiastical systems have something common in their essence, which produced similar developments, without any connection between them; and that when they were brought into contact, as in Tibet, the recognition of the foreign system by the Buddhists, as kindred with their own, in certain particulars, led to actual imitation of it in others, so that the resemblance became yet more marked. We can, however, discover a reason, why the element of temporal authority, as founded upon spiritual prerogatives, should have come to its culminating point in Buddhism precisely when it did, without the influence of any example, — and that is the policy of the Mongol emperors, which naturally led them to make those their vicegerents over a conquered people, who would have the highest power to sway the popular will, on account of the religious reverence paid to them by the nation. The Grand Lamas of Tibet were never wholly independent of the Mongols, even in spiritual matters; but their spiritual authority was made to subserve the interests of the empire by its union with a temporal power based upon it.

The Mongols were also the great patrons of Buddhism in China. In the thirteenth century, Koblai Khan brought a large part of China under the Mongol sceptre, and his reign was the period of the glory of the religion of Buddha in that country. It had its votaries there, however, previously, during many centuries. The date ordinarily assigned to its introduction, which was first stated by Deguignes on Chinese authority, is A. D. 65.* But since it has been shown, that the influence of Buddhism had probably extended to Khotan, as early at least as the end of the first century before Christ, and that political relations began to arise between Khotan and China not far from that time; we can scarcely hesitate to believe, that the propagandism of the Buddhists had

* See Histoire Générale des Huns, &c., par M. Deguignes. i. p. 30. Paris, 1756.

carried their religion into the Celestial Empire, even before our era; more especially as we find it to have been common, in later times, for Buddhist Mendicants of the cloisters of Khotan, to be employed in political negotiations with the Chinese empire.* During the first three or four centuries, Buddhist pilgrims were constantly on the way from China to India, and the eastern part of the Sassanidan empire, to obtain instruction in the faith of Buddha, and to collect the books of the religion; and a missionary zeal carried many from afar to China.† The first great era of the propagation of Buddhism among the Chinese, early in the fourth century, was owing to the influence of an Indian Buddhist, named Fo-thou-tchhing, or *Purity of Buddha*, who, by adroitly availing himself of a knowledge of the powers of nature, to effect the semblance of miracles of healing and of raising the dead to life, and by fortunate predictions and shrewd auguries, and the so-called gift of second sight, gained entire command of the popular mind.‡ But the system of Confucius was deeply rooted in the educated minds of the nation, and the opposition to Buddhism on the part of the Confucians made it odious to the Tartar prince, at whose court Fo-thou-tchhing had been received. The conception of virtue as a sort of social propriety, the putting away of the idea of deity as unessential, and the giving up of a future state of existence, all which belong to the doctrine of the great Chinese philosopher, are indeed directly opposed to the spirit of Indian religion, and more especially to the principles of Buddhism. Another philosophy, however, which was cherished by a certain class of the thinking Chinese, though not distinguishing the man of letters, as an adherence to the Confucian system did, the Tao-doctrine, may have prepared the way for the reception of Buddhism by the more instructed; for it so nearly resembles the Buddhist philosophy in its fundamental idea, Tao, which it defines to be something *nameless, deprived of action, thought, judgment, intelligence*, the occasion but not the cause of created existence; and in the view it gives of the highest perfection as an absolute qui-

* See Hist. de la Ville de Khotan, pp. 83, 85, 96.
† Foë Kouë Ki. Introd. pp. 38–41.
‡ See Memoir of Fo-thou-tchhing in Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques, par M. Abel-Rémusat. Paris, 1829. ii. p. 179, &c.

escence, without action, thought, or desire, that the inquiry suggests itself, whether Lao-tseu, the author of the Tao-doctrine, whose age was the same with that of Buddha, can have had communication with the Indian sectary, or whether the coincidence of their principles is to be ascribed to revulsion from a system of pantheism known to both, or whether Buddhism was imported into China far more anciently than has been supposed. It is true, that the Tao-sse, perceiving the rapid progress of Fo-thou-tchhing's proselytism, regarded him as a dangerous rival, but jealousy without pride prefers concession, where the points of agreement outnumber those of difference.* A school was founded by Fo-thou-tchhing, which handed down the Buddhist doctrines among the Chinese. But within a century, the disciples of Buddha were afflicted with severe disasters from political convulsions, so that their faith almost expired, while they neglected to observe the precepts of their religion, and their sacred texts were dispersed or mutilated. It was in consequence of this state of things, that Chy-fa-hian, at the close of the fourth century, went on his pilgrimage into foreign Buddhist countries, of which the results are so invaluable at the present day, as a monument of that particular age of Buddhism. The information he obtained respecting the local traditions of Buddha's life and death, and the Scriptures and established institutions of the Buddhists, had also the effect, at the time,

* There is a singular tradition in the *Histoire de la Ville de Khotan*, p. 20, that at a short distance from the city of Khotan "is the place, where Lao-tseu, having converted the barbarians to his doctrine, became himself Buddha;" and Chinese tradition has much to say of the journeyings of Lao-tseu in countries far west of China. A very ingenious Memoir was written by M. Rémusat, to prove that the trigrammatic symbol of deity used by the Tao-sse, — I-HI-WEI, — had no signification in the Chinese language, and is merely a rendering of the sound of the Hebrew יהוה; and he supports his philological conclusions by reference to the traditions of Lao-tseu's western travels. But the distinguished living Sinologue, M. Stanislaus Julien, in a recent work has shown, from the commentary of a Tao-sse philosopher of the second century before Christ, that the mystic symbol has a distinct meaning in the Chinese tongue, and professes to have discovered that the journeys of Lao-tseu to the west are wholly fictitious. If these views are admitted, the ground of the striking similarity between the doctrines of Lao-tseu and of Buddha, can only be, either, that China had felt the influence of Indian religion at a very remote period, long before Buddhism was promulgated; or, that an indigenous pantheism had prevailed, out of which the system of Lao-tseu developed itself; or, that some knowledge of the Buddhist system had found its way into China already in the time of Confucius. See Mémoire sur la vie et les opinions de Lao-tseu, par M. Abel-Rémusat, in Mém. de l'Acad des Inss. et Belles-Lettres, (new series,) t. vii. pp. 1–54. Paris, 1824. And Le livre de la Voie et de la Vertu composé dans le VIe. siècle avant l'ère chrét. par le Philosophe Lao-tseu, trad. en Français, &c., par Stanislaus Julien. Paris, 1842. Introd. pp. 5–15.

to give a new impulse to the religion of Buddha in China. Fifteen years was this devout pilgrim abroad, in Tartary, India, the country beyond the Indus, Ceylon, and the Indian Archipelago; and after his return a critical digest of Buddhist doctrines and precepts was made by him, with the aid of an Indian Pandit, from the books, traditions, and observations collected on his way. The first general translation into Chinese of the Buddhist Scriptures, was made in A. D. 418, under the Tsin dynasty, and was probably a result of Chy-fa-hian's exploring tour. Another translation, which is the one now in use in China, was made A. D. 695, under one of the Thang emperors, by a friar of Khotan, — an age of persecution and laxity having intervened since Chy-fa-hian's return, which made it necessary to establish the scriptural code of the Buddhists anew, from sources existing out of China.*

I have thus endeavored to mark some of the most prominent events in the history of Buddhism, and have glanced at nearly every country where it has been propagated. Before concluding this sketch, however, I must notice more distinctly the last great era of Buddhist history, — that of its extirpation in the country of its origin, and in the Indus-land, where it once took such deep root. It has been seen from the Mahâvanso, that in the latter part of the fifth century, the Brahmans of Central India were actively engaged in combating the Buddhists. Another authority, entirely independent of that, acquaints us, that in the year A. D. 495, the Patriarch of the Indian Buddhists transferred his seat to China, and that the succession was continued no longer in India.† From the whole narrative of the Chinese pilgrim, Chy-fa-hian, we further learn, that, up to the commencement of the fifth century, there was no open hostility between the Brahmans and Buddhists, even in the city of Benares, which was afterwards to

* Foě Kouě Ki. Introd. pp. 40, 41, 51; Recherches sur les langues Tartares, p. 377; and Mélanges Asiatiques, par M. Abel-Rémusat, i. 150, 151. The original distinction of Text and Commentary in the Buddhist Scriptures, expressed in the Tibetan version, by the division into Kahgyur and Stahgyur, is also indicated in the Chinese translation by the classification into *works of the higher course* and *works of the lower course*, the legendary explanation of the Atthakathâ being regarded as a preparation for the Tripitakan itself. As to the language of the originals, from which the Chinese versions were made. Rémusat affirms it to be "certain, that all the sacred books of the Chinese Buddhists were translated immediately from the Sanskrit into Chinese." See note *, p. 111.

† See Extract from the *Japanese Encyclopedia*, in Mélanges Asiatiques, i. p. 125.

be the head-quarters of Brahmanism. But we have accounts of two other Chinese pilgrims, named Soung-yun and Hiuan-thsang, who, the one in A. D. 502, and the other between A. D. 630 and 650, traversed the same countries which were visited by Chy-fa-hian; and these show, that in the course of two centuries since Chy-fa-hian's tour was ended, and beginning as early as with the sixth century, the Brahmans had been gaining the upper hand in India, and that Buddhism had declined also in the countries to the west of the Indus.* To all this may be added, that the decisive overthrow of Buddhism in India is to be attributed to the influence of a philosopher, named Kumârila Bhatta, who lived, as is sufficiently well ascertained, in the seventh century.† The final rallying of Brahmanism against its formidable antagonist, seems to have been accomplished by this philosopher, through a simplification of the grounds of religious belief. The Mimânsa, a system of philosophy of which he is the principal expositor, assumes the Vêdas for its foundation, and lays itself out to ascertain the meaning of Scripture. Properly speaking, it is no philosophy, but rather a system of exposition; and it allows of no proofs, except by inference from association, comparison of resemblances, presumption from implication, and oral communication.‡ These stricter principles, while they drew the line of demarkation more definitely between the old orthodox creed, and all schemes of religion which had diverged from it, would, of course, place the subtle vagaries of Buddhism in the most unfavorable light. A royal decree is said to have gone forth: "Let those who slay not, be slain, the old man amongst the Bâuddhas, and the babe; from the bridge of Râma, (the strait between the continent and Ceylon,) to the snowy mountains (the Himâlaya.") It cannot, then, be far from the truth to say, that, from the middle of the fifth century, Buddhism began to be overpowered in India, and in the Indus country, and that the profession of this religion was not tolerated in Hindustan after the seventh century. The sect of the Jains, who are still found in some parts of India, and whose existence there may be traced back to the

* See Foě Kouě Ki. Introd. p. 44–46, and Appendix II.

† See Preface to Sanskrit and English Dictionary, by H. H. Wilson. Calcutta, 1819, pp. 15–20; Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, i. pp. 298, 332.

‡ See Colebrook's Misc. Essays, i. 302, 303.

eighth century, are probably a remnant of the Buddhists, who, by compromise and concealment, escaped the vengeance of the Brahmans.*

The occasion of the extirpation of Buddhism from the Indus-country, is hinted at in the language of Hiuan-thsang, who says of the Panjab, and the eastern borders of Afghanistan: "All these countries are uncivilized, the inhabitants gross, their language barbarous." For of a part of this very same region thus characterized, Chy-fa-hian observes: "the language of Central India is there spoken without any variation. The dress of the people, and their manner of taking food, are also similar to those of Central India. The law of Buddha is extremely honored there:" and this discrepancy of statement between two travellers, who each spent many years in making their observations, and whose credibility is unquestioned, can only be explained by supposing an inroad of barbarians, which had altered the character of the country, since the earlier traveller's visit to it.† We know, too, from the history of the Arabs, that the Turks, whose invasions of the eastern borders of the ancient Persian empire had been repeated from the age of Cyrus, were opposed to the arms of the followers of Mohammed in Afghanistan, in the latter half of the seventh century.

Within the period of the decline of Buddhism in the country about the Indus, as fixed by comparison of the narratives of Chy-fa-hian and the other Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, is the date, which a Chinese historian, who lived about the commencement of the seventh century, has assigned to the introduction of Buddhism into Japan; and the same authority gives us the highly interesting information, that it was brought there from a country near to the Indus on the western side. "Formerly," says the historian, "the religion of Buddha did not exist in this country (Fou-sang, or Japan.) It was in the fourth of the years Ta-ming, of the reign of Hiao-wou-ti of the dynasty of the Soung (A. D. 418,) that five pi-khieou (Bhikkhus,) of the country of Ki-pin, went to Fou-sang, and spread there the law of Buddha: they brought

* The best sources to be consulted respecting the Jains, are contained in Asiatic Researches, 4to. vol. ix. and Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Soc. of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. i.

† Comp. Foĕ Kouĕ Ki, p. 381, with ibid. pp. 45, 46.

with them the books, the sacred images, the ritual, and established the monastic usages, which caused the manners of the inhabitants to be changed." * Ki-pin, which is mentioned also in the itinerary of Chy-fa-hian, is supposed to be the same with Κωφηνή of the classical geographers, or the country watered by the most western branch of the Indus, called Κωφής, and has been identified with the neighborhood of the cities of Ghizneh and Kandahar. The history of Japan by Kaempfer, from native authorities, speaks of the "spreading of the foreign Pagan Budsdo worship," in the sixth century, in consequence of the arrival there of "idols, idol-carvers, and priests from several countries beyond sea:"—which points again to the same period hinted at in the account of the first propagation of the religion of Buddha on this island, and is probably to be connected with the circumstances in which the Buddhists found themselves, at that time, in India and on its western borders.†

It is to be expected that the sources of knowledge on this whole subject, here presented in a meagre outline, will be greatly multiplied within a few years, when it will be safe to go more into the detail, and the principal facts may be better established. Certain writers have entertained notions, in regard to the influence of Buddhism upon the Scandinavian mythology, and upon the civilization of the Indian races in the central part of our own country, which, though as yet too visionary to receive any more than this passing notice, may be found to embody some important historical truth. Our own countrymen in the east, of various professions, enjoy opportunities of collecting materials respecting the doctrines, local traditions, religious usages, and ecclesiastical organization of the Buddhists, which we hope they will not neglect to improve. But enough has been ascertained to excite our astonishment at the power of Buddhism, to propagate itself amid every variety of national culture, spirit, and temperament. I will therefore suggest, very briefly, a

* See Klaproth's Aperçu de l'Hist. Mythol. des Japonais, pp. 5, 6, in Nipon o Dăi Nitsi Ran, ou Annales des Empereurs de Japan, trad., par M. Isaac Titsingh, accomp. de Notes, &c., par M. J. Klaproth. Paris, 1834. Also on Ki-pin, Foĕ Kouĕ Ki, pp. 22, 23, and Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques, par M. Abel-Rémusat. Tome i. p. 205, &c.

† See Extract from Kaempfer's History of Japan, in the History of Java, by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles. London, 1830. Vol. ii. pp. 91, 92.

few reasons, which have occurred to me, for the rapid spreading of this religion in India, and its wide diffusion abroad.

1. Buddhism elevated the regal dignity. One of the most ancient traditions of Central India, preserved in the fiction of the avatâra of Vishnu, as Parasurâma, or *Rama of the club*, refers to a primitive strife between the Brahmans, and the Kshattriyâs, or *warrior caste*, which ended in victory to the Brahmans. The position of royalty, under Brahman institutions, has always been one of entire subservience to the acknowledged superiority of the spiritual caste. Theocracy, in a certain sense, has been the form of the state. But with the Buddhists, the king was the proper ruler of the land, inasmuch as they looked to him for countenance against the jealousy of the Brahmans: and the result was a mutual dependence, which tended to strengthen both the royal authority and the cause of the new sect;—quite like that confederacy of king and people against an overpowering aristocracy, in early times of European history, when those two powers of the state, with seeming contrariety of interest, for awhile made common cause with each other against their common enemy. This parallel might be carried further; for the spiritual power of the Buddhists, fostered by royal favor, subsequently rose to such a height, that it controlled the sovereign: just as royalty in Europe availed itself against popular rights of that preëminence which it had obtained only by the temporary union of the will of the people with it. Hence we do not find that the principle of deference to civil authority, which contributed to gain for the followers of Buddha that position which they acquired in India, actuated them to the same extent in the measures they adopted to establish themselves in other countries: for, not to speak of the absence of an ancient priestly domination in most of the foreign countries where Buddhism was introduced, against which the civil power might have been invoked for protection,—the Buddhist clerical order itself had become tinged with priestcraft, at the very time when their system was first propagated out of India; and this managing spirit seems constantly to have gathered strength, of itself, and by the concurrence of circumstances, as Buddhist proselytism enlarged its bounds.

2. Buddhism was most extensively propagated among

those, who, so far as there existed any intercourse between themselves and the inhabitants of India, were held in contempt by the Brahmans, as Mletchtchhas, or *Barbarians*,—outcasts from all participation in their religious knowledge, and unworthy to enjoy their institutions. The Buddhists appearing as befrienders of these despised foreigners, whom they so zealously sought out in their homes, in order to instruct them, had the great advantage of a striking contrast between their seemingly benevolent labors for others, and the haughty, unsympathizing, despiteful spirit of the Brahmans. A leading maxim of conduct with the Buddhists, equally pertinent here, to whatever motive it may be referred, is this:

> "Whatever happiness is in the world, it has arisen from a wish for the welfare of others:
> Whatever misery is in the world, it has all arisen from a wish for our own welfare."

3. Another reason which may be assigned for the extensive propagation of Buddhism is, that, as its distinctive peculiarities are philosophical, and not derived from any particular mythological conceptions, it could take to itself any mythology, which it found established with this, or the other nation, and under that cover insinuate its principles the more effectually.

4. Buddhism asserted for humanity an essential quality and worth, in opposition to the arbitrary distinctions of caste. There was, indeed, from the first, a clerical order among the Buddhists; yet such was its constitution, that it operated rather as an inducement, than as a bar to general effort, to reach the higher attainments of which the soul was supposed to be capable: for emulation was quickened by the admission to its privileges, on equal footing, of all ranks of social life; and the prospect held out to all alike, who should consecrate themselves to its moral and intellectual training, was one well adapted to inspire ambition, whether the state of sanctity pretended to be connected with such consecration was considered, or the powerful influence over others, and the opening of wide fields for its exertion in missionary enterprise, which was actually associated with becoming a Bhikkhu.

That separation, too, of human nature from pantheistic absorption in the Deity, which is a fundamental principle of

Buddhism, could not fail to be attended with a quickening of the sense of power in the human soul itself, and of a higher destiny belonging to it, than to be the merely mechanical organ of an all-engrossing Deity. It would be in vain to object, that Buddhist doctrine makes all things to be unreal except the great Svabhâva: for no human being could long hesitate, between consistency with an abstruse metaphysical speculation on the one hand, and acquiescence in the prompting of instinctive feeling on the other, that there is a self-activity in human nature. Nor should the inanity of the highest perfection to which the soul can attain, according to the Buddhist notion, be supposed to be an objection to this view of the influence of Buddhist philosophy in calling forth the instinctive sense of power: for besides, that real acquisitions of knowledge and moral discipline are made requisite for the attainment of Nirvâna, it really matters not how trifling or inane the object may be, human nature is prone to assert its privilege of spontaneous action, even for a prize which has in itself nothing stimulating. Nor, again, does the emanation-system of the Buddhists take away the faculty of originating action: for it is evident from the calls, which the moral precepts of Buddhism address to mankind to exert and discipline themselves, that human actions are not included, at least, practically, in that system of fatality.

But the principle of the inherent capability of man, as such, was not only fitted to lead those, who had been disciplined to a mystical passive surrender of individuality under Brahmanism, to throw off that bondage, but may also be supposed to have exerted no slight influence in quickening the human soul to cast off old habits of barbarism, by giving scope and direction to the consciousness of a capacity of improvement; and the impression which Buddhism has made upon rude nations is to be explained, partly, by this consideration.

A result of the general elevation of society effected by Buddhism, is seen in its creation of history. In India, while Brahmanism held undisputed sway, there were indeed traditions of the past handed down by the epic bards; but so blended with mythology were these traditions, that their historical meaning was obscured, or obliterated. The only memorialists were of that caste, which could not justly pre-

serve the remembrance of most of the great events determining the destiny of the nation, without giving undue prominence to matters which concerned classes of society, depreciated by themselves as inferior and not worthy of account, and especially their chief rivals, the warrior and regal caste, whose glory they would be most reluctant to celebrate. But to the Buddhists the affairs of kings were of the highest moment, and as they deeply sympathized in the growth of their power, even when they presumed to sway it to their own advantage, they would be disposed to treasure with the greatest care the remembrance of the events by which it was obtained: and the concern they professed for the general welfare of the people, would lead them to take note also of events of more general interest. Hence we find, that the proper history of India opens with the promulgation of Buddhism, and that every Buddhist nation has annals, which have a claim to the name of history, far superior to that of the epic or puranic traditions of Brahmanism.

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Dem Herrn Prof. Bleek
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