world and the world that is to come. But, my father, when a man has found a treasure it is his duty to offer the most precious of the jewels to his father first. Do not delay; let me share with you the treasure I have found." Suddhōdana, abashed, took his son's bowl and led him to his house. There the women of the palace came to welcome him, but not Yasodharā, whom he had not seen since he had watched her sleeping in their chamber with their new-born babe by her side on that eventful night now seven long years ago. "I will wait and see," she had said; "perhaps I am still of some value in his eyes; he may ask, or come. I can welcome him better here." Gautama noticed her absence, and remembering, doubtless, that a recluse could not touch or be touched by a woman, he said, "The princess is not yet free from desire as I am; not having seen me so long she is exceeding sorrowful. Unless her sorrow be allowed to take its course, her heart will break. She may embrace me; do not stop her." He then went to her, and when she saw him enter,—not the husband she had mourned so long, but a recluse in yellow robes with shaven head and shaven face,—though she knew it would be so, she could not contain herself, and fell on the ground, and held him by the feet, and wept; then remembering the impassable gulf between them, she rose and stood on one side. The rāja thought it necessary to apologize for her, telling Gautama how entirely she had continued to love him, refusing to enjoy comforts which he denied himself, taking but one meal a day, and sleeping on a hard uncanopied bed. The different accounts often tell us the thoughts of the Buddha on any particular occasion; here they are silent, only adding that he then told a Jātaka story, showing how great had been her virtue in a former birth.[1] And then they parted: she became an earnest hearer of the new doctrines; and when long afterwards the Buddha was induced, much against his inclination, to established an order of female recluses, his widowed wife Yasodharā became one of the first of the Buddhist nuns.

The next day a great festival was to take place to celebrate the marriage of Gautama's half-brother, Nanda. Gautama went to the pavilion and said to Nanda, "the greatest festival after all is the destruction of all evil desires, the life of a recluse, the knowledge of truth, and the attainment of Nirvāna." He then gave him his alms-bowl, and Nanda followed him to the Nigrodha grove where he was staying. On their arrival there Gautama asked him if he would not enter the Society; but Nanda, though tenderly attached to his half-brother, with whom he had been brought up as a play-fellow (Gautama having no brothers of his own), did not yet desire to give up the world. After much persuasion, however, he consented, and became a disciple. A few days afterwards Yasodharā dressed Rāhula, her child and Gautama's, in his best, and told him to go and ask his father for his inheritance. "I know of no father," said the child, "but the rāja. Who is my father?' Yasodharā took him in her arms, and holding him up to the window pointed out to him the Buddha, who was then taking his mid-day meal at the palace. "That monk," she said, "whose appearance is so glorious, is your father; he has four mines of wealth; go to him, and entreat him to put you in possession of your inheritance." Rāhula went up to Gautama and said to him, without fear and with much affection, "My father, how happy I am to be near you." Gautama silently gave him his blessing; but presently, when he rose to go, Rāhula followed him asking for his inheritance. None of the people stopped him, and Gautama still said nothing. When they reached the Nigrodha grove, he called Ṣāriputra, and said, "Beloved disciple, Rāhula is asking for a worldly inheritance which would avail him nothing; I will give him a spiritual inheritance which will not fade away; let him be admitted among us." When Suddhōdana heard this he was exceedingly grieved; he had lost his two sons as far as all worldly hopes were concerned, and now his grandson was taken from him. Full of sorrow he determined to save other parents a similar affliction, and going to Gautama asked him to establish a regulation that no one should in future be admitted to the Society unless he had the consent of his parents. Gautama granted this request, and after some more interviews with his father returned to the Bambu grove at Rājagriha.

Eighteen months had now elapsed since the turning-point of Gautama's career—his great struggle under the Bo tree. Thus far all the accounts agree, and follow chronological order. From this time they simply narrate disconnected stories about the Buddha, or the persons with whom he was brought into contact,—the same story being usually found in more than one account, but not often in the same order. It is not as yet possible, except very partially, to arrange chronologically the snatches of biography to be gleaned from these stories. They are mostly told to show the occasion on which some memorable act of Gautama's took place, or some memorable saying was uttered, and are as exact as to place as they are indistinct as to time. It would be impossible within the limits of this article to give any large number of them, but space may be found for one or two.

A merchant from Sūnaparanta having joined the Society was desirous of preaching to his relations, and is said to have asked Gautama's permission to do so. "The people of Sūnaparanta," said the teacher, "are exceedingly violent. If they revile you what will you do?" "I will make no reply," said the mendicant. "And if they strike you?" "I will not strike in return," was the reply. "And if they try to kill you?" "Death is no evil in itself; many even desire it, to escape from the vanities of life, but I shall take no steps either to hasten or to delay the time of my departure." These answers were held satisfactory, and the monk started on his mission.

At another time a rich farmer held a harvest home, and Gautama, wishing to preach to him, is said to have taken his alms-bowl and stood by the side of the field and begged. The farmer, a wealthy Brāhman, said to him, "Why do you come and beg? I plough and sow and earn my food; you should do the same." "I, too, O Brahman," said the beggar, "plough and sow; and having ploughed and sown I eat." "You profess only to be a farmer; no one sees your ploughing, what do you mean?" said the Brahman. "For my cultivation," said the beggar, "faith is the seed, self-combat is the fertilizing rain, the weeds I destroy are the cleaving to existence, wisdom is my plough, and its guiding-shaft is modesty; perseverance draws my plough, and I guide it with the rein of my mind; the field I work in is the law, and the harvest that I reap is the never-dying nectar of Nirvāna. Those who reap this harvest destroy all the weeds of sorrow."

On another occasion he is said to have brought back to her right mind a young mother whom sorrow had for a time deprived of reason. Her name was Kisāgotamī. She had been married early, as is the custom in the East, and had a child when she was still a girl. When the beautiful boy could run alone he died. The young girl in her love for it carried the dead child clasped to her bosom, and went from house to house of her pitying friends asking them to give her medicine for it. But a Buddhist convert thinking

[1] *Jātaka*, 91, 9. These Jātaka stories are most interesting, containing as they do the oldest known versions of many of the nursery songs, and fairy tales, and comic stories, and fables, which are the common property of Europe in the present day. See Fausböll's papers enumerated in the report of the Philological Society for 1875, p. 64.

"she does not understand," said to her, "My good girl, I myself have no such medicine as you ask for, but I think I know of one who has." "Oh, tell me who that is?" said Kisāgotamī. "The Buddha can give you medicine; go to him," was the answer. She went to Gautama; and doing homage to him said, "Lord and master, do you know any medicine that will be good for my child?" "Yes, I know of some," said the teacher. Now it was the custom for patients or their friends to provide the herbs which the doctors required; so she asked what herbs he would want. "I want some mustard-seed," he said; and when the poor girl eagerly promised to bring some of so common a drug, he added, "you must get it from some house where no son, or husband, or parent, or slave has died." "Very good," she said; and went to ask for it, still carrying her dead child with her. The people said, "Here is mustard-seed, take it;" but when she asked, "In my friend's house has any son died, or a husband, or a parent, or slave?" They answered, "Lady! what is this that you say? the living are few, but the dead are many." Then she went to other houses, but one said "I have lost a son," another "We have lost our parents," another "I have lost my slave." At last, not being able to find a single house where no one had died, her mind began to clear, and summoning up resolution she left the dead body of her child in a forest, and returning to the Buddha paid him homage. He said to her, "Have you the mustard seed?" "My lord," she replied, "I have not; the people tell me that the living are few, but the dead are many." Then he talked to her on that essential part of his system, the impermanency of all things, till her doubts were cleared away, she accepted her lot, became a disciple, and entered the "first path."

For forty-five years after entering on his mission Gautama itinerated in the valley of the Ganges, not going further than about 150 miles from Benares, and always spending the rainy months at one spot—usually at one of the vihāras, or homes,[1] which had been given to the Society. In the twentieth year his cousin Ānanda became a mendicant, and from that time seems to have attended on Gautama, being constantly near him, and delighting to render him all the personal service which love and reverence could suggest. Another cousin, Dewadatta, the son of the rāja of Koli, also joined the society, but became envious of the teacher, and stirred up Ajātasatru (who having killed his father, Bimbisāra, had become king of Rājagriha) to persecute Gautama. The account of the manner in which the Buddha is said to have overcome the wicked devices of this apostate cousin and his parricide protector is quite legendary; but the general fact of Ajātasatru's opposition to the new sect and of his subsequent conversion may be accepted. The rival teachers, or sophists, as might be expected, were bitter enemies of the new philosophy, and the Brahmins did all they could to put down a faith which inculcated such dangerous doctrines as the equality within the Society of all ranks and castes, and the possibility of salvation without sacrifices or the assistance of the priests. They instigated certain men to murder Moggallāna, one of the two chief disciples, and made several attempts on the life of the teacher himself; but many of the chiefs, and the great bulk of the common people, are represented, with probable truth, as being uniformly in favour of his doctrine, though the number of those who actually joined the Society was comparatively small.

The confused and legendary notices of the journeyings of Gautama are succeeded by tolerably clear accounts of the last few days of his life. On a journey towards Kusi-nagara, a town about 120 miles N.N.E of Benāres, and about 80 miles due E. of Kapilavastu, the teacher, being then eighty years of age, had rested for a short time in a grove at Pāwā, presented to the Society by a goldsmith of that place named Chunda. Chunda prepared for the mendicants a mid-day meal, consisting of rice and pork; and it may be noticed in passing how highly improbable it is that any Buddhist would have invented the story of the Buddha's last illness having been brought on by such a cause. He started for Kusi-nagara in the afternoon, but had not gone far when he was obliged to rest, and soon afterwards he said, "Ānanda, I am thirsty;" and they gave him water to drink. Half-way between the two towns flows the River Kukushṭā. There Gautama rested again, and bathed for the last time. Feeling that he was dying, and careful lest Chunda should be reproached by himself or others, he said to Ānanda, "After I am gone tell Chunda that he will receive in a future birth very great reward; for, having eaten of the food he gave me, I am about to pass into Nirvāna; and if he should still doubt, say that it was from my own mouth that you heard this. There are two gifts which will be blest above all others, namely, Sujātā's gift before I attained wisdom under the Bo tree, and this gift of Chunda's before I enter the final rest of Nirvāna." After halting again and again the party at length reached the River Hiranyavatī, close by Kusi-nagara, and there for the last time Gautama rested; and lying down under some Sal trees, with his face towards the south, he talked long and earnestly with Ānanda about his burial, and about certain rules which were to be observed by the Society after his death. Towards the end of this conversation, when it was evening, Ānanda broke down and went aside to weep, but Gautama missed him, and sending for him comforted him with the promise of Nirvāna, and repeated what he had so often said before about the impermanence of all things,—"O Ānanda! do not weep; do not let yourself be troubled. You know what I have said; sooner or later we must part from all we hold most dear. This body of ours contains within itself the power which renews its strength for a time, but also the causes which lead to its destruction. Is there anything put together which shall not dissolve? But you, too, shall be free from this delusion, this world of sense, this law of change. Beloved," added he, speaking to the rest of the disciples, "Ānanda for long years has served me with devoted affection. He knows all that should be done; after I am gone listen to his word." And he spoke to them at some length on the insight and kindness of Ānanda.

About midnight Subhadra, a Brahman philosopher of Kusi-nagara, came to ask some questions of the Buddha; but Ānanda, fearing that this might lead to a longer discussion than the sick teacher could bear, would not admit him. Gautama heard the sound of their talk, and asking what it was, told them to let Subhadra come. He began by asking whether the six great teachers[2] knew all laws, or whether there were some that they did not know, or knew only partially. "This is not the time," was the answer, "for such discussions. To true wisdom there is only one way, the path that is laid down in my law. Many have already followed it, and conquering the lust and pride and anger of their own hearts, have become free from ignorance and doubt and wrong belief, have entered the calm state of universal kindliness, and reached Nirvāna even in this life. Save in my religion the twelve great disciples, who being good themselves rouse up the world, and deliver it from

[1] These houses were at first simple huts, built for the mendicants in some grove of palm trees as a retreat during the rainy season; but they gradually increased in splendour and magnificence till the decay of Buddhism set in. See the authorities quoted in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1875, p. 22 of the article on "Two Sinhalese Inscriptions."

[2] These are perhaps the teachers of the six systems of orthodox Hindu philosophy referred to above (note 2, p. 427); but the meaning of this expression, and of that in Buddha's reply about the "twelve great disciples." is not clear.

indifference, are not to be found. O Subhadra! I do not speak to you of things I have not experienced. Since I was twenty-nine years old till now I have striven after pure and perfect wisdom, and following the good path, have found Nirvāna." A rule had been made that no follower of a rival system should be admitted to the Society without four months' probation. So deeply did the words or the impressive manner of the dying teacher work upon Subhadra that he asked to be admitted at once, and Gautama granted his request. Then turning to his disciples he said, "When I have passed away and am no longer with you, do not think that the Buddha has left you, and is not still in your midst. You have my words, my explanations of the deep things of truth, the laws I have laid down for the Society; let them be your guide; the Buddha has not left you." Soon afterwards he again spoke to them, urging them to reverence one another, and rebuked one of the disciples who spoke indiscriminately all that occurred to him. Towards the morning he asked whether any one had any doubt about the Buddha, the law, or the Society; if so, he would clear them up. No one answering, he said, "Beloved mendicants, if you revere my memory, love all the disciples as you love me and my doctrines." Ānanda expressed his surprise that amongst so many none should doubt, and all be firmly attached to the law. But Buddha laid stress on the final perseverance of the saints, saying that even the least among the disciples who had entered the first path only, still had his heart fixed on the way to perfection, and constantly strove after the three higher paths. "No doubt," he said, "can be found in the mind of a true disciple." After another pause he said, "Beloved, that which causes life, causes also decay and death. Never forget this; let your minds be filled with this truth. I called you to make it known to you." These were the last words Gautama spoke; shortly afterwards he became unconscious, and in that state passed away.

Part II.—Early Buddhism.

The accounts of Gautama's cremation and of the distribution of his relics are full of the miraculous, but it seems that the body was burnt with great reverence by the local rājas of Malva. Even before this ceremony had taken place dissensions began to break out in the Society,—one member of the order, Subhadra (not the Brahman mentioned above), having even gone so far as to rejoice that now at last they were free from control, and could not always be told to do this, or not to do that. Struck by this language, the chief disciples began at once to consider the expediency of holding a council, where all points of difference should be definitively set at rest. Chief among the leaders was the aged Kāsyapa of Uruvela, whose distinguished position before his conversion, and his great learning, were not the only grounds of the respect in which he was held by the infant Society. He had been one of those most intimate with Gautama; so much so, that on one occasion, when walking together and talking of the deepest truths of their belief, the two friends had entered into a more than usual confidence and intercommunion of thought and feeling, and had then changed robes with one another in token of their sympathy and love. Sāriputra and Moggallāna were dead; but Ānanda, the beloved disciple, and Upāli, who though of low caste origin was looked up to in the Society as the greatest authority on points of conduct and discipline, were of one opinion with Kāsyapa as to the advisability of a council. This was agreed upon; the disciples first separated and went to their homes, and when they met again for the rainy season in that vihāra at Rājagriha, which had been the first gift to the Society, the council was held under the presidency of Kāsyapa, and with the patronage and assistance of Ajātasatru, the powerful rāja of Magadha. The number of believers present was five hundred, but if any discussion took place no tradition of it has survived. We are only told that at each daily sitting of the council, which lasted seven months, Ānanda or Upāli repeated some portion of the law, and the whole assembly chanted it after them. A second council is said to have been held one hundred years later in Vaisāli, about 70 miles N. of Rājagriha, and another was certainly held about 250 B.C. under the Buddhist emperor Asoka, in his capital Pātaliputra, the Palibothra of the Greeks and the modern Patna. There is reasonable ground for belief that the sacred books of the Buddhists at present existing in Ceylon are substantially the same as the canon settled at this last council of Pātaliputra, and it is from these books that the modern accounts on which we are as yet obliged to depend purport to have been and, with some alterations and additions, undoubtedly have been derived. The orthodox Buddhists hold the present canon to be identically the same as that settled at the first council of Rājagriha; but the internal evidence of those parts of the canon which have as yet been published tends to show that they cannot possibly have been composed in their present state immediately after Buddha's death. The date, derived from Ceylon, which is usually assigned to that event is 543 B.C.; but those scholars who have devoted most attention to the point hold this calculation to contain a certain error of about 60 years, and a probable error of 80 to 100 more; so that the date for the death of Buddha would have to be brought forward to 400 B.C., or a few years later. As the date of Asoka's council has been determined with certainty to have been within a year or two of 250 B.C., there remains an interval of a century and a half between the first council and the earliest records now accessible to us, an interval amply sufficient for the growth of the supernatural element which they so largely contain. When these records have been published in the original Pāli, it may be possible to decide how far some portions are older than the rest, and how far it is possible to hold that they reproduce any earlier canon; at present we can only claim in the following brief outline to give an account of Buddhism as it existed 150 years after the decease of its founder. But when it is recollected that Gautama Buddha was himself learned in all the learning of his time; that he did not leave behind him a number of deeply simple sayings from which his followers subsequently built up a system, but had thoroughly elaborated a system of his own before his mission began; that during his long career as teacher he had ample time to repeat the principles and details of the system to his disciples over and over again, and to test their knowledge of it; and finally, that his principal disciples were, like himself, accustomed to the subtlest metaphysical distinctions, and trained to that wonderful command of memory which Indian ascetics then possessed,—when these facts are recalled to mind, it will be seen that much more reliance can be placed upon the doctrinal parts of the existing Buddhist canon than upon correspondingly late records of other religions, or on the biographical parts of the Buddhist canon itself.

The Abhidharma or *Philosophy*. Buddhism does not attempt to solve the problem of the ultimate origin of the kosmos.[1] It takes as its own ultimate fact the existence of the material world and of conscious beings living

[1] "When Mālunka asked Buddha whether the existence of the world is eternal or not eternal he made him no reply; but the reason of this was, that it was considered by Buddha as an inquiry that tended to no profit."—Hardy, *M.B.*, 375. Only a Buddha can comprehend how effects are produced by karma, or how the universe was brought into existence.—*Ibid.*, p. 8, note.

within it; and it holds that everything is subject to the law of cause and effect, and that everything is constantly, though perhaps imperceptibly, changing. Though in its principles it anticipates much that modern science has proved, in its details it does not, as might be expected, rise much above the beliefs most current at the time of its origin; but it has formulated them into a hypothetical system sufficiently consistent with itself to have satisfied Buddhists for more than 2000 years, however little consistent with actual truth. Scattered through space, it teaches, there are innumerable circular worlds in sets of three. All of these are exactly similar to our own, in the centre of which rises an enormous mountain, called Māha Meru, which is surrounded by seven concentric circles of rock of an enormous height, and the circle enclosed by the outermost is divided into four quarters, or great continents, part of one of which is Jambudvīpa, the earth in which we live. On the heights of Mahā Meru, and above it and the rock circles, rise the twenty-four heavens, and beneath it and the earth are the eight great hells. These heavens and hells are part of the material world, subject like the rest of it to the law of cause and effect, and the beings within them are still liable to rebirth, decay, and death. Between Mahā Meru and the outmost circle of rocks, the sun, moon, and stars revolve through space; and it is when they pass behind the first circle of rocks that they appear to the inhabitants of Jambudvīpa to set. This world, like each of the others scattered through space, is periodically destroyed by water, fire, or wind, but the sum of the demerits of the beings (men, animals, angels, &c.) who lived within it produces each time a new world, which in its turn is fated to be destroyed. The number of these beings never varies save on those few occasions when one of them either in earth or heaven attains Nirvāna; in every other case, as soon as an individual dies, another is produced under more or less material conditions, according as the sum of the former individual's demerits, minus the sum of its merits, was, at the time of its death, large or small. A belief in such hypotheses seems inconsistent with a fundamental tenet of Buddhist philosophy, that there are only two sources of knowledge, experience, and inference; but the hypotheses themselves are too intimately involved in the whole scheme of Buddhism to leave much doubt as to their having formed part of the original doctrine of its founder. They are, however, scarcely distinctive of Buddhism, but, like the pessimist view of life, are rather modifications of previous beliefs which Buddhism adopted into its system, and from the consequences of which it promised to relieve those who followed out its teachings.[1]

The two ideas of the utter vanity of all earthly good and the inevitable law of rebirth, decay, and death will be seen to lead naturally to the belief in Nirvāna. If life be an evil, and death itself be no delivery from life, it is necessary to go further back to discover the very origin, the seed, so to speak, of existence; and by destroying that to put an end at last to the long train of misery in which we are compelled to go again and again through the same weary round of experiences, always ending in disappointment. This seed of existence Buddhism finds in "Karma," the sum of merit and demerit, which, as each one's demerit is the greater of the two, often comes practically to much the same thing as *sin* or error. It forms the second link in the Buddhist chain of causation,[2] and arises itself from ignorance. Destroy

[1] On the Buddhist cosmogony, see Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, chap. 1; Burnouf, *Lotus*, &c., pp. 842, *et seq.*; Beal, *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, Part I.; and Childers's *Pāli Dict.*, under the names given by Hardy.

[2] *Paticca-samuppāda*, the twelve nidānas. See Childers in Colebrooke's *Essays* (1873), vol. ii. p. 453; Gogerly in the *Journal of the R.A.S., Ceylon Br.* 1845, p. 18, 1867, p. 127.

that ignorance which brings with it such a progeny, cut the links of this chain of existence, root out karma with the mistaken cleaving to life, and there will be deliverance at last—deliverance from all sorrow and all trouble in the eternal rest of Nirvāna. Anything less than this would be a mockery of hope; for there is no life outside the domain of transmigration, and by the inevitable law of change that which causes existence of any kind would itself be the cause also of decay, and bring with it after a time the whole chain of evils from which the tired heart of man seeks relief.

To reach this end, to destroy karma, and thus to attain Nirvāna, there is only one way—the fourfold path already explained above, which is also summed up in the Buddhist books in the eight divisions, "right views, right thoughts, right speech, right actions, right living, right exertion, right recollection, and right meditation."[3] By these means ignorance will be overcome and karma destroyed, and after the organized being has been dissolved in death, there will be nothing left to bring about the production of another life. For it must be understood that while Buddhism occasionally yielded so far to popular phraseology as to make use of the word soul, it denies altogether that the word is anything more than a convenient expression, or that it has any counterpart in fact. Birth is not rebirth, but new birth; transmigration of soul becomes a transfer of karma; metempsychosis gives way to metamorphosis. As one generation dies and gives way to another—the heir of the consequences of all its vices and all its virtues, the exact result of pre-existing causes—so each individual in the long chain of life inherits all of good or evil that all its predecessors have done or been, and takes up the struggle towards enlightenment precisely there where they have left it. There is nothing eternal, but the law of cause and effect, and change; the kosmos itself is passing away; even karma can be destroyed; nothing is, everything becomes. And so with this organized life of ours, it contains within itself no eternal germ; it passes away like everything else, there only remains the accumulated result of all its actions. One lamp is lighted at another; the second flame differs from the first, to which it owes its existence. A seed grows into a tree and produces a seed from which arises another tree different from the first, though resulting from it. And so the true Buddhist saint does not mar the purity of his self-denial by lusting after a positive happiness which he himself is to enjoy hereafter. He himself will cease to be, but his virtue will live and work out its full effect in the decrease of the sum of the misery of sentient beings.

A not unnatural confusion has arisen from the fact that the result of each man's actions is held not to be dissipated as it were into many streams, but concentrated together in the formation of one new sentient being. This link of connection between the two otherwise distinct individuals has led to expressions in Buddhist writings which when read by Christians seemed to infer the existence of a soul. Phrases used of those living saints who have entered the fourth path, and have practically attained Nirvāna, have also been supposed by mistake to apply to Nirvāna itself. And when further Nirvāna has been described in glowing terms as the happy seat; the excellent eternal place of bliss, where there is no more death, neither decay; the end of suffering; the home of peace; the other side of the ocean of existence; the shore of salvation; the harbour of refuge; the medicine for all evil; the transcendent, formless, tranquil state, the Truth, the Infinite, the Unspeakable, the Everlasting,—it has been supposed by some European scholars to mean a blissful state, in which the soul (!) still exists in an everlasting trance. There can,

[3] From the third book of the Mahā Vagga, which is the third part of the first Piṭaka. Gogerly, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch*, 1845, p. 24; this summary is constantly quoted.

however, now be no longer any doubt on the point. Spence Hardy and Bigandet find in the modern Sinhalese and Burmese books the same opinion as Alvis and Gogerly and especially Childers have found in the more ancient authorities; and though the modern books of the Northern Buddhists are doubtful, Eugène Burnouf has clearly proved that their older texts contain only the same doctrine as that held in the South. Buddhism does not acknowledge the existence of a soul as a thing distinct from the parts and powers of man which are dissolved at death, and the Nirvāna of Buddhism is simply Extinction.[1]

It will seem strange to many that a religion which ignores the existence of God, and denies the existence of the soul, should be the very religion which has found most acceptance among men, and it is easy to maintain that had Buddha merely taught philosophy, or had he lived in later ages, he might have had as small a following as Comte. Gautama's power over the people arose in a great degree from the glow of his practical philanthropy, which did not shrink in the struggle against the abuses most peculiar to his time; his philosophy and his ethics attracted the masses, from whose chained hands they struck off the manacles of caste, and in leaving the school for the world they insensibly became a religion. But there is no reason to believe that Gautama intended either at the beginning or the end of his career to be the founder of a new religion. He seems to have hoped that the new wine would go into the old bottles, and that all men, not excepting even the Brahmins, would gradually adopt his, the only orthodox, form of the ancient creed. However the question of the historical succession or connection between the different systems of Hindu philosophy be ultimately settled, whether any of them were post-Buddhistic or not, they afford at least sufficient evidence that beliefs very inconsistent with the practical creed of the masses met with little opposition from the priests so long as they were taught only in schools of philosophy; and Buddhist morality was not calculated to excite anger or hatred. But the very means which Gautama adopted to extend and give practical effect to his teaching, while giving it temporary success, led to its ultimate expulsion from India. It was his Society rather than his doctrine, the Sangha rather than the Dharma, which both gave to his religion its practical vitality and excited the active hostility of the Brahmins.

The SANGHA *or Society, the Buddhist Order of Mendicants.*—It was a logical conclusion from the views of life held by Gautama that any rapid progress in spiritual life was only compatible with an ascetic life, in which all such contact with the world as would tend to create earthly desires could be reduced as much as possible; and accordingly from the first he not only adopted such a mode of life for himself but urged it on his more earnest disciples. He contemplated no such division between clergy and laity as obtains in Christian countries, and constantly maintained that there was no positive merit in outward acts of self-denial or penance; but holding that family connections and the possession of wealth or power were likely to prolong that mistaken estimate of the value of things, that clinging to life which was the origin of evil, he taught that to forsake the world was a necessary step towards the attainment of spiritual freedom. Little by little, as occasion arose, he laid down rules for the guidance of those who thus devoted themselves to the higher life, and insensibly as he did so, the Society became more and more like one of the monkish orders which sprung up afterwards in the west. But not even now has the order become a priesthood. It possesses no mystic powers of regeneration or confirmation or absolution from sin; it works no miracles by consecration or by prayer, and its doors are always open alike to those who wish to enter and to those who wish to leave it. In a system which acknowledged no Creator and no God, the monks could never become the only efficient intercessors between man and his Maker; and since salvation was held to be and to depend upon a radical change in man's nature, brought about by his own self-denial and his own self-control, the monks could never obtain power over the keys of heaven and hell. When successive kings and chiefs were allowed to endow the society, not indeed with gold or silver, but with the few necessaries of the monkish life, including lands and houses, it gradually ceased in great measure to be the school of virtue or the most favourable sphere for intellectual progress, and became thronged with the worthless and the idle; but in the time of its founder it undoubtedly contained few besides those who longed under his guidance first to train themselves and then to preach to others the glad tidings of rest; that hope, to us so uninviting and so cold, to them—to whom life, under their glowing sky and under the oppressive weight of tyranny in church and state, was a burden too heavy to be borne—to them so welcome and so sweet, of utter rest in annihilation. For admittance to the Society no other credentials were at first required than the simple wish of the applicant; afterwards on different occasions a few necessary conditions were imposed, the applicant being obliged to state that he was free from contagious disease, consumption, and fits; that he was neither a slave nor a debtor nor a soldier, that is, that he was *sui juris*; and that he had obtained the consent of his parents. At first, also, the candidate was admitted without any ceremony by merely shaving his head, putting on the yellow robes, and leading an ascetic life; afterwards a simple ceremony was adopted, probably identical with that now in use in Ceylon, an excellent account of which has been given in the Journals of the Ceylon Asiatic Society for 1852 and of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1873. At first also there is no mention of any distinction within the ranks of the society; but the preparatory rank of novice was very early introduced, and later on, as the religion became more and more corrupted, the order became more and more subdivided, until in Tibet, in the 14th century, we find a complete episcopal hierarchy.

Rules of the Order.—The most usual names applied in the sacred books to the senior members of the order are Sramana and Bhikshu, and to the novices Sāmanera. The first, from which the third is derived, means one who exerts himself, controls himself; the second means simply a beggar. Self-conquest and poverty, then, were to be the distinguishing characteristics of the "sons of Sākya," but it was not left to them to decide for themselves how far this self-suppression and abstinence were to be carried. The teacher gave a number of rules and directions which have been handed down to us more or less correctly in the Vinaya, the first part of the Buddhist canon, and which are summed up in the "Pātimokkha," a book which, though not included in the canon, cannot be much later than the great council of Asoka, about 250, and is regarded with much reverence by the monks, from its having from time immemorial been ordered to be read twice monthly in every monastery. These rules may be roughly divided into two divisions, those which are obligatory, and those which, not being obligatory, are recommended to such as wish to work out their own salvation to a point further than that attainable by the ordinary rules. And first, as to *food*. No monk can eat solid food except between sunrise and noon, and total abstinence from intoxicating drinks is obligatory. The usual mode of obtaining food is for the monk to take his begging-bowl, a brown earthenware vessel, in shape nearly like a soup tureen without its cover, and holding it in his hands, to beg straight from house to house. He is to say nothing, but simply stand outside the hut, the doors and windows of which in India are usually large and open. If anything is put into his bowl he utters a pious wish on behalf of the giver and passes on; if nothing is given he passes on in silence, and thus begs straight on without going to the houses of the rich or luxurious rather than to those of the poor and thrifty. As the food of all classes consisted almost exclusively of some form of curry, the mixture was not so very incongruous, and when enough had been given, the monk retired to his home to eat it, thinking the while of the impermanence and worthlessness of the body which was thus nourished, and of the processes through which the food would have to pass. To express a Buddhist idea in the quaint words of Herbert, "Look on meat, think it dirt, then eat a bit, and say withal, Earth to earth I commit." From the first it was permitted to wealthy or pious laymen to invite one or more monks to take their mid day meal at their houses, and this was frequently done, especially on full moon days; it was also allowed to the laity on special occasions to bring food to the monastery. For the stricter monks further vows are mentioned of abstinence from animal food, of eating the whole meal without rising, of refusing all invitations and all food brought to them, of eating everything in the bowl without leaving or rejecting anything, and so on; but it is doubtful whether they are ever observed now, and they were formerly taken only for a time. Much later a practice sprung up of the order possessing rice fields, letting them out to be cultivated on condition of receiving a share of the produce, and then having their meals cooked at home by some lay follower or even slave.

[1] On Nirvāna, see Gogerly, *Journal of the R. A. S., Ceylon Branch*, 1867–1870, Part i. p. 130; Alvis, *Buddhist Nirvāna*, Colombo, 1871; Childers, *Pāli Dict.*, sub. v., Nirvāna; Burnouf, *Intr.*, 18–20, 78, 83, 155, 516–522, and esp. 589 *et seq.*, and *Lotus*, 355; Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, 280–309; Bigandet, p. 320–323; Wassilief, *Der Buddhismus*, p. 101. On the other side, Prof. Max Müller, *Buddhaghosha's Parables*, xxxix–xlv.: Mohl, *Journal Asiatique*, 1856, p. 94; and Obry, *Du Nirvāna Bouddhique*, Paris, 1863.

As regards *residence*, Gautama considered a lonely life in the forest to be the most conducive to self-conquest; but as he himself, after having lived apart from the world, spent his life from the commencement of his prophetic career among men, so from the first the lonely life was adopted only by the most earnest, and that only for a time. The majority of the monks lived in companies in groves or gardens, and very soon the piety of laymen provided for them suitable monasteries, several of which were built even in the lifetime of Buddha. During the fine weather the monks often travelled from place to place, as their teacher did, but during the rainy season they always settled in one spot in or near a town; and near the ancient cities of India have been lately discovered extensive ruins on the site of the monasteries mentioned in the Pāli books. On the other hand, there have been found numerous rock caves, many of which, especially in Ceylon, were evidently meant for solitary hermits, and they often bear inscriptions in the old Pāli character, brought by Aṣoka's son Mahendra to Ceylon in the 3d century B.C.

As regards *clothing*, the monks were to be habited in clothes of no value, put together from cast-off rags; but here again the practice of Buddha himself, and that followed by the large majority of the brethren, was to dress in simple robes of dull orange colour, first torn to pieces and then sewed together again, so as to form two under garments, and one upper garment to cover the whole of the body except the right shoulder. All three are simply lengths of cotton cloth; the two under ones, the antara-vāsaka and the sanghāṭi, being wrapt round the middle of the body, and round the thighs and legs respectively; and the upper one, the uttarāsanga, being first wrapt round the legs and then drawn over the left shoulder. The colour was probably at first chosen as the one regarded with most contempt, because of its being nearly the same as that of very old rags of the common white cotton cloth, and because cloths of that colour were of no value at all for ordinary purposes; but the orange-coloured robes, from their very peculiarity as a sign of the members of the Sangha, soon came to be looked upon as an honour, and were sought after on that account alone; so that the Dhammapada, a collection of ethical verses, one of the books in the Buddhist canon, has to give a warning that those who are not free from sin (kasāva) are not worthy of the orange colour (kāsāva). In Buddhist countries men's ordinary dress is merely a cloth wrapt round the loins, whereas the monks are to cover the whole body, and are not permitted at any time to lay their robes aside. To do so would be to lay aside their membership of the order, to put on or to put off the robes being current expressions for joining or leaving the Society. Of course no ornaments are allowed, and even the natural ornament of hair is not permitted, complete tonsure being obligatory on all. No monk should possess more than one change of robes, and minute rules in detail are laid down to guard against any brother even by indirect methods taking any steps to procure himself new ones; to provide them spontaneously is the duty and privilege of the laity.

It is scarcely necessary to state that *sexual intercourse*, *theft*, and *murder* entail upon the culprit irrevocable expulsion from the order; while the ease with which the Society could be left provided an escape for those who found the vow of continence too hard to keep. On the vow of *poverty* a few words ought to be said. In his individual right no monk is to possess more than the following eight articles: 1, 2, 3, the three robes mentioned above; 4, a girdle for the loins; 5, an alms-bowl; 6, a razor; 7, a needle; 8, a water-strainer, through which he is to strain all he drinks—not only to remove impurities, but also and chiefly to prevent the accidental destruction of any living creatures. This individual vow of poverty has however been swallowed up by the permission given to the community to possess not only books and other personal property, but even lands and houses. Gautama himself is said to have received such gifts on behalf of the Sangha, which at the time of its expulsion from India must have rivalled in wealth the most powerful orders of the Middle Ages; and in some Buddhist countries at the present day the Society possesses enormous tracts of the most valuable land. But water-drinking celibates, who take only one meal a day, and dress in a simple uniform, could never indulge in unbounded personal luxury. Many members of the order enjoy the fascinating sense of wealth, so completely contrary to all the principles of their religion, and to the precepts laid down by their Teacher for the attainment of spiritual progress; they are often lazy and not seldom avaricious; but in the southern church at least they are not disgraced by gluttony or drunkenness, and have never given way to the weak vanity of dress, or of the pomp and pride of ritual.

The vow of *obedience* was never taken by the Buddhist monks or nuns, and in this may be noticed a fundamental difference between them and their brethren and sisters in the West. Mental culture, not mental death, was the aim set before the Buddhist ascetic by the founder of his order. Each one is to conquer self by himself; and the observance of no ceremony, the belief in no creed, will avail him who fails in obtaining this complete self-mastery. Outward respect and courtesy to his superiors are exacted from the novice, but his own salvation and his usefulness as a teacher depend on his self-culture. He is to obey not his brother, but the law; his superior has no supernatural gifts of wisdom or of absolution; and by himself must the ascetic stand or fall. A few simple rules of discipline are laid down, but the highest punishment is to compel the fallen brother to return to the world.