

NEPAL

(Continued)

'The Local Divinities'

- by Sylvain Levi

The valley of Nepal shaping out in the form of a regular ellipses, places its two hearths at the disposal of its two worships. Towards the West, the hill of Syambunath ('Suayambu Natha'), consecrated to the primordial Buddha ('Adi-Buddha') bears the marks of the historical and legendary Buddhas; its ancient sanctuary, to which tradition associates the memory of the great monarch Ashoka, fascinates the piety of the Nevars and the neighbouring Tibetans and of the Moguls, Kalmonks, Kinghizes and of the Bouriates, Maudchurians and Chinese. Towards the East, the plateau of the Antilope ('Mrgasthali') reflects a world of chapels, temples, in the clear waters of the Bagmati, which monuments have been erected, enriched, installed at leisure by all the kings of Nepal and consecrated to the glory of Shiva under the vocable of Pashupati. The god served by the Brahmans, receives each year the assiduous homages of pilgrims flocked together from orthodox India, even from the far off regions of the South. Between Pashupati

and Buddha unfolds a numerous variety of worships, altars, gods, saints, legends and traditions which gradually links up the Brahman to the bonze.

There lies the outstanding feature and which so often puzzles the European. Heirs to Greek logic and Jewish monotheism, we instinctively apply the principle of contradiction to the religious beliefs; gods and devotees are classed to our eyes in closed groups, exclusive even into antagonism. Statistician; - ludicrously serious, calculate the total of Buddhists, confucians, Shintoists. A Hindu, a Chinese, a Japanese would not succeed in understanding him; this severity of methods means nothing in the Far-East. Man, in the presence of nature, feels confusedly an infinite multitude of forces ready to exert themselves at the expense of his weakness; his pantheon, always open, has always room for new hosts. The priest is not a doctor for souls, he is a specialist in rites; like the god he serves he has his line of competence in which he

excels, and willingly gives a free hand to his neighbours in the worship of the Saints of the same nature, but inferior in extent. And as the Church can enrich herself indefinitely as regards her saints, India can do likewise with her gods. The doctrine of the 'avatars' allows the letting in of a little order in the confusion of this luxurious polytheism. Buddha, who has been known for a long time as a kind of Brahmanic Antichrist, has however, been embodied in the ten universal avatars of Vishnu. Obligated to succumb to popular opinion, the Brahman revenged himself by exegesis; he taught that Vishnu had taken the form of Buddha to try the true followers, in preaching falsehoods. Other doctors, more loyal or less malignant, assigned the avatar, a more respectable reason and more in consistency with History: Vishnu, under the avatar of Buddha was supposed to have preached the horror of bloody sacrifices, recommended by the Vedic ritual.

The controversy between the two interpretations has died down since long in India, where Buddha has no longer any devotee. In Nepal, where Buddhism still survives, the Brahman has had to come to an agreement, as he had done at one time on the Hindu domain.

The 'Nepala-mahatmya', which is a guide of the Brahmanic pilgrim in Nepal, teaches through the mouth of Parvati, the spouse of Shiva, in this matchless country, to adore Buddha was to adore Shiva" and it prescribes expressly, rites in honour of Buddha "who is a form of Vishnu". This is no simple manoeuvre of politics or sacerdotal interest. Buddha, however

odious he may be, remains to be dealt with as an efficacious power. A Pundit of Benares, to whom I showed with surprise this passage of the 'Nepala Mahatmya', contented himself in replying: "This is on account of the Buddhah prabhavati". A Pundit of Bengali extraction, domiciled in Nepal and pensioned by the maharaja announced to me in these terms the despatch of a Buddhistic manuscript which I asked for "By the favour of Buddha you have addressed yourself to me; by the favour of Pashupati, I have found (yad bhavatam Buddhaprasadad abhistam, tan may Pashupatiprasadal labdham)". Hamilton mentions that in Syambunath, on the occasion of his first visit, the Hindu sepoys who escorted him would devotedly offer flowers and consecrated water to the numerous images that ornament the hill. A more educated Brahman who served as secretary to Hamilton, warned them of their error; it was the Buddha they were adoring, the Buddha whose very name they had learnt to detest. All of them felt depressed with Shame. But an old havildar (sergeant) who commanded them remembered that in one of his campaigns, while marching on Bombay, his regiment had often met the same god, had piously worshipped him and these devotions had often ended in a victory. The sepoys, Brahmans as they were did no longer regret their 'puja' (worship); Buddha was decidedly a personage of some importance.

It would be easy to multiply instances of this nature-adoration without limit, free of any system or theory; it suffices to have given a warning before commencing the examination of the Nepalese worships. A rigid classification which would classify

the divinities under the simple titles of Buddhism, Shivaism, Vishnuism, would be sheer nonsense; the same gods with different titles and ranks, belong mostly in generality to various churches; such as this idol, worshipped in a temple all along the Tandi Khel, which the Gurkhas venerate like Mahakala, whilst the Buddhists respect thither Padmapani who carries on his tiara the image of Amitabha.

However, on the religious domain also, the Gurkha conquest tends to break asunder to the profit of Brahmanism, the long established equilibrium. The Nevar kings and even the descendants of Harisimha Deva, shared their favours between the temples, the gods, the Buddhist priests and the Hindu priests. The more pious men, like Siddhi Narasimha of Patan, who mysteriously disappeared in an odour of sanctity, mingled in the same zest the two beliefs. The Gurkha imbued with the prejudices of the plain or who pretends being so, holds aside Buddhism; on account of political prudence as well as by superstitious distrust, he is careful of violent acts or brutalities. He allows to the devotion of the Lamas, the maintenance and restoration of the old temples of Buddhnath and Symbunath; but he reserves his gifts and his helps to the temples, ceremonies and Brahmanic festivals. Under the influence of the new masters, the old Nepalese Hinduism rapidly separates from the Buddhistic elements. Buddhism disgraced, weakened, increases her borrowings from Hinduism to knot and bind again the links that are severing and allows herself to be embodied into Hinduism through fear of being rejected. A century and a half of the Gurkha administration is already bearing its fruits.

And yet, on the very eve of the

conquest, the distinction of the two churches, so decided to-day, still escaped the interested attention of the capuchin missionaries. The informers of Georgi showed well, that the Buddhists held sway at Patan and the Brahmans at Bhatgaon; but their appreciation only referred to the choice of Brahman or Banras priests according to the case. The author of the 'Notizie Laconiche', Constantin d'Ascoli, describes in one attempt, all the pantheon of Nepal: Manjushri (Bissochtma), the Eight Mothers, Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva, Ganesha, Bhavam, Narayana, Garuda, Hanumat, Agni Bhagavati, Nilakantha, Matsyendra Natha (Bogha), Buddha, Bhairava, Mahadeva, Bhrngin, the forms of Kali, Bhimasena, Laksmi, gods and personages flocked together from all the Points of the religious horizon, jostle one another in a confusion that faithfully expresses reality.

The Nagas.—The doyens of the religious 'personnel in Nepal are probably the Nagas, the deified serpents that live in the depths of the earth, guardians of the treasures the earth conceal and that alone know the mysterious sources of the purifying and fertilizing waters, the waters of heaven as those underground. The Tibetans still give to Nepal the name of Naga-dvipa (Rin-po-chei glin') "The Country of Jewels". The local traditions are unanimous in saying that a tank occupied the valley at one time: it was the Tank of the Nagas, 'Naga-hrada', or the habitat of the Nagas, 'Naga-vasa'. But a miraculous intervention (Manjushri or Vishnu, or one and the other) opened a breach in the mountains of the south and the waters emptied out sweeping away the Nagas with them. One alone among them, Karkotaka consented to remain; he accep-

ted to reside in a tank situated towards the extremity (s. western) of the valley, beyond chaubahal and which received the name of Tau-dahan or, Tau-dah, the Great Tank (in Sanskrit Adhara); it is there that by virtue of a compact concluded later with Indra, he has placed aside and retains as a deposit on trust, the quarter of the riches reconquered from Danasura, the powerful demon who had stolen them at one time from the monarch of heaven. The legend is not an idle tale; the whole of Nepal still believes in it, like in all stories of hidden treasures and the sceptic Jang Bahadur himself undertook works of draining and drying up tanks, in the hope of discovering these fabulous treasures.

Nepal hardly changes. As early as towards 650 the Chinese ambassador Wang Hiuen-ts'e while crossing the country heard it related by king Narendra Deva in person, an identical endeavour: a gold casket was seen to appear at the bottom of a tank; attempts were made to haul it out of the mire, but to no avail; and at night a supernatural voice said: "Here lies the crown of Maitreya Buddha; the beings cannot assuredly get at it, because the Naga of the fire guards it. How is it possible to doubt, besides, of the existence of this wealth, since an ocular witness and even an oculist, had seen 'de visu' only five centuries ago. In the reign of Harisimha Deva, Karkotaka disguised as a false Brahman, politely accosted a 'vaidya' (doctor) who was about to perform his ablutions and requested him to visit his wife who was ill. The vaidya accepts; the Brahman takes him to the banks of the Tau-dah, requests him to close his eyes and jump; the water closes over them;

here they are in the subterranean palace of the Naga. "The walls were of gold, the windows of diamonds, the timber-work of sapphires, the pillars of topaz enriched with rubies; The jewels encrusted on the heads of the Nagas gave out a dazzling light. The spouse of karkotaka was sitting on a jewelled throne sheltered under a triple parasol of diamonds. "The vaidya fortunately carried his drugs with him; he examined the eyes of the queen and applied an eye-salve to them, the pain was immediately cured. Harisimha Deva bestowed great honours on the medical man who had distinguished himself by such a remarkable cure.

For a long time past, karkotaka has ceased to be the only Naga of Nepal, his associates who were expelled have successively returned, under cover of circumstances, to rejoin him thither. Their legend and worship are closely associated to the legend and worship of Matsyendra Natha, the most popular god of Nepal. They are those who are invoked in the years of drought conformably to the rites taught at one time to king Gunakama Deva by the master on mysteries cantikara Acarya. The legend distinguished this Gunakama Deva from the kings of the same time who belong to the dynasties of Suryavamsi and Thakuri. The legend carried him back to the fabulous times, in the Dvapara age which preceded the actual age. Yet, everything leads one to believe that it concerns in fact Gunakama Deva II who plays a great role in the organization of the Nepalese religion and who bore a special devotion to the Naga Vasuki.

Nepal had been suffering from drou-

ght for seven years and all the invocations remained fruitless. The king had recourse to cantikara, who traced a beautiful eight-petalled lotus, with the usual rites, and poured godl and powdered pearls over it; he represented thither the image of the nine great Nagas and invited them by efficacious charms to take in their places. Varuna the vedic god of the waters, converted as a Naga came and sat in the centre, entirely in white with seven chaperons of precious stones, a lotus and a jewel in his hands. In the Bast, Ananta, in dull blue, in the south, Padmaka, colour of lotus stem, with five chaperons; in the North Vasuki, greenish, with seven chaperons; in the south-west, Gankhapala, yellowish; in the North-west, kulika, white with thirty chaperons; in the North-East, Mahapadma, golden colour. Alone, the image of the south-east, blue, with a man's bust and a serpent's tail, remained inanimate: Karkotaka, ashamed of his deformity, was evading the threatening action of the charms and preferred to die a certain death, rather than appear in person.

On the advices of cantikara, king Gunakama threw him back in his retreat and in face of his stubborn refusals dragged him forcibly by the hair. The nine Nagas gathered, Cantikara eulogises and invokes them and the Nagas reveal to him the triumphant formula against drought; he must paint their images on a cloth with the blood of the Nagas. And they offered him their own blood to serve as a colour. The magician followed their indications. All at once the heavens clouded, and rain began to fall by the virtue of the Naga-sadhana rite. It was again to this charm that Vishnu Malla, king of Patan had recourse to defeat the drought

towards 1730, when the capuchins were in Nepal. "Sarvananda Pandita celebrated the Naga-sadhana and then rain fell". And the remedy has lost nothing of its credit; it is still employed to-day.

After karkotaka, Vasuki is the most popular of Nagas in Nepal. His worship is particularly associated to that of Pashupati, which he is entrusted to defend. In the reign of Pratapa Malla of Kathmandu (XVIIth. century), a Naga of Chaubahal ascended the Bagmati to the temple of Pashupati, swelled the volume of the waters, penetrated, through a ditch, into the interior of the temple and carried his insolence so far as to steal the marvellous grain of rudraksa which a salmi (oil vendor) of Banepa had offered to Pashupati in 1502. But the Naga had not reckoned Vasuki, his sovereign; Vasuki jumped into the river, killed the Naga and brought back the grain of rudraksa. To recompense the powerful Naga, who had so well repaired the damages of the inundation, the king, on the councils of his Brahmanic director, re-constructed the temple of Vasuki with a new roofing; "and since that time, by the grace of Vasuki, the Nagas no longer committed acts of violence. "It is also to the protection of Vasuki that Kathmandu owes a double privilege: never any thefts; never any snake-bites. The last of the Thakuris, Jayakama deva, has obtained this marvellous result in "restoring" the worship of Vasuki and by offering him musical instruments.

The legend of the Naga Taksaka, invented undoubtedly to explain the worshipped image at Changu Narayan, under

the name of Hari-hari vahana, seem to place the Nagas under the patronage of the Buddhistic gods and to disparage to their benefit the divinities of Hinduism. Taksaka, who has come to Gokarna, near Pashupati to offer penance, is attacked by Garuda, the nag of Vishnu; this implacable enemy of the Nagas wishes to take advantage of the weakness which the austerities have reduced his adversary. Taksaka, however, has the better; Vishnu hastens to the help of his bird, brandishes his terrible shield against the Naga, when Avalokitevara hastens to second the Naga and springs from sukhavati on the shoulders of Vishnu; peace is concluded between the two parties and Taksaka amicably wraps himself around the neck of Garuda. The image of Changu Narayan shows in fact Lokecvara carried on Vishnu (Hari) usual nag (Vahana) of Lokecvara. But Changu Narayan also evoke less cordial relations between the Nagas and the Buddhistic pantheon. The hillock which is crowned by the temple is a metamorphosis of Bodhisattva Samanta-Bhadra; the divine personage has taken this form by the order of Lokecvara, to support under the mass of rocks the Naga kulika, who locked respect for the holy places of Nepal¹.

In reality, the Nagas neither belong to Buddhism nor to any of the branches of Hinduism; they were born before all the gods of these pantheons, before the arrival of the first Brahman into India, from the superstitious terror which the reptile inspired to aboriginal; their evident power, manifested by innumerable victims, forced them to the worship of the Aryan conquerors. The old Brahmanism and all its stumps, recognized or disclaimed, organized a ritual in honour of the Nagas.

The Buddhism of the Great vehicle, which absorbed the popular worships of India and neighbouring barbarians, grants to the Nagas an eminent rank; its sacred texts frequently recall and glorify the Nagas and the pious enumerations of the most powerful among them often fill up long pages. Contemporary Hinduism is not less anxious to disarm and pacify the underhanded hostility of the divine serpents, by prayers and ceremonies².

"The Tirthas". The worship of the 'Tirthas', sacred fords adopted by all the religions of India, is still a homage paid to snakes: it is the water snake they adore; for it is that dispenses the special favours attached to each one of the Tirthas. Nepal, situated in the heart of the mountains, is full of Tirthas; there in not a river, a streamlet, a watercourse, or a humble string of water which has not its legend, its Naga and its advantages proper

But the best of the Tirthas are situated at the confluents of the rivers, at the point where two watercourses unite their special virtues. The confluent, besides, need not be apparent. The Hindu does not worry himself with verifying with his senses the notions of reason or faith; like he admits, in spite of lack of evidence, the imaginary eclipses which occur from an erroneous astronomy, between most distant watercourses. The Svayambhupurana of the Buddhists, the Pashupatipurana the Shivaites and the Nepala mahatmya of the Hindus give an almost identical nomenclature as that of the great Tirthas; The wonderful accounts alone destined to testify their efficacy vary one from the other. They are; The Punya-tirtha, at the confi-

uent of the Vagmati (Bagmati) and of its first tributary in the valley, near the sanctuary of Gorkarna. The Naga Raktanga resides thither.—The Zautha-tirtha, at the confluent of the Vagmati and of the Maradaraka, a streamlet, near Pashupati, cures diseases.—The Camkara-tirtha (or Kalyana) at the confluent of the Vagmati and of the Manimati (Manirohini, Rohini; Manohara), gives health and peace (The 'Pac.p' calls it Indramarga or Cakra-marga because he causes the arrival in the world of Indra).—The Rajatirtha, at the confluent of the Vagmati and of the Rudramati (Rudrachara or Rajamanjari gives health and royal power. The Manoratha-tirtha, at the confluent of Visnumati (Visnupadi, 'Pac. p.; Kecavati, 'sv. p.) and of by-tributary, the vimalavati the great Naga karburakulica resides thither; he gives rich clothings.—The Nirmala-tirtha, at the confluent of the Visnumati and of a by-tributary, the Bhadra (Bhadramati), at the feet of Syambunath; the Naga Upanalaka resides thither, he destroys sins.—The Nidhi-tirtha (Nidhana) at the junction of the Visnumati and of another by-tributary, the Suvaravati, very close to the Manoratha-tirtha; the two inseparable Nagas, Nanda and Upananda reside thither; they give wealth and abundant harvests.—The Jnana-tirtha, at the junction of the Visnumati and of a by-tributary, the Papa-nacini; the Naga Gvetacubhra resides, thither; he gives happiness.—The Cintamani-tirtha, at the junction of the Vagmati and of the Visnumati is the most excellent of all; besides these two rivers, the Trinity of Sacred waters: Ganga, Jamuna, Sarasvati find their way to the same junction by subterranean passages which the inspired devotees have recognized; no wonder this tirtha bears the beau-

tiful name of Panca-nadi, the five rivers. Varuna himself resides thither; he grants the fulfilment of every desire.—The Pramodaka-tirtha, at the junction of the Vagmati and of the Ratnavati; the Naga Padma resides thither; he grants love and happiness.—The Sulaksanatirtha, at the junction of the Vagmati and the Carumati; he gives fortune.—The Jaya-tirtha, at the Vagmati and of the Prabhavati gives wealth, beauty and the destruction of enemies.

The already long list of the great tirthas comprises an almost inexhaustible appendix of secondary tirthas which are hardly less advantageous, but on the condition that the right moment is chosen. Thus the pass of the Vagmati (Dvara or Dari), from where the river enters the valley; It is a female of Naga, Sundari who dwells thither, and she grants every wish. Thus again the Anantha-tirtha, which on the day of the Kumbha-Samkranti (the entry of the Sun into the sign of Aquarius) enriches his adorers. Thus the Mata-tirtha which, on the 15th. of the Vaisakha month, conveys directly to the dead, the offerings of the living; as an example, the adventure of the shepherd who at one time, overwhelmed with sorrow at prescribed day, a pellet of rice, and saw through the water his mother stretch out her arms to seize it. The tirtha of Vagic vara is still worth remembering by virtue of the memories attached to it. The Buddhists place it under the patronage of Manjushri which often bears in fact the name of Vagicvara "Lord of the voice". But Hinduism has another legend to interpret this name; Valmiki lived on the banks of the Tamasa (Tons), southern tributary of the Ganges, when he received the

revelation of poetry, before attempting to sing the Ramayana, he had recourse to Narada, official messenger between heaven and earth, to know the sacred spot worthy to be the cradle of so pure a poem. Narada showed him to the North of the hill of Changu Narayan (Dola-giri) the two arms of the virabhadra. Valmiki, went thither, sang his work and requested the Tamasa to also bring him by a hidden channel, its familiar waters. The tamasa answered the saint's appeal and ever since has followed the same path. As to Valmiki, the Ramayana completed, he offered the sacrifice of the vajapeya, ascended the Navanadi maya to erect thither a commemorating linga, then he returned to his hermitage of Hindustan (Nep. mah. III).

At the South-East of the valley at the foot of mount Phulchok it is the Godavari, the river in Deccan, which sanctifies Nepal with its distant waters. The Goddess Vasundhara, the Land-of-Treasures, revealed herself this mystery from the very early ages; a striking and irrefutable demonstration was given regarding it, in the reign of Nimisa, the first of the Somavamcis. A yogi who had lost all his religious implements in the waters of the Godavari, in the Deccan, found again his rosary, rod, sack, gourd, tiger skin and his pack of ashes intact in the tirtha of Nepal.

At the North-West of the valley, in a site symmetrical to the Godavari, at the foot of mount Nagarjun, it is the neighbouring Tricula-Gandaki (Tirsul Gandak) which has manifested itself on the other side of the mountain. The Tirsul Gandak is not an ordinary river; she is the

daughter of the trident of Shiva. At one time the god, with the burning throat for having swallowed the fish which threatened to destroy the world, went to the Himalayas to plunge into the icy waters of a lake; it is there that miraculous image and it is there the Tirsul Gandak springs out into three cascades. Separated by a range of hills from sacred Nepal, she diverts a portion of her waters to feed the fountains of Balaji.

The Rivers.—The rivers of Nepal are worthy to flow in such glorious company. The Vagmati or Vagvati (Bagmati) does not owe her name as one may be led to believe, to the murmurs of her waters. She takes birth, white as the laugh from the vary mouth (vacana) of Shiva, at the moment he was contemplating the penances of Prahlada, son of a demon (Nep. mah. VII; Pac. p. 1); according to another account, when Shiva had transformed himself into an antelope to mislead the gods, the Vagmati sprung out from one of the horns of the sacred animal. (Nep. Mah. 1). To the Buddhists, it is the very water of the Ganges which springs out from the rock struck by Buddha Krakucchanda, when he was in search of a stream to baptize the new monks. (Vamc. 80), or again her first drops fell from the fingers of the Tathagathas, by superhuman power of Vajrasattva (sv. p. IV). Her main tributary, the Vishnumati (Bishnumati) should be more correctly named the Vishnu-padi (Pac. p. XX), because she begins to flow like the Ganges at the feet of Vishnu. The Buddhists call her Keca-vati, because she derived her name from the shaved hairs, when Krakucchanda ordained the Nepalese monks (Sv. p. IV; Vamc 81). The Manimati (Mani-rohini, Manohara.

Manhaurah come down from mount Manicuda (Manichur) is connected by origin to the famous prince Manicuda: this hero of Buddhistic charity did not hesitate, through an instinct of sacrifice, to pluck from his head, a matchless jewel which nature had encrusted therein; the river sprung out either on the site of so great a dead or from the jewel itself (sv. p. IV.). The legend is so popular that Hinduism has respected it; the Nepalamahatmya (Brahmanic) still gives Buddha as god-father to the streamlet: when he heard of the holy metamorphosis of Shiva into an antelope, Janardana (Vishnu) under the form of Buddha, arrived from the country of Saurashtra (Kathiwar) and performed mortifications on the mountain of Manidhatu (mine of precious stones); as he was performing with fervour the burning penance of the five fires (four at the cardinal points and the Sun in the Zenith), the river Manivati came out of his ascetic perspiration (Nep. mah. I). The Hanumati recalls the epic monkey Hanumat, ally of Rama, who came to the Himalayas in search of magic plants destined to revive the brother of the hero who had swooned; Hanumat who was in a hurry, took the mountain with the plants on it and stopped a moment to recover his breath, before continuing his course towards the South on the banks of the little river, (Nep. Mah. III). The Ratnavati (Balku) was created by the Naga Karkotaka to allow of the outflow of the treasures of Indra reconquered over the Asura Dana. The Prabhavati bears the name of a heroine of the amorous legend associated with the worship of Visnuksna.

THE BUDDHISTIC DIVINITIES. The Buddhism of Nepal admits or rather

acknowledges the pantheon and the usual pandemonium common to the schools of the Great Vehicle, still more amplified with monstrous creations, due to the sect of the Tantras and to direct borrowings from Hinduism. Two personages, however, give a local feature to the worship of the valley: Manjushri and Matsyendra Natha.

MANJUSHRI.—Manjushri is the real creator of Nepal. Before him, a lake filled and covered the whole of the valley. The Buddha Vipaswin, who had foreseen magnificent destinies from it, visited the banks of the lake as a pilgrim and had thrown in a grain of lotus. In the course of time, the seed flourished; and from it there grew a remarkable lotus, that bloomed in the middle of the lake, as large as a chariot wheel, with ten thousand gold petals encrusted with diamonds on top and pearls beneath and rubies in the centre; the pollen was of precious stones, the stamens of gold, and the pistils of lapis-lazuli, a flame burnt from the corolla, purer and more splendid than the rays of the Sun; it was Adi Buddha, the primordial Buddha, who was immediately manifesting himself in his very essence, without symbol or emblem. The Bodhisattva manjushri, who possesses the perfection of science, knew that a 'Swayambhu'³, a spontaneous manifestation of divinity, had taken place in Nepal; he was then staying beyond the country of Cina, in the region of Great-China (Maha Cina surrounded by a septuple wall⁴; one the mountain of five Summits (Panchashirsa parvata). This remarkable mountain had a summit of diamond, one of sapphire, one of emerald, one of rubies; one of lapis-lazuli. Manjushri started on his journey accompanied by his two brides

(Kecini and Upakecini or Varada and Moksada, or again Laksmi and Saraswati) and a multitude of devout disciples. He entered the circle of mountains by the North-East; the lake was imprisoned therein; stopped for three nights in contemplation on the Maha-mandapa (on advanced portion of mount Mahadeo-Pokhri), placed his first spouse on the Phulocna (Phulchok, in the S.-E.), the second on the Dhyano-cha (Champadevi; buttress of the Chandragiri, in the south), and respectfully travelled around the lake in presenting the right side to Swayambhu. A revelation then taught him a task which was reserved for him. He had to, with the help of his irresistible sword which shone in his hands as a smile from the moon (chandra-hasa) open a breach in the mountain with one blow, allow of an outlet for the outrush of the waters and work his way in towards Swayambhu. He carried out the divine orders and by the Breach of the Sword (Kotvar) the Bagmati set free carried out the waters of the lake together with the Nagas and the monsters that dwelt therein. At the bottom of the lake, henceforth visible, crept the stem of the lotus which carried Swayambhu on its precious flower. Manjushri piously approached the root; heard around it the mysterious murmurs of a stream, bowed and worshipped, and Guyyeshvari; the Mistress of the Arcanums (mysteries) became apparent before him. He erected two sanctuaries to the glory of the two sovereign divinities and settled himself close to Swayambhu on a piece of land where the Nevars still worship the sacred prints of his feet, recognizable to those eyes that adorn them. He built a town between the Bagmati and the Bishnumati on the site partly covered by Kathmandu; besides, the modern heir of Manju-Fattana,

the capital or Manjushri, glorifies to reproduce in its great lines, the sword of Manjushri. After the fulfilment of his work he returned towards his mountain of China; but many of his disciples fascinated by Nepal "which resembles China so very much" (Sway. Purana. ed. Calcutta, p. 248-9) preferred to remain in her; he gave them for king a king of Great-China (Maha Cina), the virtuous Dharmakara, who had joined his procession.

Manjushri once again appeared in Nepal, in the days of kacyapa, the second last of the Buddhists who preceded shakya-muni. A Pundit of Benares, Dharmacri-Mitra who dwelt in the monastery of Vikramacila, well conversant with the details of the gospel, was, however, puzzled at the enigmatic meaning of the saying: a a i i u u e ai o au am ah, Manjucri alone knew the meaning of the twelve letters, and to rejoin him it was necessary to undertake a year's journey to the North of the Himalaya. The religious man did not hesitate; he took the road of Nepal. Reaching the border line of Swayambunath, he met a peasant who was tilling the ground with a lion and a tiger harnessed together; he questioned this strange ploughman on the road leading to China. "It is too late to-day to start the journey: spend the night with me", replied the peasant. Dharmacri followed him: suddenly the yoke disappeared, a comfortable monastery springs up, to shelter the guest. At night, Dharmacri guesses by new signs which god shelters him and early at dawn he requests the desired explanation. Manjushri reveals to him the mysteries of the twelve letters and expounds to him the Nama-Samgiti- "The melody of sacred names" which are derived by their combinations. Even to-day, in memory of

that adventure, the field that Manjushri tilled at one time is the first where the rice is most solemnly planted every year; it is the 'Bhagavat-ksetra (Bhagvan-khet), which almost touches the south-western extremity of the residence.

The legend which gives to Nepalese civilization a Chinese or Tartaric origin is made to deceive by its very probability. The Nevar Buddhists, such close neighbours of the Terai who saw the birth of several Buddhas must have been tempted in preference to search for their mother-land on this consecrated soil, at the foot of the glorious plains of India. The name of Manjushri, if tradition imposed it, would not have been an impediment to this tendency, because Manjucri belongs to the Buddhism of India, could the legend have sprung up at a late date, when Buddhism dead, or moribund in its native country, was casting a new light on the Tartaric nations, at one of the periods when Nepal was entering in direct relations with China and glorified herself in a vassalage which incorporated her to the Central Empire? The Swayambhu Purana, which relates it (without mentioning the Vamshavali which condenses it), is of too uncertain a date to help in the solution of this problem.

But there is nothing that can prevent giving this legend, an ancient origin⁵. Manjushri has been held in honour with the Tartars for many past centuries; the mountain of five pinnacles (Pancha-shirsa, whence he left on his pilgrimage to Nopal, is famous in the whole stretch of the Chinese Empire. The Sanskrit designation of Pancha-shirsa parvata' literally corresponds

to the Chinese appellation: 'Ou-t' ai-chan is situated to the East-South-West of Peking; One can reach it from the capital by the path of Kalgan, Chi-pa-r-tai and Ta-toung, whence five days journey towards the South takes one to the valley of Ou-t'ai. The most ancient of the temples of Ou-t'ai-Chan, traces back, so they say, to Ashoka; it is a stupa in the style of Swyabhunath, built of bricks, covered over with stucco and crowned with a golden T, which raises its summit to twenty five metres; it is credited with containing Buddhistic relics. It is, however, certain that the principal temple 'Hien-t'oung-sen', was built between 471 and 500 J. C. by a sovereign of the dynasty of the posterior Wei; one can ascend it by a staircase of one hundred and thirty marble steps, strewn with hairs offered to deserve paradise.

The statue of Manjushri lords it over in the middle of the temple, entirely enwrapped with silk scarps (kssayas) given as an offering by the faithful. Since the VIth. century, all the dynasties have vied with one another in zest in honouring the sanctuary. As early as in the reign of Kai-hoang of the Souei (581-601), temples were erected on each of the five summits. The emperor Young-lo, of the Ming, who entertained diplomatic relations with Nepal, deposited in the 'Pou-sa-t'ing, the first exemplary of the Buddhistic texts in native language ('fan') which he had engraved and pulled off on copper with the help of the originals brought away from the West by a special mission.

From an early date the reputation of the mountain with five pinnacles spread far

and wide. In 824 a messenger from the Tibetans ('T'ou-fan') came to ask at the imperial court, a painted image of the Ou-t'ai-Chau. A Nepalese manuscript of the Astasahasrika Prajna-paramita, dated 135 or samvat, in the reign of Bhoja deva and Laksmikama deva represent in one of the curious miniatures that adorn the text an image of Manjushri with the following legend: "Pancha-shikha-parvate Vagira-ttah (sic) 'Vagishvara (another name for Manjushri) on the mountain with the five summits. "The Bodhisattva is painted in it, in yellow as it suits it, sitting Indian-fashion, the left leg hanging over a lion, the hands joined in a gesture of instruction, holding a blue lotus (utpala, in the shape of a brush). On its left a subordinate personage, with a terrible look on his face and armed with a bludgeon. The ornamental painting consists of a temple dug-out in an underground (cavern) in the mountain with a tree and ascetics around. And, as if to dispel every suspicion and to confirm this testimony, another manuscript of bordering date (samvat 191, in the reign of Camkara deva) presents among its illustrations an almost identical image (or picture) with the following legend: "Maha-Cina Manjughosa", "Manju-ghosa (or Manju-shri) of the Great China. Here again the Bodhisattva, of yellow colour is sitting in the Indian-style, the right leg hanging on a blue lion with a red throat, the hands joined in a gesture of teaching; a blue lotus passes under the left arm. Two subalterns of the feminine sex stand one in yellow on the right, one in blue on the left; for scenery is painted an underground temple in the mountain, with trees.

Two whim of Nepalese miniature-

painters does not seem to have altered the essential features of the Chinese picture; Manjushri in fact has for ordinary symbols the book and the sword which he holds in his hands as the emblems of his eloquence and dialectic vigour, and it is exactly like this that he is represented, in one of the two Nepalese manuscripts, on an image without legend; the faithful had no need of explanation to recognize in it the divinity. Painted in yellow, sitting in Indian-style, he brandishes a sword in the right hand, whilst the left hand which is bent, holds the book; a blue lotus passes under the arm. The scenery is the same as for the other two miniatures: an underground temple in the mountain, and trees⁶ It is easily explained that an image of Manjushri of Ou-t'ai-chan had been known from an early date in Nepal; occasions had not been wanting to help its penetration thither: One of the Chinese diplomatic missions sent to Nepal, or through Nepal, between 646 and 660, was able to offer one as a gift to the pious king Narendra Deva, or again one of the Chinese devout crossing through Nepal as a pilgrim was able to offer one as a gift to some of the convents of the country; Exactly many of these pilgrims came from the very district of the Ou-t'ai-chan (department of Ping)⁷ and a few among them remained permanently in Nepal and died thither, leaving their varied objects of sanctity as an heritage to their Nepalese associates.

Lastly, the meeting at the court of the Tibetan king Srougtsan Gam-po, of two equally devout queens, one of Nepalese the other of Chinese origin, must have hastened the religious exchanges between

Nepal and China; one and the other had brought in the palace of their barbarious husbands, holy books and images. The glory of the Manjushri of Ou-t'ai-chan did not delay in descending from Nepal to the plains of the Ganges. The exact and veracious Hiouen-tsang, during his sojourn in India, on the very eve of the events which placed the two great nations of the Far East in close friendship, has never heard spoken of Manjushri as a Bodhisattva of China; otherwise he would not have failed to mention to his Chinese lecturers a feature so proper to flatter their national vanity. Personally, he seems well to consider him as the special patron of the Chinese in India; it is Manjushri who watches over him as an Guardian angel, who warns him in his dreams of imminent dangers and who exhorts him to return to his native-country; but none of the doctors of India, in their relations with Hiouen-tsang, think of evo-king Manjushri in connection with China. Half a century later, when I-tsing visits India, he goes about differently: "The people of India now say, to the eulogy of China: The sagacious Manjushri is at present at Ping-tcheon where his benediction is spreading over the people. So then we should honour and admire that country, etc. "Unfortunately I-tsing abruptly ends up here his account and he is content to add in a conclusive manner: "what they relate on that is too long to be mentioned in detail."

Hiouen-tsang had neither felt nor expressed this scholar's scruple. After the journey of I-tsing, China remains henceforth considered as the sojourn of Manjushri and the Hindu pilgrims who wish to adore him take the Road to China;

example, among so many others, Vajrabhodhi, the illustrious Amoghavajra, who left Ceylon for the Central Empire, towards the year 700, on the faith of a vision which ordered him to proceed thither to worship Manjushri; or again Prajna, translator of the Mahayana-buddha-sat-paramita-sutra fellow-associate of the Nestorian missionary king-tching; who proceeded on his way to China (which he reached in 782) because Manjushri was to be found, so he said, in the country of the East. Modern times have renewed the ancient tradition: The ambassador who every five years carries to (China) the court of Peking; the tribute of Nepal official, salutes the Mandchurian emperor, as the incarnation of Bodhisattva Manjushri; a flattery of the Dalai-Lama has allowed to the Mandchurians the right of exploiting to their benefit, the belief of ancient India.

In the course of centuries, Manjushri, ended up in being naturalized as a Chinese. The Tibetans credit his birth on mount Ou-t'ai, from an emanation of Buddha. Buddha had come to China to preach the law; but the gospel was too sublime to these coarse minds. He stopped at the mountain of five pinnacles which already showed five resplendent chaityas; from the base a tree had grown; it was a jambu, the tree which gives its name to the regions of Jambu-dvipa. A gold ray came out of the forehead of Bhagavat and penetrated the tree, where there formed an excrescence; from this excrescence there grew a lotus stem which bloomed into a flower and the flower carried the prince of the sages, Arya Manjushri. He had a yellow complexion with one face only and two hands, the right armed with the

sword of science, the left carrying a book on a lotus in circle, such as the classical images represent it, but without the particular features attributed by the Nepalese miniatures to the Manjushri of China. From his forehead came out a gold turtle which plunged in the lake sitasaras, at the feet of the mountain. And since, Manjushri dwells on the five summits but he assumes a different colour on each one of them: Yellow on one, white on the other red, green and blue and each one of the summits bears flowers of the same colour as the god; yellow here, white there, and red, green and blue; and the virtues are literally wonderful⁹. The Nevars who instructed the Capuchin Constantin d'Ascoli also represented to him Manjushri (in the name of Bissochtma), as "a certain Chinese who had come by the way of Tibet.

However, before being adopted by China, Manjushri had very well been a Hindu by birth. The Sanskrit sources of Taranatha, mentioned that he appeared in the reign of Chandragupta, king of Orissa, a little after the reign of Mahapadma, then towards the period of the Macedonian invasion, if these mythical indications are worthy of being translated in real language. He appeared in guise of religious mendicant, expounded a particular doctrine of the Great-Vehicle and disappeared leaving behind a book, the Asta-Sahasrika-Prajua-paramita, so pretended the santrantikas; the Tattvasamgraha, assured the Tantrikas with equal assurance.

The event had taken place either 250 years, or 450 years after the Nirvana. The locality, besides, varied like the date. According to the Manjushri-parinirvana,

Manjushri, the hero of the book, had taught five hundred lookers (rsis) in the snow mountains (Himalayas). Henceforth, one leap was sufficient to carry him from the Himalaya into China. In the days of Hiouen-tsang, the people still worshipped at Mathura, the "MEDOPX" of the gods "(Ptolemee) a stupa which covered his relics. Whilst some people held Manjushri to be a historical personage, others, glorified him as a supernatural being: The Yogacharyas considered him as the spiritual son (Dhyani-bodhistva) of the Buddha Akso-bhya and like identical with Vajrapani; elsewhere he is mentioned in company of Vajrapani and Avaloki-tecvara, in a triad in which he pertains to the Brahma of the Hindu Triad. He often receives the surname of "Kumara" the young man, the prince", or in the guise of a more emphatic form Kumara-bhuta. The appellation of kumara seem to act as a counterpart to the Kumaris of tantrism, to the virgins whom the Buddhists and Shivaites worship at the same time; but besides this worth, it seems to have here for special function the definition of the role of Manjushri in the Empire of the Law. The Buddhas are the Dharma-rajah, the kings of the Law"; Manjushri, the Bodhisattva, near them by below them, is the prince at the sovereign's court. But the essential element of his name is the adjective 'manju', which is found again in the various synonyms: Manjushri, Manjughosa, Manjusvara, Manjubhadra, Manjunatha; the title of Vag-icvara" Master of the speech", is the equivalent of the glass of it. The adjective 'manju is really applied and so to say exclusively applied, to the voice or to the intonation; the buzz of the bees, the song of the cuckoo, the words of the parrots, all that the poetries of India extol like a symbol of harmony,

and melody, has a right, with the human voice to the epithet of 'manju'; The technic gives the name of manju-giti, 'manju-vadun' to metres of a clever complication: The Tibetans, scrupulous translators, have selected to give this vocable the word 'hjam', which is especially applicable to the softness of speech. He is the god with the pleasant voice, master of eloquence and in this way corresponds with the Brahma of the Hindus; the relation is so intimate that he borrows from Brahma his lotus cradle and even his lady-companion Sarasvati. But whilst Brahma was disappearing in India and almost vanishing from the worship, Manjushri who was his counterpart threw into shade in the Indian Buddhism, and especially out of India, the numerous band of the competing Bodhisattvas.¹⁰

How can such a success be explained: Is it a strange coincidence, apparently marvellous, of sounds which has earned to Manjushri his popularity with the Tartars as it has procured later to the Emperor of the Mandchurians (-Manju) the honour of passing off as an incarnation of God? But the name of the Mandchurians seems modern and the relation is undoubtedly coincidence or chance. The traditional interpretations of the translators and Chinese glossarists help in no measure in the solution of the enigma.

Engaged as they were in explaining the thought more than the word, they have copied or reproduced to the imitation of the Indian doctors, false etymologies but more respectable to their taste than the literal sense of 'harmonious voice'. They have

translated 'manju' by 'marvellous', and 'manju-shri' by "marvellous virtue" or still more audiciously by "marvellous head" in confusing the substantive 'shri' (shiri in vulgar pronunciation in India, 'chi-li in Chinese transcription) with siras (commonly 'siro'), and chi-lo in Chinese transcription); thanks to this whimsical etymology, the name of Manjushri clearly showed that he was "at the head" of the Bodhisattvas. Others again translated manju-shri by "marvellous benediction", since his name was the best of omens". All these witticisms testify to the efforts made to place the Indian name of Manjushri to the height of his real role in China. In fact, the name of Manjushri is fairly disconcerting; it really ranks in appearance in the same series of so many known names: Jinashri, Jayashri, Padmashri, Dharmashri, etc.; but all these names have a character in common which differentiate them from Manjushri; the first element to which is added the word 'shri' is a substantive. In Manjushri, this first element is an adjective; it's enough from a grammatical point of view, to give a strange character to this word. The form Manjughosa, on the contrary is easily explained; it enters the same category of the name of Buddha-ghosa, Acvaghosa, etc.; and although the first term is again by exception, an adjective, the analysis of the combination raises no difficulty. Manjughosa seems well to be the primitive form of the name, of which Manjushri would be an adaption more honorary than correct.

Whatever it be regarding his name and origin, Manjushri has had the privilege of maintaining himself in the first rank of the pantheon, in spite of the multitude of rivals, through all the vic-

ssitudes of Chinese Buddhism. He holds already the foremost place in the first Buddhist texts brought into China, for instance in the 'Wen-jon-chi-lis-wen pon-sa-chon-king and the 'Nei-tsang pai pas king translated by the monk Leon-kia-tchanu, native of the country of the Yue-tchi, between 147 and 186 of J. C. he is glorified in the Ratna-karandaka-vyuha, translated by Tchou Fa-hon in 270. The triumph of the School of Tantrism with Vajrabodui, Amoghavajra and their successors strengthens again the rank attributed already to Bodhisattva by the School of the Perfection of Sagacity (Prajni-Paramita). In fact, this god of speech, is the born patron of the speculations, in the manner of the Massorettes or of the Cabbale, on words, letters, on their mystical power speculations which are so dear to the mind of Chinese and Tibetan Buddhism; he is really qualified to reveal to Dharmashri Mitra, the deep meaning of the twelve vowels, as well as to teach the abracadabra (magical word) of the formulae in conjuring-books (dharanis) which recapitulate and contain the sagacity and power of the Buddhas, to the barbarians of the North. As a fortunate rival of the Indian Brahma, he continues to incarnate the sovereign power of the sacred speech, the 'brahman' whom his rival has not succeeded in keeping; transplanted from the subtle monasteries of India to the country of the rude tribes of the Yu-tchi, Tukharas, Turuskas Cinas. Manjushri, prince of the speech found again outside the Aryan limits, the propitious strata of witchcraft and chamanism, in which the Aryan 'brahman' had at one time sprung up and grown, from Hindu-kutch to the China sea, he easily spread his uncontested empire. The Nevars have ended up by transforming Manjushri as a simple patron of manual

labours; but the consistent tradition does not nevertheless perpetuate in this symbol the memory of the Tartaric and Chinese influence on the southern slopes of the Himalaya.

The symbol is mythical; the influence itself is not a useless invention of the legend. Nepal, and by the road through Nepal, continuous action was exerted on beliefs, customs and civilization of their Northern neighbours; but two great races do not enter in a lasting relation without lending each other and borrowing from each other. The Chinese Buddhists who look upon Lao-tzen as Shakyamuni in person who had crossed through the East to preach his doctrine, and the Taoists who recognize in Shakyamuni their master Lao-tzen, who had mysteriously come out of China to visit the West, are equally justified one and the other. The history of the borrowings contracted by India is difficult to trace, in the disheartening dearth of historical documents; but it is a curious and suggestive indication regarding the request addressed to the Emperor of China in the VIIth. century by an Eastern neighbour of Nepal, the prince of Kamarupa, with the purpose of procuring the image of Lao-tzen and the sanskrit translation of his work, the Tao-te king. The passage of the pilgrims and merchants who often mingled with them, left traces on the soil of India. Immediately after the opening of relations between Nepal and Tibet, the Chronicle of Nepal mentions the introduction into Nepal of a new god, Maha-kala brought from Tibet by the savant Bandhuxatta in the reign of Narendra deva. The doctrine of Tantras which served as a connecting link between Buddhism and Shivaism, could not have drawn their inspirations of a ferocious, observe and

sanguinary mysticism from civilized India, it is elsewhere that it is perhaps necessary to search for the impure source. Several of the Tantras claim with candour China as their cradle. The tara-tantra who exalts in an ancient divinity, perhaps of a stellar origin, adopted and propagated by Buddhism, then gathered up by Hinduism, reveals that the knowledge of Tara has come from the country of Cina, even from China; it is there that Vasistha, the ancient prophet of Vedic hymns has had to travel to instruct himself from Buddha, whom he had not been able to meet in India or even in Tibet: Such is the secret that Shiva in person confides to his spouse Parvati, basing himself on the authority of the Cina-tantra. Besides, let no one mistake himself on this; Buddha is only here, as is proper, a form of Vishnu, at the same time as he is a great Bhairava, the manifestation of Shiva. The Maha-cina-kramacara, also named Cinacarasara-tantra, which pretends to dispel the last doubts of Parvati, disconcerted by the stupefying revelation of Shiva, relates in detail the visit of Vasistha in China and the informations he received there. On the advice of Brahma, who knew by experience the power of Tara, since it was through his help that he succeeded in creating the world, Vasistha, son of Brahma, goes to interrogate Vishnu in the form of Buddha (Buddha-rupi Janardana), who alone knows the rites of the worship of Tara. He enters in the "great country of Cina" and he sees Buddha surrounded by a thousand mistresses in erotic ecstasy. The surprise of the sage man borders on scandal. "Here were practices contrary to the Vedas" he exclaims; a voice from the void, corrects his error: "If you wish, said the voice, to win the favour of Tara, it is

then by these practices in Chinese fashion (cinacara) that you must worship me with. "He approaches Buddha and gathers from his lips this unexpected lesson: The women are the gods, the women are the life: the women are the adornment. Be always in thought among the women. "with a sprout of the tree of China (Maha-Cina-druma), the magical omnipotence is attained, if one practises the five rites generally designated under the name of the five M, their initial letter: 'madya', to drink alcohol; 'mamsa', to eat flesh; 'matsya', to eat fish; 'mudra' to make complicated moves with the fingers; 'maithuna', to fornicate. The last rite is the most efficacious of all, especially when one adds the adoration of a naked woman, whatever her birth.

The old doctrine of faith by the absurd, so dear to the Brahmans, finds itself surpassed by these teachings to which India pays honour to China and to Buddha. If one has the right to suppose and to search for reality in these whims, one would be tempted to suspect in these practices "Chinese fashion" the distant echo and little creditable of one of the secret societies that have abounded from all times in the Central Empire (China). If India has given Buddhism to China, China must have exerted reciprocally on India an action which still remains to be defined.

'Matsyendra Nath.- whilst Manjushri belongs to the ordinary pantheon of the Great Vehicle, Matsyendra Natha is a local divinity, exclusively proper to Nepal. The introduction of the worship of Matsyendra Nath in the valley is mentioned by the

tradition as belonging or pertaining to historical times. A precise date even remains connected to this important event. I shall have to discuss, in connection with the history of Nepal, this special point of chronology. The royal personage associated to this memory, Narendra deva, is fortunately known by positive documents; he reigned about the middle of the VIIth. century. But the chronicle has nevertheless treated on the subject as one concerning an epic poem; it has grouped, around the human authors, the half-gods and the gods and enriched with miracles the too simple foundation of the account.

Narendra deva had abdicated in favour of his son Vara deva and he had consecrated himself to a religious life. At that period Goraksa Natha came to Nepal in the hope of meeting and worshipping Matsyendra Natha who still frequented his most preferred residence, mount Kamani to the South of the valley. But the mountain was difficult to approach; the god, would conceal himself from his devotee. The saint's piety had recourse to a subterfuge: he enticed the nine great Nagas on a hillock, sat upon them to retain them as prisoners and waited with confidence on the events he foresaw.

The Nagas once prisoners, the heavens dried up, the rainy season passed without rain; the barren fields gave no more crops. The poor tribes died in great numbers. The scourge lasted twelve years and complaints rose from all sides, to such a pitch that king Vara deva became broken-hearted. He began roaming the streets without disclosing his identity, in the hope of

gathering a salutary advice. And thus it was that at the convent of the Three-jewels ('Triratna-vihara) he heard the old Bandhudatta speaking to his wife. Bandhudatta, in his long life, had already seen many calamities which he had known how to cure. He had extricated the king Chandra Ketu deva, from a strange predicament, when he was despondent and despairing himself to die of hunger; he had discovered and installed goddess Loniri Maha-kali, who had given peace and prosperity to the land; he had brought away from Tibet (Bhota) the god Mahakala and entrusted the care of the frontiers to the ten divinities of Wrath ('krodha-devatas'). And Bandhudatta said to his wife: "The only remedy to our ailings lies in Arya Avalokitecvara who dwells on mount Kapotals; but to fetch him, the prayers of a king are essential; and our king is young and frivolous and his father has secluded himself in a solitary retreat."

Besides, the Avalokitecvara of mount kapatola was none other than Matsyendra Nath, the god of Goraksa Natha. Avalokitecvara Padmapani Bodhisattva, who is also often called Lokecvara, had one day transformed himself into a fish (matsya) to hear, in place of Parvati sleeping an abstract of the doctrines of the mystic union taught at one time by the primordial Buddha (Adi Buddha) to Shiva and which Shiva was repeating to his divine spouse on the beach of the ocean; Lokecvara, since then, received and bore the name of Prince-of-the-Fishes-Protector ('Matsyendra Natha'). Having learnt by surprise of the only means of salvation,

king Vara deva entered his palace in all haste, sent for his father and Bandhudatta and prayed to them to intervene. The old priest accepted the proposal of going to search for Matsyendra Natha but he enforced the plea that he should be helped by Narendra deva and a gardener (mali) with his wife (malini), as these were the only people qualified to offer gifts. The little troop started on its journey; at each stage special rites were performed; the protection of Yogambara-Jnana-dakini was thus obtained; thanks to this goddess, Bandhudatta was able to liberate one of the Nagas from his long captivity, this Naga was called karkotaka. The liberated Naga joined the four pilgrims and rendered them signal services; were they to find a river to cross or a difficult passage, karkotaka would spread his links and make a bridge.

Without stopping their journey on account of the obstacles which the gods had raised against them, they reached mount kapatola, and Bandhudatta began to worship Avalokitecvara. The god, always sympathetic, took pity on Nepal; he appeared to Bandhudatta, instructed him with the secrets of the future and returned near the goddess (yaksini) Jnana-dakini, whom he honoured as a mother. Bandhudatta, while conforming himself to the instructions he had received, recited the powerful forms of invocation (mantras). Avalokitecvara hastened to appear in the form of a large black bee, penetrated into the phial of lustral water without the knowledge of king Narendra deva, who had gone off to sleep; Bandhudatta had to awaken his companion with a touch of the foot. Narendra hastened to close the phial. But the gods and demons pretended

to oppose themselves to the carrying away of Avalokitecvara. Bandhudatta appealed to his help the divinities of Nepal who held council and decided to entrust the case and protection of the kingdom to Avalokitecvara in the vocable of Matsyendra Natha. A treaty signed with the opposite divinities satisfied them by its advantageous clauses. Bandhudatta celebrated in honour of Matsyendra Natha the rites which are performed on the birth of a child; then he retraced his steps towards Nepal. The gods who did not wish to separate themselves from Matsyendra Natha ordered the priest to spread all along his route seeds of devadaru; the trees that would grow from these grains would one day show to the liberated king the path of return towards kapotala; but the crafty magician took care to sterilise the seeds up till the time he reached the pass of the Bagamati, in mount Kotpal. As he was about to enter the valley, he politely dismissed with gifts the gods of outside, summoned the divinities of Nepal and organized a great procession. Four Bhairavas undertook to carry the god willingly captive in the phial; Brahma swept the street in singing the vedas; Vishnu blew in his conch, Maha deva scattered about lustral water, Indra held the parasol; Yama burnt incense; Varuna spread rain water, Kuvera, riches; Agni, splendour. Vayu carried the banner; Nairrtiya brushed obstacles aside, Icanas dispersed the demons. Bandhudatta and Narendra deva alone saw this marvellous spectacle; the laymen only saw birds and beasts.

In crossing on the territory of Bagamati, at a distance of one league to the south of Patan, one of the four Bhairavas,

Harasiddhi, barked like a dog. Bandhudatta interpreted this barking; in making Bou, the Bhairava wished to mark the place where Matsyendra Natha was born ('bhu'). On the advice of the priest, the king founded the town of Amara-pura "the city of the Immortals". The god was installed in it; an image was worked out of the very holy clay from the mound of Hmayapido, and in it was transferred most solemnly the spirit of the god gathered in the phial.

Since the moment when the procession had formed at Kotpal, the wished for rain had fallen plentifully. Prosperity had returned. But the heroes of the legend ended up tragically: Narendra deva, in a rage for having received a kick from Bandhudatta, killed him by a magical charm, and died himself four days later; both were absorbed by the god. Bandhudatta in his right lag, Narendra deva in his left leg.

The legend mentioned in the Vamshavali seems to have omitted Goraksa Nath, who figured in the introduction of the episode. It is Goraksa Natha on the contrary who is and remains in it the central figure in the Brahmanic recension of the same legend. The Buddha-Purana, in which the Brahmans of Nepal have attempted to appropriate themselves with the popular legends of the local Buddhism, preserves Matsyendra Natha but ranks him second to Goraksa Natha. According to its account, Maha-deva gave a woman one day something to eat telling her that

thereby a son would be born to her. The woman did not touch the meal and threw it away on a heap of filth. Twelve years later, Mahadeva journeys back through the place, asks to see the child, hears of the transgression, gets angry, compels the woman to search in the filth and she discovers a small boy twelve years old; the child receives the name of Goraksa Natha. He had for spiritual master Matsyendra Natha and followed him faithfully; it was he who carried about the baggage of the master; one day Goraksa Natha went to Nepal; but angry for having been received without due respects, captured the clouds and imprisoned them under his seat in one of his packages; for twelve years he kept them under his seat, without wishing to stand up; fortunately, Matsyendra Natha happened to pass close by; Goraksa Natha could not help but stand up as a sign of respect; the clouds escaped and rain fell immediately.

The bringing together of Goraksa Natha and Matsyendra Natha in the two recensions of the legend is very significant. Goraksa Natha, in ordinary language Gorkha Nath is at the same time the patron of a class of Vivaitis (yogis) ascetics and the kingdom of Gorkha, for a long time the rival of Nepal and master of the empire to-day. Matsyendra Natha is the protector of Nepal and as the symbol of her independence: he presides over the destinies of the kingdom and appears at critical hours as the very soul of the country. On the eve of the catastrophes, which consumed the total ruin of the Nevar dynasties, Matsyendra Natha manifested himself at night, in a dream, to a humble peasant who lived on the consec-

rated soil of Bagmati and predicted to him in a sort of transparent allegory the coming calamities. The peasant at first saw the entry of a person who lighted a lamp, then the entry of others who spread carpets; a gathering soon gathered on them, and awaited a guest who excused himself and altered his visit for the morrow. The gathering dispersed. On the evening of the next day, the same scene happened, the same company, but the guest who was anticipated was present: it was Matsyendra Natha. A Bhairava came forward and asked to eat. Matsyendra Natha sent him to the country of Gurkha, dwelling place of Goraksa Natha and offered him the sovereignty of the place. "I accept, replied the Bhairava, if at the same time I can obtain the sovereignty over Nepal. "Matsyendra Natha consented and everything disappeared. The peasant thus learnt that the Gurkhas were about to reign in Nepal, since Matsyendra Natha had given up his rights.

Was Matsyendra Natha a creation of the local worships? His primary function of distributing rains seems at first sight to agree with the meaning of his name Prince-of-the Fishes-Protector. Prince of the Fishes must be an aquatic divinity and as such he is naturally in relation with rain. But the local legend assigns to Matsyendra Natha a foreign origin. The Buddhists who see in him a form of Avalokitecvara make him come from mount Kapotala, outside Nepal, beyond the country of Kamarupa. I ignore if mount Kapotala has ever existed in reality and in which region it could have been found;

I am tempted to see in this a whimsical designation born from an easy confusion between two of the resorts preferred by Avalokitecvara: the Kapota-parvata, mount of the Dove, in Magadha, and the Potala paravata, in Malabar. From wherever he came, Avalokitecvara in the form of Matsyendra Natha, is distinguished by a characteristic feature. He is red, whilst Avalokitecvara is usually white. The doll which figures to-day Matsyendra Natha in the processions is red: M. Foucher has already mentioned this peculiarity in a Nepalese painting which expressly represents "the Lokecvara of Bugama in Nepal" and which is met with again in a manuscript of the VIIIth¹² or the XIth. century. The details grouped by the legend around the essential fact: introduction of a new divinity into Nepal are borrowed from the present repertory of these accounts. One can compare with it for instance, an episode related by the Tibetan historian of Indian Buddhism, Taranatha: how the king of Pundravardhana, Cubhasara warned by a dream, entrusted the laic Cantivarman to go and fetch Avalokitecvara from mount Patala, so as to assure the happiness of his subjects: how Cantivarman triumphed over the obstacles accumulated on the road, helped by a snake that served as a bridge over the rivers and how he brought back the Lokecvara Kharsarpana.

The event was happening a century before Narendra deva since Cantivarman is the contemporary of Dignaga, the great logician who prospered in the VIth.¹³ century. Khasarpana, besides, had to rejoin

in Nepal Matsyendra Natha who had preceded him there. King Guna Kama deva introduced him in Kathmandu, precisely to compete with the Matsyendra Natha of Patan, the deserted capital, and he instituted in his honour an annual procession. Alike Matsyendra Natha, Khasarpa was red. The Svayambhu-Purana, which predicted his entry into Nepal has the caution to expressly mark its colour. (Ch. VIII).

Masyendra Natha came from

India. Yet his name is not figured in the Brahmanic or Buddhistic pantheon of India; but it is met with in the tradition of a mystical sect where he even shines in the first ranks. The adepts of the Hatha-Yoga, who Pretend to teach the practical means of reducing the body, of uniting with god and of executing suspicious prodigies of the Hindu fakeers, worship as their first masters Matsyendra Natha and Goraksa Natl. 4 who are once again found associating.

To be continued

FOOT NOTES

1. 'Vamc., 94
2. See in particular James Fergusson: "Tree and serpent worship: in India London, 1873 (2nd. edition) and Winternitz, 'Der etc., Wien, 1883.
3. Kashmere also possessés a Swayambhu where the divinity is manifested by a flame:

Svayabhut yatra hutabhug bhuvog garbhat samunisan Raja tar. 1, Pee. 34. The locality, designated in current use by the name of Sayam, is the theatre of volcanic phenomena which occur periodically. In certain years the soil allows the escape from a reddish cavity of vapours warm enough to boil the funereal offerings which the pilgrims place thither (stein, trans. de la Raj-tar., note on 1,34) The author of the Swayambhu. P. brings himself the two countries closer to each other.

Kacmire ca yatha santi tatha ca tatra mandale.

Sv. P. IV. p. 248.

4. The Swayambhu - P. tursch describes China (ed. Bibl. Ind., III. P. 148 and IV. P. 248) in a very vague description undoubtedly, but which at

least shows, to what extent China dazzled the distant vassals. "The country of Cina is surrounded by the Ocean; it is not a deep Ocean which surrounds her... She lies on the borders of Nepal (cor.: Nepalabhyantare sthané), many mountains, villages, provinces, kingdoms of all sorts, towns, cities, fields and markets are to be found thither; there is the imperial capital of all the kingdoms, III, p. 148. And in the other passage, Nepal is compared to China.

Yatha Cina eva dece ('a corr. ainsi') tatha Nepalamandalam "because all the sciences and knowledges are studied thither and that labourers and traders of every profession are to be found thither."

5. The fact remains that as early as the VIIth. century, a similar legend was in existence in the kingdom of Kamarupa, very close to Nepal. When the messenger of Li-Yi-piao visited the country of Kamarupa between 643 and 645, king Kumara related to him that "the power was handed down in the royal family for the past four thousand years: the first had been a saintly spirit come from China (Han-

- ti) by flying. “(‘Chen-kia-fang-tchi’) compiled in 650) in the Japanese edition of the Tripitaka, XXXV, 1.94b; and key ‘Hiou-tsang’ 111.77 and 79)
6. Foucher, ‘Studies on Budhistic iconography’, Paris, 1900, p. 114 sqq.
 7. See ‘sup’., p. 161.
 8. Besides the image of the Manjushri of China which I have described, the ms. Nepalese thamb. add. 1643 studied by Mr. Foucher shows an image of ‘Maha-Cina samants bhadra (Iconogr. bouddh.: p. VI, 4) where the Bodhisattva is represented on an elephant with wooded hills as a background to the tableau. Mr. Foucher is right in asking himself if these mountains are not meant to recall the O-mei-chan, the mountain on which Samantabhadra is particularly honoured in China. Whatever it may be, this image of China” is a further clue of the relations between India (specially Nepal) and China, at that period.
 9. Grundwell, ‘Mythology of the Buddhis-mus’, Leipzig 1900, p. 134 sqq; according to the ‘Pad-ma Pan-yig’, Tibetan biography of Padmasambhava.
 10. The very lion which serves as a mag to Manjushri undoubtedly translates in the form of a concrete image, the usual metaphor in which is expressed the power of the Buddhistic formula. The predication of Buddha is a “roaring of the lion” (Simhanada).
 11. Remusat has already mentioned, in a note of his ‘Fahien’, p. 114, these etymologies proposed by the ‘Fan-yi ming-yi Asi’.
 12. Foucher, op. land, pl. IV, I: Nepale Bugama Lokecvarah. M. Foucher has recognized himself in Bugama an abbreviated form of Bugmati, the village consecrated to Matsyendra Natha (p. 99 sqq.) One will find at the head of the 1st. volume of Old-field a picture in colours of Matsyendra Natha in his chapel of Bugmati.
 13. Taranatha, p. 141-145.
 14. Hathavidyam.vijnate, says Atamara, in the beginning of the Hatha-Yoga-pradipika (Cat. Mss. Oxen., 233 and 234)- key also on Matsyendra Natha Wilson, ‘Works, ed. Rost, Essays.. on the religion of the Hindus, 1862, vol. I p. 214; II, p. 30. Wilson is led to believe that Matsyendra Natha has introduced the Shivaite Yoga into Nepal, and he has realized the union of the sectarians of the Yoga with the Buddhists.