

NEPAL

(Continued)

-by Sylvain Levi

The History of the Triumphs of Shankara (Samksepa-Shankara-vijaya) also brings them together in an episode which reminds one by certain features of the Nepalese account. Matsyendra Natha, having entered by magic in the body of a king who has just died, leaves his own body to the care of his disciple Goraksa Natha. "As the excellent Yogin was taking the best magical postures, prosperity knew no slackening in that kingdom: 'The clouds poured rain' at propitious periods and the wheat gave priceless crops." But among the women of the seraglio, Matsyendra Natha incarnated in the king, loses his virtue; luckily Goraksa Natha who watches over him, reminds him of his duty and persuades him to enter again his own body⁴. Often also in the lists of the masters of the Hatha-Yoga, Matsyendra Natha is replaced by Mina Natha which name is only an ordinary synonym². Nepalese Buddhism also knows this name; but it con-

siders Mina Natha as the junior to Matsyendra Natha³. The Buddhistic tradition of Tibet seem to ignore Matsyendra Natha⁴, but it knows Goraksa Natha as a thumaturgical (wonder-working) ascetic; thus it is that from his childhood he makes his hands and feet grow again by magic, which mutilation took place by order of a barbarious step-mother. One still believes even in the hearing of the noise of the drum which he beats in his rough practices⁵.

The ascetics with pierced ears ('Kanphatas') who make use of the name of Goraksa Natha, have left a remembrance to Buddhism that does them no honour; at the time of the fall of the Sena dynasty when the Indian Church thereby lost her last support, the yogis who followed the rule of Goraksa Natha who were

of a very ordinary intelligence, became the devotees of Icavara, in order to obtain a few honours from the heretic kings; they were even saying that they would not oppose the Turuskas⁶. In the orthodox society of India, the names of Matsyendra Natha and Goraksa Natha still serve as eponyms to two clans of the jugis of Bengal, uncertain caste that pretexts to be of Brahmanic origin, in spite of the disdain with which it is surrounded⁷.

The accumulation of all these facts seem to enlighten up the origin of the Nepalese divinity. The first yogis who ascended into Nepal from India, enticed perhaps by chi'dish piety of Narendra deva, found thither undoubtedly a divinity consecrated by use, but foreign to the regular lists. Perhaps it bore the name of Buga⁸, which the Nevars still make use of the designate Matsyendra Natha, whilst the Hindu element employs the vulgar designate Macchindra Nath. Faithful to the method of adaptation always practised by the Hindu religion men in contact with the barbarous people, they vouched to recognize in it, the Lokecvava of mount Kapota; the small dimensions of the image worshipped in Nepal and which tradition has faithfully preserved up till now, constituted at least a feature of resemblance with the idol of mount Kapots, remarkable for its small size.

It is in the name of Lokecvava without the addition of Matsyendra Natha, that the image is represented in the manuscript studied by M. Foucher. Later on, when the invading Brahmanism was able to struggle with equal weadons against

Buddhism, the yogis of Goraksa Natha who followed fortune and who passed into Shivaism, as Taranatha accuses then, imposed on the local divinity a new baptism and hailed it with respect as their Chieftain Matsyendra Natha, whilst they were establishing by the side of Nepal, in a neighbouring and rival kingdom, the parallel worship of Goraksa Natha. The appropriation by the yogis of the local worship appears still more clearly in the case of Pashupati who served to a certain measure as an auxiliary branch to the Shiva sects of India and particularly southern India but already the history of Matsyendra Natha discloses the insinuating action of these Shiva yogis who seemed for a long time to place themselves at the disposal of Buddhism, but who employed themselves with as much constancy as with happiness in disorganizing it, in bringing it nearer to Shivaism to end up by absorbing and destroying it. The apparent anarchy of the Hindu brotherhoods does not exclude the method nor the consistency.

Pashupati.—The hearth of Brahmanic activity in Nepal, its symbol and headquarters together, is Pashupati. From a Brahmanic point of view, Nepal is the country of Pashupati, as it is to the Buddhists, the country of Matsyendra Natha. Pashupati has even, over his secular rival, an advantage of national order; he is an indigene. It was not necessary to bring him from distant countries; He is like the flame of Svayambhu, a spontaneous manifestation of the divinity. The linga which rises on the right bank of the gagmati, surrounded by a world of idols of temples and chapels, reminds him an

authentic relic the miraculous sojourn of Shiva. One day the God was in Benares, his holy city and his sojourn of predilection, in company of Parvati his spouse, it took his fancy to conceal himself from the respectful attention of the gods; he carried himself to Nepal and transformed himself into a gazelle in the wood of Clesmantakas. The anxious gods rushed out on all sides in search of him and succeeded in recognizing in his new form. They prayed and begged him to return with them either to Kailasa, his Olympus, or to Benares, his Jerusalem. Shiva escaped them and sprang on the other bank of the Bagmati. The Chiefs of the gods then decided to lay hold of him by his horn; the horn burst in their hands. "Very well, said Shiva, since I have dwelt here in the form of of an animal (pashu), I shall carry here the name of Pashupati (god animal). "Vishnu piously took one of the fragments of the broken horn and made it into a linga; the three other fragments were carried, to be worshipped as lingas: On the beach of the southern sea, at Cokarna; on the banks of the Candrabhaga river and in Indra's paradise at Amaravati. All the gods assembled together to pay homage to Pashupati; Buddha himself set the example¹⁰. These events took place in very ancient times; however the inspired yogis have revealed the date of the event: 300 years before the end of Treta yuga, about nine hundred thousand years before our period¹¹. A little while later, Vishnu and Brahma wished to find out as to how far travelled the light that emanated from this linga; they travelled round the world without losing sight of it¹². But, in the long course of the times, the primitive temple crashed to the ground and buried

in its ruins, the splendour of the linga. A cow, which sent and spilt her milk every day over the miraculous place, drew the attention and curiosity of a shepherd; he searched among the ruins; the refulgence shot out and consumed him; nevertheless Pashupati was found again. Nepal had then for king Bhuktamana, founder of the dynasty of shepherd-king (Gopal) who was annointed by the hands of Ne Muni, Eponym and Patron of Nepal. The first historical sources which is connected with Pashupati seems to be the name of king Pacupreksa deva, who covered the temple, so they say, with gold sheets. The whimsical chronology of the Vamcalis dates this event with 1234 Kali-Yuga or 1767 before the Christian era.

Beginning from Pashupeksa deva, the Chronicle registers a series of donations, restorations and enrichings: in the reign of Bhaskaravarmangold; in the reign of Gunakama deva, the Thakuri, a golden roofing, in the reign of Cankara deva, the Suryavamshi, a statue of Nandi; in the reign of Sadaciva, a new roofing, etc. From the very oldest manuscripts which are known to us, the kings of Nepal have prided themselves in being "the favourites of the feet of the Divine Pashupati". "The most ancient coins of Nepal show, in alternation with the names of kings, the name of Pashupati, accompanied by speaking likenesses such as Nandi, the bull of Shiva, the trident of Shiva, etc. Pashupati is the political incarnation of Nepal, like Matsyendra Natha is the popular incarnation of her. All the dynasties even to very Gurkhas have treated him with an equal respect and fervour: it is a Gurkha, Rajendra Vikram Shah who, in 1829, conceived

the strange idea of offering to Pashupati 125000 oranges and to bury him up to the head under this mass of fruits. Towards 1600, the bigoted Ganga Rani, to whom is attributed the construction of the actual temple, had stretched a kind of ribbon between the temple of Pashupati and the palace of Kathmandu, on a length of four to five kilometres, to sanctify his dwelling-house by a purifying communication. She was thus following the example given ten centuries earlier by Sivadeva, the Suryavamci. Half-a-century after Ganga Rani, Pratapa Malla renewed the same practice. Like Matsyendra Natha, Pashupati participates in national life: In the XIIIth. century, Nepal is invaded by the King of Palpa, Mukunda Sena; the Khas and the Magars who compose his troops accumulate unscrupulously the horrors and abominations; Matsyendra Natha says nothing, won over by the courtesy of Mukunda Sena who has slipped a gold chain round his neck. But Pashupati undertakes to avenge Nepal; his merciless face (Aghora), the one which is turned towards the south, shows its terrifying teeth and suddenly the plague, which he has left loose in this way, falls on the invaders and decimates them in fifteen days. Mukunda Sena, terrorstricken takes flight, but too late; he falls dead at the frontier of Nepal.

Pashupati, by his popularity has forced himself upon Buddhism, like Matsyendra Natha upon Brahmanism. The Svayambhu Purana predicts the apparition of a Lokevara; on the banks of the Bagamati, in the Mrgasthala, "who will possess the empire of the three worlds;

Hari, Hara, Hiranyagarbha, Ganesha will surround him and also the Yoginis and the Mothers in numerous troops; and his face turned to the south will be ruthless; he will receive the homages of the Bhattas Ksatriyas and even the Shudras and his name will be Pashupati. (ch. VIII). Pashupati owes his salvation to the charitable intervention of Buddha, when the demon Virupaksa pursued all the emblems of Shiva with his insatiable rage. Buddha, to save Pashupati, covered him with his own headdress; and Virupaksa humbly bowed before the disguised idol. "This is why all the emblems of Shiva are slightly leaning on one side, with the exception of the only Pashupati." And this is also the reason why the orthodox Brahmans of now-a-days, stubborn preservers of traditional forms, to be more at liberty to change the background, continue to decorate Pashupati once every year, the 8 Karthika of the clear fortnight, with a Buddhist headdress in order to pay him homages.

The Pashupati of Nepal is connected at least by name to the ancient periods of the Vedic pantheon. The hymns of Yajur and Atharva designated in the name of Pashupati one of the forms of Rudra or Agni, specially of Rudra; violent and ferocious divinity that threatens the precious cattle with its ominous features. The bull which remains in the classical mythology and in the modern worship associated to the person and the legend of Shiva means undoubtedly, in image form, the ancient relations of Rudra and the cattle¹³. In the compound of the temple of Pashupati, in front of the entrance gate to the sanctuary rises a colossal statue of Nandi, the nag

and servant of god. But there is a long way between the Vedic and the Nepalese pantheon and the connecting link is missing. Between the two Pashupatis, the real inter-mediate are the Pashupatas. The Pashupatas are, according to the excellent definition which a disciple of Hiouentsang¹⁴, gives on them, "ascetics who cover themselves with ashes; they cover the whole body with ashes and now shave and now allow their hairs to grow. They wear soled and worn clothings, which only differ from the others, in that they are not red. These sectarians worship the god Mahesvara."

The sect of the Pashupatas is ancient. The Maha Bharata places their doctrine on the same rank as the Vedas, the Yoga and the Pancarata, as the authentic teaching of Shiva. (XII, 13702); It is Shiva in person, husband of Uma, the master of the Bhutas, who has published the Pashupata doctrine (13705); it is characterized by practices of a ferocious austerity (10470). The Puranas are agreed in proclaiming the orthodoxy¹⁵ of it. The canonical works of the sect are still unknown; but Madhava has given a systematic abstract of them in a chapter of the Sarva-darshana-samgraha¹⁶. Under a patchwork of philosophical notions, the doctrine of the Pashupatas appear in it as a practical method of intense asceticism: the Pashupata must burst out laughing, dance, roar, snore, tremble, play the lover, speak absurdly, act absurdly, etc.

Hiouen-tsang meets the Pashupatas in the VIIth. century at Kapica in Jhalan-

dara (where they are the exclusive representatives of Brahmanism) in Ahicchatra, in Maharastra, the sect is powerful and well spread. At the same period, Bana mentions the presence of Pashupatas in the camp of Harsa¹⁷. They appear in the history of Cashmere as early as the VIth. century¹⁸. In 609 J. b. a prince of Central India, Buddharaja of the Kalacuris (Katachuri) vaunts his grandfather Krishna as a devotee of Pashupati¹⁹. An inscription from Cambodia, in the year 900 thereabouts, which shows the rule of the order of precedence in a Shiva temple, places the Acarya Shaiva and Pashupata immediately below the Brahman²⁰. In the XIth. century, the erudite Lakulica or Nabulica reforms the sect and gives it a new lease of life; starting from the vicinity of Madras, the movement of renovation reaches Mysore, extends to Gugerat and soon shines on the whole of India²¹. A recrudescence of relations between Nepal and Deccan follows the awakening of Shivaism in the south of India.

More numerous than ever, the yogis take the road to the Himalaya, dear to Shiva. Behind the Yogis march the conquerors. It is the time when Nanya Deva of the Karnataka proceeds at the head of his Nareyas soldiers to found a dynasty in Nepal (1097). The princes of the Deccan, Somecvara III Bhuloka Malla, Bijjana²², Jaitugi, flatter themselves by turn in the course of the XIIth. century of having reduced Nepal to a state of vassalage, by the action of the religious brotherhood, undoubtedly more than by the force of arms. The traditions which connect Nepal to India in the south are then invented

or made to circulate again²³; it is related that one of the first kings of mythical Nepal, Dharmadatta, came from Conjeveram (Kanci) and had reigned there at first; one insists on the community of origin of the linga worshipped at Pashupati, and of the linga worshipped at Gokarna, on the northern coast of the Canara; a distant overflowing of the Godaveri is discovered in Nepal; there is not a wood even the one consecrated by the metamorphosis of Pashupati which does not remind of an illustrious forest of Deccan, the Clesmatakanavana, where Pulastya, the father of the demon Ravana, was mortifying himself by severe penances. The souvenirs and personages of the Ramayana are localized in emulation of one another in Nepal; Nepal even ends up by fraternizing with Lanka. The Buddhists persist in playing a losing game and introduce in the history of Nepal the trader Simhala, eponym of Ceylon and famous among all the anterior beings to Buddha. After the restoration of the Mallas, Pashupati becomes a real fief of the religious men of Shiva of the Deccan.

Yaksa Malla "name Bhattas Brahmans, native of southern India, as priests of Pashupati-Natha" in order to conform himself to the rules drawn up at one time by Cankara acarya when he came to Nepal, in the course of his triumphant tour of controversies against heresies: He had then expelled the Bhiksus from Pashupati and had instituted in their place Brahmans from the Deccan. In the reign of Ratna Malla son of Yoksa Malla, a Svamin of the name of Somacekhara

Ananda, native of Deccan and conversant with the Tantric ritual of the Khodhavyasa, came to Nepal and was named as priest to Pashupati. The title of guru was given him. However, two Nevars as Bhandaris, had to serve him as assistants during the time of ceremonies; two other Nevars were entrusted with the administration of the properties and treasures of the temple." A century later, towards 1600, a new Svamin equally conversant with the Khodha-myasa, came also from southern India; he was called Nitya Ananda, Ganga Rani nominated him as priest to Pashupati. As also, in the course of the XIth. century, "the Svami Jnana Ananda, expert in the Khodha-myasa came to Pashupati from southern India. Pratapa Malla examined him and named him priest of the temple".

The exact history of the Nepalese Pashupati, allows one to perceive its probable origin. Pashupati in every respect like Matsyendra Natha, is the work of these yogis, vagabonds, philosophers, magicians, conjurers, who have made and held in spite of the irregularities of the surface, the profound unity of India. Enticed towards the Himalaya taken up by the presence of their god, on the way towards the inaccessible pinnacle of Kailasa or towards the frozen lake of Gosain-than which shows without being approachable a natural image of Shiva, the yogis substituted their god to an indigenous divinity. Perhaps this name of Pashupati still reminds one by its transparency, of a protecting spirit of the flocks, contemporary of the pastoral tribes that peopled

the valley at one time, as they still people the mountainous districts of the neighbourhood. The metamorphosis of the god into an animal (mrga) means perhaps to the Brahmanic way of thinking the incorporation of a local worship with Shivaism; a local worship shown to animals; the element worship were supposed to have been divided by differentiation between the god Shiva and the bull Nandi which serves him as a riding-animal, as a companion and as a vigilant guardian. Perhaps this name only commemorates like resisting stamp, the work proper of the yogis Pashupatas. However it is always so that it testifies and shows indeed the procedures of the expansion of ancient India and the continuity of the efforts of the Brahmanic missionaries.

Narayana - Vishnu, the rival and equal of Shiva in the classical mythology of India, has not succeeded in taking as vigorous and prominent a personality in Nepal. Instead of materializing himself into a chosen figure, his religion and legend have scattered themselves. He is very popular in the whole valley and among all the classes of the population, in the name of Narayanas excel in holiness and reputation above all others. Cangu-Narayana, cesa-Narayana, Icangu-Narayana and Cayaju-Narayana. Canju-Narayana is incontestably the first among them all. The temple which is consecrated to him rises on the Dolagiri, at the Eastern extremity of the valley, between Bhatgaon and Sankon. Ginsu is associated in it, to the goddess Chinna-masta "Head cut-off" The Nepala-mahatmya relates in fact that Vishnu has had his head cut-

off by an enraged Brahman, in application of the law-of-retaliation; the god, in an angry moment had beheaded a demon (Daitya) of Brahmanic caste who was a disciple of Cukra; and Cukra, in a rage, had cursed the murderer. Garuda, who serves as riding-animal to Vishnu and who is always associated to him like Nandi is to Shiva, has by a treaty in due form and good order with the snakes, his secular enemies, assured to the hillock the privilege to possessing snakes without venom. The Buddhists of Nepal have adopted Cangu-Narayana as they have adopted Pashupati; Vishnu only serves to manifest the power of Avalokitecvara. One day that Garuda was struggling with the Naga Taksaka, as he was on the point of winning, thanks to the help of Vishnu, the sympathetic Lokecvara intervened, concluded an agreement between the adversaries; passed Taksaka round Garuda's neck; Vishnu borne on his nag, took the Lokecvara on his shoulders as a sign of humiliation; and suddenly there appeared a griffin, who carried the three superposed divinities to the Summit of Dolagiri. A sculptured group still testifies to the faithful the reality of the event. The pillar to the inscription of king Mana deva, erected before the temple, testifies on the other hand to the critical minds, the antiquity of the local worship.

An inscription of Amcuvarman which stipulates a donation to Jala cayana, also guarantees the long past of Vishnu under this vocable. To the indigenous tradition, the origin of Jalacayana traces back very much farther: it is under Dharmadatta of Kanci, mythical king of the imaginary Vieala-Nagara, that a yogi edified the first sanctuary of Jalacayana, at the foot

of mount Shivapuri. King Vikramajit, another hero of tales, made a tank with a stone image with four arms; his successor Vikramakesari saw the tank suddenly drying up; anxious, he consulted the sage men, and learnt that the gods were asking for a human sacrifice, and he sacrificed himself as a victim. Real history seems to begin with king haridatta varma, of the Suryavamci dynasty, who distinguished himself by his zeal for Narayana. On a certain night Jalacayana appeared to him in a dream, and revealed to him the place where he laid under the ruins; the king ordered to clear away the rubbish and the statue re-appeared to light. Unfortunately, a clumsy stroke of the pickaxe had broken its nose; care was taken not to repair the accident, and the Jalacavana of to-day has always the nose broken. Haridatta named the image Nilakantha, unexpected name, since it is exclusively applied to Shiva; but the religions syncretion of Nepal still appears with the feature: with the four arms and the ordinary attributes of Vishnu, the statue stretched in the middle of a tank does not recall any the less the Nilakantha authentic which is worshipped at the lake of Gosain-than. Jala-cayana is only known as "the Old Nilkantha (Budha-Nilakantha²⁴), ever since the XVII th. century, king Pratapa Malla has installed "the New Nilakantha" (Bala-Nilakantha or Balaju). Pratapa Malla has had sculptured in the compound of his palace of Kathmandu, in the middle of a pond, a reduction of Ni'akantha²⁵; then he has had brought, at the price of persistent labour, water from the sacred bank. The Old Nilakantha then appeared to him in a dream and

warned him that if ever a king of Nepal came to visit him, this king would certainly die of a sudden death. Since then, it is the New Nilakantha, Balaji, who receives on prescribed days the visit of the kings.

It is in the aspect of Krisna that Vishnu is the most intimately mingled to the legendary history of Nepal. Krisna, and especially Prodyumna his son, are the heroes of an epic and gallant romance, as it suits the Krishanaite cycle, and so popular, that he serves as the nucleus to the two great religious compilations of Nepalese Brahmanism: he takes up eight songs (VI-XIII) in the Pashupati-Purana and six songs (VII-XII) in the Nepale-mahatmya.

Surya ketu, king of Cvetaka in Campakaranya (Champaran), and fervent worshipper of Vishnu, is besieged by Hamsadhvaja, king of Mithila (Tirhout); in his distress he invoked heaven. Narada the indefatigable messenger, hastens to him from paradise and advises him to retreat to the stream of the very holy Bagamati, on the mount with the "Lion-Summit" (Mrgendracikhara), consecrated at one time by the presence of Vishnu, in his avatar of Man-Lion (Narasimha); already Prahlada the pious progeny of the demon Hiranya Kacipu, has felt the place; the mortifications that he practised have drawn a hearty burst of laughter from Shiva, which laughter caused the outflow of the Bagamati. Surya ketu obeyed; he fled from the capital with the beautiful Candravarti, his daughter.

In the valley of Nepal over which lords the Pinnacle of the Lion, there

reigned at the time a powerful demon, several times conqueror over the gods, Mahendra damana; Suprabha, was his capital at the foot of Candragiri, at the place where Thankot stands to-day. The sister of this demon, Prabhavati, was a princess of matchless beauty. By one of these mysterious effections which the Hindu romance loves, she had fallen in love, without having ever seen him, of Pradyumna, the son of Krishna. In order to distract his sister, Consumed with a love of which he is ignorant, Mahendra damana stops the course of the Bagamati and turns the submerged valley into a pleasure lake. In his turn, told by a complaisant mediator of the charms of Chandravati, he falls in love with the princess and pretends to obtain her hand in marriage. Surya ketu who feels reluctant to such an union, invokes once again Narada. Narada reassures him, promises him that Pradyumna alone will be his son-in-law; after this he goes to Prabhavati and foretells to her the success of her passion. A war is declared. Under the leadership of Pradyumna, the gods finally triumph. Krishna comes from Dvaraka to congratulate his son. The Bagamati addresses him a request. "You can at will, O'Hrisikeca, either unite or separate the lands. Open to me an outlet that I may rejoin the Ganga." Krishna with a stroke from his disc separates the mountains and the Bagamati flows out. A demon, Kacchapa, pretends to throw the Dolagiri into space; Krishna buries a linga, like a nail in the mountain and strengthens it: such is the origin of the Kilecvara. He erects many more commemorative lingas (the Svarnecvara, the Gopalecvara), he adopts as a sacred territory, the southern portion of the Mrgacrnaga at Pashupati, in order to be associated with Shiva in a mu-

tual worship. Nemi, as the very symbol of Nepal who has taken his name says: "He who sees Hari (Vishnu) in the form of Hara (Shiva) and Hara in the form of Hari, is a follower of Vishnu and a follower of Shiva. Whosoever distinguishes between Hari and Hara is a scoundrel, a miscreant and a heretic; hell is his path-" and Pashupati in person corroborates this language. The seducer, Pradyumna espouses afterwards the two princesses; Krishna brings back Surya Ketu to Cvetaka and Hamsadhvaja returns to Mithila.

The list is undoubtedly ordinary; the puranas and the Mahatmyas appendants abound with similar adventures. It is nevertheless a surprise to meet again the same personages grouped in an analogous account, consecrated to the glorification of a distant region, ever since a fairly distant period. The author of a biography of Vasubandhu translated in Chinese by an immediate disciple of this doctor between 557 and 569, mentions the passions of Vishnu with Prabhavati, sister of (Maha) Indra damana, as the origin of the name of Purusapura, the modern Pechaver, on the North-West boundaries of India. The antiquity of the pourranic material is thus brilliantly demonstrated and further also the unceremoniousness of the Brahmans has carried the legend from one point to another. The Sanskrit name of Prabhavati, given to a streamlet in the South of Patan the Nakhu Khola, may have suggested the local application of known romance.

Vishnu has just appeared associated and even mingled with Shiva; still more frequently, he becomes connected as closely with Buddha. The legend of Changu Nara-

yan has already shown the Brahmanic god connected with a divinity of the Buddhist pantheon and who emerges from the adventure rather humbled; but the adventure dates too far back to compel a conviction on undeceived minds. A more recent episode has proved to the hesitating Buddhists, the superiority of the divine or godly personnel. Towards the beginning of the XIVth. century, a little while before the invasion of Harisinha deva (1324) a couple of honest people who were living at Kathmandu found one day, its provision of fuel transformed by miracle into gold ingots. The two of them wished to show their gratitude to the gods, authors of this miracle; but here their good understanding came to an end. The husband favoured Buddha, the wife, Narayana. They had to choose. It was decided to place the two divinities under an ordeal: the husband sowed a grain of bhimpati; the wife, a grain of tulsi; each god had only to manifest his power by the help of his favourite plant. The bhimpati, dear to Buddha, bloomed first. The proof was irrefutable; the wife gave in without further obstinacy on her part and a great festival celebrated the triumph of Buddha over his rival.

The trial was indispensable; true to their tactic, the Brahmans had gradually drawn closer to Buddha in an enveloping movement; powerless to overthrow their adversary, they resigned themselves by accepting him so as to entirely consume him. The convenient system of the avatars permitted them to represent Buddha as an incarnation of Vishnu. The Nepala Mahatmya (I) shows among the crowd of gods assembled together to worship Pa-

shupati "Janardana (Krishna) who had arrived from Saurashtra (Kathiawar) under the guise of Buddha (Buddha-rupi)²⁵. The Brahmanic adaptation of Buddha's history in usage in Nepal was revealed in a special Purana which was immediately lost after discovery; the manuscript of "this rare and valuable work" which Kirkpatrick was able to procure in himself, disappeared²⁷ from the collection of manuscripts in Fort William²³ after becoming part of it. Fortunately, in place of the text, we have at least a partial analysis due to Father Marco della Tomba²⁹. According to him, "the Buddha Purana is the thirteenth of the Puranas; it treats on the ninth incarnation of Vishnu into Buddha, dumb divinity. It mentions how a certain king named Surghdan ('Gidhadana') had a wife named Mayadevi, which signifies the great Bhavani, who was the wife of Mahadeva ever since the beginning of creation. Well their came to this Mayadevi something under the arm, which she knew not herself what it was. One day in lifting the arm, to pluck fruit from a tree, there fell out from under her arm-pit a son which they called Buddha, because he was born dumb and that from the day of his birth all the statues and idols became dumb. However, in history, they make him speak in spite of his name. This Buddha, once born, his father (I think, putative-or supposed) became very rich. When the child reached the age of twelve, they sought a wife for him, but he persisted in declaring that he did not wish for any women but the daughter of a giant, named Paramecvari. Finally, Buddha's father was compelled to ask the giant for his daughter in marriage to his own son.

The giant refused; Buddha wished to take her by force. A struggle ensued and the Buddha with a kick hurled the giants elephant 16 miles away; and he did likewise with the other giant companions. The giant seeing that he could do nothing by force, proposed a battle on theological argumentations, for which argumentations he presented his doctors; but these were quickly outwitted by Buddha and at the end Buddha took away the girl from the giant, her father. The gods who were jealous, attempted to remove by any means the wife of Buddha, but they did not succeed. The Buddha then went away to do penance in several parts of the world, in one place he remained 37037600 year a penitent. And yet this Buddha has existed after Krishna, from which period one can count 4830 years. Custom of the Gentiles to swell up the number of zeros at their whim. The penance of Buddha was so well received that all nature was in ecstasy; to such an extent that no more rain fell on the earth. The gods wished to interrupt it by all means: the god Indra threw a rain of fire, but it changed into flowers. He let loose arrows and thunderbolts, but without succeeding in reaching him, except a toe gangrene set in the wound and the fowl would come and pick out the vermins. This is why the Gentiles do not eat fowl. A few young persons went to entice him but in approaching him they were transformed into old beasts. The giants wished to remove him with the entire land, but they failed. They sent a large army, but on reaching there they scattered in all directions. At the end, seeing that all attempts were useless

went in all together: Brahma to worship him served as a sweeper, Vishnu served as a blower of trumpet, Mahadeva as a parasol bearer (and yet the Buddha was none other than this same Vishnu incarnated); the other gods— some singers, some dancers.

In this way, they were able to distract him and placed all things in their natural order. The Buddhists, Viz., those who follow this Buddha with a particular devotion like the Tibetans and the mountaineers still worship a certain Macendranak (Machhindra natha) . . . ”; This is what has happened to the biography of the sage of Kapilavastu, accomodated by the Brahmans and recapitulated by a Capuchin Priest. A collection of common tales and of childish marvels.

Thus Vishnu who had been declared as identical to Shiva, has again become identical Buddha. But the fever of identities which torment the Hindu talent demanded a third equation between Shiva and the Buddha. This equation, the Nepala-mahatmya (1) proclaims through parvati's lips, “Satisfied by the authorities of the Buddha, the daughter of the Himalaya told him: your practices are good; ask for a favour at your own choice. The saint replied: How many people there are in this country who conform themselves to my law. The Blest who cherished her devotees then said to Buddha: This sacred land has been created by Shiva; you, you have practised ascetism. Therefore, on this incomparable soil, the devotees of Shiva will be the devotees of the Buddha. No doubt existing. This time the cycle is completed: Vishnu, Shiva, the Buddha are brought

nearer one another, penetrate and are consumed under the august patronage of the Great Goddess whom all the religions worship.

Devi- The Goddess, 'Devi', owes it undoubtedly to her sex the privilege of an universal popularity in India; virgin and mother, she has grace and dignity. Shiva's spouse, she follows him faithfully without being enslaved to him and willingly consents to share her worship with other associates. None of the gods, however powerful he be, have ever obtained the honour of bearing the exclusive title of Deva, the God pre-eminently, in the Hindu pantheon. Devi alone has no need of another designation all the religions recognize her as the Goddess. She nevertheless does not mind being worshipped under various names, which express the variety of her attributes or of her functions, or again which recalls the numerous episodes of her life. Under the vocable of 'Gyhyecvari', Our-Lady-of-the Secret, is the ancient patron of Nepali Manjuceri discovered her and worshipped her hidden, in the root of the lotus that carried Swayambhu, manifested however, in the clear source that escaped from the soil. The town of Deva-pattana (Deo Patan) was erected later on the marvellous site, but the Goddess did not ease receiving a consecrated worship by the ancient tradition. The Brahmans who do not believe in the history of Manjushri have nevertheless a reason for worshipping the Goddess at the same site. When Devi, while living anteriorly, was the daughter of Daksa, her father was very disrespectful to Shiva-her husband; wounded in her pride and dignity, the goddess killed herself and requested a re-birth under a better parentage: She then became the daughter of Himalaya. Hearing of the suicide of his adored wife, Shiva wrenched himse-

If free from his ascetic macerations to hasten-towards the pyre where Devi has willingly ascended, giving thus a vivid example to virtuous spouse; he gathered in his arms the half burnt body and returned towards the summit of Kailasa, laden with his precious burden; but the burnt limbs fell off one by one all along the way. The secret organ (of generation) (guhya) of the goddess fell off on the Bagamati; the soil closed up jealousy over the holy relic; but a temple marks the spot and in the sanctuary an Eight-petalled lotus adorned with mystical syllables carries an emblematic triangle which the Brahmans worship as the symbol of the generative vulva, whereas to the Buddhists it expresses the sacred Triad, the Treble-jewel. The "Alphabetum Tibetanum" (p. 104) gives a picture of this lotus, due to the Capuchins in Nepal and also describes according to their testimony the multitude of faithful who crowd in the temple at all hours; indigenous or pilgrims come from far, men and women scatter profusely their gifts in the deep cavity which opens in the shape of a triangle; but the offers absorbed or appropriated by an easy artifice, disappear under the very eyes of the amazed faithful, and Devi remains insatiable without tiring herself by being impregnated or ever not producing. The exegesis, strictly speaking, varies with the sects, the learned Buddhist in such number that they remain, honour Guhyecvari as an incarnation of prajna, the science-or of Dharmadevi, the goddess of the Law and alike identical to Arya-Tara; but the ordinary layman who does not discriminate refineries brings to the goddess, of Hinduism as well as of Buddhism, the same ardent homage.

One of the most popular names of Devi in the whole of India is, 'Durga' the

Not-Easily accessible; either be it that this word expresses the mysterious nature, inconceivable of the Universal Mother, or be it that it shows the terrible aspect of this divinity, as formidable to the wicked as she is favourable to the good, in order to fight the demons and triumph over them, she did not hesitate to struggle with them with horror and ferocity. Durga is often worshipped under the designation of 'Nava-Durga' "Nine-Durgas" as a kind of collective being embodying nine personalities. Nepal has adopted this vocable, but she has slipped under this borrowed name a local combination of nine "Our Lady" which differs from the usual list. They are: Vajrecvari, Notecvari, Jhankevari, Bhuvanecvari, Anga'evari, Vatsalecvari, Rajecvari, Jayavagicvari and lastly Guhyecvari. They have not all acquired equal fame in spite of their pretension to an equal antiquity: Shivadev the Suryavanci is erudited with having instituted, or to speak the language of the Chronicles, resuscitated these nine worships. The first after Guhyecvari is surely Vatsalecvari (Vacchlecvari) whom Siva already worshipped as "the principal divinity of Nepal", he even instituted in her honour a human sacrifice which was to be renewed yearly. One of his successors, Vicva deva, wished to suppress this ceremony which was a barbarous one, but the howlings of the goddess brought him back quickly to the respect of the tradition. Jaya Vagicvari is the tutelar divinity of Deo Patan: she is credited with coming from lake Masana, on the Tibetan plateau.

But the nomenclature of the Nava durgas is far from exhausting the list

of our Lady from Nepal. At the time of the foundation of Kathmandu, king Guna Kama dev "resuscitated" another series of Nava-durgas. The most notable of the icvaris are: Ksetrapalecvari, divinity-protectress of the soil; Kankecvari, worshipped under the name of Rakta Kali and worshipped yearly by a human sacrifice, Kulicecvari; Mahecvari; Candecvari who has for original residence (pitha) the valley of Banepa, in the east of Nepal; it is from there that Guna Kama deva brought him into Nepal; it is there also that she spread her protection on the first Mallas. Manecvari is the protectress of the Licchavis, predecessors of the Mallas; but in accepting the crown, the new dynasty did not neglect to adopt the patroness of the royal clan she was replacing. The dynasty of Harisimha deva also introduced as superaddition a new form of Devi; her name, carefully kept a secret, has changed hands with embarrassing alterations: Tulasi, Tulaja, Taleju, Talagu. Among the ordinary titles of Devi, she is given in preference that of Bhavani. The authentic image of the goddess, which blends with the very person is supposed to have descended from heaven: removed by Ravana, she had escaped from this demon; Rama found her again; installed her at Ayodhya; she had then crossed over to Simangarh, from where she had led Harisimha to the conquest of Nepal. Her prestige was so great that the Tibetans, impatient to procure themselves with this powerful auxiliary, attempted to ravish her by forceful measures. Having been bequeated by the dynasty of Harisimha deva to the

Mallas of Bhatgaon, she excited the envy of the Mallas of Kathmandu, up to the day when Mahindra Malla had the satisfaction of erecting in his capital a temple to Tulaja Bhavani (1549). The magic formula which enthralled Tulaja to his devotee would be regularly handed down with the badges and marks of the king to his heir: but king Lakshmi Narasimha, father of Pratapa Malla died mad and the powerful formula was lost. The temple of Tulaja would only open to the kings.

Under her most horrifying aspect, Devi takes the name and attributes of 'Kali' or 'Maha-Kali', "The Great dark woman". Her dark complexion, her distorted features, her red hands, red with blood, adorned with arms and dismal debris, her hanging tongue, her dishevelled carriage (demeanour) suggests and prompts the faithful with terror and awe. The Brahmanic chronicle mentions four Kalis in Nepal: Guhya Kali, Vatsala Maha Kali, Daksina Kali and Kalinge sthanamako (?) Kalika. The first one is identical to Guhyecvari and this is the reason why the primordial tank which covered the mysterious goddess received the name of Kali-hrada, the tank of Kali. Vatsala has already been met in the list of the Nine Durgas. Daksina-kali, the kali of the South is the patroness of Phirping in the south of Nepal. But the four Kalis do not exhaust the list. One must still mention Lomri-Maha-Kali, who was instituted by Candradra ketu deva and whose temple is

situated to the East of Kathmandu, is very frequented.

'Kumari' the virgin, is still another name of the great Goddess, but in particular relation with the rites of the Tantras and their mystical sensualism, Kumari is less the transcendent goddess than her official incarnations into unknown little girls, recognized and proclaimed by the priests after terrifying tests and offered to the adoration of the faithful. Nepal has her four Kumaris divided at the four cardinal points; the principal one is Bala-Kumari, the tutelary goddess of Them.

More so even than the Kumaris, the Yoginis express the inspiration of the Tantras. The yogini is the companion of the Yogin, otherwise expressed, of the Sadhaka, who proposes to realize by a sexual embrace the union of the soul with God; it may be due to a lack of verbal resources, or a real and profound analogy, but the fact remains that the sacred love and the sexual love speak willingly the same language and leaves the mind sometimes puzzled as to which to distinguish. The Virgin being the companion of Shiva, the great ascetic, becomes naturally the Great Sweetheart; their fecund union, eternally fresh and eternally renewed, sets an example to those in love. The Yoginis of Nepal number four³⁰, like the Kalis and the Kumaris. Vajra yogini is the most illustrious; she is the goddess of the Vajra-yoga, of the union of the

diamond, inestimable and infrangible like it; she is also the patroness of the town of Sankon. Her name recalls an episode of struggles against the Buddhistic Tantrism and the Shivait Tantrism; it is Cankara-Acarya, the invincible doctor of the Brahmanic orthodoxy who has replaced this vocable to the ancient designation of Mani-Yogini, consecrated by the local traditions: Mani-Yogini had favoured the old Legendary kings in their magical works, Vikramajit and Vikmanti; she had persuaded king Mana deva to edify the great temple of Buddha-Natha (Buddhnath) in expiation of a parricide. Under her new name, Vajra-Yogini does nevertheless remain indulgent and even benevolent to the Buddha. When the Buddha had gained the good-will of Devi by dint of penances, she appeared to him in the form of Vajrayogini. She continues to bear the name of Ugra-Tara which associates her to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Another of the four Yoginis, Nila-Tara-Devi, belongs on an equal footing to the two churches of Tantrism.

In the middle of the XVIIth century, a king of a Brahmanic dynasty, Pratap Malla shows to the Nevari sect of Pashupati, on the instructions of a Svamin from southern India, "a Devi in the Adi-Buddha", a goddess of the Shivaism in the supreme God of the Nepalese Buddhism, and the Nevars convinced by the royal demonstration, worship the goddess with an annual rite. On the other hand, the Swayambhu-Purana, in glorifying the

goddess named Khargamana who is enthroned on the crown of the five Buddhas, recognize her as a Sakti of Shiva, one of the feminine energies whom the Tantras worship. "She is the perfection of sagacity and as such the mother of the Buddhas. She is Vajrinis to the Buddhists, Yogini to the Yogins: she is the multiform mother of all beings. To the followers of Shiva, she takes the form of Shiva, to those of Vishnu, the form of Vishnu, to the Brahmans, she becomes Brahmani. Lastly Kumari, the Virgin and Kali, the Black woman, appear united in another combination with Maha-Laksmi, the very spouse of Vishnu, in the name of Tripura-Sundari; sitting on a bull, a trident, a crown, and a skull in her hands, her body is of a russet colour (reddish). In the morning she is Kumari the sympathetic virgin, at noon she becomes, Mahalaksmi, the courtesan of great love; at evening time she is Kali, an old decrepit woman, of great cruelty, voracious eater of men and of living beings.

The Bhairaves- Behind the principal characters, there presses forward a great mass of secondary divinities invented at leisure by the rival religions. In the first rank are placed the 'Bhairvas', with their female companions the 'Bhairavis', "The Terribles". Under this disquieting name are designated those spirits that have emanated either from Maha-Deva, otherwise Shiva, or from Devi, the male and female energies wherein is manifested the divine omnipotence. The territory of Nepal, however much limi-

ted it be, is the sheltering asylum of 560000 Bhairavas and Bhairavis. The Bhairavas are generally represented open-mouthed, the teeth showing prominently, disbevelled, a superadded eye on the forehead; as enemies of the demons, they crush them under-foot; their images thus recall the Saint-Georges and Saint-Michael of Christianity. Alike the majority of the Nepalese divinities the Bhairavas go willingly in fours, undoubtedly to face the four sides of the horizon; it is a strategic disposition of this nature which, for instance, the Bhikshu Cantikara adopts after having consecrated the soil of Swayambhu. The immense number of Bhairavas allow of an infinite variety of combinations. There is nobody including Buddha and the prophet Vasistha who does not figure among the Bhairvas. The most famous group of Bhairavas and held to be the most ancient is made by the Bhairavas of Nayakot, of Bhaktapura (Bhatgaon), of Sanga (to the East, beyond the valley), and of Pancalinga another group unites the Bhairavas. Harasiddhi, Hayagriva, Lutabaha and Tyanga. Their very names betray in general their origin and their strictly local function. The most popular is the Bhairava Pancalinga, protector of the soil (Ksetra-pala) of the southern regions of the universe and by reason of it, of the Jambu-Dvipa wholly, India included. The founder of Kathmandu, Guna Kama Dev, has established it in the East of Nepal. The Bhairava of Harasiddhi has come from Ujjayini, brought away by Vikramaditya, he is associated to Nila-Tara-Devi. The Prayaga Bhairava comes from the East; Amcuvarman has introduced it.

The Bhairavas are, by virtue of their divine power auxiliaries as precious as they are difficult to deal with. It is necessary to be well versed in them before benefitting by their use. The sage Jaya sthiti Malla, wishing to calm down the rage of citals, goddess of small-pox, instituted the Unmatta Bhairava; but he took care to place above the Bhairava an Agama-dhveta, entrusted with the control of his swervings and to maintain him in his role. Bhupatindra Malla of Bhatgaon had no reason, on the contrary, to establish a Bhairava in a new temple, on which Bhairava he relied for the protection of the country. The Bhairava emancipated, played pranks up to the day when qualified advisers indicated a remedy: It was sufficient to instal near the Bhairava an "Our-Lady" ('icvari') of Tantra; her presence compelled respect on the Bhairava, who was hence-forth pacified. The royal authority is even sometimes obliged to intervene in this world of gods, with the purpose of re-establishing order. Jagat Jyotir Malla of Bhatgaon found out that a Bhairava was entertaining guilty thoughts regarding a Cakti; to punish him; he ordered in a procession the violent collision of the Bhairava's chariot against that of Kali's.

The Dii--Minores. - "Ganeca" is not less popular in Nepal than he is in Hindustan. Prince of obstacles, he presides over all enterprises, the most humble and even the most commonplace ones; without his help no success is

possible. Besides, his singular and good natured countenance draws attention and sympathy; his corpulent body crowned with an elephant's head with large round eyes, his hand that carry a festoon and a hatchet, the snake hanging from his neck, the mouse crouched at his feet compose the most amusing harmony. Everywhere associated to the religions of the other divinities, he also has his sanctuaries proper. The first of all is Surya-Vinayaka (vulgo' Suraj-Binaik), to the south of Bhatgaon. The name recalls of a miracle of god, according to the Nepala-Mahatmya (VI). The son of a Brahman who resided to the West of the Dolecvara, in a wood, suddenly fell down dead; his parents and neighbours secured, invoked Pashupati who sent them away to the wood of Prakanda. Arriving there, they saw Ganeca manifesting himself in a ray of the Sun (Surya), and the child resuscitated. The Buddhistic chronicle mentions a different legend: immediately before the reign of Anshuvarman, Ganeca in the guise of Surya-Vinayaka appeared to king Vikra-majit and gave him as a gift fabulous riches to enable him to create his era. The Ganecas of Nepal class themselves willingly in groups of fours, after Surya - Vinayaka the most popular are: Rakta-Vinayaka (the red) at Pashupati; Chandra-Vinayaka (The Moon), at Chobhar; Siddhi-Vinayaka (the Success), at Sankon; Acoka-Vinayaka (vulgo Assu-Binaik) at Kathmandu.

Ganeca has very often Maha-kala (vulgo Mahankal) "The Great Dark-man" to counterbalance him and who is identical to Shiva and who corresponds to

the Devi-Maha-Kali, but who has taken a distinct personality. Maha-kala carries a trident adorned with human skulls on the handle.

'Indra' is a classical figure of the Hindu pantheon; but in Nepal the influence of the Buddhistic legends wherein he often figures has modified his character. Ancient master of the thunderbolt (vajra), he has followed the evolution that has transformed his blustering weapon into a religious emblem and metaphysical symbol. The feast of Indra, Indra-Jatra, one of the most popular solemnities in Nepal has nothing in common with the feasts of Indra consecrated by the Hindu Puranas. Indra is the patronal divinity of Kathmandu.

One must also mention the 'du minores' Bhimasena the epic hero, who has also considerably changed on the way; according to the Notizie Laconiche, he now presides over the traffic. His temples, his chapels can be found all along the route which runs from India to Nepal; Bhimphedi, at the foot of the mountains owes him his name. His worship is so widespread that a sensible mind like Hamilton was led to believe him anterior to Buddhism. He was the first to have penetrated into Nepal and to have introduced thither a semblance of civilization. The chronicle, however, does not give him so much honour; without establishing him as a rival of Manjushri, it only relates that Bhimaens came from Dolkha where he possesses a famous temple, on the Tamba-Kosi; to the East of Nepal and amused himself by paddling about in a

canoe made of (bricks) stone on the waters of the lake which covered the valley, at the time a demon became virtually its master.

"Balbala" (The Stutterer) is a local hero associated to agrarian legends and rites. Before him nobody has ever cared to till the soil; the grain essential for subsistence was brought from outside. King Vrsa deva the Suryavamci or his brother Balarcana deva, offered to the audacious man who would set an example, regular portion of the annual crops. Balbala has no family; he risked himself. Then, before dying, a statue sprung up from his own hands; Balacana honoured this statue with a worship and decided that he would be presented yearly, at the full moon, with a rice loaf. The tradition still shows at Patan, near the temple of Matsyendra Natha, the field where Balbala struck the first blow with his pickaxe (mattock); it is forbidden to cultivate with the help of oxen.

The only goddesses who are worthy of mention by virtue of their local function, outside the many incarnations of Devi, are the Eight Mothers ('Astamatrka') who are known to be the patronesses of the Nepalese towns. They are in the order of hierarchy: Brahmani, Mahecvari (or Rudrani), Kumari, Vaisnavi, Barahi, Indrani, Chamunda, Mahalaksmi, spouses or energies (caktis) of the three great gods, reducible however, to unity since as well we have found already

Mahalaksmi, the caktis of Vishnu, mingled in one person with Kumari and Kali. Guna Kama deva, the founder of Kathmandu passes as having worshipped Mahalaksmi and established, on her indications and under her patronage, the new capital.

Whether they borrow their official names from the Buddhistic pantheon or the Brahmanic pantheon, the divinities of Nepal do not any the less keep a manifest characteristic of local origin. Each town, each village, each watercourse, each tanks, each one of the irregularities of the soil has its special patron, immaterial whether goddess or god; and each one of these patrons has a sanctuary proper, however modest it may be, dedicated to his glory. It is not surprising from now that Nepal prides herself in possessing 2500 temples, or even 2733. Speaking truthfully, religious Nepal spreads beyond the limits of the valley: taken in its largest sense, she extends to the North up to Nilakantha, the sacred lake of Gosaintan, at 8 day's journey from Kathmandu; to the south she reaches Natecvara, at two days journey; to the west, she is limited by Kalecvara, equally distanced by two days from Kathmandu; lastly to the east, she spreads to Bhimecvara, at four days journey, on the right bank of the Tamba-Kosi; the temp'e, erected in honour of Bhimasena the Pandava, in the small town of Dolkha, has a Nevar (pujari) for priest. But the total given, does not represent the temples dispersed on this vast domain; it is confined to a strictly defined perimeter, which comprises besides the valley of Nepal two annexes of small dimensions in the East, the valley

of Banepa upto the confluent of two streams, the Niravati (or Lilavati) and the Rosamati; in the west, a strip of land situated on the Western slopes of mount Deochok (or Indra Than).

The pilgrim's circuit - It is a work which is infinitely more meritorious and commendable than to visit the sacred places, scattered about like land-marks, all along this circuit. The Nepala-mahatmya gives in its XXIXth section, a detailed list and instructions on the directions to be followed on this long pilgrimage. Starting point Pashupati; it is also naturally a point of return, since it concerns a closed circuit. The pilgrim must move along in keeping the valley constantly on his right, as a sign of respect: this is the ceremony of the pradaksina. Of course, the origin of the rite traces back to the gods.

The first person who made use of it, on the advice of Shiva, was none other than Gunadhya, the immortal author of the Brhatkatha. The Mahatmya has no lack of opportunity to relate in its whole length, the so very popular story of this narrator whom tradition holds to be a fallen genius; but on several points, the account of the Mahatmya, compared with that of the Ksemendra and Somadeva, presents fairly considerable divergences that it may be useful to mention, either be it that they are derived from the whim or ignorance of the author, or that they reveal an indepen-

dent source. The fallen genius is no more Puspādanta, but Bhrngin; he transformed himself into a bee (or wasp) in order to penetrate in the Chamber where Shiva was relating his marvellous tales to Parvati. When found guilty on his requesting from the god who had cursed him (or damned him) to fix a term to his malediction, Shiva imposes on him as a first condition to publish on the earth, in 900000 verses the tales he had indiscreetly overheard; then he must erect a linga on a sacred soil difficult to reach; only then he would return to mount Kailasa. In consequence, Bhrngin-Gunadhya was born in Mathura; then he travels to Ujjayini where reigns kings Madana, married to Lilavati, daughter of the king of Ganda and who has Carvavarman as minister. King-Madana commits the remarkable confusion between 'modaka' "cake" and 'modaka' "no water"; crushed with humiliation by his ignorance which made him look ridiculous, he asks for a Sanskrit grammar; Carvavarman composes the Kalapa. Gunadhya retires from the court, meets the monk Pulastya who reminds him of his real conditions and induced him to write his tales in the Paicaci dialect; after this that he should go to Nepal. Gunadhya follows his advices, refuses to return to king Madana to whom he hands over the manuscript of his work and proceeds to the temple of Pashupati. He traces a pradaksina around the valley, assembles together all the religious men of the neighbourhood and before ascending to heaven erects a linga which bears the name of Bhrngicvara. "And even to-day at each node of the moon, Bhrngin retu-

rns in the form of a wasp (bhrnga) to see his linga once again."

The pilgrim having paid his homages to Pashupaticvara, takes a bath in the Bagmati, comes out of the temple by the south gate, travels towards Rajarajecvari, visits Bhairava and Vatsals, proceeds then to worship Guhyecvari, crosses the Bagmati, then the Celanganga, he passes successively through Gokarnecvara which recalls to memory the holy metamorphosis of Shiva into a gazelle; Karunikecvara, the commemorative linga erected by Buddha-Vishnu the Sympathetic at the junction of the Bagmati with the Manimati; Sundari, where the Bagmati enters the valley. From there to Vajrayogini (the tutelary goddess of Sanku); then a visit to Garuds and Narayana (of Cangu to Valecvara, to Vagicvara (at the junction of the Virabhadra) and to Valmikecvara which recalls the sojourn of Valmiki. Near the linga of Valmiki there rises another consecrated by Hanumat; it is there that the heroic monkey reposes, auxiliary (assistant) to Rama, when he returned from the Himalaya, laden with rocks intended for the building of a bridge between India and Lanka.

After this tiresome day, the pilgrim must spend the night lying awake, distracted by song and dance; he must also feed the Brahmans. Early at dawn, he bathes in neighbouring pond, takes leave of the linga and continues his journey in an Easterly direction. He first reaches lake Tricampaka, where Madhava (Vishnu)

rests on the links of the snake besa; he scatters in the holy water, offerings to the Gods and the Priests. Entering the valley of Banepa he proceeds to worship Candecvari, protectress of Banepa and Candecvara his companion, then visits the Dhanecvara-linga erected by the god of riches, the Gokhurakecvara, "which still shows the print of a cow's hoof," and which was founded by Kamadhenu, the cow of Plenty; The Indrecvara established by Indra at the junction of the Nivavati (to Lilavati) and the Rosamati; the Aca-purecvara established by the Thirty three gods. He enters the valley of Nepal which from the very beginning he skirts by the south, and visits the Dolecvara (to the south of Bhatgaon) which recalls a miracle of Shiva. A Brahman of Benares, gad person, lover of women, drunkard found himself suddenly seized with remorse; he consulted the ascetics (monks) of Vicvecvara, who gave him a stick. "Go, they said to him, go in pilgrimage; when your stick shall grow into a bough, you will be purified." He proceeded on his journey in increasing his strict behaviour; reaching Nepal, on the actual spot of the Dolecvara he planted in the ground his pilgrim's stick and lo! there grew on it a bough. Such is the origin of the Dolecvara. This spot is the second halting place of the pilgrim: he bathes in the Dhara-tirtha, spends again the night awake listening to song and dance and hearing the reading of the Puranas. At dawn he leaves behind the Dolecvara not before having announced to it his intention of continuing the pradaksina undertaken and proceeds on his journey. He at first visits Surya-Vinayak, then Ananta-linga;

bathes in the neighbouring pond presents in the water an offering to the Priests, distributes presents to the Brahmans (as he does besides at all the stages); he visits Vajra-varahi in his town of phirping, ascends a high mountain to worship Ganeca who dwells in a grotto accessible by a narrow crevasse; he is careful not to enter, and he is careful to cast his eyes only on the Bharabhutevara. From there he proceeds to the Manahciras tirtha, where he worships Hari-Hara, then to the Matr-tirtha (Matatirtha) where the dismal offerings are so efficacious, and "where one can still see to day gold fishes". A night halt at Gopaleca (Cesa-Narayanga). The pilgrim again spends the night, the third during the journey, to the noises of song and dance; and the fourth morning refreshed by a bath, taking leave of Gopaleca, he proceeds to Pandukevara bathes in the Pandunadi, crosses the mountain, goes to Catu-vaktrevara, to Indrevara, crosses the mountain once again and re-enters in the valley of Nepal by the North-West. He then proceeds towards the Narayana to the West (Icangu) and spends the fourth night listening to legends which concern Vishnu. On the morning of the fifth and last day, he bathes, takes leave of the god and travels to the sojourn of Buddha (Buddhasthana, the hill of Svayambhu). It is there that the god Buddha stopped willingly on arriving from China (Maha-Cina). It is there that live the monks (bhiksus) who have abandoned son and family, for the desire to see Buddha, entirely imbued with science and beatitude? He worships Buddha with special pradaksina, descends to bathe in the Visnumati where he makes

offerings to the priests, and proceeds to Luntikeca (Buddha Nilakantha, Jalacayana) where Hari-Vishnu is lying on the snake Ananta. He then takes the road to the north up to foot of the mountains in such a way as to rejoin the origin of the circuit, re-descends again to the south towards Jaya-Vagicvari (to Deo Patan) and "while thinking of Vishnu" he appears before Pashupati. He spreads over the linga the five ambrosias: milk, whey, butter, urine and cow-dung, he then offers him perfumes, incense, feeds the Brahmans, pays them a worthy salary, and informs Pashupati that the pradaksina is completed. To close his vow, he descends to bathe in the Bagmati, offers dismal presents, returns to salute Vatsala, then Vasuki, the Naga at the southern gate Vinayaka at the eastern gate and then returns to him home freed from all his sins.

I do not know the Guide of the Buddhist pilgrim around the valley, but it is not doubtful that this chapter of the Nepala-mahatmya has had its Buddhist counterpart. A great number of the sites mentioned are equally sacred with different titles concerning the two religions. Even each one of the mountains has the name of a Buddhist saint to consecrate it: Vipacyin has dwelt on the Nagarjun (Jat-Matroccha, Cikhin on the Champadevi (Dhyanoccha), Krakucchanda, on the Manichur (Cankhagiri) Manjushri, on the Svayambhu (Gocrga), Cakyamuni, on the Pucchagva, behind the Svayambhu. The sacred territory encroaches also on the environs of the valley and includes the

valley of Banepa. It is even outside Nepal, at three leagues east of Bhatgaon that are situated the village of Panavati and mount Namobuddha, witnesses of the sublime charity of Shakyamuni; it is there that struck with compassion at a famished tigress suckling her cubs, he generously offered her his own body to eat.

It would be childish, as well as trifling to pretend, to enumerate the 2500 or 2733 temples included in the interior of the sacred circuit. I shall then only restrict myself to describe the general types of sacred monuments that are met in Nepal, and if necessary the principal representatives of each kind.

(End of Volume I)

FOOT NOTES

1. Aufrecht, 'Cat. Mss. Oxon., 256.
2. Koraksa-cataka, 2nd. verse: ... cri-Minanatham bhaje ('ib., 236). etc... Cavaratantra (see p. 355)-Nepal-): the disciples of the 12 Kapalikas are ... Minanatha, Goraksa, Carpata... ('Notices of Sansk mss., 2nd. series, vol. I, p. 111, page XXXVII).
3. "Minanatha-dharmaraj, who is Sanu (or junior) Macchindra" 'Vamc., p. 149.
4. Unless one has to recognize him in the acarya Lujipa, surnamed na-lto-ba "belly of the fish" Matsyodara, in confusion of Matsyendra? and who is mentioned by the side of Carpata as in the preceding citation Minanatha and Goraksa. See, Taranatha, p.106 and the note of Schiefner.
5. Taranatha, p. 174 and 323.
6. Taranatha, p. 255.
7. Risley, 'Tribes and Castes of Bengal', I, 355.
8. The abbreviator of the 'Notizie Lacconiche' calls him Bogha (op. land. fig. 9 and 10); Kirkpatrick (p. 190): Bhoogades; the 'Notice' of Father Ginseppe names him Baghero and Georgi, Bugr des; key 'Vamc', p. 242: Bug-devata; and supr. p. 353, n. I.
9. The 'Pashupati-purana' alone indicates this locality.
10. Nepale-mahatmya', I.
11. 'Vamc., 82.

12. The legend inserted in the Vamcavali is an imitation and almost a copy of the Brhatkatha, (key 'Katha-S Sag., I. I).
13. A Chinese commentary of Abhidharma-koca, the, kin-che-koang-ki, ch. IX in fact explains Pashupati by "the master or the bull". (You-tchou) "because this god who is Mahecvara Deva has for riding animal a bull".
14. 'Yi-tsie-king yin-yi' of Hiouen-Ying, mentioned and translated by Judien 'Hiouen-Tsang', III, 523, S. V. 'Pochau-po-to'.
15. Vamana-P. in 'Cat. mss. Oxon'. 46a; Varaha-P., 'ib', 58b; Vayu-P., 'ib', 50a; Padma-P. ib., 14a; Laghu-Shiva-P., 'ib', 75a.
16. I have published a translation of this chapter in the ('Bibl. de l' Ecole des Hantes-Etudas'), Religious Sciences, Ist. vol. (Paris, 1889), p. 281 sqq.
17. 'harsa-carita', transl. Cowell-Thomas, p. 49. The great grand-father of Bana had the name of Pashupata. 'ib', 31.
18. Raja-tarangini, III, V. 267.
19. 'Epigr. Ind., VI, 294; a Janmana eva Pashupati etc.
20. A. Bergaigne 'Sanskrit Inscriptions of Campas and Cambodia', Paris, 1893, p. 242. inscrip. G I, V. 6 and 7. Caivapacupatacaryan pujyan viprad anantaram etc. (see p. 363) footnote.
21. Key, the article of Mr. Fleet; 'Inscriptions at Ablur' in Epigr. Ind., v, 266 sqq. M. Fleet determines in the article by the help of epigraphical documents, the activity of Lakulica Pandita between 1019 and 1035 J. C.
22. Bijjana who according to the testimony of the epigraphy has rendered Nepal "without stability" (Sthiti-hinam Nepalam) is mixed up with the history of Ramayya Ekantada, founder of the order of the Viracavas or Lingayats. 'ib', 239.
23. I have already mentioned the legend which tries to draw the Nevars (Nevara) from the Nairs (Nayera) of the Malabar; I also recall the analogies already mentioned by Fergusson ('East. Architect., p. 305) "between the architecture of the Canara and the style that is found in the Himalayan valleys." Key also 'ib', 27-275.
24. Bhagvanlal (p. 6, n. 18) writes: Buddha Nilkanth and understands "Submerged Shiva". As the stream that flows out from the tank bears the name of Rudranati, the Pundit supposes that the image primitively worshipped was a linga and that it was a Vichnouite King who substituted a statue of Visnu for it. The name of the neighbouring village, Civapuri, seems to him to corroborate this hypothesis.
25. "One sees at Kathmandu, on one of the sides of the prince's garden, a large fountain wherein is placed one

- of the idols of the country called "Narayan". This idol is of blue stone; it carries a crown on its head and rests on a pillow of the same stone. The idol and the pillow seem to float on the water. This construction is very large; I believe between eighteen and twenty feet long and a proportioned width; of the rest, it is of good workmanship and good state 'Descript. du Roy. of Nepal' in the Asiatic Researches, II. 354.
26. Key, the analogous passages, sup. p. 346
27. Kirkpatrick, p. 148
28. Aufrecht, 'Catalogus catalogorum', s. v. Buddha-purana. The collection of Mackenzie contained an extract under the title of 'Laghu Buddha Purana; Wilson, in the catalogue of this collection, describes it thus (This is English. See p. 372).
29. 'Gli Scritti . . . p. 117 sqq.
30. Bhagvanlal Indraji, 'The Banddha Mithology of Nepal', p. 103 enumerates six: Vajra, Mani; Dhvaja, Adarca", Piccha, Pasma-Yogini, designated thus, according to the attributes that distinguish them.