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Observations on the specific gravity and temperature of the water of the Clyde sea-area at all times of the year confirm by their results the divisions just described, viz. :—The Channel, the Barrier Plateau, the great Arran Basin, the Dunoon Basin, the troughs of Upper Loch Fyne, Loch Strivan, Loch Goil, Upper Loch Long, Gareloch, the Bute Plateau, and the Estuary. If the term “Firth,” as physically defined,¹ is to be applied to any part of the sea-area, it must be to that between Port-Glasgow and Toward.

FÂ-HIEN'S TRAVELS IN INDIA.²

By J. W. McCRINDLE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

BETWEEN the fourth and eleventh centuries of our era, India was frequently visited by Chinese Buddhists, who came on pilgrimage to view the consecrated scenes amid which their great teacher had spent the years of his earthly existence. They were for the most part devout monks, whose object in travelling so far abroad was not merely to render their tribute of worship at the holiest shrines of their faith, but also to obtain copies of their sacred books, and to learn the Sanskrit language, in which these had been written and authoritatively expounded. On this account their sojourn in India was in some instances extended over a good many years. The names of two of these scholarly pilgrims, Fâ-hien and Hiouen-Thsang, are now quite familiarly known throughout the republic of letters, a distinction due to the fact that they wrote accounts of their Indian travels, which, within the last fifty years, have been translated into several European languages, and have been found extremely useful to students of Buddhism, and to Indian archaeologists.

Fâ-hien, who preceded Hiouen-Thsang by a couple of centuries, came from Ch'ang-gan,³ now Si-gnan, a town of Shen-se, one of the northern provinces of China. He started on his long and perilous journey in the year 399 A.D., and did not return home till some fourteen years afterwards. The greater part of the intervening years he spent in India, visiting its monasteries and shrines, learning Sanskrit, and seeking to procure canonical works on the doctrine and discipline of his faith. The work of which he was especially in quest was one which contained the rules of discipline observed at the first great council of Buddhism, which had been held while Buddha was still in the world.⁴ His search was not

¹ Mill and Morrison, Tidal Variations in Estuary of Forth, *Proc. R.S.E.* xiii. 1886, June 7.

² *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms* : Being an Account by the Chinese Monk, Fâ-hien, of his Travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399-414), in search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline. By James Legge, M.A., LL.D. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1886.

³ This is the Kenjan-fu of Marco Polo, and perhaps the Thinae of Claudius Ptolemy. It was probably, says Colonel Yule, the most celebrated city in Chinese history, and the capital of several of the most potent dynasties.

⁴ This work was called the *Vinaya Pitaka*.

rewarded until he came to Pataliputra, where he found a complete copy of the rules, with full explanations, in one of the great monasteries of that place. Here he remained for no less than three years, studying and copying this work, and improving his knowledge of Sanskrit.

In *Pataliputra* (now Patna) the reader will readily recognise the *Palibothra* of the Greeks, and will thus be reminded that this was the city where, seven centuries before the time of Fâ-hien, Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at the Court of Sandrakottos,¹ also resided, and where he collected the materials out of which he composed his celebrated *Description of India*.

From Patna, Fâ-hien slowly proceeded southwards till he came to Tâmalipti (now Tam-luk), near the mouth of the Hoogly, where he spent two years in copying books and drawing pictures of images. At this port he embarked for Ceylon, and, after spending other two years in that island, sailed for China, which he reached in safety, after having been exposed, however, to many perils and hardships of the most trying kind during the voyage. Soon after his return he wrote, or rather dictated, an account of his Indian travels, at once simple, yet graphic, and truthful as far as what he heard and saw is concerned.

The work was not known outside of China till half a century ago, when it was unearthed by the great Chinese scholar Abel Rémusat, and presented to the world in a French translation which he had himself prepared. The work, on becoming known through this medium, was at once seen to be a source of most valuable information regarding one of the darkest periods of Indian history—that which was comprised between the middle of the second century A.D., when Greek authors ceased to write about Indian affairs, and the era of the Mohammedan conquest, about the year 1000, from which date the course of the national transactions can be clearly enough traced. Sanskrit literature might have been expected to supply the necessary enlightenment, but the Indian sages, absorbed in the dreams of philosophy, cared little for the concerns of practical life, and left the history of their country untold.²

Rémusat's version did not long hold the field. He was unfortunately cut off before he had time to revise it, and from this circumstance, as well as from the difficulty—which it took much labour after his time to surmount—of converting Indian names, as phonetically represented in Chinese, back into their proper Sanskrit forms, his version was far from being sufficiently accurate. Several other versions have appeared in succession, all from the pens of most competent scholars, and all enriched with copious annotations. The latest is that which has just been published by

¹ He was sent as ambassador by Selenkos Nikator, king of Syria (from 312 to 280 B.C.), who had entered into an alliance with Sandrakottos, king of Magadha (Behar), to whom he ceded the Greek settlements in the Panjab and Kabul Valley, and to whom he also gave his daughter in marriage. *Sandrakottos* is a pretty close transliteration of the Indian name *Chandra Gupta*.

² No trace has as yet been found in any Sanskrit work of such an important episode as the Macedonian invasion.

Dr. Legge, the Professor at Oxford of the Chinese language and literature, and who, when a missionary in China, where he resided for thirty years, made the Confucian classics a special subject of study. We learn from his preface that he spent much time and care in its preparation, and did not omit to make frequent reference to previous translations. It may therefore be accepted as the most authoritative exposition of his author's sense that has yet appeared, and as perhaps superseding the necessity for any further translation being made. Several recensions of the narrative exist, and of these Dr. Legge has chosen the Korean as the best. He has appended it to the translation, together with all the variant readings found in the other recensions, so that the text is exhibited in an altogether complete form. The notes, which are copious, are meant partly to explain passages or expressions which would be obscure to an English reader, and partly also to illustrate the history and doctrines of Buddhism. Little more is claimed for them than the merit of selection and condensation, but they give ample proof of the exact and varied learning of the writer. A sketch-map is given of Fâ-hien's travels, and also a series of pictures, nine in number, "taken from a superb edition of a history of Buddha, profusely illustrated in the best style of Chinese art."

But we must now pass on to consider the narrative itself. As might be expected, it abounds with details of Buddhist monastic life, and never fails, when an opportunity occurs, to refer to some miracle, however grotesque in its character, said to have been performed by Buddha. We shall touch, however, as little as possible on such topics, and confine our remarks almost exclusively to questions of geography on which the work throws light. We propose, therefore, while tracing the pilgrim's route, to show how the more important places which he visited have been identified, and in some instances to notice the description which he has given of them. Most of these places have now been, with more or less certainty, identified, thanks to the labours of such scholars as Stanislas Julien, Klaproth, Beal, and Dr. Eitel, and to the researches of General Cunningham (son of our Border poet, Allan Cunningham), who was for many years Director of the Indian Archæological Survey Department. Two causes operated to make their identification difficult. The first has already been indicated in the statement that Indian names are hard to recognise under the forms which they assume in Chinese. The second is that not a few of the places mentioned by Fâ-hien are either now no longer known by their old names, or have long ceased to be numbered among the things that are, some having been destroyed by war, some buried under desert sands, some forsaken by the rivers on whose banks they stood, and some swept away by resistless floods.

Regarding Fâ-hien himself little is known beyond what can be gathered from his work. He was a native of Ch'ang-gan, and was brought up in a monastery of that place, even from his earliest years. He was noted alike for his clear intelligence and for the sincerity and fervour of his religious convictions. He had not long finished his novitiate and taken full

Buddhist orders, when he undertook his journey to India for the objects already stated. After starting from Ch'ang-gan, and passing through Lung, a country in the extreme west of Shen-se, he came to the kingdom of "the Western T'sin," where he and his companions stopped for the summer retreat, which extended from the middle of the fifth to the middle of the ninth Chinese month. When this period of devotion was ended, the pilgrims went forward till, after crossing the mountain of Yang-low, they reached Chang-yih, a trading mart in the province of Kansu, and just within the north-west extremity of the Great Wall. Here they fell in with a party of five pilgrims, bound, like themselves, for India, and with these they remained together in Chang-yih during the summer retreat of that year. We find them, after departing thence, making their next halt at a frontier town of Tangut, called T'un-hwang, which lay at some distance beyond the termination of the Great Wall, and on the edge of the vast "Sea of Sand," the Sahara of Asia, the terrible desert of Gobi. This desert is of vast extent, stretching from the eastern frontier of Mongolia to within six miles of Ichi, the chief town of Khoten, and thus comprising in length 33 degrees of longitude, while it varies in breadth from 3 to 10 degrees of latitude. "It would take," says Marco Polo, who himself traversed it, "a year and more to ride from one end of it to the other; and here, where its breadth is least, it takes a month to cross it." It was a great task which the pilgrims had now before them to make their way through the western portion of this desert. The Prefect of T'un-whang, however, supplied them with all the means necessary for their passage through it, which occupied seventeen days, and must have been very rapidly performed, as the distance traversed was about 1500 le, or upwards of 400 miles. Fâ-hien's account of the dangers and desolate aspect of this sandy waste agrees closely with the accounts given afterwards both by Hiouen-Tsang and by Marco Polo. "In the desert," he says, "are many evil demons and hot winds. Travellers who encounter them perish all to a man. There is not a bird to be seen in the air above, nor an animal on the ground below. Though you look all round most earnestly to find where you can cross, you know not where to make your choice, the only mark and indication being the dry bones of the dead left upon the sand." It may seem somewhat singular that the three travellers are quite at one in representing the desert as haunted by evil spirits; but it is a well-established fact that the solitude of the wilderness, no less than the solitude of night, oppresses some minds with superstitious terrors, which the force of reason is altogether impotent to allay. Hiouen-Tsang relates that in his passage through this desert, both outward and homeward, its demons sought to scare him both by visual illusions and by mysterious voices.

On emerging from the desert the travellers found themselves in the kingdom of Shen-Shen, which is described as a rugged and hilly country, with a thin and barren soil. Its capital city lay not very far from the lake called Lob (or Lop) Nor, into which the Tarim discharges, after a

course of 1500 miles. The people were Buddhists after the Indian pattern, and the monks were all students of Indian books and the Indian language. After remaining here for about a month, Fâ-hien resumed his journey, and, pursuing on foot a direction towards the north-west, reached Woo-e, a place which has not yet been identified, but which may be located in Karaschar, or between that and Kutscha, in about 44° N. lat. and 81° E. long. This was the culminating point of his advance northward. He was here rejoined by some of his companions, whom he had left behind on the other side of the desert. He remained in a monastery of this place for more than two months, when the niggardly hospitality of the people obliged him to depart. His route lay to the south-west, through an uninhabited country, where the streams were difficult to cross, and where he and his party endured sufferings which he declares to have been unparalleled in human experience.

But this purgatorial region, which it took upwards of a month to traverse, ushered the pilgrims into a land which, by the contrast, seemed a paradise in their eyes. This was Khoten, or, as Fâ-hien writes it, Yuteen. "It is," he says, "a pleasant and a prosperous kingdom, with a numerous and flourishing population." The inhabitants were all Buddhists, and of monks there were myriads. Great hospitality was shown to travelling monks, from whatever quarter they came. Spare rooms were made for their use in every monastery, and all their wants were abundantly supplied. The lord of the country himself lodged our pilgrims in a great monastery called Gomati, and maintained them there at his own expense. No fewer than 3000 monks were attached to this monastery, all under a discipline of silence like the Trappist monks of the present day. "They are called to their meals," says Fâ-hien, "by the sound of a bell. When they enter a refectory, their demeanour is marked by a reverent gravity, and they take their seats in a regular order, all maintaining a perfect silence. No sound is heard from their alms-bowls and other utensils. When any of these pure men require food, they are not allowed to call out for it, but only make signs with their hand." Here Fâ-hien remained several months, unwilling to depart until he had seen a great festival which extended over fourteen days, and the main feature of which was a procession of images, attended by the king himself, and all the members of his court. On leaving Khoten, a journey of twenty-five days brought him to the kingdom of Tsze-hoh, where the sovereign was a strenuous follower of Buddhism, and had around him more than 1000 monks. Tsze-hoh cannot be with certainty identified; it can hardly be Yarkand, as Beal thought; but Tash-kurgan in Sirikul, which has been suggested for it, seems to answer the indications better. The travellers, after having halted here for fifteen days, went southward, and in the course of four days found themselves in Yu-hwuy, among the Ts'ung-ling Mountains, which are a portion of the great Kuen-lun range, and comprise the Karakorum and Pamir ridges. The name signifies "Onion Mountains," and was given either because the region produces

many onions, or because of the round boulders with which the mountains are covered.

At Yu-hwuy, which corresponds perhaps to the Aktisch of our present maps, the pilgrims halted to keep their retreat; and, when this was over, went on among the hills for twenty-five days, and arrived at K'eeh-ch'a. This was the capital of a kingdom, and evidently a place of considerable importance, but opinions differ as to its locality. Beal says it is certainly Kartchou, to the east of which flows the Mang-tsin River, and which is placed on all maps to the south-west of Yarkand. Dr. Legge prefers Klaproth's view, that it was Iskardu or Skardo, though he admits that some difficulties attend its acceptance. It has, however, he says, the great advantage in its favour of bringing the pilgrims across the Indus. The passage of the river could be easily accomplished at that point, and this would explain the circumstance, not easy to account for otherwise, that Fā-hien makes no particular mention of this important incident. Be this as it may, he arrived in the city at a very opportune time, for the king was then holding the great quinquennial Assembly, this being an ecclesiastical conference for general confession of sins and inculcation of morality. It is said to have been first instituted by King Asoka, who was the grandson of Chandra Gupta, and who established Buddhism as the State religion of his vast dominions about two and a half centuries before our era. When this great synod is to be held, the king, we are told, requests the presence of the S'ramans (priests) from all quarters of his kingdom. They come in clouds, and proceed at once to decorate their assembly hall with silken flags and canopies of state, and a throne for their moderators. The king takes a very prominent part in the proceedings. During the assembly, he and his ministers present their offerings, according to rule and law; and, when it rises, they distribute among the members all sorts of precious things such as S'ramans require. When the distribution, however, has taken place, the king, it is remarked, redeems whatever he wishes from the monks.

The country, being in the midst of the Onion Range, is cold, and wheat is the only cereal which the climate can ripen. Fā-hien, on going forward through these mountains, found the plants, trees, and fruits to be all different from those of the land of Han (China), excepting only the bamboo, pomegranate, and sugar-cane. He succeeded in passing the range, after being on the way for a month in proceeding westward towards North India. The people of the country, he says, call the range by the name of "The Snow Mountains," since the snow rests upon them both winter and summer. He would have us believe that they are infested with venomous dragons, which, when provoked, spit forth poisonous winds, and cause showers of snow and storms of sand and gravel, and also that not one in ten thousand of those who encounter these dangers escapes with his life. He and his party, however, emerged from them in safety, and then found themselves in a small kingdom of North India called T'o-leih. This, Eitel and others

would identify with Darada, the country of the ancient Dardae, the region near Dardus.¹ But Dr. Legge is in more than doubt upon this point, for, as he reads the narrative, Fâ-hien was here on the eastern bank of the Indus, and only crosses to the western bank, as described in the chapter immediately following. The travellers now went on to the south-west for fifteen days, at the foot of the mountains, and following their range. "The way," says Fâ-hien, "was difficult and rugged, running along a bank exceedingly precipitous, which rose up there, a hill-like wall of rock 10,000 cubits from the base. When one approached the edge of it, his eyes became unsteady, and if he wished to go forward in the same direction there was no place on which he could place his foot, and beneath were the waters of the river called the Indus. In former times men had chiselled paths along the rocks, and distributed ladders on the face of them, to the number altogether of 700, at the bottom of which there was a suspension bridge of ropes, by which the river was crossed, its banks being there 80 paces apart." General Cunningham's description of the course of the Indus in these parts is in striking accordance with our pilgrim's account. "From Skardo to Rongdo," he says, "and from Rongdo to Makpou-i-Shang-rong, for upwards of 100 miles, the Indus sweeps sullen and dark through a mighty gorge in the mountains, which, for wild sublimity, is perhaps unequalled. . . . Between these points the Indus raves from side to side of the gloomy chasm, foaming and chafing with ungovernable fury. Yet even in these inaccessible places has daring and ingenious man triumphed over opposing nature. The yawning abyss is spanned by frail rope bridges, and the narrow ledges of rocks are connected by ladders, to form a giddy pathway overhanging the seething caldron below."

The point where our pilgrims crossed from the left to the right, or Afghan bank of the Indus, must have been upwards of sixty miles above Attok, for at that distance above the great ferry, the river escapes from the mountain gorges, where suspension bridges are required for crossing it. On gaining the other side, they immediately came to the kingdom of Woo-Chang, the Udyâna of Sanskrit writers—a name by which they designated that region lying between the Indus and the river Swat, or Sweti, which is now inhabited by the warlike tribes of the Yuzofzaïs. It was called Udyâna, that is, "The Park," on account of the rich verdure and fertility of its valleys. It was a flourishing seat of Buddhism in Fâ-hien's time. It contained, he says, 500 monasteries, the monks of which were attached to the system called the Little Vehicle, that is, the Canon of the Southern Buddhists (promulgated by Asoka, 244 B.C.), in contradistinction to the Great Vehicle, or the Canon of the North, which was followed in Tibet and China, and was of later origin. The people assimilated not only in their religion, but also in language, dress, and diet to the people of Middle India. They have a tradition that when

¹ Legge, in his note, gives the position as lat. 30° 11' N., long. 73° 54' E., but 30° must surely be a mistake for 36°.

Buddha came to North India, he visited their country, and left behind him a print of his foot, which is long or short according to the ideas of the beholder on the subject. They show also the rock on which he dried his clothes, and the place where he converted the wicked dragon. A century after Fâ-hien's visit, the Buddhism of Udyâna was suppressed by a fierce persecution, in which the blood of its priests was shed like water, and the monasteries which lined the banks of the Swât were laid in ruins. In this favoured country the pilgrims kept the summer retreat, and, when that was over, descended south till they arrived in the district of Sooho-to, which is perhaps the part of Udyâna called Swastene, along the lower course of the Swat River, which is the Sou-astos of the classical writers.

Proceeding eastward from this for five days, they came to the country of Kin-to-wai, the place where Dharma-vivardhana, the son of Asôka, ruled, and where consequently the people were for the most part adherents of the hīnayāna or "Little Vehicle." Kin-to-wai, or rather Kin-to-lo, stripped of its Chinese disguise, reveals to us Gandhâra, a name of old renown, mentioned in the Vedic hymns, and familiar to readers of Herodotus, who includes its people along with three others in the seventh satrapy of Darius. It extended eastward as far as the Indus, and westward as far as Jalâlâbâd. "Within its limits," as Cunningham observes, "stood several of the most renowned places of ancient India, some celebrated in the stirring history of Alexander's exploits, and others famous in the miraculous legends of Buddha, and in the subsequent history of Buddhism, under the Indo-Skythian prince, Kanishka.

On leaving Gandhâra, Fâ-hien, after journeying eastward for seven days, reached the kingdom of Takshaśila, the name of which, when interpreted, means, he says, "the severed head," and has reference to Buddha's act of almsgiving, when he gave away his very head to a man out of pure charity. The word, however, means "hewn rock," and the city may perhaps have got its name from its having been built of stone instead of brick or mud, like most Indian towns. Cunningham identifies this place with the Taxila of the Greeks, which, in Alexander's time, was a great and flourishing capital, situated between the Indus and the Hydaspes—now the Jhelam. If he is correct in this, then our pilgrim must have recrossed the Indus in order to reach it, but he does not appear to have done so till he had visited several additional places of interest which lay to westward of the river. Dr. Legge is inclined to solve the difficulty by supposing that there was a Takshaśila on each side of the Indus; but this is to cut, not to untie the Gordian knot. The pilgrims travelled for two days longer to eastward, and reached the place where Buddha threw down his body to feed a starving tigress, and where also there were splendid topes—that is, pagodas¹—to which the devout came with their offerings in an incessant stream from all the surrounding country.

¹ A tope is a dome-shaped tumulus erected over sacred relics of Buddha, or on spots consecrated as the scenes of his acts. The word represents the Sanskrit *stûpa*, of which the Pâli form *thûpa* appears in Chinese as *t'ah* or *t'ap*.

The next place to be visited was Purushapura, a kingdom which lay southward from Gandhāra, at the distance of four days' journey. The name under which it is now known is Peshāwar, our frontier station beyond the Indus. Fā-hien found it adorned with a pagoda which had been built by Kanishka, and which he declares to have surpassed in solemn beauty and majestic grandeur all the topes and temples which he saw in the course of his journeyings. In this country was preserved one of the most precious relics of Buddha—his alms-bowl—about which many legends were current. It was kept in a tope, to which a monastery of 700 priests was attached, and was publicly exhibited twice a day; once before the mid-day meal, and again in the evening, at the time of incense. Every one cast into it an offering of flowers. Those offered by a poor person, however few, filled it, we are told, far more readily than the many which the rich cast in out of their abundance.

At this place, Fā-hien's companions all left him. Some had gone forward in advance, some had started to return to China, and one came to his end in the monastery of Buddha's alms-bowl. He thereupon resumed the staff of pilgrimage, and went forward alone to the place of the flat-bone of Buddha's skull, which was deposited in a vihāra (shrine),¹ in the city of He-lo, the present Hidda, which lies west from Peshāwar, and 5 miles south from Jalālābād. This relic was held in extreme veneration, and was guarded with the most jealous care. Every morning it was exhibited to the gaze of adoring multitudes, whose homage was expressed by offerings of flowers and incense. The precincts, however, of this holy shrine were, like the temple at Jerusalem in the days of our Lord, profaned with traffic; for, as the pilgrim tells us, in front of the door of the vihāra there are parties who every morning sell flowers and incense, and those who wish to make offerings buy some of every kind.

The next halting-place was only a few miles distant from Hidda. This was Nanghenhar, the Nagara-hāra of Sanskrit writers, and the Na-kie-lo-ho of Hiouen-Thsang. It was called also Udyānapura—that is, "the City of Gardens;" and this name the Greeks, from some resemblance in the sound, translated into Dionysopolis—that is, the "City of the Wine-God." It was the capital of the kingdom of Nagara—a small territory extending along the southern bank of the Kabul river, from the neighbourhood of Jagdalak, as far eastward as the Khaiber Pass. Its site was first indicated by Masson, and afterwards was precisely determined by Mr. Simpson, who, when resident for some months, during the late Afghan war, in Jalālābād, took the opportunity of investigating the antiquities of its neighbourhood. He states that at the distance of 4 or 5 miles west from Jalālābād, he found numerous remains of what must have been an ancient city lying along the right bank of the Surkhāb, a small tributary of the Kabul river. As the natives on the spot applied to the ruins such

¹ A vihāra is the residence of a recluse or priest, and sometimes used as a shrine or temple. The province of Behar was so called from the great number of its vihāras.

names as "Nagrak," "Nagarat," or "Nagara," and as their situation corresponded in all respects with the description of the position of the old city in Hiouen-Thsang, no doubt could remain of the correctness of the identification.

About three miles south from these ruins, is the celebrated rock-cavern in which Buddha left his shadow. "Looking," says our pilgrim, "at this cavern from a distance of more than ten paces, you seem to see Buddha's real form, with his complexion of gold, and his characteristic marks in their nicety, clearly and brightly displayed. The nearer you approach, however, the fainter it becomes, as if it were only in your fancy. When the kings from the regions all around have sent skilful artists to take a copy, none of them have been able to do so. Among the people of the country there is a saying current that 'the thousand Buddhas must all leave their shadows here.'" Fâ-hien at this place rejoined two of his companions, who had pushed on thither, a considerable time before him; and along with these, in the third month of winter, he proceeded southward, crossing the Little Snowy Mountains, probably with a view to gain the Kohat Pass. In the course of this trying journey, an incident occurred which Fâ-hien records with a simplicity and pathos almost scriptural: "On the north side," he says, "of the mountains, in the shade, they suddenly encountered a cold wind, which made them shiver and become unable to speak. Hwuy-King could not go any further. A white froth came from his mouth, and he said to Fâ-hien, 'I cannot live any longer. Do you immediately go away, that we do not all die here;' and with these words he died. Fâ-hien stroked the corpse, and cried out piteously, 'Our original plan has failed; it is fate. What can we do?' He then once more gathered up his strength, and pressed forward on his way."

Having succeeded in crossing, with the companion still left him, to the south of the range, he arrived in the kingdom of Lo-e or Rohi. This is a name of Afghanistan, but of course only a portion of it can be here intended. Here the pilgrims stayed for the summer retreat, and, this being over, they went on to the south for ten days, and reached the kingdom of Poh-na (that is, the district now called Bannu), where there were more than 3000 monks, all adherents of the southern form of Buddhism.

A journey of three days from Bannu brought them to the Indus, which they again crossed, but now at a place where the country on each side was low and level. When the people on the side to which they had crossed saw their fellow-disciples from T'sin (China) passing along, they were moved, says Fâ-hien, with great pity and sympathy, and expressed themselves thus: "How is it that these men, from a border country, should have learned to become monks, and come for the sake of our doctrines from such a distance in search of the law of Buddha?" They accordingly supplied all the wants of the strangers, and treated them in accordance with the rules of the law. Fâ-hien gives no details of his journey

through the Panjâb, and the regions watered by the Jumna, until he reached the great city on the banks of that river, Ma-t'âou-lo, that is Mathura or Muttra,¹ so famous as being the birthplace of Krishna, and the scene of his adventures with the milkmaids. All the country south from this is, he says, named the Middle Kingdom. His description of this part of India, and his impressions regarding the character and condition of its inhabitants, are, in the main, in agreement with the accounts given seven centuries earlier by Megasthenes. "In the Middle Kingdom," he says, "the cold and heat are finely tempered, and there is neither hoar-frost nor snow. The people are numerous and happy; they have not to register their households, or attend to any magistrates and their rules, only those who cultivate the royal land have to pay a portion of the gain from it. If they want to go they go, if they want to stay on they stay. The king governs without decapitation or other corporal punishments. Criminals are simply fined. Even in cases of repeated attempts at wicked rebellion, they only have their right hands cut off. Throughout the whole country the people do not kill any living creature, nor drink intoxicating liquor, nor eat onions or garlic. The only exception is that of the Chandâlas.² That is the name for wicked men who live apart from others. . . . In that country they do not keep pigs and fowls, and do not sell live cattle; in the markets there are no butchers' shops, and no dealers in intoxicating drink. In buying and selling commodities they use cowries (shells). Only the Chandâlas are fishermen and hunters, and sell flesh-meat." He then refers to a custom which prevailed in the country, both long before and long after his time. The potentates of India, like those of Europe in the Middle Ages, were in the habit of making grants of lands, houses, and gardens for the maintenance of monastic establishments, in order that the monks might be able, without let or hindrance, to attend to the duties of their calling, which, as specified by Fâ-hien, were to perform acts of meritorious virtue, to recite their Scriptures, to sit wrapt in meditation, and to receive and entertain stranger monks in every respect as the law directed. The deeds of gift conveying these grants were generally inscribed on plates of metal. Not a few of such plates have, in recent times, been discovered and deciphered, and scholars have found them useful chiefly in throwing light upon questions of Indian chronology, a subject which the Sanskrit writers neglected as much as history itself.

From Muttra the pilgrims proceeded south-east for 18 *yojanas*,³ and found themselves in a kingdom called Sankâsya, the name of which still remains in Samkassam, a village 45 miles north-west of

¹ It is the Modoura of Ptolemy, who calls it the "City of the Gods."

² Chandâla is the generic name for a man of the lowest and most despised of the mixed tribes, born from a Sudra father and a Brahman mother.

³ The *yojana* is an Indian measure of distance, varying like the Persian *parasang*, or the mile in some parts of Scotland, in respect of the length which it indicates, from 4 or 5 to 8 or 9 English miles. In Fâ-hien it is about 7 miles.

Canouj. This is the place where Buddha is said to have come down to earth, after having been in heaven for three months, preaching his law for the benefit of his mother, who had died seven days after his birth. At one of the Sankâsya topes there were about a thousand monks and nuns, who all received their food from a common store, and were adherents, some of the Great, and some of the Little Vehicle. Fâ-hien remarks that the country here was very productive, and that the people were beyond comparison prosperous and happy. The next halting-place was Canouj—a city of great celebrity in early Indian history, situated on the banks of the Kalinadi, a branch of the river Ganges. Its name is a contracted form of Kanya-Kubja, a Sanskrit compound, which means *the city of the hump-backed maidens*, and has reference to a legend concerning the hundred daughters of one of its kings, who were made deformed under the curse of a rishi, whose overtures they rejected. Here Buddha was said to have preached on such themes as the bitterness and vanity, the impermanency and the uncertainty of life, and the nature of the body, which he compared to a bubble or foam on the water.

On leaving Canouj, the pilgrims came successively to A-le (which has not been clearly identified), then to the kingdom of Shâ-khe, that is, Saket, the Sagôda of Ptolemy, and then to Srâvasti in Kôśala—the pristine kingdom of the Solar race. The city has long since vanished, but the ruins of it have been discovered on the south bank of the river Rapti, about fifty-eight miles to the north of Ayodya or Oude, *i.e.* of Faizabad. In one of the suburbs of Srâvasti was the vihâra of Jetavana, celebrated for the beauty of the gardens by which it was surrounded, and held especially sacred as having been for twenty-five years the residence of Sâkya-muni himself, after he had obtained the Buddhahood, that is, enlightenment or perfect wisdom. This vihâra, which consisted originally of seven stories, continually attracted to it the kings and people of the countries around, who vied with each other in their offerings, which consisted of flags, canopies, flowers, incense, and lamps, which by their multitude made the night as bright as day. The pilgrim mentions several places in this neighbourhood which he visited, as being famous in the history of Buddha and his immediate disciples. He then came to Buddha's birthplace, the city of Kapilavastu. "Here," he says, "there was neither king nor people. All was mound and desolation—of inhabitants there were only some monks, and a score or two of families of the common people. The country is a great scene of empty desolation. The inhabitants are few and far between. On the roads people have to be on their guard against white elephants and lions,¹ and should not travel incautiously." The site of Kapilavastu, which was destroyed in Buddha's lifetime, is a short distance north-west of Goruckpore, latitude 26° 46' N., longitude 83° 19' E.

¹ He does not say that he saw these animals, otherwise his veracity might be called in question.

On leaving it the pilgrims journeyed eastward, and after halting at Râma or Râmagrama, and other two places with noted topes, reached the Medina of Buddhism, Kusânagara, "on the north of which, between two trees, on the banks of the Nairanjana River, is the place where the World-honoured One, with his head to the north, attained to Pari-nirvâna, and died." They found the inhabitants of the city to be but few and far between, and to consist only of the families belonging to the different societies of monks. The ruins of Kusânagara are still extant, near Kusiah, one hundred and eighty miles north-west from Patna, and eighty miles due east of Kapilâvastu. On leaving this place, and travelling twenty-two yojanas to the south-east, the pilgrims reached the kingdom of Vaisâli, the Passala of Ptolemy, in the capital of which the second great council of Buddhism had been held. This kingdom, which was of no great extent, stretched northward from the Ganges, along the banks of the river Gandak. Its capital, called also Vaisâli, was situated at some distance from Hâjipur, a station near the junction of these two rivers, and distant about twenty miles from Patna, which is reached by crossing the Ganges. The pilgrims, having crossed the river, and descended south for a yojana, came to the town of Palin-fou, that is Pataliputra, now Patna. "This," says Fa-hien, "is the city where Asôka resided, who reigned over the kingdom of Magadha. The royal palace and hall in the midst of the city, which exist now as of old, were all made by genie which he employed, and which piled up the stones, reared the walls and gates, and executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture-work, in a way which no human hands of this world could accomplish." From this, and the rest of his description of the place, Pataliputra would appear to have been the most important and most magnificent of all the cities which he saw in India. He speaks with admiration of its monasteries, temples, topes, hospitals, and schools of learning, and describes the inhabitants as rich and prosperous, as striving to outvie each other in the practice of benevolence and righteousness, and as living together in peace and harmony, though professing differing creeds—some being Brahmans, and others Buddhists, both of the Great and the Little Vehicle. The prosperity of the city was no doubt owing mainly to its advantageous situation at the confluence of the two great rivers, the Ganges and the Sôn,¹ which made it a great centre of commerce. Fâ-hien's account of the greatness and splendour of the city, shows that it had undergone no deterioration in these respects since the days of Megasthenes, whose description of it we may here quote: "Palibothra is in length 80 stadia (10 miles), and in breadth 15 (2 miles nearly). It is in the shape of a parallelogram, surrounded by a wooden wall, pierced with openings, through which arrows may be discharged. This wall has 570 gates and 64 towers. In front is a ditch, 600 feet in width, and 45 in depth, which serves the purpose of

¹ The Sôn, with the caprice for which Indian rivers are notable, has changed its former course, and now joins the Ganges 16 miles above Patna.

defence and of a sewer for the city." In another passage he ascribes the foundation of it to Hercules, "who built therein," he says, "many sumptuous palaces, and settled within its walls a numerous population." Though the greatest of the Gangetic cities of those days, it was by no means the most ancient, as it was not founded till after Buddha's death, the date of which is 543 B.C. It was visited by Hiouen-Tsang, about 230 years later than by our pilgrim. By that time all its glory had departed, we know not how, and it had shrunk from the dimensions of a great metropolis to those of a paltry village; for Hiouen-Tsang saw upon its site nothing but heaps of ruins, and some two or three hundred houses of the meanest description. But even the ruins which he saw have long since disappeared. They lie buried to the depth of more than a dozen feet below the foundations of the modern city of Patna,¹ which is, perhaps as large and populous as its predecessor, but far from being distinguished, as it was, for the superhuman magnificence of its architecture.

The country extending southward from Pataliputra to the city of Gaya, which is about 60 miles distant, may be regarded as the Holy Land of Buddhism. Here its great founder had spent not a few years of his life; had wandered over its hills, and by the margin of its streams; had sat upon its rocks, and under the shade of its trees; had meditated in its caves, and amid the depths of its forests; and here—all the while teaching and preaching his law, making converts, and working miracles without number—he had, after practising with himself the most painful austerities, and resisting the strongest temptations, finally attained to perfect wisdom. At the various places which he had consecrated by his presence, commemorative topes had been reared, and monasteries founded, which even to the present day are resorted to by throngs of pilgrims. Fâ-hien, as might be expected, visited all these notable localities, and never fails to recount the legends connected with them, at which, however extreme may have been their absurdity, his faith never staggered. He returned from Gaya to Pataliputra, whence he proceeded westward along the course of the Ganges, till he came to the city of Vârânasî, in the kingdom of Kâsî. Vârânasî is the modern Benares, well known as the holiest seat in all India of Brahmanism. From Benares, he returned to Pataliputra, where he remained for three years, occupied in the manner which has already been noticed. From this he proceeded, now left without a companion, along the course of the Ganges to Tâmalîpti or Tamluk, which was then the greatest emporium of commerce in the Gangetic Delta. From Tamluk he proceeded by sea to Ceylon, as has been already stated, and it does not fall within our purpose to trace the pilgrim's progress any further. We shall conclude by quoting the well-deserved eulogium written regarding these Chinese pilgrims by Mr Beal: "Never did more devoted pilgrims leave their native country

¹ About ten years ago, when a tank was being dug in Patna, a portion of the wooden wall, mouths of wells, and fragments of earthen vessels, were discovered at a depth of some 12 or 15 feet below the surface.

to encounter the perils of travel in foreign and distant lands ; never did disciples more ardently desire to gaze on the sacred vestiges of their religion ; never did men endure greater sufferings by desert, mountain, and sea, than those simple-minded, earnest Buddhist priests."

NOTES ON PLACE-NAMES OF IONA.

[The Paper in our *August* number on *The Place-Names of Iona*, by Mr. Alexander Carmichael, having attracted considerable attention, was submitted to the eminent scholar and ethnologist, Mr. Hector Maclean, who contributes the following valuable Notes.]

Aoi, s. f., a place, a region, a country, an island.—(*O'Reilly*.)

Aoi, a place, a region, an island.—(*M'Leod and Dewar*.)

"Hí, nom. pr. Iova, commonly called Iona ; the adj. means 'low.'"—Stokes' *Goidelica*. "Columcille 7 Drostan mac cósgreg adálta tangator áhí marroalseg día dóib goníc abbordobóir," "Columcille and Drostan, son of Cosgrach, his pupil, came from Hí (Iona), as God had shown to them, unto Aberdour." Quoted from the *Book of Deir* in Stokes' *Goidelica*, p. 108.

"I, iseal, low." Irish-English Dictionary in Llwyd's *Archæologia Britannica*.

In Adamnan's *Vita Columbae*, the name for Iona is Ioua and Insula Ioua. Formerly there was no difference made in Latin between the *u* vowel and the *u* consonant, so the name was written since Adamnan's time Ioua. The Latin *v* was anciently pronounced *w* ; therefore the word might be written Iowa, pronounced Eeowa. As our language, as well as other languages, has changed very much in twelve centuries, the change from Ioua to Aoi, and even to I, is not very considerable. Compare old Gaelic *aoi*, a sheep, and the Latin *ovis*, having the same meaning. The *n* of Iona has evidently replaced *u* by a misprint, and it has been retained because Iona is a more euphonious name. Such is also the case with Hebrides, which was at first a misprint for Hebudes. It is amusing to find names improved by blunders.

The oldest Gaelic form of Calum Cille is Columb Cille, which shows clearly that the first part of the name is derived from the Latin *columba* ; whence Gaelic *colum*, a dove, and its diminutive *colman* or *calman*, a little or young dove, which now means dove in general. *Amra Choluimb Chille* is the title of a poem composed to St. Columba after his death, by Dallan Forgaill, who was the saint's contemporary, but survived him. *Cill* is shown also by Celtic scholars to be derived from the Latin *cella*. It is surprising that a word of Latin origin, *calman*, has superseded all the vernacular names for dove ; no doubt this is to be ascribed to the veneration in which St. Columba was held by the Gaels. *Fearán*, a quois or ringdove, *Fearán-breac*, a turtle.—*Ll. Ar. Br.*

Ioua is a feminine adjective derived from an original *Iou*. The form