Takakusu, Junjiro.
AN INTRODUCTION

TO

I-ting's Record of the Buddhist Religion

AS PRACTISED IN

India and the Malay Archipelago

(A.D. 671-695)

Inaugural-Dissertation

ZUR ERLANGUNG DER DOKTORWÜRDE

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

After the introduction of Buddhism into China, A.D. 67, Fa-hien was the first to make a pilgrimage in India, the holy land of the Buddhists. His journey, which lasted about sixteen years (A.D. 399-414), was detailed in his Fo-kue-ki.

Next followed the travels of Sun-yun and Hwui-seng, A.D. 518; unfortunately, however, their narrative is very short, and not to be compared with that of the other travellers. Much later, in the T'ang dynasty, the Augustan age of Chinese Buddhist literature, we have first the famous Hiuen Thsang, of whom we know so much through his work, Si-yu-ki, the Record of the Western Kingdom. His travels in India covered some seventeen years (A.D. 629-645), and anything that came under his notice was fully recorded in the said work, which is an indispensable text-book for Indian history and geography.

Soon after Hiuen Thsang's death, another, by no means less famous, Buddhist, I-ting by name, started for India, A.D. 671, and arrived in Tamralipti, at the mouth of the Hooghly, A.D. 673. He studied in Nalanda, the centre of Buddhist learning, at the east end of the Ragagrha valley, for a considerable time, and collected some 400 Sanskrit texts, amounting to 500,000 slokas. On his way home he stayed

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1 This is the date of the arrival of the first Indian Srmanas, Kasyapa Mta and Bhrama (or Dharmaraksana), who were invited by the Chinese Emperor Ming-ti (A.D. 58) and it is the historical beginning of Buddhism in China, though there are some traces of it in the earlier literature.

2 Fa-hien's Fo-kue-ki, by Remusat, 1836; by Beal, 1869 and 1884; by H. A. Giles, 1877; a notice by T. Watters in the China Review, 1879 and 1880; lastly by Professor Legge, 1886 (Clarendon Press).

3 A translation in Beal's Fa-hien, pp. 174-208.

4 Memoires sur les Contrées Occidentales, by Stan. Julien, 1858; the Records of the Western Kingdoms, by Beal, 1884; Histoire de la Vie de Hiouen Thsang, by Julien, 1853; the Life of Hiuen Thsang, by Beal, 1888.
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in Srîbhoga (Palembang, in Sumatra), where he further studied and translated Buddhist books, either Sanskrit or Pâli.

From Srîbhoga, I-tsing sent home his work, which is here translated, A.D. 692, through another Chinese priest, Ta-ts'in, who was then returning to China. The book is therefore called 'Nan-hai-chi-kuei-nai-fa-ch'uan,' a 'Record of the Inner Law sent home from the Southern Sea,' the islands which lie off the Malay peninsula being then known as the islands of the Southern Sea. Our author returned home A.D. 695, and was well received by the ruling empress, Wu-hou of Chou (as the period of her reign was called). Thus his stay abroad covers, roughly speaking, a period of twenty-five years (A.D. 671–695), though we must allow a few months' stay at home after his chance return to China, about which we shall have to speak presently. After 695 he was at home engaged in interpreting Buddhist texts with some nine Indian priests, Sikshânanda, Êvara, and others. He completed fifty-six translations in 230 volumes, A.D. 700–712; besides, there exist five works of his compilation, among which the chief is our Record here given.

Now as to our knowledge of this book.

1. Mons. Stanislas Julien made use of our Record in collecting the specimens of the Chinese transcriptions of Sanskrit terms, as may be seen in his Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les Noms Sanscrits qui se rencontrent dans les Livres Chinois (Paris, 1861).

2. Prof. Max Müller first recognised the importance of the contents of this work. His earliest notice about the grammatical works mentioned by I-tsing appeared in the Academy for September 25 and October 2, 1880; the next in the Indian Antiquary for December, 1880 (p. 305). A portion of the translation prepared by the late Kenjiu Kasawara, a Japanese Buddhist and pupil of the Professor, was published in 'India, what can it teach us?' 1883, pp. 210–213 and 343–349.

3. Mr. Samuel Beal’s notice of I-tsing’s work appeared in the Indian Antiquary, 1881, p. 191. Some matters contained in it were discussed by him in the Academy for September 9, 1883. He gave also a short abstract of the Record as well as the Memoirs in his Life of Huien Thsang, 1888, pp. xxxii–xxxvi.

4. Prof. W. Wassilief published a Russian translation of chapter ix of our Record in the Memoirs of the Historico-Philological Branch of the Academy,

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2 Loc. cit., Nos. 1491, 1506, 1507, 1508.
3 See pp. 183, 296 ff., in Prof. Cappeller’s German translation, Indien in seiner weltgeschichtlichen Bedeutung, Leipzig, 1884.
St. Petersburg, for October 24, 1888. I have carefully compared his translation with mine, with the help of Dr. Grusdef of Moscow. Both agree on the whole, while there are many insignificant points in which we differ from each other; but I am glad to say that there was nothing to necessitate an alteration of my translation, which was already printed, when I received a copy of the Russian translation through the kindness of Prof. Serge d'Oldenbourg.

5. Mr. R. Fujishima, a Japanese priest, translated into French two chapters of the forty in the Journal Asiatique for November–December, 1888, entitled ‘Deux Chapitres des Mémoires d'I-tsing,’ pp. 411–439. The points of difference between his renderings and mine have been carefully noted in the present work, for these chapters (xxxii and xxxiv) are of special importance, inasmuch as they contain the names and dates of several literary men of India, the account of an eye-witness, which cannot be obtained from any other source.

Mr. Kasawara left his MS. with Prof. Max Müller when he went home from England in 1881. We see, in the Journal of the Pâli Text Society, 1883, p. 71, how the Professor was entertaining the hope of printing our Record. He says: ‘I may add that I possess an English translation of I-tsing’s “Nan-hai-chi-kuei-nai-fa-ch’uan,” made by Kasawara during his stay at Oxford. It is not complete, and he hoped to finish it after his return to Japan, where a new edition of the Chinese text is now being published from an ancient Korean copy, collated with several Chinese editions. With the help, however, of Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio and some other scholars, I hope it will be possible before long to publish Kasawara’s translation of that important work.’ Mr. Nanjio once examined the MS., and noted: ‘Kasawara leaves out more than a half of the original work in his translation. But I think the portion he has translated agrees with the original pretty well.’ In reality his translation covered some seventy-two pages out of 206 in all, the obscure and uninteresting portion naturally being left out. With the exception of chapters xxxii and xxxiv, his MS. was either incomplete or an abstract only. It was his labour, however, that prepared the way for my present work, and the memory of his early death continually served to encourage me while handling his MS. or trying to make out the obscure passages of our Record.

The object of I-tsing’s work was to correct the misrepresentations of the Vinaya rules, and to refute the erroneous opinions held by the schools of the Vinaya-dharas then existing in China. He therefore dwells chiefly on the monastic life and discipline of his time; but mingled with this we have also several important facts recorded in our work. As to the importance of I-tsing’s contribution to the history of Indian literature (chaps. xxxii, xxxiv), the book will speak for itself. The other chapters also are indispensable for the study of the development of
GENERAL INTRODUCTION:

Buddhism, especially of the Schools of the Chinese Vinaya, our knowledge of which is still very limited. The present work is an exclusive representation of the Mūlasarvāstivāda School, one of the four chief Nikāyas prevalent in India, and this will, I hope, lead some Chinese scholars to a study of the Vinaya, which is still almost an unbeaten track in Chinese literature. The Vinaya of this particular school is rich and by far the most complete of all, having also with it a complete commentary (Vibhāshā) and several 'helps' to its study, almost all of which have been translated by I-tsing himself (below, p. xxxvii). We have, besides, two other Vinaya-piṭakas, which bear a close relation to the above, belonging to the Mahāsāaka and Dhammagupta Schools—two subdivisions of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, according to I-tsing (p. 20). All these schools are known both to the Sinhalese and to the Tibetans, and the Mahāsāaka and Sarvāstivāda existed as early as Aśoka’s time; both of them are said to have developed out of the Stāvira-nikāya, which is identified by Prof. Oldenberg with the Vibhāgyavādī of the historical records of Ceylon (the name being also found in Tibetan and Chinese). We have now in existence the Vinaya-piṭaka in six recensions, represented in three languages. The complete text of the Theravāda is preserved in Pāli (1), which in substance closely corresponds with the Mahāsāaka-vinaya in Chinese (2); that of the Mūlasarvāstivāda in Tibetan (3) as well as in Chinese (4), along with these that of the Dhammagupta—a subdivision of the last (5). Moreover, of the school furthest removed from the orthodox, we have the Mahāsaṅghika-vinaya (6), in a complete state, brought home by Fā-hien, A.D. 414, from Pāṭaliputra, and translated A.D. 416.

Seeing that we have such ample materials, a careful examination of them and a scientific comparison of all the results would much help us in ascertaining the stages of development of the traditional opinions of all the schools, for the Vinaya was held by them as the most important in determining the difference of traditions handed down by various authorities. When all these works have been examined, and the historical developments traced out, some chapters of our Record relating

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1 But it does not necessarily follow that the subdivisions are chronologically later than the school to which they belong, for it is possible that the schools which had been originally independent may later have come under a more flourishing school and made it the chief, seeing that there are not many material differences in their doctrines. In the Dīpannasa the Sarvāstivāda is said to have separated itself from the Mahāsāaka.


3 Vinaya-piṭakam, p. xlvii.
to the Disciplinary Rules, though they may seem to some to be uninteresting at present, will, I hope, turn out a valuable manual showing how they modified and practised the original rules of the Buddha in the seventh century of our era.

The Mulasarvāstivāda School.

In the course of 100–200 years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, that is to say, after the Council of Vaiśālī, the object of which was chiefly to refute the ten theses of the Vaggian Bhikshus, the Buddhist Church is said to have split into various schools. The Sarvāstivāda-nikāya, to which I-tsing himself belonged, as it is one of the earliest schools, must have developed itself in the same period. In the Dipavamsa V, 47, it is said that the Mahīmsāsaka first separated itself from the Theravāda, and from the Mahīmsāsaka, the Sabbatthivāda, and Dhammagutta. The history of our school, however, begins with the Kathāvaththu of Moggaliputta Tissa (B.C. 240), the head of Asoka’s Council. It does not seem to have played a very important part at that time, for Tissa’s work directs only three questions against the Sabbatthivādas:—1. Can an Arhat fall from Arahatship? (Parihīṇa Arahā Arahattā ti); 2. Does everything exist? (Sabbam atthāti); 3. Is continuation of thought samādhi? (Kīta-santati samādhi). All these would be answered in the affirmative by the Sabbatthivādas against the opinions of the orthodox school. This materialistic school appears later on as the Vaibhāshika, which is most likely identical with that of Sāyana's Sarvādarsana-saṅgraha,—the Presentationalist, as Prof. Cowell (p. 15) calls it. About 300 years after the Nirvāṇa, Kātyāyanaputra compiled the Gñānaprasthāna-sāstra, which is the fundamental work of the Sarvāstivādas. It is on this book Vasumitra and others composed, at the time of Kanishka, an elaborate commentary called the Mahāvibhāshā-jastra (No. 1263), belonging to this school, and they were consequently collectively called the Vaibhāshikas. About 400 years later, in the fifth century A.D., Vasubandhu wrote the Abhidharma-kosa-sāstra (No. 1267), in which he, as an adherent of the Mahāyāna, refuted the views of the Vaibhāshikas. Thereupon, his contemporary and former teacher, Saṅghabhadra of the Sarvāstivāda-nikāya, refuted in turn the opinions expressed in the Kosa in his Nyāyānusāra-sāstra (No. 1265). But it was before these two teachers that this school found a home in C. India. Fā-hien (A.D. 399–414), who went to India to collect the Vinaya

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1 Dipavamsa V, 16–18; Mahāvamsa V, 8.  
2 J. R. A. S., 1892, p. 8 f., i, 2, 6; xi, 6.  
3 Compare Hien Thsang's Mémoires, iv, 200; Wassilief, Buddhismus, pp. 217, 218; Burnouf, Introduction, 399; Nanjio's Catal., No. 1275.
texts, says that this school was followed in Pātaliputra as well as in China, and
that the Vinaya of it had not as yet been reduced to writing. In Hiuen
Thsang’s time (A.D. 629–645), this school seems to have been widely followed.
He mentions some thirteen places as belonging to it; Kashgar, Udyâna, and many
other places on the northern frontier, Persia in the west, Matipura, Kanoj, and
a place near Râgagriha in C. India. The Tibetan Vinaya, which was translated
between the seventh and thirteenth centuries, is said to belong to this school,
though the analysis of the Dulva (= Vinaya) in reality presents a closer resembl­
ance to the Dasâdhyâya-vinaya, which is, according to I-tsing, not exactly the
text of the Sarvâstivâdas (p. 20). I-tsing in our Record gives the geographical
extension of this school (p. xxiv). It flourished in C. and N. India, and had some
followers in E. and W. India, but it seems to have had very few adherents in
S. India, and was entirely absent in Ceylon. In Sumatra, Java, and the neigh­
bouring islands, almost all belonged to this school, and in China all the four
subdivisions of it were flourishing. Even in Champa a trace of it was found.
No other school, so far as we can ascertain, ever flourished so widely as the
Sarvâstivâda, either before or after the seventh century; though its adherents in
India alone, in Hiuen Thsang’s time, were not so numerous as those of the other
schools. This school no doubt belongs to the Hînayâna, though our author does
not expressly say so. He mentions the two Baudhā systems, Mâdhyamika
(of Nâgâgura) and Yogâbârya (of Asaṅga), found in Sâyana’s philosophical work,
and says that only these two were the Mahâyâna then existing or that ever
existed. I-tsing makes an attempt to harmonise the two extreme Yânas, pointing
out some facts common to both, such as the adoption of the same Vinaya and the
same Prohibitions (p. 14). What constitutes the difference between the two is,
according to him, the worship of a Bodhisattva and the reading of a Mahâyâna-
sûtra, which are peculiar to the Mahâyânists. But it seems to have been the
case that some of the eighteen schools, after coming into contact with the
Mahâyâna, adopted its custom, or at all events, studied its system along with
their own. I-tsing’s statement (p. 14) seems to imply that one and the same

1 Chap. xxxix; Legge, p. 99.
2 As. Res. xx, p. 41 seq. The first Buddhist king, Sroh-tsan-gam-po, sent his minister,
Thonmi Sambhota, to India for the scriptures in 632 A. D.
3 Wassilief, Buddhismus, p. 96.
5 The Mahâbodhi-vihâra in Gayâ, for instance, adheres to the Sthavira School, yet belongs
also to the Mahâyâna; the surrounding circumstances may have occasioned this. See below,
p. xxxii, note 2.
BUDDHIST SCHOOLS.

A school adheres to the Hīnayāna in one place and to the Mahāyāna in another; a school does not exclusively belong to the one or the other.

As to the difference of the opinions held by the eighteen schools, he does not say a word; but we can see, from the fact that he is very particular in stating that his Record is in accordance with his own school only and no other, that the opinions of the other schools were irreconcilable. He gives some trifling points of difference in their practices, such as the arrangement of lodging-places, the methods of accepting alms or wearing garments, though they are not sufficient to draw a line between the Mulasarvastivāda-nikāya and the other schools.

THE RESULT OF I-TSING’S DESCRIPTION OF THE BUDDHIST SCHOOLS

(A.D. 671–695).

(His Introduction, pp. 7–14.)

The eighteen schools of Buddhism under the four principal heads:—

I. The Ārya-mahāsaṅghika-nikāya.

1. Seven subdivisions.
2. The Tripitaka in 300,000 sūtras.
3. It is in practice in Magadha (C. India); a few in Lāṭa and Sindhu (W. India); a few in N. and S. India. Side by side with the other schools in E. India. Rejected in Ceylon. Lately introduced into the islands of the Southern Sea (Sumatra, Java, &c.). Some followers in Shen-si (W. China).

II. The Ārya-sthavira-nikāya.

1. Three subdivisions.
2. The Tripitaka in 300,000 sūtras.
3. Almost all belong to it in S. India; it is in practice in Magadha (C. India). All belong to this in Ceylon. A few in Lāṭa and Sindhu (W. India). Side by side with the other schools in E. India. (Not in N. India.) Lately introduced into the islands of the Southern Sea. (Not in China.)

Pages 20, 215.

I may add here that there is no trace of Brahmanic hostility in our Record; this is in harmony with the dates of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (about 750) and Saṅkarācārya (about 788–820).

Compare Burnouf, Lotus, 357; Csoma, As. Res. xx, 298; Dipavamsa V; Mahāvamsa V; Rhys Davids, J. R. A. S., 1891, p. 411; 1892, p. 5; Wassilieff, Buddhismus, 223; Beal, Ind. Ant., 1880, 299.

Compare Rhys Davids, Buddhism, p. 19.
III. The Ārya-mūlasarvāstivāda-nikāya.

1. Four subdivisions:
   a. The Mūlasarvāstivāda School.
   b. The Dharmagupta School.
   c. The Mahāsāka School.
   d. The Kāśyapa School.

2. The Tripiṭaka in 300,000 slokas.
3. Most flourishing in Magadha (C. India); almost all belong to this in N. India. A few in Lāṭa and Sindhu (W. India) and in S. India. Side by side with the other in E. India. Three subdivisions, b, c, d, are not found in India proper, but some followers in Udyāna, Kharaśkar, and Kustana. (Not in Ceylon.) Almost all belong to this in the islands of the Southern Sea. A few in Champa (Cochin China). b is found in E. China and in Shen-si (W. China). a, b, c, d, flourishing in the south of the Yang-tse-kiang, in Kwang-tung and Kwang-si in S. China.

IV. The Ārya-sammitiya-nikāya.

1. Four subdivisions.
2. Tripiṭaka in 200,000 slokas; the Vinaya alone in 30,000 slokas.
3. Most flourishing in Lāṭa and Sindhu (W. India). It is in practice in Magadha. A few in S. India. Side by side with the other in E. India. (Not in N. India.) (Not in Ceylon.) A few in the islands of the Southern Sea. Mostly followed in Champa (Cochin-China). (Not in China proper.)

The geographical distribution of the schools in India and in other places:

India in general. Eighteen schools are in existence (p. 8, iv).
C. India. Magadha; all the four Nikāyas in practice, but III flourishes the most (except b, c, d of it).
W. India. Lāṭa and Sindhu; IV is most flourishing; a few of I, II, III.
N. India. Almost all belong to III; a few to I (II, IV not found).
S. India. Almost all belong to II; a few to the other schools.
E. India. I, II, III, IV side by side.
Ceylon. All belong to II; I is rejected (III, IV not found).
Sumatra, Java, and the neighbouring islands. Almost all belong to III; a few to IV; lately a few to I, II.
Cochin-China. Champa; mostly IV; a few III (no I, II).
Siam. No Buddhism at present, owing to the recent persecution of Buddhists by a king.

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1 This seems to be most common; Sammiti in Dipav. V, 46 (plural -ti), also in Wijesinha, Mahāv., p. 15, note.
2 This fact is in harmony with Prof. Oldenberg’s opinion expressed in his Vinaya-pitakam, i, p. liii, that the Ceylonese Buddhism might have been introduced through the southern coasts which had commercial relations with Ceylon in early times.
E. China. b of III flourishing.

W. China. Shen-si: b of III, and also I followed.

S. China. South of Yang-tse-kiang, Kwang-tung, and Kwang-si: all III (a, b, c, d) flourishing.

The Mahâyâna and Hînayâna.

China in general belongs to the Mahâyâna,
Malayu (=Sûrabhoja), a few Mahâyânists.
N. India and the ten or more islands of the Southern Sea (Sumatra, Java, &c.) generally belong to the Hînayâna.

All the remaining places in India. Both Yânas are found, i.e. some practise according to the one, some according to the other.

THE LIFE AND TRAVELS OF I-TSING.

I. His Boyhood, to his Departure from China.

I-tsing, one of the three great travellers in India, was born in the year 635 A.D. in Fan-yang, during the reign of T'ai-tsung. When he was seven years old (641), he went to the teachers, Shan-yü and Hui-hsi, who both lived in a temple on the mountain T'ai in Shan-tung. He was probably instructed by these teachers in the elements of general Chinese literature, with a view to his proceeding to the priesthood.

His Upâdhyâya Shan-yü died, to his great sorrow, when he was only twelve years old (646). He then, laying aside his study of secular literature, devoted himself to the Sacred Canon of the Buddha. He was admitted to the Order (Pravrâgyâ) when he was fourteen years of age. It was, he tells us, in his eighteenth year (652) that he formed the intention of travelling to India, which was not, however, carried out till his thirty-seventh year (671). During some nineteen years of the interval he seems to have applied all his youthful vigour to

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1 Modern Cho-chou (=Juju of Marco Polo, near Peking), a department in the province of Chi-li.
2 Reigned A.D. 627–649; 635 is, in Chinese, the ninth year of the Chêng-kuan period.
3 Below, pp. 199, 207.
4 Page 204; Huen Thsang returned from India in this year.
5 Page 204.
the study of religion, so as not to render his life useless by indulging himself in secular literature."

He received his Full Ordination (Upasampadā) at the required age of twenty (654), his Karmākārya, Hui-hsi, then becoming his Upādhyāya to take the place of the deceased Shan-yü. On the same day, pointing out to him the importance of holding firm to the Noble Precepts of the Buddha, and also the fact that the Buddha's teaching was becoming misinterpreted, the Upādhyāya instructed him in earnest. The words of his teacher must have guided him throughout the whole of his life, for what he did or wrote afterwards perfectly accords with them.

After that incident, he devoted himself exclusively to the study of the Vinaya text during the following five years (654–658). He made great progress in his pursuit, and his teacher ordered him to deliver a lecture on the subject; in fact he calls himself on one occasion 'One versed in the Vinaya,' so far as the Chinese study of it is concerned.

Next to the Vinaya he proceeded to learn the larger Sūtras, practising some of the thirteen Dhūtāṅgas during his residence in the mountain Vihāra. Owing to the instigation of his Upādhyāya he then went to Eastern Wei to study Asaṅga's two Sāstras belonging to the Abhidharma-piṭaka; thence he moved to the Western Capital, where he further read the Abhidharma-kosa and Vidyāmātra-siddhi of Vasubandhu and Dharmapāla respectively. While he stayed at Ch'ang-an he may have witnessed the 'noble enthusiasm of Hiuen Thsang' and probably also the grand ceremony of his funeral carried out under the special direction of the emperor, for his death occurred during I-tsing's stay in the capital (664).

Stirred up perhaps by the great personality of Hiuen Thsang and by the honour and glory that attended him, I-tsing seems to have made a great effort to carry out his long meditated enterprise of a journey to India, which was in his time the home of Buddhist literature. I-tsing indeed became a great admirer of Hiuen Thsang as well as of Fā-hien, as his biographer tells us. He stayed in the capital till A.D. 670, the year prior to his departure from home.

As to his travels, the reader will perhaps prefer to read them in I-tsing's own words, though the record is unfortunately short.
II. His Journey to India.

I, I-tsing, was in the Western Capital (Ch'ang-an) in the first year of the Hsien-hêng period (670), studying and hearing lectures. At that time there were with me Ch'u-i, a teacher of the Law, of Ping-pu; Hung-i, a teacher of the Sâstra, of Lai-chou; and also two or three other Bhadantas; we all made an agreement together to visit the Vulture Peak (Grīdhra-kūṣa), and set our hearts on (seeing) the Tree of Knowledge (Bodhidruma) in India. Ch'u-i, however, was drawn back by his affection towards (his home in) Ping-ch'uan, for his mother was of an advanced age, whereas Hung-i turned his thought to Sukhâvatî on meeting Hiuen-Chan in Kiang-ning. Hiuen-k'uei (one of the party) came as far as Kwang-tung; he, however, as others did, changed his mind which he had formerly made up. So I had to start for India, only with a young priest, Shan-hing, of Tsin-chou.

The old friends of mine in the Divine Land (China) thus unfortunately parted with me and all went their ways, while not a single new acquaintance in India was yet found by me. Had I hesitated then, my wish would never have been fulfilled. I composed two stanzas imitating, though not in earnest, the poem on the fourfold Sorrow.

During my travel I passed several myriads of stages,
The fine threads of sorrow entangled my thought hundredfold.
Why was it, pray, you let the shadow of my body alone
Walk on the boundaries of Five Regions of India?
Again to console myself:
A good general can obstruct a hostile army,
But the resolution of a man is difficult to move.
If I be sorry for a short life and be ever
Speaking of it, how can I fill up the long Asaṅkhya age?

1 The Ta-t'ang-sì-yu-kà-fà-kào-sèng-Ch'üan, vol. ii, fol. 4; Chavannes, § 46, p. 114.
2 Ping-chou or T'ai-yuen in Shen-si.
3 Lai-chou Fu, in the Shan-tung promontory, said to have been named after the Lai aborigines.
4 A Japanese text has Ping-chou.
5 To be born in the Land of Bliss it is necessary to repeat daily the name of Amitâbha according to the Old Pure Land School; An-yang = Sukhâvatî.
6 In Kiang-su.
7 A place in Ping-yang in Shen-si. This priest was a pupil of I-tsing; he came as far as Sumatra and returned to China owing to illness, Chavannes, § 47, p. 126.
9 Cf. the Analects, IX, 25.
10 A Bodhisattva passes through three Asaṅkhya (immeasurable) ages, practising charity, &c.; I-tsing is here alluding to this.
GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

1 Previous to my departure from home I returned to my native place (Cho-chou) from the capital (Ch'ang-an). I sought advice from my teacher, Hui-hsi, saying: 'Venerable Sir, I am intending to take a long journey; for, if I witness that with which I have hitherto not been acquainted, there must accrue to me great advantage. But you are already advanced in age, so that I cannot carry out my intention without consulting you.' He answered: 'This is a great opportunity for you, which will not occur twice. (I assure you) I am much delighted to hear of your intention so wisely formed. If I live long enough (to see you return), it will be my joy to witness you transmitting the Light. Go without hesitation; do not look back upon things left behind. I certainly approve of your pilgrimage to the holy places. Moreover it is a most important duty to strive for the prosperity of Religion. Rest clear from doubt!'

2 On the eve of my departure, I went to the tomb of my master (Shan-yii) to worship and to take leave. At that time, the trees around the tomb (though injured by frost had already grown so much that each tree would take one hand to span it, and wild grasses had filled the graveyard. Though the spirit-world is hidden from us, I nevertheless paid him all honour just as if he had been present. While turning round and glancing in every direction, I related my intention of travelling. I invoked his spiritual aid, and expressed my wish to requite the great benefits conferred on me by this benign personage.

3 In the second year of the Hsien-hêng period (671) I kept the summer-retreat (varsha or vassa) in Yang-fu. In the beginning of autumn (seventh moon) I met unexpectedly an imperial envoy, Feng Hsiao-ch'üan of Kong-chou; by the help of him I came to the town of Kwang-tung, where I fixed the date of meeting with the owner of a Persian ship to embark for the south. Again accepting the

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1 Page 210.  2 Page 204.  3 This is an alternative translation, cf. l. c.
4 Cf. the Analects, III, 12.
5 The Si-yu-ku-fa-kao-seng-ch'uan, vol. ii, fol. 5a; Chavannes, p. 116.
6 Yang-chou (=Yangju of Marco Polo) in Kiang-su.
7 Old name for the S. E. part of Kwang-si.
8 In I-tsing's time there was regular navigation between Persia, India, the Malay islands, and China. I think this explains the route of the first Nestorian missionary, Olopuen or Alopen, who went to China A.D. 635. Dr. Legge supposed that he would have come to China overland through Central Asia (Christianity in China in the Seventh Century, p. 45). Dr. Edkins says that Siladitya received the Syrian Christians, Alopen and his companions, A.D. 639 (Athenæum, July 3, 1880, p. 8). If so, it would seem that he went back to India. If, on the other hand, these were two different men, the fact would rather favour Yule's conjecture that Alopuen, which is supposed to be Syriac 'Alopano,' might be merely a Chinese form of the Syriac 'Rabban,' by which the Apostle had come to be generally known (Cathy, p. xciv). For Adam, the writer of the Syro-Chinese inscription, see p. 169 note, and also my additional note at the end (p. 223).
invitation of the envoy I went to Kang-chou, when he became my Dānapati (Benefactor) for a second time. His younger brothers, Hsiao-tan and Hsiao-chên, both imperial envoys, Ladies Ning and Pên, all the members of his family, favoured me with presents.

Things of superior quality and excellent eatables were given me by them; each striving to do the best. In doing so, they hoped that I might not be in any want during the sea voyage, yet they feared that there might be some troubles for me in the dangerous land. Their affection was as deep as that of my parents, readily granting whatever the orphan wished to have. They all became my refuge or resource, and together supplied the means of (visiting) the excellent region.

All I could have done regarding my pilgrimage (to the Holy Land) is due only to the power of the family of Feng. Moreover the priests and laymen of the Lin-nan experienced a bitter feeling at our parting; the brilliant scholars of the northern provinces were all distressed by our bidding farewell, as they thought never to see us again.

In the eleventh month of this year (A.D. 671) we started looking towards the constellations Yi and Chên, and having P'an-yü (Kwang-tung) right behind us. I would sometimes direct my thoughts far away to the Deer Park (Mrigadâva at Benares); at other times I would repose in the hope of (reaching) the Cock Mountain (Kukkâ padagiri near Gayâ).

At this time the first monsoon began to blow, when our ship proceeded towards the Red South, with the ropes a hundred cubits long suspended from above, two by two. In the beginning of the season in which we separate from the constellation Chi, the pair of sails, each in five lengths, flew away, leaving

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1 A place in Kwang-chou in the province of Kwang-tung.
2 Chiin-chên is a daughter of an imperial prince of the third degree, but often used as a title of honour of a noble lady, as here.
3 South of the Plum Range, i.e. Kwang-tung and Kwang-si.
4 Page 211.
5 Yi = serpent, twenty-two stars in Crater and Hydra; Chên = worm, β, γ, δ, ε Corvus. Long. 170° 56' 9"—187° 56' 52", i.e. about the south.
6 The colour assigned to the south is red, and that to the north is sombre, see below.
7 I. e. 'the preparation of the spars having been duly made.' Prof. Chavannes' correction of 'Kuei' to 'Kua' is confirmed by Kâryapa's copy of the Record; Memoirs, p. 118, note 4.
8 Chi stands for the constellation γ, δ, ε Sagittarii = Leopard. Long. 268° 28' 15". This constellation consists of the stars which are visible in heaven only when the sun is 16° or more below the horizon. Accordingly, the first heliacal rising (ortus heliacus) at dawn for Lat. 20° (Canton) is on about Feb. 8, and the last heliacal setting (occasus heliacus) in the evening dusk, for Lat. 20° is on about Dec. 11. The corresponding day in the lunar month to our Dec. 11 will be about the 1st of the eleventh month, being about the time when the Chi constellation disappears.
9 For this note, see next page.
GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

the sombre north behind. Cutting through the immense abyss, the great swells of water lie, like a mountain, on the sea. Joining sideways with a vast gulf-stream, the massive waves, like clouds, dash against the sky.

Before sailing twenty days the ship reached Bhoga¹, where I landed and stayed six months, gradually learning the Sabdavidyā (Sanskrit grammar). The king gave me some support and sent me to the country of Malau, which is now called Sribhoga², where I again stayed two months, and thence I went to Ka-cha³. Here I embarked in the twelfth month, and again on board the king’s ship I sailed to Eastern India. Going towards the north from Ka-cha, after more than ten days’ sail, we came to the country of the Naked People (Insulae Nudorum). Looking towards the east we saw the shore, for an extent of one or two Chinese miles, with nothing but cocoa-nut trees and betel-nut forest⁴, luxuriant and pleasant (to be seen). When the natives saw our vessel coming, they eagerly embarked in little boats, their number being fully a hundred. They all brought cocoa-nuts, bananas, and things made of rattan-cane and bamboos, and wished to exchange them. ⁵ What they are anxious to get is iron only; for a piece of iron as large as two fingers, one gets from them five to ten cocoa-nuts. The men are entirely naked, while the women veil their person with some leaves. If the merchants in joke offer them their clothes, they wave their hands (to tell that) they do not use them.

By this time the wind begins to blow from N. E.; hence the common expression: ‘Chi hao fêng, Pi hao yii,’ ‘the constellation Chi ( Sagittarius) loves wind, and the Pi (Taurus) loves rain,’ that is, the two draw wind and rain respectively towards themselves, and it means ‘wind comes from the N.E., and the rain from the S.W.’ The Chinese Jbolus is therefore Chi-po, i.e. Lord Chi or Uncle Sagittarius.

³ Lit. ‘the pair of fives flew alone;’ the sail may have consisted of five lengths of canvas. Chavannes: ‘et la girouette de plumes flotta isolée.’

¹ See below.

² This is I-tsing’s note. We must thus recognise Bhoga, the Capital and the country of Sribhoga (=Malau), though I-tsing uses both names indiscriminately. The notes in I-tsing’s text have often been erroneously supposed to be by a later hand. As I have said elsewhere (pp. 8, 214, notes), we have no reason whatever to suppose this. He is wont to note any difficult passage throughout his works and translations. There are some such notes which no one but one who had been in India could add, e.g. see Memoirs, vol. ii, fol. 12ª; Record, vol. i, fol. 3ª; vol. iii, fol. 11ª, 11b; vol. iv, fol. 14ª. The commentator Kāyāpa takes all the notes as by I-tsing. Besides, the note to the Mūlasarvāstivāda-ekasatakarman quoted below (pp. xxxiii, xxxiv) clears up all doubts, where he says that Malau then became Bhoga.

³ Ka-cha must be S. of the country of the Naked People, somewhere on the Atchin coast. This may represent Sanskrit kakkha, ‘shore.’ The Chinese characters are now pronounced Hsieh-ch’a or Chieh-ch’a (ch’a is often misprinted for t’u; if so here, then Chieh-t’u).

⁴ Pin-lang, from the Malay pinang; Sanskrit pûga.

⁵ These agree with an account given of the Nicobar Islands, see below, p. xxxviii, 1.
This country is, I heard, in the direction of the south-west limit Shu-ch'uan (Ssū-ch'uan, in China). This island does not produce iron at all; gold and silver also are rare. The natives live solely on cocoa-nuts (nālikera) and tubers; there is not much rice. And therefore what they hold most precious and valuable is Lohā, which is the name for iron in this country. These people are not black, and are of medium height. They are skilled in making round chests of rattan; no other country can equal them. If one refuses to barter with them, they discharge some poisoned arrows, one single shot of which proves fatal. In about half a month's sail from here in the north-west direction we reached Tāmraliptī, which constitutes the southern limit of E. India. It is more than sixty yoganas from Mahābodhi and Nālanda (C. India).

On the eighth day of the second month of the fourth year of the Hsien-hêng period (673) I arrived there. In the fifth month I resumed my journey westwards, finding companions here and there.

I met for the first time Ta-ch'êng-têng (Mahâyânapradîpa) in Tāmraliptī, and stayed with him a (part of the) year, while I learned the Brahma-language (Sanskrit) and practised the science of words (grammar, Sabdavidyā). Lastly, I started together with the master Têng (=Ta-ch'êng-têng), taking the road which goes straight to the west, and many hundreds of merchants came with us to C. India.

At a distance of ten days' journey from the Mahâbodhi Vihāra we passed a great mountain and bogs; the pass is dangerous and difficult to cross. It is important to go in a company of several men, and never to proceed alone. At that time I, I-tsing, was attacked by an illness of the season; my body was fatigued and without strength. I sought to follow the company of merchants, but tarrying and suffering, as I was, became unable to reach them. Although I exerted myself and wanted to proceed, yet I was obliged to stop a hundred times in going five Chinese miles. There were there about twenty priests of Nālanda, and with them the venerable Têng, who had all gone on in advance. I alone remained behind, and walked in the dangerous defiles without a companion. Late in the day, when the sun was about to set, some mountain brigands made their appear-

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1 Lo-ho in the Japanese text, but Lo-a in the Chinese. They evidently used the Sanskrit name.
2 Page 185, note.
3 Page 211.
4 A pupil of Hiuen Thsang. He travelled in Dvāravatī (W. Siam), Ceylon, S. India, and came to Tāmraliptī, where he stayed twelve years; skilled in Sanskrit. I-tsing goes with him to Nālanda, Vaisālī, and Kurinagara; died in the Pariniśvāra Vihāra at the last-mentioned town (Memoirs, i, fols. 13, 14; Chavannes, § 32, p. 68).
ance; drawing a bow and shouting aloud, they came and glared at me, and one
after another insulted me. First they stripped me of my upper robe, and then took
off my under garment. All the straps and girdles that were with me they snatched
away also. I thought at that time, indeed, that my last farewell to this world was
at hand, and that I should not fulfil my wish of a pilgrimage to the holy places.
Moreover, if my limbs were thus pierced by the points of their lances, I could
never succeed in carrying out the original enterprise so long meditated. Besides,
there was a rumour in the country of the West (India) that, when they took
a white man, they killed him to offer a sacrifice to heaven (Devas). When
I thought of this tale, my dismay grew twice as much. Thereupon I entered
into a muddy hole, and besmeared all my body with mud. I covered myself with
leaves, and supporting myself on a stick, I advanced slowly.

The evening of the day came, and the place of rest was as yet distant. At
the second watch of night I reached my fellow-travellers. I heard the venerable
Têng calling out for me with a loud voice from outside the village. When we
met together, he kindly gave me a robe, and I washed my body in a pond and
then came into the village. Proceeding northwards for a few days from that
village, we arrived first at Nâlanda and worshipped the Root Temple (Mûla-
gandhakû/), and we ascended the Grîdhrakû/ (Vulture) mountain, where we saw
the spot on which the garments were folded 1. Afterwards we came to the Mahâ-
bodhi Vihâra 2, and worshipped the image of the real face (of the Buddha). I took
stuffs of thick and fine silk, which were presented by the priests and laymen of
Shan-tung, made a kâshâya (yellow robe) of them of the size of the Tathâgata,
and myself offered this robe to the Image. Many myriads of (small) canopies
(also), which were entrusted to me by the Vinaya-master Hiuen of Pu 3, I presented
on his behalf. The Dhyâna-master An-ťao of Ts'ao 4 charged me to worship the
image of Bodhi, and I discharged the duty in his name.

Then I prostrated myself entirely on the ground with an undivided mind,
sincere and respectful. First I wished for China that the four kinds of benefits 5

1 Hiuen Thsang, tom. iii, p. 21 : 'Au milieu d'un torrent, il y a une vaste pierre sur laquelle
le Tathâgata fit sécher son vêtement le religieux. Les râies de l'étoffe détachent encore aussi
nettement que si elles avaient été ciselées.'

2 Near the Bodhi tree, built by a king of Ceylon (Memoirs, Chavannes, p. 84). This Vihâra
belonged to the Theravâda, yet adhered to the Mahâyâna (Hiuen Thsang, iii, p. 487 seq.); this
fact perhaps misled Hiuen Thsang, who mentions Ceylon as belonging to both. Bharukakkhâ
and Surâshâra also belonged to both, according to Hiuen Thsang. Compare Oldenberg, Vinaya-
pitakam, p. liii, note.

3 Pu-chou in Shan-tung.

4 Ts'ao-chou in Shan-tung.

5 Page 196, note 3.
LIFE AND TRAVELS OF I-TSING.

should widely prevail among all sentient beings (Han-shih=sattva) in the region of the Law (Dharmadhātu), and I expressed my desire for a general reunion under the Nāga-tree to meet the honoured (Buddha) Maitreya and to conform to the true doctrine, and then to obtain the knowledge that is not subject to births. I went round to worship all the holy places; I passed a house which is known (to the Chinese) as Fan-chang (in Vaiśālī) and came to Kusinagara, everywhere keeping myself devout and sincere. I entered into the Deer Park (Mrigadāva at Benares) and ascended the Cock Mountain (Kukkuśapādagiri near Gayā); and lived in the Nālanda Vihāra for ten years (probably A.D. 675–685).

In the first year of the Ch'ui-kung period (685) I parted with Wu-hing in India (in a place six yoganas east from Nālanda).

After having collected the scriptures, I began to retrace my steps to come back. I then returned to Tāmralipti. Before I reached there, I met a great band of robbers again; it was with difficulty that I escaped the fate of being pierced by their swords, and I could thus preserve my life from morning to evening. Afterwards I took ship there and passed Ka-cha. The Indian texts I brought formed more than 500,000 slokas, which, if translated into Chinese, would make a thousand volumes, and with these I am now staying at Bhoga.

Roughly speaking, the distance from the middle country (Madhyamadera) of India to the border lands (Pratyantaka) is more than 300 yoganas in the east and in the west. The border lands in the south and in the north are more than 400 yoganas distant. Although I myself did not see (all the limits) and ascertain (the distance), yet I know it by inquiry. Tāmralipti is forty yoganas south from the eastern limit of India. There are five or six monasteries; the people are

1 Page 213, note 1. Taung here = 'school,' 'tenet,' 'doctrine.'
2 Fan-chang = 'ten cubits square.' In Vaiśālī there was a house which is said to be the room of Vimalakṛṣṇa, contemporary of the Buddha; Wan-hiuen-ts'ê, chief envoy to Śāliḍitya, when in Vaiśālī, measured the house and found that this room was ten cubits each way (Kāśyapa). Hence it was afterwards known as Fan-chang; later any room where a head priest lived was called so. Now any abbot and also any monastery are called Fan-chang. Compare Julien, Mémoires, vii, p. 385; Beal, Life of Huien Thsang, p. 100; Chavannes, Memoirs, p. 72, where I-tsing passes Vaiśālī between the Diamond Seat and Kusinagara.
3 Memoirs, vol. i, fol. 6a; Chavannes, p. 10.
4 Loc. cit., vol. ii, fol. 11b; Chavannes, p. 147. See below, p. xlvi.
5 Ven here is not a verb but a particle; for an analogous use, see the Nestorian Inscription (Legge, Christianity in China, &c., p. 25), and Memoirs, vol. ii, fol. 13b, line 9.
6 He landed here and met a man from the north (Tukhāra or Süli), who told him that there were two Chinese priests travelling in the north (whom I-tsing considered to be his own friends), Chavannes, p. 106.
rich. It belongs to E. India, and is about sixty yoganas from Mahâbodhi and Sûrî-Nâlânâ. This is the place where we embark when returning to China. Sailing from here two months in the south-east direction we come to Ka-cha. By this time a ship from Bhoga will have arrived there. This is generally in the first or second month of the year. But those who go to the Simhala Island (Ceylon) must sail in the south-west direction. They say that that island is 700 yoganas off. We stay in Ka-cha till winter, then start on board ship for the south, and we come after a month to the country of Malayu, which has now become Bhoga; there are many states (under it). The time of arrival is generally in the first or second month. We stay there till the middle of summer and we sail to the north; in about a month we reach Kwang-fu (Kwang-tung). The first half of the year will be passed by this time.

When we are helped by the power of our (former) good actions, the journey everywhere is as easy and enjoyable as if we went through a market, but, on the other hand, when we have not much influence of Karma, we are often exposed to danger as if (a young one) in a reclining nest. I have thus shortly described the route and the way home, hoping that the wise may still expand their knowledge by hearing more.

Many kings and chieftains in the islands of the Southern Ocean admire and believe (Buddhism), and their hearts are set on accumulating good actions. In the fortified city of Bhoga Buddhist priests number more than 1,000, whose minds are bent on learning and good practices. They investigate and study all the subjects that exist just as in the Middle Kingdom (Madhya-dâ, India); the rules and ceremonies are not at all different. If a Chinese priest wishes to go to the West in order to hear (lectures) and read (the original), he had better stay here one or two years and practise the proper rules and then proceed to Central India.

At the mouth of the river Bhoga I went on board the ship to send a letter (through the merchant) as a credential to Kwang-chou (Kwang-tung), in order to meet (my friends) and ask for paper and cakes of ink, which are to be used in copying the Sûtras in the Brahma-language, and also for the means (cost) of hiring scribes. Just at that time the merchant found the wind favourable, and raised the sails to their utmost height. I was in this way conveyed back (although

1 Or does this refer to a robbers’ den?
2 Memoirs, vol. ii, fol. 17b; Chavannes, p. 176.
3 Fu-shu means ‘to send a letter.’ I-tsing does not intend to go home, therefore he says (below): ‘Even if I asked to stop,’ &c. This was a very puzzling point. Beal makes out that I-tsing was intending to return but was left behind, while Chavannes thinks that I-tsing intended to return in order to get paper and ink, and did so.
not myself intending to go home). Even if I asked to stop, there would have been no means of doing so. By this I see it is the influence of Karma that can fashion (our course), and it is not for us, men, to plan it. It was on the twentieth day of the seventh month in the first year of the Yung-ch'ang period (689) that we reached Kwang-fu. I met here again with all the priests and laymen. Then in the midst of the assembly in the temple of Chih-chih I sighed and said: 'I first went to the country of the West with the hope of transmitting and spreading (the Law); I came back and stayed in the island of the Southern Ocean. Some texts are still wanting, though what I brought (from India) and left at Bhoga amounts to 500,000 slokas belonging to the Tripi\aka. It is necessary under this circumstance that I should go there once again. But I am already more than fifty years of age (fifty-five); while crossing the running waves once more, the horses that pass through cracks may not stay, and the rampart of my body may be difficult to guard. If the time for the morning dew (for drying) comes on a sudden, to whom shall those books be entrusted?

'The Sacred Canon is indeed an important doctrine. Who is then able to come with me and take it over? To translate (the texts) as we receive (instructions in them) we want an able person.'

The assembly unanimously told me: 'Not far from here there is a priest; Chêng-ku (Sâlagupta), who has long been studying the Vinaya doctrine; from his earliest age he has preserved himself perfect and sincere. If you get that man, he will prove an excellent companion to you.' As soon as I heard these words, I thought that he would, in all probability, answer my want. Thereupon I sent a letter to him to the temple of the mountain, roughly describing the preparation for the journey. He then opened my letter; on seeing it he soon made up his mind to come with me. To make a comparison, a single sortie at the town of Liao-tung broke the courageous hearts of the three generals, or one little stanza from (or, about) the Himalaya mountain drew the profound resolution of the great hermit. He left with joy the quiet streams and pine forests in which he lived; he tucked up his sleeves before the hill of the Stone Gate (Shih-mên, N.W. of Kwang-tung), and he raised his skirts in the temple of the Edict (Chih-chih). We bent our parasol (and talked friendly as Confucius did) and united our feelings in rubbing away the worldly dust; as we both gave up (to Religion) our five limbs,

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1 Liu-t'ung = 'propagating' or 'transmitting.'
2 A strange simile in Chinese: 'Human life passes away as quickly as a white colt runs through a crack.'
3 Liao-tung and the Himalaya are well known, but I cannot explain at present to what incidents he is alluding.
we concluded (our friendship) in openheartedness, as if from former days. Although I never saw him before in my life, yet he was, I found, just the man who answered unexpectedly my wish. On a fine night we both discussed seriously as to what had to be done. Chêng-ku then said to me: 'When Virtue wishes to meet Virtue, they unite themselves without any medium, and when the time is about ripe, no one can stay it even if they wanted.

'Shall I then sincerely propose to propagate our Tripitaka together with you, and to help you in lighting a thousand lamps (for the future)?' Then we went again to the mountain Hsia to bid farewell to the head of the temple, K'ien, and others. K'ien clearly saw what was to be done at the right moment and acted accordingly; he never intended to retain us any longer with him. When we saw him and laid before him what we had meditated, he helped us and approved of all. He was never anxious about what might be wanting to himself, whilst his mind was intent only on helping others. He made, together with us, the preparations for the journey, so as not to let us be in want of anything. Besides, all the priests and laymen of Kwang-tung provided us with necessary things.

Then on the first day of the eleventh month of the year (A.D. 689) we departed in a merchant ship. Starting from P'an-yü we set sail in the direction of Champa with the view of reaching Bhoga after a long voyage, in order to become the ladders for all beings, or the boats, to carry them across the sea of passion. While we were glad to accomplish our resolutions as soon as possible, we hoped not to fall in the middle of our journey.

[Chêng-ku, Tao-hung, and two other priests followed I-tsing and studied Sutras three years in Bhoga; Tao-hung was then (689) twenty years old, and, when I-tsing wrote the Memoirs, twenty-three years.]

1, I-tsing, met Ta-ts'ìn in Sríbhoga (where he came A.D. 683). I requested him to return home to ask an imperial favour in building a temple in the West. When he saw that benefits would be great and large (had this petition been granted), Ta-ts'ìn disregarding his own life agreed to re-cross the vast ocean. It is on the fifteenth day of the fifth month in the third year of the T'ien-shou period (692) that he takes a merchant ship to return to Ch'ang-an (Si-an-fu). Now I send with him a new translation of various Sutras and Sûtras in ten volumes, the Nan-hai-chi-kuei-nai-fa-ch'uan (the Record) in four volumes, and the Ta-t'ang-si-yu-ku-fa-kao-sêng-ch'uan (the Memoirs) in two volumes.

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1 A hill situated near Kwang-tung, where Chêng-ku lived.
2 Zampa of Odoric (about 1323 A.D.); Chamba of Marco Polo (1288 A.D.). Skt. Kampâ.
3 Chavannes, pp. 185, 187.
LIFE AND TRAVELS OF I-TSING.

III. His Return Home, to his Death.

The Biography tells us that I-tsing was twenty-five years (671-695) abroad and travelled in more than thirty countries, and that he came back to China at Midsummer in the first year of the Chêng-shêng period (695) of T'ien-hou (the queen-usurper, 684-704); further that he brought home some four hundred different texts of Buddhist books, the slokas numbering 500,000, and a real plan of the Diamond Seat (Vâgrâsana) of the Buddha.

In A.D. 700-712 I-tsing translated 56 works in 230 volumes, though some of them were of an earlier date. Among these works there are several important Sûtras and Sûtras, but to know how he represented the Mûlasarvâstivâda School, with which our Record is particularly connected, it will suffice to give here only the Vinaya texts as below:—

A. The India Office Collection.

1. No. 1110. Mûlasarvâstivâda-vinaya-sûtra, 1 vol.

B. The Bodleian Library Collection (Jap. 65°) besides the above.

   (Cf. Mahâvagga, Khandhaka I.)
15. "  (2). Mûlasarvâstivâda-varshâvâsa-vastu, 1 vol.
   (Cf. Mahâv., Khandh. III.)
   (Cf. Mahâv., Khandh. IV.)
   (Cf. Mahâv., Khandh. V.)
   (Cf. Mahâv., Khandh. VI.)
   (Cf. Mahâv., Khandh. VII.)

1 The Sung-kao-sêng-ch’uan, chap. i (Nanjio’s Catal., No. 1495); Chavannes, Memoirs, p. 193 seq.
GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

He thus represented the whole texts of the Vinaya belonging to his own Nikâya, and founded a new school for the study of this branch of Buddhist literature in China. He died A.D. 713, in his seventy-ninth year. His life and works are greatly commended by the emperor Chung-tsung, his contemporary, in the preface to the Tripitaka Catalogue.

NOTES ON SOME GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES.

I. The Country of the Naked People (裸人國).

I-tsing passed this island when he sailed for India. It is ten days distant in the north from Ka-cha, and it points to one of the smaller Nicobar Islands lying on the north side. The description given by I-tsing agrees with some of the later accounts of the islands, so much so, that we are fully justified in identifying his Lo-jên-kuo with the present Nicobar. The group is believed to be the Lanjabálus or Lankhabálus of the Arab navigators in the ninth century, who recorded as follows: 'These islands support a numerous population. Both men and women go naked, only the women wear a girdle of the leaves of trees. When a ship passes near, the men come out in boats of various sizes and barter ambergris and cocoa-nuts for iron.' The description of Marco Polo in the thirteenth century does not agree so well as the above. He says: 'When you leave the island of Java (Java the less = Sumatra) and the kingdom of Lambri, you sail north about 150 miles, and then you come to two islands, one of which is called "Necuveran" (or Necouran). In this island they have no king nor chief, but live like beasts; and I tell you they all go naked, both men and women, and do not use the slightest covering of any kind. They are idolators; there are all sorts of fine and valuable trees, such as red sanders and Indian nuts and cloves and brazil and sundry other good spices.'

1 Colonel Yule, Marco Polo, vol. ii, chap. xii, p. 289 seq.; Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine, dans le ixè siècle de l'ére Chrétienne, by Reinaud, tom. i, p. 8.

2 Rashiduddîn uses the name of Nakvaram (not Lâkvâram), which may be a less corrupted form of the name, perhaps allied with Nâga (Yule, Cathy, p. 96). This may be Hiuen Thsang's Nâlikera-dvîpa (Cocoa-nut Island), as Yule thinks.

3 Yule, Marco Polo, vol. ii, chap. xii, p. 289; he says (p. 291): 'The natives now do not go quite naked; the men wear a narrow cloth, the women a grass girdle. Famous for the abundance of Indian nuts or cocoa, also betel and areca-nuts; and they grow yams, but only for barter.'
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The above two accounts as well as I-tsing's certainly refer to one and the same island, though the latter does not mention any name for it. It seems to have passed under the name of 'Lo-jên-kuo,' just like 'Insulae Nudorum,' as marked in Prof. Lassen's map. The group of the Nicobar Islands was called the 'Land of Râkshasas' in the history of T'ang (618–906).

II. The Islands of the Southern Sea (南海诸洲).

One must not confound what I-tsing calls the Islands of the Southern Sea with what we know as the South Sea Islands. By the term 'Nan-hai' is meant the Southern China Sea or Malay Archipelago, and I-tsing includes in it Sumatra, Java, and the then known neighbouring islands. There are, he tells us, more than ten countries, and all are under the influence of Buddhism. The Islands of the Southern Sea are:

1. P'o-lu-shih Island; Pulushih 婆羅師洲.
2. Mo-lo-yu Country; Malayu 末羅遊州 or Shih-li-fu-shih Country; Srîbhoga 尼利佛逝國.
3. Mo-ho-hsin Island; Mahâsin 莫訶信洲.
4. Ho-ling Island, or Po-ling; Kaliînga 阇陵洲.
5. Tan-tan Island; Natuna 乍哇洲.
6. P'en-pên Island; Pem-pen 盆盆洲.
7. P'o-li Island; Bali 婆里洲.
8. K'u-lun Island; Pulo Condore 岡倫洲.
9. Fo-shih-pu-lo Island; Bhogapura 佛逝補羅洲.
10. A-shan Island, or O-shan 阿善洲.
11. Mo-chia-man Island; Maghaman 末迦漫洲.

There are many more islands, not mentioned here.

The above eleven islands are, according to the author, enumerated from the

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1 Karte von Alt-Indien zu Prof. Lassen's Indischer Alterthumskunde, Bonn, 1853.
2 Book 222; see also the Essays on Indo-China, second series, vol. i, p. 207. Some Chinese accounts of the Andaman Islands (Chinese, Yen-t'o-mang; Japanese, An-da-ban) also agree with I-tsing's, e. g. nakedness, iron, &c.; they were, of course, the same race. Chao-ju-kua's description of it was given, by Dr. Hirth, J. A. S. China, vol. xxii. Notes and Queries, p. 103.
3 Page 10.
4 Marco Polo, 'Malaiur' (chap. viii).
GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

west, and following this order, we shall try to assign each its own place, as far as possible.

1. P'o-lu-shi (Pulushih).

P'o-lu-shi may at first seem to represent the Barussae Insulae, which are, in Lassen's map, a group of the Andaman Islands in the Indian Ocean. I-tsing, however, does not seem to be referring to an island so far away, when he says that two Korean priests went on board to the country of P'o-lu-shi, west of Sribhoga, and there they fell ill and died¹. Prof. Chavannes found in the History of T'ang (chap. ccxxii c) a country called 'Lang-po-lou-se,' which is said to be the western part of Shih-li-fo-shih, and identified with our P'o-lu-shi and Marco Polo's Ferlec (= Parlák), which is the present Diamond Point. His identification seems to be correct, as the country of Sribhoga extended (see below) as far as the coast of Malacca during the T'ang dynasty (618–906).

2. Mo-lo-yu (Malayu), or Shih-li-fo-shih (Sribhoga).

Sribhoga seems to have been a very flourishing country in the time of our author, who went there twice and stayed some seven years (688–695), studying and translating the original texts, either Sanskrit or Pâli. In his works he uses the name 'Bhoga' or 'Sribhoga' indiscriminately ². It seems that the capital of this country was from the first called Bhoga, probably a colony of Java, and that, when the kingdom became great, and extended so far as Malayu, which seems to have been annexed or to have come spontaneously under the realm of the Bhoga prince, the whole country as well as the capital received the name of Sribhoga. The change of the name Malayu to Sribhoga must have happened just before I-tsing's time or during his stay there, for whenever he mentions Malayu by name he adds that it is now changed into Sribhoga or Bhoga.'

As our author is the earliest writer who mentions these names, his account well deserves a careful examination. From his Record and Memoirs we gather the following facts:—

1. Bhoga the capital was on the river Bhoga, and it was the chief trading port with China, a regular navigation between it and Kwang-tung being conducted by a Persian merchant (p. xxviii, note 8).

2. The distance from Kwang-tung to Bhoga was about twenty days by a favourable wind, or sometimes a month (pp. xxx, xlvi).

¹ Chavannes, Memoirs, p. 36, §§ 8, 9, and note.
² About nine times Sribhoga and twelve times Bhoga (the latter more often referring to the capital).
NOTES ON GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES.

3. Malayu, which newly received the name of Srībhoga, was fifteen days' sail from Bhoga the capital, and from Malayu to Ka-cha was also fifteen days,—so that Malayu lies just halfway between the two places (p. xlvi).

4. The country of Srībhoga was east of Pulushih (p. xl).

5. The king of Bhoga possessed ships, probably for commerce, sailing between India and Bhoga (pp. xxx, xlvi).

6. The Bhoga king as well as the rulers of the neighbouring states favoured Buddhism (p. xxxiv).

7. The capital was a centre of Buddhist learning in the islands of the Southern Sea, and there were more than a thousand priests (p. xxxiv).

8. Buddhism was chiefly what is called the Hīnayāna, represented for the most part by the Mālasarvāstivāda School. There were two other schools newly introduced, besides the Sammitiṣṭa. A few Mahāyānists were in Malayu (=Srībhoga the New) (pp. 10, 11).

9. Gold seems to have been abundant. I-tsing once calls Srībhoga 'Chin-chou,' 'Gold Isle.' People used to offer the Buddha a lotus-flower of gold (p. 49). They used golden jars, and had images of gold (pp. 45, 46).

10. People wear Kan-man (a long cloth) (p. 12).

11. Other products were: pin-lang (Mal. pinang, Skt. pūga), nutmegs (gāṭā), cloves (lavaṅga), and Baros-camphor (karpūra) (p. 48). They used fragrant oil (p. 45). People in these places make sugar-balls by boiling the juice of plants (or trees)², and the priests eat them at various hours, while the Indians make sugar from rice-grain, and in making 'stone-honey' they use milk and oil (Nanjio’s Catal., No. 1131, book x, p. 72).

12. In the country of Srībhoga, in the middle of the eighth month and in the middle of spring (second month), the dial casts no shadow, and a man standing has no shadow at noon. The sun passes just above the head twice a year (pp. 143, 144).

13. The language was known as 'Kun-lun' (Malay, not Pulo Condore) (p. 1).

Shih-li-fo-shih, though not unknown, has not been satisfactorily described by the Chinese historians, while the name seems to have been very familiar to Buddhist writers subsequent to I-tsing. Fo-shih (=Bhoga) is mentioned in the History of T’ang (618–906) as being on the south shore of the Straits of Malacca,

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² Or, 'by boiling the wine (syrup) prepared from plants.'
³ E.g. the History of T'ang, book 232 c.
and four or five days distant from Ho-ling (=Java)\(^1\). Next in the History of Sung (960–1279)\(^2\) there is a country in the Southern Sea called San-bo-tsai (San-fo-ch'i), which is in all probability Shih-li-fo-shih (=Śrībhoga) of I-tsing, and its description runs as follows:

The kingdom of San-bo-tsai is that of the southern barbarians. It is situated between Cambodja (Chên-la) and Java (Shê-p'o), and rules over fifteen different states. Its products are rattan, red kino, lignum-aloes, areca-nuts (pin-lang), and cocoa-nuts. They use no copper cash, but their custom is to trade in all kinds of things with gold and silver. The weather is mostly hot, and in winter they have no frost or snow. The people rub their bodies with fragrant oil. This country does not produce barley, but they have rice, and yellow and green peas. They make wine from flowers, cocoa-nuts, pin-lang or honey\(^8\). They write with Sanskrit\(^4\) characters, and the king uses his finger-ring as a seal; they know also Chinese characters; in sending tributes (to China) they write with them. With a favourable wind the distance from this country to Kwang-tung (Canton) is twenty days. Many family names there are "P'u." In 960, the king Shih-li-ku-ta-hia-li-tan\(^6\) sent tribute to China. In 992, this country was invaded by Java. In 1003, two envoys from San-bo-tsai related that a Buddhist temple was erected in order to pray for the long life of the Chinese emperor, and the emperor gave to that temple a name and a bell specially cast for the purpose. In 1017, an envoy from thence brought bundles of Sanskrit books, folded between boards. In 1082, three envoys came to have an audience of the emperor, and presented lotus-flowers of gold\(^5\) (Chin-lien-hua) containing pearls, camphor-baros, and sa-tien.'

The Descriptions of the Barbarians\(^7\), compiled under the same dynasty (960–1279), gives a long account of San-bo-tsai (San-fo-ch'i), which agrees in the main with the above history of Sung. According to this book, San-bo-tsai lies right

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\(^1\) Book 436, p. 20, as quoted by Chavannes, p. 42.
\(^2\) Book 489; some portion has been translated in the Notes on the Malay Archipelago, by W. P. Groeneveldt; see the Essays on Indo-China, second series, vol. i, p. 187.
\(^4\) Fan (barbarian) may mean any foreign characters, but here it seems to mean Sanskrit; so also Mr. Groeneveldt, see loc. cit., p. 188.
\(^5\) Something like Śrī-kūta-harita, or Śrī-gupta-hárīta.
\(^6\) In the History of Liang (502–556), Kandari, eastern coast of Sumatra, sent an envoy and presented a Fu-yan flower of gold, loc. cit., p. 187; Fu-yan is 'mallow,' but often used for 'lotus.'
\(^7\) Chu-fan-shih, by Chao-ju-kua. It is a rather rare book, and I am obliged to Dr. Rosthorn of Vienna for lending it to me. Dr. Hirth is going to translate it (J. R. A. S., Jan. 1896).
NOTES ON GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES.

to the south of Ch‘ian-chou; the people put a cotton cloth (sarongs) round their bodies, and use a silk parasol. They wage war on water as well as on land, and their military organisation is excellent. When the king dies, the people shave their heads as a sign of mourning. Those who follow another in death burn themselves in the pile of fuel. This custom is called ‘T‘ung-shēng-ssū,’ ‘living and dying together.’

There is an image of the Buddha called the ‘Mountain of Gold and Silver.’ The king is commonly called the ‘Essence of the Snake.’ The crown of gold worn by him is very heavy, and the king alone can wear it. He who can wear it succeeds to the throne.

This country being on the sea contains the most important points for trade, and controls the incoming and outgoing ships of all the barbarians. Formerly they made use of iron chains to mark the boundary of the harbour.

Among the fifteen states which are mentioned in the same work as dependent on San-bo-tsai, Tan-ma-ling, Pa-lin-feng, Sin-da, Lan-pi, and Lan-wu-li may be identified respectively with Tana-malayu (the next to Palembang in the list of Sumatran kingdoms in De Barros) with Palembang, Sunda, Jambi, and Lambri, all indicating that they belonged to Sumatra.

We have another important and somewhat earlier account by the Arab travellers of the ninth century, who speak of the island of Sarbaza, which was then subject to the kingdom of Zābedj (=Iabadiu of Ptolemy, about A.D. 150,

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1 Ch‘ian-chou and its bay (=Zayton of Marco Polo), in Fu-kien, lie lat. 25° N., opposite to N. Formosa.

2 Or, ‘sharing the life and death of another.’ In the island of Bali there are the customs of Satya and Bela, generally speaking, ‘Burning one’s body after another’s death,’ the origin of which will be no doubt Indian. Satya is the well-known Satee (Sat), and Bela is supposed by Mr. Friedrich to be the Sanskrit Velā, ‘sudden and easy death.’—Wilson. Bela in Balinese means ‘dying with the man of higher rank’ (a wife with her husband, a slave with his master, a subject with his prince). Our T‘ung-shēng-ssū evidently represents the custom of Bela.

3 Yule, Marco Polo, vol. ii, chap. viii, p. 263.

4 Lamori, or Lambri, included Atchin, or was near it, where the Pole Star is not visible (Odoric); Yule, Cathy, p. 84; Marco Polo, vol. ii, chap. xi, p. 283, note; cf. p. 289, note.

5 Reinaud, Relation des Voyages, tom. i, p. 93; ii, p. 48. Mr. Groeneveldt identified San-bo-tsai with Sarbaza (Essays, p. 187, note); the identification of these two names has since been fully discussed by Prof. P. A. van der Lith, Ajaib el Hind, pp. 247–253 (see Serboza, and Beal’s communication about I-ts‘ing’s account of it).

6 I do not think Śrībhoga is Zābedj, as in Chavannes, but Sarbaza, subject to Zābedj (=Java).

Palembang was a Javanese colony, Yule, Marco Polo, vol. ii, p. 263. Zābedj of the Arabs represents some great monarchy then existing in the Malay Islands, probably in Java, the king of which was known to the Arabs by the Hindu title Mahārāja (Relation, tom. i, p. 93). Dabag, one of the islands of the seas, where the Syrian bishops, Thomas and others, were sent by the
Yavadi (Ya-p'o-t'i) of Fâ-hien, A.D. 414, and Yavada (Ya-p'o-ta) of the History of the First Sung, A.D. 420–478), which seems to be a corruption of Yavadvipa.

Now, as to the position of San-bo-tsai (San-fo-ch'i), it is generally understood to be the present Palembang in the southern part of Sumatra, and we have nothing to say against this general belief, while there are on the other hand many points which indicate the correctness of this identification. In all accounts, this great kingdom of the Southern Sea is about twenty days distant, or sometimes a month, from Kwang-tung. The capital is an important trading port, and the people seem to have embraced Buddhism for some time; and there are several points which show that they were of Hindoo origin. The country is, according to all accounts, rich in gold, and the gift of golden lotus-flowers is peculiar to the people. The accounts as to the use of fragrant oil, kan-man (sarongs), &c., and the products also, though common to the other islands, are in general agreement. Above all, the names, Shih-li-fo-shih (= Sribhoga) of I-tsing, Sarbaza of the Arabs, and San-bo-tsai (= San-fo-ch'i) of the Chinese historians, are the weightiest proof, especially when we see that none of the accounts given under these three names contradict each other.

The constant hostility with Java mentioned in the Chinese history may account for the Arabs making Sarbaza dependent on Zábedj (= Java).

Now we are in a position to see that the capital and trading-port of San-bo-tsai, which went under the name of Chiu-chiang ('Old Port' or 'Old River') after 1397, was what I-tsing called the river Bhoga where he went on board ship to send a message to Kwang-tung, and it is therefore the river Palembang of our time; and what he calls the 'fortified city of Bhoga' (p. xxxiv) is the modern Palembang, while the whole country of Sribhoga is much larger than the present province of Palembang. There were many dependent states.

The Yin-yai-shêng-lan, compiled A.D. 1416, makes these points perfectly clear. It says: 'Chiu-chiang is the same country which was formerly called San-bo-tsai; it is also called Palembang (P'o-lin-pang), and is under the supremacy of Java.

'From whatever place ships come, they enter the strait of Banka (P'êng-chia) at the Freshwater River (Tan-chiang, the Chinese name for the river Palembang),
and near a place with many pagodas built with bricks, after which the merchants go up the river in smaller craft, and so arrive at the capital.'

As to the name 'Malayu,' it seems to have existed for a long time. The Tan-ma-ling (Tana-malayu) of the Descriptions of the Barbarians (960–1279), and Malaiur of Marco Polo in the thirteenth century, are in all probability the remnants of the name Malayu, which was used before our author's time.

Unfortunately, however, the city of Malaiur of Marco Polo has not been satisfactorily traced. Colonel Yule says: 'Probabilities seem to me to be divided between Palembang and its colony Singhapura (Palembang itself is a Javanese colony). Palembang, according to the commentary of Alboquerque, was called by the Javanese Malayo. The list of Sumatran kingdoms in De Barros makes Tana-malayu the next to Palembang. On the whole I incline to this interpretation.'

This point, I think, becomes clear from the notice I have given above that the country Bhoga, i.e. Malayu, lay on the southern shore of Malacca; if Malaiur be Singapore, it must lie on the northern shore where, according to the same history, the country was called Lo-yüeh. Further for the determination of the position of Sríbhoga-Malayu, I-ting furnishes us with important data (pp. 143, 144): 'In the Sríbhoga country (not the capital), we see the shadow of the dial-plate become neither long nor short (i.e. "remain unchanged" or "no shadow") in the middle of the eighth month (=autumnal equinox), and at midday no shadow falls from a man who is standing on that day. So it is in the middle of spring (=vernal equinox).' From this we can see that the country of Sríbhoga covered

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2 The Descriptions of the Barbarians says that this country uses trays of gold and silver for barter.
3 This is the place where Shinno Taka-oka, an imperial prince of Japan, died, A.D. 881, on his way to India to search for the Law. He was twenty years in China learning Buddhism, whence he started for the West. The place of his death is supposed to be near Saigon in Champa or in Siam. If, however, our identification be right, it must have been in or near Singapore.
4 We are perfectly justified in taking these two dates as the two equinoxes. A year is divided into four seasons, each of three months (1st, 2nd, and 3rd, Spring; 7th, 8th, and 9th, Autumn). Therefore, the 'Middle of Spring' is the middle of the second month. The Chinese names for the two equinoxes are accordingly Ch'un-fen and Chiu-fen, 'Division of Spring' and 'Division of Autumn.' I-ting uses Ch'un-chung, 'Middle of Spring,' which conveys the same idea as the above, and Pa-yüeh-chung, 'Middle of the eighth month' (when the calendar is exact, this will be the 'Middle of Autumn'). In the Japanese calendar, the autumnal equinox is marked

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春分. 秋分. 春中. 八月中.
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the places lying on the Equator; and the whole country therefore must have covered the N.E. side of Sumatra from the southern shore of Malacca to the city of Palembang, extending at least five degrees, having the equatorial line at about the centre of the kingdom.

With the last conquest of 1379, the name San-bo-tsai, Sribhoga, once a great monarchy, wellnigh disappears from the history, the new conquerors establishing themselves at the 'Old Port.' By this time Sumatra was perhaps thoroughly converted to Islam, though we find no traces of it in Marco Polo's travels at the close of the thirteenth century 1.

To better understand I-tsing's route via Bhoga and Malayu, the following extract from his work may be useful. He says 2:—

'Wu-hing came to Sribhoga after a month's sail. The king received him very favourably, and respected him as the guest from the Land of the Son of Heaven of the Great T'ang. He went on board the king's ship to the country of Malayu, and arrived there after fifteen days' sail. Thence he came to Ka-cha again after fifteen days. At the end of winter he changed ship and sailed to the west. After thirty days he reached Nagapatana (now Negapatam, 10° 8' N., 79° 9' E.). From here he started again on board for the Simhala Island; he arrived there after twenty days. He worshipped the Buddha's tooth there, and again sailed for the north-east. He came to Harikela, which is the eastern limit of E. India, and is a part of Gambudvipa. He stayed there one year and went to Mahabodhi, Nalanda, and Tiladha 3. Near Tiladha lived a teacher of logic, from whom Wu-hing learned the logical systems of Gima and Dharmakrti, &c. He wanted to come back by the northern route. When I, I-tsing, was in India, I saw him off six yoganas east of Nalanda, and we said goodbye, each hoping to see the other once again in this world.'

Chiu-pa-yüeh-chung 4 (=middle of the eighth month of the old calendar). That I-tsing meant the equinoxes by those terms is certain from the following passage (p. 144), in which he clearly recognises the equinoxes by saying: 'the sun passes just above the head twice a year.' When we take Sribhoga here as the capital, the result is as I have noted, p. 144, but our author expressly says the country of Sribhoga, and we must not limit it to the capital, which he very often, if not always, calls simply Bhoga.

1 The first Mohammedan king in Atchin began to reign A.D. 1205, probably the time of the introduction of Islam (Marco Polo, vol. ii, p. 269); the stimulus of conversion to Islam had not taken effect on the Sumatran States at the time of Polo, but it did so soon afterwards, and, low as they have now fallen, their power at one time was no delusion (loc. cit., p. 270).


3 See below, p. 184, note 2.

4 舊八月中.
3. Mo-ho-hsin (Mahâsin).

The only name which comes near to this is Masin of the Syrians. The bishops, Thomas, Taballaha, Jacob, and Denha, were ordained by the Syrian patriarch Elias, A.D. 1503, 'to go to the lands of the Indians and the islands of the seas which are between Dabag (Java, cf. Zâbedj) and Sin (China) and Masin.' Mahâsin and Masin may be the present Bandjermasin on the southern coast of Borneo.

4. Ho-ling (Po-ling, Kaliṅga).

This name is no doubt Indian, probably taken from Kaliṅga on the coast of Coromandel. According to the Chinese history, this is another name for Java, or a part of it, which had the earliest intercourse with Ceylon and perhaps also with the southern coasts of India. But the following statement of the Chinese historians, if correct, points to a place in the Malay Peninsula (6° 8' N.):—

'In Ho-ling, when at the summer solstice a gnomon is erected 8 feet high, the shadow (at noon) falls on the south side and 2 feet 4 inches (= 2$$\frac{3}{8}$$ feet) long.'

Thus—North latitude of the place of observation = \( \phi \)

Zenith distance of the sun . . . . = \( z \)

North declination of the sun . . . . = \( \delta \)

We have—

\[
\tan z = \frac{2\frac{3}{8}}{8} = 2.4
\]

\[
\log \tan z = 9.477
\]

\( z = 16^\circ 7' \)

\( \delta = 23^\circ 5' \)

\( \phi = \delta - z = 23^\circ 5' - 16^\circ 7' = 6^\circ 8' \text{ N.} \)

[There is clearly a confusion in the statement, if a place in Java (6° 8' S.) be meant. I must leave the point unsettled, until I have examined all the parallel passages in the Chinese books.]

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1 Assemanii, iii, part i, p. 592; Yule, Cathy, p. ciii.
2 See Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, ii, p. 1076; iv, p. 711.
3 The New History of T'ang (618-906), book 222, part ii: 'Kaliṅga is also called Java.'
4 Mr. Groeneveldt places it on the north coast (long. 111° E.), while Prof. Chavannes on the western part of Java (Memoirs, p. 42, note).
5 The New History of T'ang (618-906), book 222, part ii; see also Essays on Indo-China, second series, vol. i, p. 139.
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As to the names of Java, the oldest labadiu of Ptolemy (circa A.D. 150), Javadi of Fâ-hien (414), and Yavada of the history of the first Sung (420–478) probably represent Yavadvipa, the ‘country of millet.’ The same name appears in some later accounts as Zâbedj (the Arabs) or Dabag (the Syrians). Neither of them, however, seems to have been used in I-tsing’s time, though the name ‘Java’ occurs later in the History of Sung (960–1279) and in Marco Polo’s travels at the close of the thirteenth century; and till the present day. Now a word about the Javanese civilisation will not be out of place. Java in Fâ-hien’s time (414) was already settled by the Hindus; he says: ‘Heretic Brahmans flourish there, and the Buddha-dharma hardly deserves mentioning.’ One of the old inscriptions from Pagaroyang in Sumatra, dated A.D. 656, calls the king Ādityadharma, the ruler of the ‘first Java’ (or Yava). Moreover some of the Sanskrit inscriptions found in Java seem to date from the fifth century and they are Vaishwava. Buddhism was, according to I-tsing, chiefly the Hinayâna, but it is remarkable indeed that the ancient ruins of the temple of Kalasam (Kâlasa) and the Vihâra of Chandi Sâri (dating from 779) indicate that the Buddhism here prevalent was a later form of the so-called Mahâyâna, as proved by the discovery of the images of Dhyâni Buddhas, Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitâbha or Amoghasiddha. The Buddhist faith, whether the Hinayâna or Mahâyâna, possibly lasted till the propagation of Islam, as was the case with Sumatra.

5. Tan-tan (Natuna).
7. P’o-li (Bali).

According to Mr. Bretschneider, the islands of Natuna were called Tan-tan, which is probably I-tsing’s Tan-tan. Tan-tan (Don-din) of the History of Sui (518–617), which is supposed to be in Southern Siam or Northern Malacca, if correct, is not the island here mentioned, for our author knows that Siam

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1 Lassen, vol. iv, p. 482. Not the ‘country of barley,’ for Java and Sumatra never produce barley, but millet is there called Java (Essays, second series, vol. i, pp. 132, 137).
2 Loc. cit., p. 141; the Descriptions of the Barbarians, of the same date, mentions Java, at one place Mahâ-Java; Yule, Marco Polo, vol. ii, chap. ix, p. 266; Sumatra is also ‘Java the less.’ Sumatra, perhaps Skt. Samudra, the ‘sea.’ Cf. Ch. Nan-hai.
4 Minutes of the Batavian Society, April, 1886; Essays, pp. 140, 141.
5 The Knowledge possessed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs, &c., p. 19; see also Julien, Huien Thsang, tom. i, p. 451.
6 Book 82; Essays, p. 205.
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(Dvāravatī) is not one of the islands of the sea, and mentions no continental place among them. Besides, the identification of Dondin is by no means conclusive; Colonel Yule marks Andaman Islands 'Dondin?'

Pên-pên, I think, represents modern Pembuan on the southern coast of Borneo. This seems to be right, for I-tsing says that P'u-p'ên (=Pên-p'ên) was situated in the north of Kāliṅga (N.E. Java). There is, however, a place named P'an-p'ān in the southern part of Siam, which may be the present P'un-p'in or Bandon. But this identification is again very doubtful.

P'o-li, probably the present Bali Island, E. of Java, was called P'ang-li by the Chinese, but the accounts given of this island are very scanty. Owing to the interesting discovery of the Kavi literature there, the name is now well known to us. I should refer my readers to Mr. R. Friedrich's Account of the Island of Bali (Essays on Indo-China, second series, vol. ii).

8. K'u-lun (K'un-lun, Pulo Condore).

K'u-lun is identical with K'un-lun, the Chinese name for Pulo Condore. The native name is Kon-non, Condore being a corruption of it. The Arab travellers of the ninth century call this group of islands by the name of Sundar ' Fūlāt, while Marco Polo names the same Sundur and Condur. It consists of one isle of twelve miles long, two of two or three miles, and some six other smaller isles, the largest being specially called Pulo Condore. According to I-tsing, the people of these isles alone are woolly-haired with black complexion (p. 12).

We often hear from Chinese writers of the 'slaves from K'un-lun,' later signifying slaves in general, without any reference to the land where they came from. The inhabitants in I-tsing's time appear to have been negroes; the commentator Kāsyapa also, quoting an early authority, describes them as if of a different race: 'K'u-lun, Ku-lun, and K'un-lun are one and the same country. In this country no ceremony or courtesy is observed. The people live by robbing and pirating. They are fond of man's flesh, like Rakshasas or some wicked demons.

'Their language is not correct. They differ from the other barbarians. They are skilled in diving in the water, and if they will, can stay all day long in the

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1 Chavannes, Memoirs, p. 77.
3 The Hsing-ch'a-shēng-lan (1436).
4 Or, Sondor; Yule, perhaps Sanskrit Sundara, 'beautiful.'
5 See, e.g. Essays, p. 257, note.
water without any suffering.' This peculiar people, however, seems to have embraced Buddhism to some degree, for I-tsing mentions a monastery with a peculiar clepsydra given by the king of the island (p. 145), and further says, though accidentally, that they praise Sanskrit Sūtras (p. 169). Two kinds of cloves grow there (p. 129).

One may well wonder why the K'un-lun language was prevalent in Sumatra or Śrībhoga in I-tsing's time. One must not, however, be misled by the word K'un-lun, when used as the name of a language, for it has been for some time a general name for all the Southern Sea (cf. p. 11), and therefore the 'K'un-lun-yū' must mean the Malay language. The islands of Pulo Condore had nothing to do with it, though the inhabitants might have shared in speaking a dialect of the K'un-lun language.


Fo-shih-pu-lo is no doubt Bhoga-pura in its original form, but it is not Bhoga, the capital of Śrībhoga, the modern Palembang. Mr. C. Baumgarten, writing to Prof. Max Müller (Feb. 20, 1883), says that Surabaja is the second city in Java, and that we still have a place there called Boja-nagara and the whole province Boja; and he adds that the seventh century seems to have been the golden age of Buddhism in Java. This is probably I-tsing's Bhogapura, and further we have here perhaps the origin of the name 6'rt-Bhoga, for Palembang was certainly a colony of Java.

10. A-shan or O-shan.

11. Mo-chia-man (Maghaman).

A-shan may at first seem to represent Atchin in Sumatra. But this is not likely, for the original and correct form of Atchin seems to have been Atjeh or Ach'i, which was afterwards corrupted by Europeans into Atchin or Acheen.

As it comes after Bhogapura, it seems to be somewhere in the eastern part of Java near Bali; it may be the present Ajang.

As to Mo-chia-man, I have nothing to say about it, except that it may phonetically represent Maghaman or Maghavan. Ma-shê-wêng or Ma-yeh-wêng,

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1 Chavannes, Memoirs, p. 159; Koen-luen there.
2 This is well founded; the temple of Kālasa and the adjoining monumental Vihāra date from 779, as attested by a Sanskrit inscription in Old Nāgarī; besides, I-tsing's Record indicates the same.
3 As to such names as Ajang, Bandjermasin, or Kota, I am not able to judge whether they are of ancient or modern origin.
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the position of which is not certain, may be the same island. It may have been meant for Madura.

III. Further India or Indo-China.
1. Srī-kshatra or -kshetra (Thare Khettara).
2. Laṅkasu (Kāmalaṅkā).
3. Dvāravatī (=Ayuthya) in Siam.
4. Poh-nan (=Fu-nan).
5. Champa (originally Kampā).
6. Pi-king, in Annam.
7. Kwan-chou (probably near Tong-king).

The position of Srī-kshatra can be settled pretty satisfactorily. According to the Burmese, the king Mahāsambhava built a city called Thare Khettara in the sixtieth year of the Buddha ¹, and established the Prome dynasty, which flourished 578 years. Some remains of the city are still to be seen a few miles to the east of the present town of Prome.² This account alone is enough to determine its position, and it is not to be placed in Upper Burma as in Vivien de Saint-Martin’s map to Julien’s Si-yu-ki. The identification with Silhat is therefore quite inadmissible. I-tsing’s description roughly corresponds with the position of Thare Khettara; besides, we have the account of Hiuen Thsang, which we shall consider presently. According to I-tsing, Laṅkasu is S.E. of Srī-kshatra, and Dvāravatī is E. of Laṅkasu. Thus we have to give up the supposition that I-tsing’s Dvāravatī may be that Dwarawati of the Burmese, which latter is, if Captain St. John is correct (p. 10 below), Old Tangu and Sandoway, for these lie in quite an opposite direction and cannot be S.E. of Prome. Hiuen Thsang’s Dārapati or Dvārapi as well as our Dvāravatī no doubt represents Ayuthya (or Ayudhya), the ancient capital of Siam; this becomes clear from the fact that I-tsing’s description of the positions of the countries counted from China’s side actually ends with Poh-nan, E. Siam (p. 9). Hiuen Thsang ³ mentions Karna-suvarna, Samata/a, and Srī-kshatra, and says: ‘Going S.E. from Srīkshatra there is in the bay of the sea Kāmalaṅkā; to E. of this, Dvārapi (or Dārapati). Further to E., there is Īśanapura ⁴; to E. of this, Mahākampā, and to S.W. of Mahākampā, Yen-mo-lo-

¹ The Burmese calendar places the Buddha’s death in 544 b.c.; A.D. 60 is therefore b.c. 484, if corrected, about b.c. 424.
² Asiatic Researches, vol. xx, p. 171.
³ Julien, Mémoires, liv. x, pp. 82, 83; Beal, Life, p. 132.
⁴ Īśanapura was very successfully identified with Cambodja by Prof. Chavannes (p. 58); in...
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chou' (probably 'Yavanadvipa,' meaning Sumatra). The reader will see that I-tsing's Laṅkasu is here Kāmalaṅkā, Poh-nan, Isānapura, and Champa (p. 12), Mahākampā; and we know from our Record that Pi-king (Turan or Hue) is N. of Champa, and that still further north one reaches Kwan-chou (near Tong-king) after a month's journey on foot, or five or six tides, if aboard ship. Thus all these statements are pretty clear, and in harmony with one another.

IV. India and Ceylon.

I-tsing calls India in general the West (Si-fang), the Five Countries of India (Wu-t'ien), Āryadesa (A-li-ya-t'i-sha), Madhyadesa (Mo-t'i-t'i-sha), Brahmāraṣṭra (Po-lo-mén-kuo), or Gambudvīpa (Chan-pu-chou). 'Hindu (Hsin-tu),' he says, 'is the name used only by the northern tribes (p. 118), and the people of India themselves do not know it. Indu (Yin-tu) is 'by some derived from the name of the moon, Indu (Hiuen Thsang, Mém. ii, 56), but it is not a proper name.' Hindu in Persian and Indo in Greek were perhaps corrupted from Sindhu, but it is curious that the Chinese should have known both forms of the name. Indu (Yin-tu) as the name of India came to be generally used in China from Hiuen Thsang's time, while T'ien-chu and Chiian-tu (both from Sindhu) are probably as old as the introduction of Buddhism into China (A.D. 67). The name for Ceylon is, in the Record, Siwhala (Sêng-ho-lo) Island (or Shih-tzü-chou, Lion Island), or occasionally Ratnadvīpa (Pao-chu, Jewel Isle).

As to his travels in India, he may have visited many a place, more than thirty countries in all, according to the Biography (p. xxxvii, note), but nothing certain

626 A.D. the king of Cambodja was Jánapavarman, according to M. Aymonier, and in perfect conformity with this, the History of T'ang states that the king of Cambodja, Jána, a Kshatriya, in the beginning of the Chêng-kuan period (627–649) conquered Fu-nan (E. Siam) and took the territory. I-tsing may be referring to this king when he says that a wicked king destroyed Buddhism in Fu-nan (p. 12). See, however, Crawfurd, Journal of the Embassy to the Court of Siam, p. 615; Siam first received Buddhism in 638.

1 Mr. Beal's identifications widely differ from ours, and they are not, according to our opinion, tenable when we compare them with the original. Fu-nan, for instance, is transcribed 'Annam' (Life, p. xxxiv), Lin-i (=Champa) is Siam (Life, p. 133), and Pi-king, owing to a misprint, is read by him Shang-king, and identified with Saigon. According to Beal, I-tsing speaks of himself as interpreting the language of Pulo Condore (Life, pp. xv, note, xxxi); it is not I-tsing, but Ta-ts'in, who is said to have been skilled in the K'un-lun language (Malay), Chavannes, p. 159, § 56. I-tsing was thirty-seven years of age, but, according to Beal, he started with thirty-seven priests (Life, p. xv).

2 The text has 'Hsi,' but I-tsing directs that it should be pronounced by taking the first and last parts of Hsü-lîn, i.e. 'Hsin.' 聲 = 聲 used for 'hin' of Mahinda.
can be gathered from his own writings. The places which he says definitely he visited are very few, i.e. Kapilavastu, Buddhagayā (in Magadha), Varānasī (Benares), Śrāvastī (N. Kosāla), Kānyakubjā (Kanoj), Rāgagriha (ten years in Nālanda), Vaisālī, Kuśinagara, and Tāmrālīpi (Tamluk). I doubt whether he visited Ceylon; although he often mentions it, his description does not appear to be that of an eye-witness. So it is in the case of Lāṭa, Sindhu, Valabhī, Udyāna, Kharakar, Kuṣaṇa (Khoten), Kuśmīra, and Neplā. Besides the above, he mentions Tibet (T'ū-fan), Persia (Po-la-ssū), the Tajiks (Ta-shih and To-shih), Tukhāra (T'u-ho-lo), Śūli (Su-li), the Turks (Tū-chūeh), and accidentally Korea (Kau-li, Kukkutesvara).

**THE DATE OF I-TSING'S WORK.**

If I-tsing had expressly stated when he came back to Srībhoga, we should have had no difficulty at all in fixing the date of his work. That point, however, is left entirely blank. We shall try to find out a date which may come nearest the mark, if not quite correct, chiefly resting on the foregoing data of his life and travels.

First of all the place where he compiled his work must be in Srībhoga (Pālambang in Sumatra) as he says towards the end of chap. xxxiv. His return from India to this place must be later than A.D. 685, when he was still near Nālanda, and, as he says that he already passed four years in Srībhoga before he wrote chap. xxxiv, his Record cannot be in any case earlier than A.D. 689 (685 + 4 = 689), even if we suppose that he returned there immediately after his parting with Wu-hing near Nālanda. Further, he uses throughout the new dynastic name adopted A.D. 690 by the Usurper Queen (reigned A.D. 684–704); this shows clearly that

1 The Mālasarvastivāda-samyuktavastu (Nanjio's Catal., No. 1121), chap. xxxviii, p. 85 (J.), and chap. xxxvi, p. 76.
2 See p. 137, note 1, and p. 217.
3 This is generally the name for the Mohammedan Arabs in Chinese. I-tsing says that the Tajiks occupied the way to Kapisa; Memoirs, vol. i, fol. 4; Chavannes, p. 25.
4 Not 'in Ceylon' as Messrs. Shimaji and Ikuta suppose in their Short History of Buddhism in the Three Kingdoms (India, China, and Japan), 1890, Tokio. Evidence, if any, is too weak to prove that I-tsing visited Ceylon.
5 This date is in the Chinese text 'the first year of the Chui-kung period,' being the second year of the Usurper Queen, though she still used the dynastic name Tang, which she changed in A.D. 690 into Chou, Chavannes, p. 10.
6 Chou, p. 214 below; Chou-yun and Chou-i, p. 7; the Great Chou, p. 118; Chou-yü, p. 148; lastly, in his text, not in his notes, the Great Chou, p. 214 (note 3). See the Chinese text, respectively, vol. i, fol. 3; vol. iii, fol. 12; vol. iv, fol. 2, 27.
our Record cannot be earlier than A.D. 690. It will be remembered that he sent this Record on the fifteenth day of the fifth month of A.D. 692, and we must therefore find the date of his whole composition within the period A.D. 690-692. Let us now examine the chapters which we can make use of for our purpose.

1. I-tsing's Introduction, as is usual with us, must be the latest, i.e. when all the chapters were ready, for he says in it that he sends home this very Record in forty chapters.

2. Chap. xviii. He accidentally says that he toiled during two decades of years 8. This chapter must therefore have been written in about A.D. 691 (671-691 = 20; A.D. 671, having only one month left).

3. Chap. xxviii. He was 'more than twenty years abroad.' This brings us again to A.D. 691. To be quite safe, we will put down A.D. 691-692, because it is 'more' than twenty years 9.

4. His Memoirs must be later than the contents of our Record (except the Introduction), for the former quotes the latter twice by name. But the conclusion of the Memoirs must be at about the same time as the Introduction of the Record, for both mention the Memoirs in two vols. and the Record in four vols. (forty chapters), one by the other. In other words, the finishing up of the two works must be at about the same time.

Now it will not be very difficult to see that about seven folios of a Supplement to the Memoirs have been written about the same time, for it is not likely that he would write a Supplement before the text. May it be an addition at a later date? According to my opinion, it cannot be later than A.D. 692, because he must have sent it with the texts. We see in the Supplement that a priest, Tao-hung, who was ordained in his twentieth year, soon after met I-tsing in Kwang-tung, and followed the party to Sribhoga, A.D. 689, was twenty-three years of age 9 (A.D. 689-692 = 3) when our author wrote the supplementary portion.

From this it is clear that he wrote it, or at any rate, he sent it at the same time.

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1 Page 18 below.
2 Page 95 below; for the impossibility of taking it as 'two dozen,' see note at the end, p. 220.
4 Chavannes, p. 88, note 1; p. 92, note 1, chap. 30 of our Record is quoted.
5 Page 18 below; Chavannes, p. 160.
6 Chavannes, p. 161; about twenty-four pages in French.
7 Chavannes, pp. 185, 187. See p. xxxvi above.
8 It is true that there is a portion which I-tsing might have added afterwards, but this part can be clearly seen in the text, as it is a general remark, not coming under any name; see Chavannes, p. 189, six lines from the bottom, beginning with 'Ces quatre hommes.'
time with the other texts. Thus the Introduction to the Record, the Memoirs and its Supplement will have to be referred to about the same time, the last mentioned being the last composed. Observe that I-tsing reckons three years from the latter half of A.D. 689 till the fifth month of A.D. 692.

5. Now, towards the end of chap. xxxiv—the most important of all chapters—he says that he remained over four years in Srībhoga, since his return from India, the date of which we do not know. Only one year added to the period which I-tsing reckons as three years (A.D. 689–692) will give us the year of his second visit to Srībhoga, i.e. A.D. 688¹ (he was in Bhoga A.D. 689 as we have seen). Thus the date of chap. xxxiv must fall in 691 or 692; the safest limit will be A.D. 691–692, the result being the same as that of chap. xxviii, &c.

All the evidence that can be adduced from the text points thus to the correctness of the date A.D. 691–692, strictly speaking A.D. 691 to the fifth month of A.D. 692, as the time when I-tsing wrote his Record. Resting on this result we can place with certainty the death of Gayāditya², joint author with Vāmana of the Kāśikāvṛtti, in A.D. 661–662, and that of Bhartrihari³, contemporary of Dharmaśaṇa, in A.D. 651–652.

Tables of several Literary Men and Buddhist Teachers of India, with their dates and successions, made from the Record of Buddhist Practices (A.D. 691–692) of I-tsing (A.D. 671–695 abroad; 673–687 in India).

(Those in Italics are not given in I-tsing's text.)

I. (Chap. xxxii, pp. 156–157.)

The Sārdhasata-Buddhastotra (150 verses, Nanjio's Catal., No. 1456).

1. Composed by Mātriketa. In Tārānātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus, p. 89, Mātriketa is said to have lived about the time of Bindusāra, son of Kandragupta.

2. Admired by Asaṅga
   and by Vasubandhu. Brothers and contemporaries.

3. Some verses were added by Gāṇḍiva. Two of his works have been translated by Paramārtha, who worked in China A.D. 557–569 (Nanjio's Catal., Nos. 1172, 1255).

¹ The time of the arrival of the ship was the first or second month of the year, see above, p. xxxiv. We shall not here speak of three months' stay in China after his chance return, for we are not sure as to whether he reckoned the period; it will not, I think, make any difference in the year.

² Page 176 below.

³ Page 180 below.
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5. A further addition by Sākyadeva of the Deer Park (at Benares).

II. (I-tsing’s Introductory Chapter, p. 14.)

The following names are to be taken each as independent, not one after another.

a. (I-tsing’s Introductory Chapter, p. 14.)

b. Arvaghotha.
   1. His poetical songs.
   4. His Life was translated by Kumāragīta A.D. 401–409, Nanjio’s Catal., No. 1460.

c. Nāgārjuna. His Subhrilekha.
   1. Addressed to a king of S. India (Kosala), Sātvahana (or Sadvahana), whose private name was Getaka.
   2. Translated into Chinese A.D. 431 and 434 (Nanjio’s Catal., Nos. 1464 and 1440), and by I-tsing, while abroad. Sent home A.D. 692 (p. 166).
   3. His Life was translated by Kumāragīta A.D. 401–409, Nanjio’s Catal., No. 1461.

d. Sīlāditya.
   1. Gātakamālā, by literary men living under him. (Ārya Sāra’s may be one of them.)
   2. Gāmūtavahana-nātaka (= Nāgānanda), composed and popularised by himself.


e. An epitomiser of the Eight Books of Medicine (Āyur-veda), at about I-tsing’s time.

III. (Chap. xxiv, pp. 170–180.)

Grammatical Works.

1. The Si-t’ān-chang (or Siddha-composition), for beginners.
2. The Sūtra of Pāṇini.
3. The Book on Dhātu (a Dhātupāṭha).
5. The Vṛtti-sūtra (Kārikā-vṛtti).
   By Gayāditya, died nearly thirty years before the date of I-tsing’s Record (A.D. 691–
   692) = A.D. 661–662.
   Contemporary of Vāmana, who was joint author of the Kārikā.
6. The Kūrmi (Mahābhāskya), [Commentary on the above Vṛtti, sic!]
   By Patañjali.
7. The Bhartrihari-sūtra, Commentary on the Kūrmi.
   By Bhartrihari, died forty years before the date of I-tsing’s Record = A.D. 651–652.
   Contemporary of Dharmapāla.
8. The Vākya-discourse (Vākyapadīya).
   By Bhartrihari.
   The Commentary in prose by Bhartrihari, { contemporaries.
   The Sūkha portion by Dharmapāla, } contemporaries.
   The latter was teacher of Sīlabhadra, who was too old to teach Hiuen Thsang (about
   A.D. 635), and appointed Gayasena to instruct him.
   The translations of four works attributed to Dharmapāla all date A.D. 650–710, see Nanjio’s
   Catal., Appendix i, 16.

The Result.

a. The above makes all the four authors contemporaries, who must all have lived about A.D. 600–
   660:—(1) Gayāditya, (2) Vāmana, (3) Bhartrihari, (4) Dharmapāla.
b. Dharmapāla, head of the Nālanda College, must have died earlier than Gayāditya and
   Bhartrihari, because he does not seem to have been alive when Hiuen Thsang went to
   Nālanda, A.D. 635, Sīlabhadra having succeeded Dharmapāla.

N. B.—As to a discussion about all these grammatical works, I should refer my readers to
Prof. Max Müller’s ‘India, what can it teach us?’ pp. 338–349, and the corresponding pages in
the German translation by Prof. Cappeller (above, p. xviii, note 3).

IV. (Chap. xxxiv, pp. 181–184.)

Famous Buddhist Nāgas of India and Śrībhoga.

a. Of an early age (before A.D. 400) 1.
   1. Nāgāgūna.
   2. Deva, Ārya Deva or Kīna Deva.
   3. Arvaghosha.
   These three are generally made to be contemporaries of Kanishka, who is said to
   have lived in the first century.

1 I do not mean by putting down these limits that every individual under a, b, c, d lived at
these dates, but I wish to show the fair limits we can put from the present state of our know­
ledge to the terms, ‘ early age,’ ‘ middle ages,’ and ‘ late years.’
b. In the middle ages (about A. D. 450–550):

c. Of late years (about A. D. 550–670):
1. Gīna (in Logic). Composed a work on Logic in Andhra (Hiuen Thsang, Mémoires, x, 106). (He seems to have lived earlier than 550; cf. I, 4 above.)
2. Dharmapāla. Contemporary of Bhatṛhari, who died A. D. 651–652. Must have died before A. D. 635; see above, III.
4. Ślabhadra. Pupil of Dharmapāla (Hiuen Thsang, Mémoires, viii, 452).
6. Sthiramati. Referred to in a Valabhi grant (Ind. Ant., 1877, p. 91; 1878, p. 80), and Hiuen Thsang, Mémoires, xi, 164, in Valabhi. Pupil of Vasubandhu (Wassilief, p. 78).
7. Guṇamati (in Dhyāna). In Valabhi together with Sthiramati (Mémoires, xi, 164), and in Nālandā (Mémoires, ix, 46).
8. Pragnāgupta (in refutation). Teacher of the Sammitiya and contemporary of Hiuen Thsang (Hiuen Thsang, Vie, iv, 220; Life, iv, 159).
9. Guṇaprabha (in Vinaya). His pupil, Mitrasena, was ninety years old, and taught Hiuen Thsang śāstras (Vie, ii, 109; Life, ii, 81). Guru of Sṛtharṣa, and pupil of Vasubandhu (Wassilief, p. 78).
10. Guṇaprabha. Teacher of Hiuen Chao, who was in Nālandā about A. D. 649, Chavannes, Mémoirs, p. 17.

d. Those mentioned as I-tsing’s contemporaries or personal acquaintances (all were alive A. D. 670–700).

I-tsing’s teachers
2. Ratnāśrama (Hiuen Thsang, Mémoires, ix, 47). Teacher of Hiuen Chao, who was in Nālandā about A. D. 649, Chavannes, Mémoirs, p. 18.
3. Divākaramitra (in E. India).
4. Tathāgatagarbha (in S. India).
5. Śākyakīrtī (in Sṛthaka, in Sumatra).
6. Rāhulamitra (chief of the priests in E. India; thirty years old in I-tsing’s time, p. 63). He is mentioned in Tṛṭaṇātha’s Buddhisms, p. 63; his favourite Ratnakīrtī-sūtra also belongs to the same period.
7. Kṛṣṇa (in E. India; author of a dramatic poem on Vessantara [Vivantara = Sudāna], p. 164; he was still alive when I-tsing was in India (A. D. 673–687), p. 183).

1 See note on preceding page.
Notes.

a. We have not made any progress in fixing the dates of 1, 2, and 3. But that these three lived at about the same time and before A.D. 400 seems to be quite certain. Huien Thsang (645) places them at one and the same period (Mémoires, xii, 214). Deva was a pupil of Nāgārjuna (Life, ii, 76; so also the Tibetan), and both contemporaries of Kanishka (Schiefner, Ratnadharmarāga’s Work, Mém. Acad. St. Pé., 1848). Asvaghosha and Pārvva lived in Kanishka’s time (Wassilief, Buddhismus, p. 52, note). The Chinese Samyukta-ratna-piṇaka-sūtra (No. 1329, vol. vi, dated A.D. 472) makes Asvaghosha Bodhisattva, the physician Karaka, and Māthara, a great minister, the contemporaries of Kan-dana-kanita (= Kanishka), king of the country of Yueh-chi; and again, in the Record of the Twenty-three Patriarchs, Fu-fa-tsang-yin-yuen-king (No. 1340, v, p. 138, dated 472), Karaka, Asvaghosha, and Māthara appear under Kanishka. The dates of the translations alone show us that the three (Karaka, Asvaghosha, Māthara) must have lived before A.D. 400; besides, the lives of Asvaghosha, Nāgārjuna, and Deva were translated A.D. 405 by Kumāragriva, who left India A.D. 383. Cf. the date of the translations of Asvaghosha’s Buddhārīta and Sūtraśāṅkara, and Nāgārjuna’s Works (II. b. above). Further the 1, 2, 3 are said to have lived after 400 years of the Nirvāṇa, and Kanishka is believed to have reigned in the first century of our era, and his second successor Vāsudeva about A.D. 178. So far as our knowledge goes, nothing is against making them contemporaries of Kanishka. Nāgārjuna was a contemporary of Sātavāhana or Śālīvāhana (p. 159, note). Cf. Prof. Cowell, Buddhārīta (text), p. v. According to Prof. Kielhorn, Karaka must be placed before the middle of the seventh century (Ind. Ant., vol. xii, p. 227). Asvaghosha is perhaps the oldest, then Nāgārjuna and Deva. The last is Arya Deva (Schiefner, Lebensbeschreib., 331), called Kāma Deva because he was one-eyed (Record of the Twenty-three Patriarchs, vol. vii); or Nīlānetra, because he had two spots like eyes on his cheeks; but his real name was Kandrakṛiti (J. A. S., Bengal, 1882, p. 94; also Nanjio, App. i, 4).

b, c. b and c cannot be separated by a long period, for b is a contemporary of c; c', c" are pupils of b; while c', c" are pupils of b (according to the Tibetan). c', c" are all contemporaries of Huien Thsang, and c is said to have lived at the time of Sroṅ-tsan-gam-po, who sent envoys to India A.D. 632. c', c" are perhaps older than the others; Huien Thsang styles them ‘Bodhisattvas,’ and they lived probably early in the seventh century. Some of the others may have lived to the time of I-tsing’s arrival, A.D. 673. As to the name Sthiramati, see my note to p. 181 at the end; for Dharmakṛiti (Fa-chan), see Nanjio’s Catal., App. i, 19, p. 374 (not Dharmayasas; cf. Vimalakṛiti, Wu-kcu-chan). Burnouf tried to identify Guṣramati with Guṣtraprabha, but, according to our Record, the one is a teacher in Dhyāna, the other in Vinaya, and they seem to be quite different persons. For the dates of the translated works of those under b, c, see Nanjio’s Catal., App. i. We cannot place Vasubandhu and Asaṅga much later than 500, for the translations of their works date from 509 and 531 respectively. In c, Gīna must be much earlier than the rest, see above, I. 4.

d. Gīṇa is a contemporary of Huien Thsang; the same is the case with Ratnasimha. It is difficult to draw a line between c and d; many of them must have been contemporaries. I-tsing seems to distinguish those dead (c) from those still living (d). For Śākyakṛiti, see Nanjio’s Catal., App. i, 54, p. 378 (not Śākyayasas; I-tsing has translated his teacher’s work).
GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

THE TEXT.

The text of our Record is very corrupt, as Mr. Kasawara told us in 1882\(^1\), but we must remember that since then the new edition of the Chinese Buddhist books has been completed, and a copy of it was sent to the Bodleian Library for the use of European scholars. This Japanese edition is excellent, being based on a careful collation of the five different editions brought out in China, Korea, and Japan. Its arrangement is more convenient for the reader than that of the older; the print is clear, as it was executed by the modern movable type.

Above all, the sentences are accurately punctuated, and the various readings are found in the notes. It may safely be regarded as the standard edition of the Chinese Pīṭaka, and Japanese Buddhists may be proud of the service they have rendered in this field of Chinese literature\(^2\). Our Record, in particular, gives evidence of a careful study and collation, shedding light on several passages hitherto unintelligible. I-tsing's works as well as the whole canon were preserved in MS. only, and not printed till A.D. 972\(^3\). Thus we may safely say that our Record, which is now found with the Pīṭaka, existed in MS. for about 280 years before it came down to us as a printed text. This fact may account for several minor points of difference in the existing editions. But there are some passages missing which we cannot well ascribe to the copyist's mistakes. They may have been struck out by I-tsing himself after his return home; it is certain, however, that the original copy which was sent home from abroad contained them all.

Among others, there is a passage relating to the Sanskrit alphabet quoted in some early works. In the Siddha-tzū-chi, 'Record of the Siddha-letters,' compiled by a Chinese priest, Chi-kwang (A.D. 800), the author says: 'I-tsing said that among the twelve finals (a `a, i `i, u `u; e ai, o au, am a$h$) the first three of the former three pairs (a, i, u) are short, while the second three of the same (`a, `i, `u) are long, and that, of the latter three pairs (e ai, o au, am a$h$), the first three (e, o, am) are long (sic), while the second three (ai, au, a$h$) are short (sic).'

A Japanese book called 'Sittan-zō,' or 'Siddha-kosa' (A.D. 880), gives the above quotation in its full form, and shows that it once formed a part of I-tsing's Record. (See Bodl. Jap. 15, vol. v, fol. 6.)

\[^1\] Max Müller, 'India, what can it teach us?' 1883, p. 349.
\[^2\] It is to be hoped that an accurate comparative catalogue will be drawn up; the arrangement is very different from that of the India Office copy, and several books found in the new are wanting in the old.
\[^3\] See Nanjio's Catalogue, p. xxii.
It is said in the Record sent home by I-tsing: a, å, i, ï, u, ū, ri, rí, lri, lří, è, ai, o, au; am, ah. Ka, kha, ga, gha, ña; ka, kha, ga, gha, ña; ta, tha, da, dha, na; pa, pha, ba, bha, ma. Ya, ra, la, va, sa, sha, sa, ha; llam, ksha. (The last two are not included in the number of the alphabet.) The first sixteen, a to ak, are final sounds [meaning vowels], and these are to be distributed among the other letters [consonants]. Each letter of the alphabet [consonant], therefore, produces sixteen different sounds when combined, just as in Chinese a character has four different tones, even (p'ing), rising (shang), sinking (ch'ū), and entering (ju).
GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

The twenty-five letters, ka to ma, and the last eight, ya to ha, thirty-three in all, are called the “first composition;” all these must be pronounced according to the Chinese “rising” (shang) tone, in spite of the Chinese equivalents being other tones, such as “even,” “sinking,” or “entering.” Further, what are called the “twelve sounds” [probably “Dvādasa-akṣara-vi”] are ka, kā (the first short, the second long); ki, kī (the first short, the second long); ku, kū (the first short, the second long); ke, kē (the first long, the second short); ko, kō (the first long, the second short); kam, kām (both are short); kāh is obtained by pronouncing the Chinese ka emphatically. The “twelve sounds” of kha, &c., are pronounced after the above manner. These twelve letters [meaning syllables] are to be pronounced two by two in succession [ka, kā; ki, kī; &c.], and of these pairs one should distinguish a short from a long, guiding oneself by the note I have given under each pair (quoted).

The Chinese characters here given well accord with those used in the Record, with the exception of a very few, and the quotation contains nothing whatever contrary to the passages in the existing Record. In chap, xxxiv, under the Si-t’an-chang, he says (p. 171): ‘There are forty-nine letters¹ (of the alphabet), which are combined together and arranged into eighteen sections.’ After this, very likely he added the above by way of notes, as he generally did in other cases, to explain what the forty-nine were and how they were to be pronounced, and at the same time to show his friends at home a correct transliteration of the Sanskrit alphabet. That the above quotation once formed a part of our author’s Record is confirmed by a much later work, a commentary on the Siddha-tzu-chi (published A.D. 1669)². The commentator, Yū-kwai, says that whether I-tsing’s pronunciation was that of C. India or of S. India is a question discussed from olden times. ‘But why is it,’ he asks, ‘that the citation of the text of the ’Siddha-tzu-chi³ is somewhat different from the actual words of I-tsing found in the Record, according to which am, ah are both short?’ He himself answers this question, attributing the difference to the careless citation on the part of the author of the Siddha-tzu-chi. From this we see that the original Record with the above quotation existed as late as 1669. Another commentator (A.D. 1696)⁴ of the same work seems to have still

¹ Kāsyapa adds: ’The number of the letters of the alphabet is severally recorded in Buddhist books, e. g. as fifty in the Mahāvairocanaābhisambodhi (No. 530), Maṅgustārīpariprīkṣhā (No. 442), Vāgrasekhara-sūtra (Nos. 1033, 1036), and Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra; as forty-six in the Lalitavistara (Chinese, No. 159; forty-four in the Sanskrit text (Calcutta), p. 146); as forty-seven in the Siddha-tzu-chi (Bodl. Jap. 10); and now by I-tsing, as forty-nine.’
² Bodl. Jap. 11; it may have been written earlier, though published so late.
³ Above, p. lx.
⁴ Bodl. Jap. 12, 13.
THE TEXT.

possessed a text different from ours; for he quotes a passage from our Record, which we have not in the existing text. While discussing the Nirvâna aspiration [Visarga], he says: 'Among the twelve mata' (=mâtrikâ), given in I-tsing's Record, a$h$ is transcribed by "a-han" in Chinese, which is against the pronunciation in C. India, where a$h$ is read by the Chinese "entering" tone. He may have introduced the pronunciation of S. India. He was, however, in Nâlandâ for years, and it is but natural that he should represent C. India in reading. Thus we see in his translations that whenever a Nirvâna aspiration comes, he notes it as an "entering" tone. There are some in C. India, it may be noticed, who read a$h$ like the Chinese a or o (in an "even" tone). This quotation again shows us that the Record had once contained something more about the alphabet. Later in the year 1758 Kâsyapa Ji-un wrote a commentary on the very Record of I-tsing. He had the same text as we have now. As this priest was one of the best Siddha scholars in Japan, well versed in the canon, and very curious about any book relating to Sanskrit, and yet did not come across any text but ours, the original text which contained all the quotations above referred to seems to have wellnigh disappeared in Japan as well as in China. He says: 'There seem to have been several texts of the Record. Many quotations found in the works of Tsang-ning (A. D. 988) of the Sung dynasty, Shou-kwang of the Ming dynasty (A. D. 1368-1628), and Annen of Japan (A. D. 880), are not found in the existing text. I request the learned antiquaries of later times to seek and discover the original text in a stone depository of some famous temples of China and Japan. My commentary has been written only on the current edition, and awaits correction or addition by a later hand.'

In my present translation I have used the India Office copy (A. D. 1681), Prof. Legge's (A. D. 1714), Mr. Nanjio's (text with commentary in MS., A. D. 1758), and the new Japanese edition in the Bodleian Library (1883), all based on one and the same older text without the quotations in question. There is, besides these, another elaborate commentary on our Record, written by a Japanese. I am sorry to say that I failed to get it copied in time to be used for our translation.

I must now fulfill the pleasant duty of acknowledging the kind help severally rendered. First of all I thank the Delegates of the University Press for under-

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1 Here we have mata, but not mota. For mātrikâ, see Prof. Bühler's note in the 'Ancient Palm Leaves,' Anecd. Oxon., Aryan Series, vol. i, pt. iii, 1884, p. 67.

2 阿漢.

3 阿; so in the quotation above, see p. lxi, line 2.
taking the publication on the recommendation of Prof. Max Müller, who has taken an unceasing interest in this work from the beginning to the end. Without his instruction, advice, and help I should never have been able to introduce I-tsing’s work to students of Sanskrit Literature and Buddhism. For his patience and attention in the revision of the whole of my MS., the settlement of the meaning of a number of passages, &c., and for several other valuable suggestions, I here express my sincere gratitude. For some matters I am obliged to Profs. Bühler and Oldenberg, and also to Profs. Kern, Kielhorn, and Legge, Dr. Winternitz, and Mrs. H. Smith. Prof. Nagaoka of Tokyo, now in Berlin, kindly looked through the points relating to astronomy. Thanks are due also to Prof. Windisch, who pointed out some matters of importance, just before my Introduction was ready for Press. The printing reflects great credit on the University Press of Oxford, and has been carefully superintended by Mr. J. C. Pembrey, the Oriental Reader.

BERLIN, January 6, 1896.

J. TAKAKUSU.

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO THE MAP.

1. The degree of longitude from Ferro is given on the map. To know that from Greenwich, reduce about 18° (exactly, 17° 39' 46") from the given numbers.

2. The position of Lātha on the map is not right; see my note at the end (p. 217, note to p. 9).
VITA.


Im Jahre 1895 kam ich auf die Universität Kiel und studierte die vedische Philologie und das Pāli bei Herrn Professor H. Oldenberg, die indische und griechische Philosophie bei Herrn Professor P. Deussen.

Ein Semester war ich an der Berliner Universität; hier lernte ich das Tibetische und Mongolische bei Herrn Dr. G. Huth. Von hier ging ich nach Leipzig, wo ich vedische Philologie und Buddhismus bei Herrn Geheimrath Professor Dr. E. Windisch, die indo-chinesische Philologie bei Herrn Dr. A. Conrady, und Geographie bei Herrn Professor F. Ratzel studierte. Meine bis jetzt veröffentlichten Arbeiten sind folgende:

4. Eine Übersetzung von I-tsing’s ‘Record of the Buddhist Religion, as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671–695), with a map of I-tsing’s route to India and a letter from the Right Honourable Professor F. Max Müller (Clarendon Press, 1896),’ deren Einleitung die vorgelegte Dissertation ist.

JYUN TAKAKUSU, B. A. Oxon.