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INDIAN LITERATURE ABROAD
(CHINA)

BY

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(*Of Visvabharati*)

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Indian Literature Abroad

CHINA*

Section I

With the introduction of Buddhism in China, Indian literature found its way into that country. The traditional date for this first introduction is generally supposed to be 62 A. D. The chronicle tells us that the emperor Ming-Ti of the Later Han Dynasty, once dreamt that a Golden Man flew into his palace, whereupon he enquired of his courtiers the meaning of the Golden Man, who suggested that it was the figure of Fo-to or Buddha, an Indian god. Ming-Ti had been so much impressed by the dream that in 65 A. D. he sent an embassy to India to bring back Buddhist scriptures and priests. The envoy Tsai-Yin came back

Introduction
of Buddhism
65 A. D.

with one monk named Kāśyapa-Mātaṅga (Kia-yeh Mo-than), a brahmin by birth and an inhabitant of Central India. He was soon followed by Chu-fa-lan, an Indian priest whose name having been lost, has been translated as Dharmarakṣa by modern scholars and as Gobharaṇa or simply Bharāṇa by Tibetan historians. He came from Central India and had some difficulty in leaving his country for this new country of adoption and evangelization. These two monks were installed at Pai-ma-shih or the 'White Horse Monastery' in Loyang, the then capital of the Hans¹.

According to the most authentic account Ming-Ti sent eighteen envoys towards India. But before they reached India they met two Indian monks coming over the mountain passes. They had a white horse laden with the *impedimenta* of their journey. The White Horse

* For Chinese studies in Europe, see H. Cordier's *Études Chinoises* in T'oung Pao ; also his *Bibliotheca Sinica, Dictionnaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatives à l'Empire Chinois*, 4 vols., Paris, 1904-1908. For a popular history, see Prof. P. Bose's *Indian Teachers in China*, Ganesan, Madras, 1923.

¹ Maspero, *Le Songe et l'Ambassade de l'Empereur Ming : Étude critique des sources*. BEFEO., vol. x, 1910.

was laden with scriptures and Buddhist images. The names of these monks were Kāśyapa Mātāṅga and Dharmarakṣa¹.

It does not, however, follow from the above story that China was wholly ignorant of Buddhism before 62 A. D. Recent discoveries by Sir Aurel Stein in the ancient military posts on the western frontier of Kansu prove that China had communication with Central Asia, which must have been a Hindu colony with Buddhist inhabitants even in the 2nd century B. C.² The Annals of the Western Hans relate that "a golden man" was captured from the Hsiung Nu, which is believed by some to be an image of the Buddha. There is another evidence supplied by Wei-lüeh or Wei-liao, a Taoist commentator who wrote between 239 and 265 A. D. He gives a brief account of the Buddha's birth and states that in the year 2 B. C. an ambassador sent by the Emperor Ai to the court of the Yüeh-Chih was instructed in Buddhism by order of their king. Also the later Han annals intimate that the Prince of Chu was a Buddhist and that there were brāhmaṇas and upāsakas in his territory³.

"At this period the geographical knowledge of the Chinese rapidly increased. The name of India now occurs for the first time in the Annals. In the year 122 B. C. Chang K'ien, a Chinese ambassador, returned from the country of the Getae, and informed the Han emperor Wu-ti of the kingdoms, and customs existing in the west. Among other things he said, 'When I was in the country of the Dahae (Ta-hia near the Caspian Sea), 12,000 Chinese miles distant to the south-west, I saw bamboo staves from K'iung and cloth from Si-ch'uen. On asking whence they came, I was told that they were articles of traffic at Shindo ('Sciende', a country far to the south-east of the Dahae)'"⁴.

China might have had some vague knowledge of Buddhism, but it was to Ming-Ti, the second Emperor of the Later Han Dynasty that the credit of bringing Indian priests into China is due. Kāśyapa and Chu-fa-lan, who had been brought to China, learnt Chinese and at once began translating Buddhist books. The first book that was translated into Chinese or into any foreign tongue was called the 'Sūtra of Forty-

Kāśyapa Mātāṅga's Sūtra of Forty-two sections.

1 Lloyd from *Bukkyo Kakushu Kōyo*, vol. I, chap. I, p. 4.

2 Chavannes, *Les documents Chinois découverts, par Aurel Stein*, 1913, Introduction.

3 Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, 1905, pp. 519-571.

4 Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, pp. 88, 89.

two sections spoken by Buddha' or *Fo-shuo-ssu-shih-erh-cheng-ching*. Nanjio says of it, "It is stated in an old record that this sūtra consists of extracts from a longer work"¹. The sūtra was a collection of moral and religious sayings of the Buddha, and is interesting to us at least for two reasons : (1) it throws some light on the development of Buddhism in India from the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha to the times of these two translators ; (2) it allows us to see what the first Buddhist propagandists thought best to introduce as the most essential doctrines of faith among the people who had hitherto been educated mostly by the Confucians and partly by the Laotsians. Some authorities think that the sūtra existed in Sanskrit in the present form ; but the most plausible conjecture is that the translators extracted these passages from different Buddhist canonical books which they brought along for their missionary purposes, and compiled them after the fashion of the Confucian Analects, 論語, each chapter with "the Buddha said" which corresponds to the Confucian "the Master said." This was the most natural thing for the first Buddhist workers from India to do in the land of Confucianism. This book has undergone many editions and revisions and has been translated into English many times, the last and best known translation is by T. Suzuki in "Sermons by a Buddhist Abbot."²

As it was just the time when Buddhism was first introduced into China and the people did not yet believe in it deeply, Mātāṅga 'concealed his good understanding' and did not translate many works ; but he simply selected this sūtra for teaching others (Nanjio, p. 162).

Chu-fa-lan, whom we have already mentioned, helped Dharmarakṣa's works. Mātāṅga to translate the first book, which was according to some, a Pāli book and belonged to the Hīnayāna school. Four other, or according to some, five other books were translated into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa or Chu-fa-lan, but unfortunately these translations are lost. It has been suggested by Julien that the book mentioned as *Fo-pan-hsin-ching* was a translation of the *Lalitavistara* and Lloyd thinks that it might be the *Buddha-carita* of Aśvaghoṣa. Of course both are mere conjectures. Other four books being *Daśabhūmi-kleśa-chedikā*, *Dharma-samudra-kośa-sūtra*, the *Jātakas* and a collection of 260 śīlas or precepts.

1 Nanjio, *Catalogue*, p. 162 (No. 678).

2 See note by Suzuki, *Sermons of a Buddhist Abbot*, Chicago, 1908.

Of the first workers in the the field of Indian thought in China we have certain accounts from the Tibetan work *Dub-thah-selkyi-Ma'lon*, which is full of legendary absurdities. It says that the Emperor Mindhi, i. e. Ming-Ti, erected temples, established three convents for the use of nuns, himself took the vows of an upāsaka and that more than a thousand men entered monkhood (*JASB.*, 1881, p. 90). But that "the curiosity of Ming-Ti did not lead to any immediate triumph of Buddhism" is the view of Sir Charles Eliot, who has made his observation from Chinese sources.

"In course of time Arhat Mātāṅga and Paṇḍit Bharaṇa died. Min-dhi's successor invited several other Indian paṇḍits. Among the first batch Ārya-kāla, Sthavira Chilukākṣa, Śramaṇa Suvinaya and five other paṇḍits were well known" (*JASB.*, 1881, p. 90).

Kāśyapa Mātāṅga and Dharmarakṣa (Chu-fa-lan) left behind them four books of which only one now exists, 'the Sūtra of the forty two sections'. The next batch of missionaries came to China A. D. 147. The interval of seventy years was wholly taken up with controversies and persecutions, during which the Buddhists claimed to be miraculously assisted by a superhuman power which supported them in all the trials and brought them out victorious (Lloyd, *Wheat Among the Tares*, p. 49).

The Lo-yang monastery remained the centre of Indian culture during the Han dynasty. But it is not until the 3rd century that Buddhism began to make itself felt in China. Altogether twelve translators are named as having worked during the Han supremacy (25-220 A. D.) and they translated about 359 books. All these monks were not Indians; about half came from India and the rest came from Central Asia with the exception of some probably of Indo-Tibetan extraction.

Of the first batch of workers after the demise of the pioneers, who worked in the monastery of Pai-ma-shih (White Horse monastery) at Loyang, Ch-leu-chia-chan or Sthavira Chilukākṣa was the first. He was a śramaṇa of the country of the Yüeh-chi, who came to China in A. D. 147 or 164, and worked at translations till 186 A. D. He is said to have translated 21 distinct books in 63 fasciculi or according to others 23 works in 67 fasciculi; but as early as 730 A. D. about half the works were lost and at present only 12 of his books exist.

The most celebrated of the translators of the Han Period was An-Shih-Kao, a prince of An-hsi or Parthia, whose real name was probably Ārya-kāla as it is found in Tibetan history. An-Shih-Kao's

father having died, he gave up the kingdom to his uncle and became a śramaṇa. He came to China in A. D. 148 and worked at translations till 170 A. D. at Loyang. During twenty-two years this indefatigable worker translated 176 distinct Sanskrit books ; but one of the earliest Chinese catalogues Khai-yuen-lu (730 A. D.) mentions the name of 95 books and says that only 54 were extant, but today 55 of his works are found in the Ming-Tripitaka. Of the twelve translators whose names are known in Chinese, although they are not identified, we have given detailed information of the important workers only.

Of the rest of the translators, we give brief notes, as they are given by Nanjio.

Chu-Fo-Soh was an Indian śramaṇa, who came to Loyang probably with the second batch and translated two sūtras in A. D. 172 and 183. But these were lost in 730 A. D.

An-heu came from An-si country and seemed to have been of royal extraction, as his name An-heu (marquis) indicates. He probably occupied the post of Head Officer of Cavalry, or it might have been an honorific title given him by the reigning Han Emperor. He together with a Chinese śramaṇa called Yen-Fo-thiao translated two works at Loyang monastery in 181 A. D. One of his books *Ugra-Pariprocchā* (Nanjio, 33) which he took to China for the first time, was subsequently twice translated into Chinese. His assistant Yen-Fo-thiao a Chinese well-versed in Sanskrit translated several works (7 or 5) while living in the monastery of Loyang in A. D. 188. But today only one Mahāyāna Sūtra is found under his name. Ch-Yao, a śramaṇa of the western region, probably a Yüeh-chi enriched the Chinese Buddhist literature by translating eleven distinct works of which five have come down to us. His principal works were parts of *Madhyamāgama* and *Samyuktāgama*, which were re-translated at a later date. But his '*Pūrṇa-prabhāsa-samādhimati sūtra*' (Nanjio, 381) was never translated and is put under the Mahāyāna Sūtras. *Kṣulla-Mārgabhūmi Sūtra* (Nanjio, 1338) is also a Mahāyāna sūtra. Khang-Chu and Khang Mang-Siang were śramaṇas of Tibetan descent, the former coming from Jambu, while the latter came to China from Central India. The former translated one sūtra in Loyang in A.D. 187, but it was long lost. The latter translated six works between A. D. 194 and 197, but most of them were lost. These books are (i) *Brahmajāla-Sūtra*, (ii) *Catussatya-Sūtra*, (iii) *Kumāra-Nidāna-Śrīphala-Sūtra*

which was a life of Buddha. His other books are (1) *Nidāna Kārya Sūtra* and (2) a part of the *Ekottarāgama Sūtra*. The *Nidāna Sūtra* is a collection of ten short sūtras. Each sūtra relates a Nidāna or event happening to Buddha, such as his headache, pain in his back, Devadatta's throwing a stone at him, a brāhmaṇa's abuse, his eating the horse-barley, penance, etc. (Nanjio. No. 733).

Mahābala (?) (Chu-tā-li) a śramaṇa of India helped the last writers to translate the sūtra called *Nidāna-Kārya-Sūtra* (Nanjio, 664). This *Life* of Buddha greatly helped the Buddhists to understand the religion and this early record of the master's life should be studied in Chinese, as it might contain valuable historical materials.

Dharmaphala (?) (Thān-Kuo), an Indian monk came to China and brought with him one Sanskrit text from Kapilāvastu and translated it with the help of Mang-Siang. It was *Madhyama-ityukta-Sūtra* (Nanjio, 556) being an extract from the text of the *Dirghāgama*. This also is a life of Śīkyamuni. Besides these 359 (existing), Nanjio says that according to Thu-ki there were 125 whose writers' names are lost ; of these 125 are still extant.

It is noteworthy that a very great portion of this literature the early translated into Chinese is Hīnayāna. Many of the Central Asian Provinces of the Kushan empire, Khotan, and portions of Bactria had been converted to Buddhism long before the commencement of the Mahāyāna movement. The dividing line between the two vehicles was hardly as yet sharply drawn. Still we find distinct signs of Mahāyāna in the ninety-six of the Chinese translations of the Han period and notably in the twelve books attributed to Lokarakṣa or Chilukākṣa.

The Later Han dynasty came to an end in 220 A. D. and was followed by the animated and romantic epoch known as the three kingdoms (221-265), when China was divided into three states, Wei with its capital Loyang, where the Hans ruled, Wu with its capital at Nankin, and Shu kingdom. Loyang still remained the stronghold of Buddhism under the Wei dynasty and five translators worked there. Till then only Sūtra literature of different sects of Buddhism had come into Chinese, and no books on Vinaya or discipline had been translated. The Han translators had only spoken of śīla or morality. Āryakāla had translated a sūtra on 'the lightness and heaviness of the sin of transgressing the śīla'. Nanjio (1112) and Che-Huen had translated another, which illustrated the Mahāyāna conception of the śīla by showing how the Bodhisattva had kept the six pāramitās. But the Han translators

had been contented with a mere sowing of Buddhistic seed—an indication of the fact that they were truly the pioneers of Buddhism.

Than-mo-chiao-lo or Dharma-kāla is responsible for the first translation of Vinaya. He was a native of Central India and came to China in 222 A.D. where he found that the priests were entirely ignorant of the Buddhist discipline. In A.D. 250, he translated the *Prātimokṣa* of the Mahāsaṅghikas in one fasciculus. But it was lost in 730 A.D. During the Wei dynasty Vinaya of the Dharmagupta school began to appear in Chinese from the pen of three Indian monks of Loyang monastery. Of other subjects, outside the Vinaya, they give us two volumes of the dialogues, which the Buddhists are so fond of, namely, *Ugra-paripṛcchā*, *Surata-Paripṛcchā*, *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*. Abhidharma first made its appearance in the Wei Dynasty. The title of the first book was *Abhidharma-mām-ta-rasa-śāstra* and was composed by the venerable Ghoṣa; but we do not know who the translator was. Another important Sanskrit book *Sukhāvati-vyūha* became very popular with the Chinese Buddhists. *Sukhāvati-vyūha* had two recensions. The shorter one might well be the original and the longer one the emended edition of the former. Both versions have been found in Japan, and edited by Max Müller and Buniyo Nanjio. The popularity of the book can easily be gauged by the fact that there had been no less than twelve Chinese translations of it. These are :—

- (1) *Amitāyus-sūtra* (2 fasc.)—by An-Shih-Kao, A. D. 148-170 (lost).
- (2) *Amita-suddha-sambuddha-sūtra*—by Loka-rakṣa (?), A. D. 147-186 (No. 25 Nanjio).
- (3) *Amita-sūtra*—by Chi-Chien, A.D. 223-253 (Nanjio 26).
- (4) *Amitāyus-sūtra*—by Saṅghavarman, A.D. 252 (Nanjio 27).
- (5) *Amita-suddha-samyak-sambuddha-sūtra*—by Po-Yen, A. D. 257 (lost).
- (6) *Amitāyus-sūtra*—by Dharma-rakṣa (Chu-Fa-hu), A. D. 266-313 (lost).
- (7) *Amitāyus-sūtra* (new)—by Buddhābhadrā, A.D. 398-421 (lost).
- (8) *Amitāyur-arhat-samyak-sambuddha-sūtra*—by Chu-ta-li (Mahā-bala), A.D. 419 (lost).
- (9) *Amitāyus-sūtra* (new)—by Pao-yun, A. D. 424-53 (lost).
- (10) -do- by Dharma-mitra, A.D. 424-441 (lost).
- (11) *Amitāyus-tathāgata-pāṣaḍa*—by Bodhi-ruci, A. D. 693-713 (Nanjio. 23 (5)].

12 *Mahāyāna Amitāyur-vyūha-sūtra*—by Fa-hsien, A.D. 982-1001
(Nanjio 803).

These *Amitāyus-sūtras*¹ are less occupied with the picture of the country of Sukhāvati (Land of Bliss) than with the exhortations on meditation or dhyāna of Amitāyus, by means of which a man attains to the Blessed Land.

In 402 Kuṃārajīva translated the shorter version, which very nearly corresponds with the extant Sanskrit version. This is one of the most popular books in China and Japan. There was another Chinese translation of this short Sukhāvati by Guṇabhadra (420-429). But it was lost in 730 A.D. The bigger version was translated by Hiuen Tsang in A.D. 650 (see Nariman, pp. 77-79, 94 ; Nanjio, pp. 10, 59).

I have already referred above to the foundation of a kingdom round modern Nanking or Southern China, where the first king Sun-Chün became a patron of Buddhism. Nanking became a centre of Indian culture and scholars began to flock there. Five translators flourished during the Wu dynasty (222-280 A.D.). All the translators of this period were men from Central India and we get none but Hīnayāna books, or books belonging to both vehicles as *Dharmapada*.

Of these writers Chi-Chien is the most famous. He was an Upāsaka of the country of Yüeh-chih and came to China towards the end of the Later Han dynasty. After the dismemberment of the Hans, he took refuge in the kingdom of Wu, where he was appointed as a professor by the king for teaching the heir-apparent. He translated numerous Sanskrit works into Chinese during the thirty years of his life in China (A.D. 223-253). It is said that he translated as many as 129 Indian books, but unfortunately many of them are lost, and of his vast literary productions only 49 works are extant. According to some compilers, this Upāsaka scholar translated *Fo-shuo-ssū-shih-san-chan-ching*, which Mātāṅga had translated in 67 A.D. This translation differed a little from that made by

Wu dynasty
222-280 A.D.

Chi-Chien
225-253 A.D.

1 Anecdota Oxoniensia—Aryan Series, V. I, part II, Oxford, 1883, translated into English by Max Müller, S. B. E., vol. 49. For the French translation, see Annales de Musée Guimet by Yamaizoumi and Yamata, 1881, vol. II, pp. 36-64. In Japan, various Sanskrit, Chinese Japanese and Korean editions have of recent come out. A Chinese version was translated by Takakusu in S. B. E., vol. 49, part II, pp. 159.

Kāśyapa, being the second version of the same text ; and the meaning of the words seem to be more correct, and the composition readable.

Another very important book *Dharmapada* appeared in Chinese translation for the first time in A. D. 224. The translator's name was

Wai-Chie-nan or Vighna, an Indian Śramaṇa, who is said
Dharmapada : to have been originally a fire-worshipper (probably a
1st translation. Yājñika) and afterwards converted to Buddhism. He

brought to China the Sanskrit (?) text of *Dharmapada* and translated it with the help of his friend Chu-Lüh-Yen, another Indian Śramaṇa, who

accompanied him from India. At this time Vighna and
Vighna. his friend were not well acquainted with the Chinese

language ; nevertheless they translated the text of *Dharmapada* into Chinese in two fasciculi. Their translation is, therefore, somewhat difficult in expression and excellence. Fourteen books were rendered into Chinese by one Khān-sang-hwui of which only two are now preserved. His *Saṭ-pūramitā-saṅgraha-sūtra* contains Jātaka stories.

Khān-sang-hwui was the eldest son of the Prime Minister of the country of Kambu (Jambu) or Ulterior Tibet, whose family was

continuously resident in India. Kashmir was not counted
Khān-sang-hwui, as a part of India, and is always separately named in
247-280 A. D. Chinese books. Khān-sang-hwui came to China in 241 A. D. and the

Wu-king-sun-chüen gave permission for the building of the monastery of Chien Chu, which was also known as Fo-tho-li, i. e., the Buddha village. Khān-sang-hwui began his translation in 251 and continued till 280 A. D. when he died, after having resided in China for about forty years.

Besides these well-known translators, there were about 110 distinct works of unknown authorship, which are said to have been done during the Wu dynasty ; today only one work *Samyuktāgama* has been preserved, other 109 works have followed their unknown translators. Among these lost works, there was the oldest translation of the *Lalitavistara* in eight fasciculi. During the 58 years of power wielded by the Wus, altogether 189 Sanskrit works in 417 fasciculi were rendered into Chinese, but 128 works were lost in 730 A. D. and today there is hardly more than 56 in existence. Thus the Sanskrit Buddhist literature has been poor by about 133 books, which were still available in the third century A. D.

It was during the Western Tsin rule (265-316 A.D.) which for a short time united the Heavenly Kingdom that Buddhism began to become prominent. Loyang was still the capital of the Chinese emperors and

was still the centre of intellectual activity of the Indian Paṇḍits as well as of Sanskrit learning. Politically this was a period of unrest,—contest between the north and the south, and struggle between the Chinese and the Tartars.

Western Tsin
dynasty, 265-316
A.D.

During the first-half of the fifth century, some twenty mushroom states rose and fell in Northern China under Tartar chiefs. The longest existent of them was Northern Wei, which lasted till 535 A. D. But the Later Chao and both the Earlier and Later Tsin are important for our purpose. During the Western Tsin rule, a large number of Sanskrit books on Mahāyāna theology was translated by Indian and Chinese monks. We find the names of twelve workers, who are said to have translated 447 works, of which only 153 are extant at present. Besides these, 20 works of this period exist, authorship however being unknown. In this list we find Buddhism of different shades represented. Even Tāntrik Buddhism and books on Dhāraṇīs, Mantras, mystic Sanskrit Alphabets had begun to be introduced in China, but these were not widely propagated at this time.

Many important books gradually came to be introduced into Chinese. The most famous of the workers was Dharma-rakṣa (Chutāng-mo-lo-chā) who is also known in Chinese as Chu-fa-hu. He was a Śramaṇa, whose family was continuously resident in the Thun-kwau district, the western extreme of the Great Wall in Kan-shuh in China. He was a descendant of a family of the country of Yueh-Chi i. e. in the vicinity of Tartar and Karashahr, where Indians lived. He became a disciple of a foreign Śramaṇa and travelled with him to the western regions i. e. India, and became well acquainted with thirty-six different languages and dialects. He must have travelled long and in A. D. 266 came to Loyang where he settled and worked at translation till A. D. 313 or 317, and died at his 78th year. It was he who first translated several sūtras of the Vaipulya class and acquainted the Chinese public with this branch of Buddhist literature. He is said to have translated 210 works ; but in 730 A. D. only 175 works are mentioned, and 91 only existed. His translations now number 90, the most important works being *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, *Lalita-vistara*, *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā*, the last one being incomplete. This work was also taken up and translated in 30 fasciculi of 90 chapters by Wu-lo-chā or Mokṣala in 291 A.D.

Dharmarakṣa
and the Vai-
pulya Sāstras.

We meet now with a few non-Indian translators, who like An-shi-kao did very useful work for the spread of Indian literature in China.

An-fa-chin, a Śramaṇa of the Ān-ṣi country (Eastern Persia or Parthia or Arsak) translated *Aśokāvadāna*, which is a collection of stories in which the central figure is Aśoka. Historically these stories are of little importance. In the third century we find numerous Indians domiciled in Eastern Turkestan and China; we shall however deal in a separate chapter with Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan.

Chu-shu-lan, an Upāsaka, who translated two Sanskrit works in the reign of Hwui-Ti (A.D. 290-306) was of Indian descent, but born in China. Shih-fa-li, the translator of *Dharmapada* and other four works, of which only three have come down to us, and Shih-fa-chu, another great translator of this age, were probably non-Indians as their native place is unknown. Shi-fa-chu worked along with Ta-li (Mahābala) and after the death of the latter, Fa-chu alone translated several works in the same reign as before. Two of the earliest compilers of the Chinese tripiṭaka tell us that Fa-chu translated 132 works in 142 fasciculi, but only 23 works exist. Chu-fa-tu and Tao-lo-yen were also probably foreigners.

Three Chinese translators of some importance appear for the first time during this period. Po-fa-tsu was a Chinese Śramaṇa, who translated about 23 works, of which only 5 books are to be found in the existing Chinese Tripiṭaka. His most important book was *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, which for the first time appeared in Chinese. This book appeared twice after him—one being translated by Fa-hsien and the other by Buddhayaśas and Chu-fa-men in 412-413 A.D. Other two Chinese translators of Sanskrit books of this age were Nieh-khan-yuen and Nieh-tao-kan, the latter being the translator of 54 books, but unfortunately only four of his books are before us.

We have already seen that China for a time was divided into many principalities. A dynasty known as the Later Chao was founded by Shih-lo (273-332 A.D.), whose territories extended from the Great Wall to Han and Huai in the south. Emperor Shih-lo showed favour to that remarkable Indian monk and diviner called Fo-lu-cheng, who lived at his court, and the emperor himself appears to have been a Buddhist. The most eminent of his successors Shih-chi-lung was an ardent devotee and gave general permission to the people to enter monasteries, which had not been granted previously. This was indeed a great step towards the spread of Buddhism in China.

"In 381 we are told that in the North-western China, nine-tenths

of the inhabitants were Buddhists. In 372 Buddhism was introduced into Korea and accepted as the flower of Chinese civilisation" (Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. III, p. 250).

The state known as the Former Tsin had its nucleus in Shensi in Northern China. Under its able leader Fu-chien, its power expanded between 351 and 394 A.D. In 381 Fu-chien became Buddhist, and he was evidently in touch with the west and probably with India. The later Tsin Dynasty had its head-quarters at Kansu and was founded by the vassals of the Earlier Tsin. After the collapse of that empire these became independent sovereigns. Yaoh-sing, the second monarch, was a devout Buddhist and has been famous in history as the patron of the great Kumārajīva, the most eminent of the earlier translators, of whom we shall hear a little later.

In the south, Eastern Tsin dynasty ruled at Nanking from 317 to 420 A.D. The emperors were favourable to Buddhism and Hsiao-wu-ti, the ninth sovereign of this line was the first emperor of China to become a Buddhist. Nanking was already a centre of Buddhist culture during the Wu Dynasty (222-280 A.D.). and under the inspira-

tion of the sympathetic emperors the Buddhist culture steadily spread, and learned Indians flocked into the Chinese city. Sixteen translators are mentioned during the hundred years the Eastern Tsin rule. Śrīmitra (She-

Eastern Tsin
Dynasty
[317-420].

li-mi-te-lo), a Śramaṇa of the Western region or India, translated books on Tantra. This Śrīmitra was the heir-apparent to a king, but gave up his realm to his younger brother and became a monk. He came to China (307-312 A.D.) under the Western Tsin dynasty and translated three works

Śrīmitra and
Tantra litera-
ture.

under the reign of the Emperor Yuen-ti (317-322), and died at the age of 80. *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, which had already been translated by Than-mo-lo-chia (Dharmarakṣa, 266-313) was again translated by

Chi-Tao-Kan (lin), probably a Chinese Śramaṇa, in A.D. 335. But that was lost as early as 730 A. D.

The greatest translator of the age was Than-wu-lan or Dharmarakṣa who is said to have rendered ten Sanskrit works into the Chinese language, the language of his adoption. He was a

Dharmarakṣa
[381-395].

Śramaṇa of the western region i.e. India, who worked from A. D. 381 to 395. Of his vast work only 23 remain.

These are mostly Dhāraṇī-mantras, Sūtras for spell, Sūtras on various Mahāyāna theology and legends.

Gautama Saṅghadeva was no less voluminous a writer in Chinese

than Dharmarakṣa. But he took up more abstruse books and his contribution to Chinese literature is more valuable than that of his contemporary Than-wu-lan. He translated *Madhyamāgama* corresponding to the *Majjhima Nikāya* of the Pāli tripiṭaka. It was a vast collection and covered 60 fasciculi in 5 adhyāyas and 18 vargas, and contained 222 sūtras. This great work had already once been translated by Dharmānandī in 384-391 A.D. of the Former Tsin dynasty (350-394). This translation has not come down to us as it was lost before 730 A.D., and the only great translation of this Āgama (Madhyama) is that of Saṅghadeva. Fragments of Sanskrit Āgamas have recently been discovered in Central Asia, which clearly prove that there was a Sanskrit version of the Tripiṭaka, analogous to the Pāli Tripiṭaka. Saṅghadeva's other important translations were *Tridharmakāya-sūtra*, *Abhidharmajñānaprasthāna-sūtra*, and *Abhidharma-hṛdaya-sūtra*, all on Abhidharma. *Jñānaprasthāna-sūtra* consists of 44 vargas. It is said that the Sanskrit text consisted of 15,072 ślokas or verses. This is the principal work on the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivāda school (Nanjio, 1273).¹ Saṅghadeva was a Śramaṇa of Kubhā (Kabul) which was formerly a part of India. He arrived in A.D. 383 at Chang-an, the capital of the Former Tsin dynasty, and between A.D. 391 and 398 translated five other works in the Eastern Tsin dynasty.

Buddhabhadra, an Indian Śramaṇa and a descendant of Amṛtodana, an uncle of Śākyamuni, introduced some very important books in China and was responsible for 13 or 14 works, some of which were books of enormous size. He met the great Kumārajīva in China, and such was his erudition that even that learned doctor always asked for an explanation whenever any doubts arose in his mind. The great traveller-scholar Fa-hsien, his contemporary, helped him in some translations. The Sanskrit *Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahāvaiṣṭulya-sūtra*, a large book in 60 fasciculi and 34 chapters, was translated by Buddhabhadra and others. This was translated for the first time into Chinese but was not completed. Three hundred years later Śikṣānada translated this book over again. This is a much fuller translation and agrees with the Tibetan version in *Kha-gyud*, which was translated from the Chinese. Another great work done into Chinese by Buddhabhadra was *Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya*, which he translated together with Fa-hsien in 416 A.D. It had 46 fasciculi

1 See *infra* for details of this important work.

and 18 sections—one fasciculus being the *Prātimokṣa-saṅghika-vinayamūla*. We remember that in 250 A.D. Dharmakāla translated the *Prātimokṣa* of the Mahāsaṅghikas, but it was lost in 730 A.D. Buddhābhaddra translated another book which had become very popular with the Buddhists and was known as *Ananta-mukha-sādhaka-dhūraṇī*. It had been once translated before him during the Wu dynasty and six times after him, altogether the book has eight versions, long or short, in Chinese. Some important Vinaya books were rendered into Chinese during this time by Dharmapriya and Vimalākṣa. Vimalākṣa was a native of Kubhā (Kabul) and was well-known as a Vinaya teacher of Kwei-tsz i.e. Kharasar (Karasahr) in Eastern Turkestan, where Kumārajīva was his disciple. He arrived in China in 406 A.D. and after Kumārajīva's death, he continued the translation of *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya* and wrote the preface to the *Daśādhyāya-vinaya Jitamitra*, a Śramaṇa from the Western region, is said to have translated 23 or 25 works, of which only two have remained to this day. Nandī, another Indian who was a gṛhapati (layman) translated a few books in 419 A.D. and after Chu fa-li or Dharmabala translated the larger version of *Sukhāvataṅkavaiyūha* which was the eighth of the twelve translations of this popular work. But that translation is lost.

Besides these Indian writers, four Chinese śramaṇas flourished during this period of Eastern Tsins. The most well-known among them is Fa-hsien, the great traveller, who visited India in 399 A.D. He translated *Mahā-parinirvāṇa-sūtra*, once with Buddhābhaddra and for the second time he himself did it. Another small work is the *Mahāsaṅgha-bhikṣuṇī-vinaya* which is presumably the Sanskrit version of the Pāli *Bhikkhuni Pātimokkha* according to the Mahāsaṅghika school. Fa-hsien kept the original Sanskrit name in translation, viz. 'Pi-chiu-ni-san-chi-liu, Po-thi-mo-cha-chie-ching.' But the most famous and enduring of his works was the book on India which he published at the request of his instructor Kumārajīva. He was the first Chinese who came to see India with the explicit purpose of studying Buddhism. It is related in his travels that while he was residing at Chang-an, he was distressed by the imperfect state of the Buddhist "Discipline" and accordingly went to India to try to obtain these rules.

During the Eastern Tsin dynasty (317-420 A.D.), 233 books were translated into Chinese in the Southern China. Besides these there were about 52 works, whose translator's names are lost. Among these we find a third translation of *Mahā-parinirvāṇa-sūtra*, the two other being of Fa-hsien and Buddhābhaddra mentioned above.

Fa-hsien, the
Traveller-
Monk.

Giles, in his introduction to *'The Travels of Fa-hsien'* (Cambridge, 1923), says, "What indeed must have been the cogent influence of that faith (Buddhism) which could impel several of its ministers to undertake, and one to carry through for the Faith's sake, a supremely dangerous expedition, in the glow of which the journeys of St. Paul melt into insignificance? For Fa-hsien, the hero of this adventure and the recorder of his own travels, practically walked from China across the desert of Gobi, over the Hindukush, and through India down to the mouth of the Hooghly where he took ship and returned to China, bringing with him what he went forth to secure—books of the Buddhist canon and images of Buddhist deities". In Ceylon "after repeated search he obtained a copy of the Disciplines according to the school of the 'Faith Prevailing', also copies of the long Āgamas on ecstatic contemplation, and subsequently of a collection of extracts from the canon, all of which China was without." The difficulties of the way and the danger of losing his books and icons are well known. After reaching China, he handed over to the monks of Nanking the Sūtras and the Vinayas he had collected (*Fa-hsien*, p. 81).

The publication of Fa-hsien's travels caused a tremendous stir in the hearts of young and devoted Buddhists, and hundreds of Chinese left their home and followed Fa-hsien's footsteps to visit the land of the Blessed One, and to procure the sacred Buddhist books and images. We shall, however, see the result of this visit in the course of our study.

"The fourth century was a period of confusion in China, caused by a hopeless division of the country and by intrusion of invaders from the north. Yet Buddhist missions proceeded to cover the greater part of the land, and many of the contending rulers welcomed missionaries from Central Asia. One of these men, Fo-t'u-cheng, who came in 310 to Lo-yang from a 'western country', laboured not as a translator but as a social worker. It is said that he was 'well-versed in magic formulae and saved many people from diseases and sufferings by his supernatural attainment.' No fewer than 893 monasteries and sanctuaries were established by him, and his 'disciples' numbered 10,000. But his significance in Chinese Buddhism lay perhaps more on his having educated one of the most powerful thinkers, Tao-an, than in his actual works; though he laboured mostly in the north, his influence was later propagated to the south by his disciples".¹

Fo t'u-cheng
and Tao-an.

1 Anesaki, *E.R.E.*, vol. 8, Missions (Buddhist).

This Tao-an¹ was a very able man and he helped a large number of Buddhist scholars. He was a contemporary of Dharmanandin and wrote an account of him.

Dharmanandin was a man of Tokhāra or Tokhrishan. A monumental work of Dharmanandin's still exists in Chinese. It was his translation of *Ekottarāgama* in 50 fasciculi of fifty-two chapters. The text, which was presumably written in vulgar Buddhist Sanskrit, consisted of 2,50,000 ślokas, in verse or an equivalent number of syllables in prose; and there are 555 short Sūtras beginning with 'Evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye etc'. (Nanjio, 543). A contemporary preface to this work says that it was composed in 384-385 A. D. Nanjio in his Catalogue gives a summary of the contents with a literal translation of 52 chapters.

I have already referred to the political disintegration of China, and the lack of power of the Central Imperial Rule. The Former T'sin Dynasty, founded by Fu-Chien, had its capital at Chang-an. Fu-Chien was a patron of Buddhism and during the short period of 44 years (350-394 A. D.) when he and his successors ruled, six Indian śramaṇas translated 15 Sanskrit books. Most of these translators came from modern Afganisthan, which was then a great centre of Indian culture and formed a part of India.

The Former T'sin Dynasty was destroyed by the Later T'sins, who retained their capital at Chang-an, so that the Indian culture continued to flourish under the new sovereign, who became famous as the patrons of Kumārajīva. Kumārajīva was an Indian living in Eastern Turkisthan. We have already mentioned that Central Asia and Eastern Turkisthan were inhabited by Indians and we shall have occasion to go into a detailed history of those places in a subsequent study. Kumārajīva's forefathers were ministers of a certain prince in India. Kumārajīva's father had forsaken this office and went to Kucha, where he married Jivā, a sister of the king of that country. Kumārajīva was born of this wedlock. He became a monk in his seventh year. Two years after, his mother Jivā became a nun and she took her son to Kubha, where he became the disciple of Bandhudatta, a cousin of the king of Kubha. They went back to their native place of Kucha in 352 A. D., where he remained until 383, spending

Former T'sin
Dynasty
350-394.

Kumārajīva, an
Indian, living in
Turkisthan.

1 Giles, *Chinese Biog. Dicty.*, sv. Tao-an.

thirty years of his sojourn there and prosecuting his theological studies. He followed the school of Sarvāstivādins for some time under the instruction of Vimalākṣa mentioned above. But he became a Mahāyānist after getting instructions of Sūryasoma. In 383 when Kucha was captured by the Chinese General of Fu-Chien, he was carried off to China as a prisoner and from 401 onwards he laboured at Chang-an for about ten years. His fame as a scholar had preceded him; he established his reputation as a saint by overcoming a temptation thrown in his way by his Chinese captors, and was received by the T'sin Court with great honour. He was appointed Kuo-shih (Rājyaguru) or the Director of Buddhist study and lectured in a hall specially built for him. He is said to have had three thousand disciples. He translated 98 works in 421 fasciculi and fifty extant translations are still ascribed to him¹. Pelliot says that "Kumārajīva is one of the greatest translators of Chinese Buddhism, though his mother-tongue was certainly neither Sanskrit nor Chinese". But an Indian by descent and education, he was familiar with all the twists and turns of Sanskrit; in Kucha he had to learn Chinese and Kuchari dialect.

Kumārajīva found, on examination and comparison, that the Chinese translations made hitherto were neither accurate nor elegant, and he himself undertook the task of revision. This work occupied him for the rest of his life-time, and was the joy and pride of his declining years. Indian monks always translated Sanskrit books with the help of some Chinese scholars, who could not always comprehend the subject-matter and translated the Sanskrit words with imperfect synonyms. The translations were generally mere paraphrases of Sanskrit books and therefore sometimes wholly unintelligible to Chinese readers. To produce them in a form more accurate and complete was the task undertaken by him at the desire of the king. More than eight hundred priests were called to assist, and the king himself, an ardent disciple of the new faith was present at the conference holding the copies in his hand as the work of correction proceeded.

More than three hundred volumes were thus prepared². Few foreigners have yet gained any distinction in writing Chinese but Kumārajīva obtained it, and to this date his translations are consi-

1 Nanjio, App. II, 59; also Lévi, Le 'Tokharien B,' *J. A.*, 1923.

2 Edkins' *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 90.

dered to be one of the best specimens of Chinese style. Kumārajīva translated various recensions of Prajñā-pāramitās. The *Pañcaviṃśati Prajñā-pāramitā* was a very popular book. It had been twice translated into Chinese and it was again done into it by Kumārajīva, along with *Daśa-sahasrikā Prajñā-pāramitā*, which had been thrice translated before. *Vajracchedikā*, another equally important Buddhist philosophical book, was rendered into Chinese for the first time. The greatest work of Kumārajīva's was his translation of the *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā Śāstra* which he did between 402 and 405 in 100 fasciculi. The Sanskrit text of this Sūtra consisted of 100,000 ślokas in verse or a corresponding number of syllables in prose. But Kumārajīva translated only the first chapter in 34 fasciculi, and gave the abstract of the remaining 39 chapters. This book is the commentary on some of the sections of the *Pañcaviṃśati Prajñā-pāramitā* by the great Nāgārjuna; it was now for the first time made accessible to the Chinese readers. It is not possible to describe here the fifty books translated by Kumārajīva. His versatile genius extended over almost all the branches of Buddhist learning. Among the more important books, the following may be mentioned :—

- (1) *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*, Nanjio, 134.
- (2) Smaller *Sukhāvataṁ-Vyūha*, Nanjio, 200.
- (3) *Sarvāstivāda Prātimokṣa*¹, Nanjio, 1160.
- (4) *Sūtrālaṅkāra Śāstra*, Nanjio, 1182.
- (5) *Madhyamaka Śāstra* (Jap. Churon).
- (6) *Śata Śāstra* of Āryadeva, Nanjio, 1188 : Vasubandhu's commentary on the Sūtras (Jap. Hyaku-ron).
- (7) *Dvādaśa-nikāya Śāstra* by Nāgārjuna (Jap. Jūni-mon-ron), Nanjio, 1186.

The last two books were composed by Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva to clear up the confusion arising in men's minds regarding the distinction between entity and non-entity. They gave an exposition of the teachings of Buddha and his life with special emphasis on the 'Twelve Nikāyas' that led to the inmost shrine of Perfect Enlightenment. They regarded the *Avataṁsaka*, the *Āgamas*, and the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka* as marking three periods in Śākyamuni's ministerial career, and considered the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka* as the crown of Buddha's personal teachings.

1 *Le Prātimokṣa Sūtra des Sarvāstivādins*, texte Sanscrit—M. Louis Finot avec le version chinoise de Kumārajīva, traduite en français par M. Ed. Huber—*J. A.* 1913, pp. 465-558.

The *Sukhāvati-Vyūha* has a far-reaching consequence on the history of Buddhism as it is one of the scriptures of the Jodo or Pure Land sect of Japan and China.

The smaller *Sukhāvati-Vyūha*, brought to China by Kumārajīva soon after 400 A. D., was translated by him into Chinese. This shorter translation corresponds with a few omissions to the Sanskrit text, which has been published by Max Müller.

*Sukhāvati-
Vyūha.*

"It is taught in this Sūtra that if a man keeps in his memory the name of Buddha Amitābha one day or seven days, the Buddha together with Bodhisattvas will come and meet him at the moment of his death in order to let him be born in the Pure Land (Sukhāvati), and that this matter has equally been approved by all the other Buddhas of the Universe"¹. Another important branch of work was undertaken by Kumārajīva; it was the writing of biographies of the three great Bodhisattvas Aśvaghōṣa, Nāgārjuna, and (Ārya) Deva. I believe this is the first attempt on writing biography of saints, which art was afterwards greatly perfected in Buddhist literature. He also wrote a book called *Shih-hsiang-lun* as the Śāstra on the characteristics of Reality especially for Yao Hsing, the king, who revered him as a god².

In China and Japan Kumārajīva's version of the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka* is very popular, and Buniyo Nanjio, in his preface to the same work, says that *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka* is almost worshipped by the followers of Tendai in both countries and Nichiren in Japan. They are used to repeat the seven characters *na-mu-myo-ho-ren-ge-kyo* i. e. *Namah Saddharma-Puṇḍarīkāya Sūtrāya*, as their formula. This Sūtra is said to have been rendered into Chinese six times, but three of these translations were already lost by 130 A. D. when *Khai-yuen-lu* was compiled by Ch'-shang in the T'ang Dynasty. The dates of these six versions are about A. D. 255, 270, 286, 335, 400 and 601 respectively. The first two and the fourth are lost. The remaining three were translated by Dharma-rakṣa, Kumārajīva, and Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta respectively. Nanjio has given a detailed comparison of these three versions in his Catalogue. The version of Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta is the latest and agrees more closely with the Sanskrit text. Besides these, two incomplete versions of 223 and 335 A. D. are mentioned by Ch'-shang

*Saddharma-
Puṇḍarīka.*

1 Lloyd's *Wheat among the Tares*, p. 167.

2 Giles, *Chinese Biog. Dicty.*, No. 1017.

in his Catalogue, but they were lost already in 730 A. D. But Kumārajīva's version for its elegant and idiomatic Chinese has been most popular ever since.

Bodhisattva Vasubandhu wrote a commentary to this book called *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka-Sūtra-Śāstra*. It was translated by Bodhiruci and Ratnamati after it had become widely known through Kumārajīva's translation (Nanjio, 1232, 1233). There are as many as 19 books written in Chinese by the Chinese monks on *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*, and besides there are Japanese commentaries such as Hokke-gi-sho, well known in Japan (Nanjio, *Saddharama-Puṇḍarīka*, Intro.). This book has been translated into English by H. Kern in the Sacred Books of the East and long ago into French by E. Burnouf. It has been of late edited by S. Lévi.

The *Brahmajāla Sūtra* (Fan-méng-ching), which has always been considered in China as the chief code of law of the Mahāyāna schools, was introduced into China by Kumārajīva. The book in translation is only two fasciculi, but it is stated by Sang-chao, a disciple of Kumārajīva, that this work is the twelfth chapter on the *Bodhisattva-hṛdaya-bhūmi*; it is a Sanskrit work of 120 fasciculi and 61 chapters (Nanjio, 1017; Tokyo ed. xvi, 1-9). But the rest of the work was never put into Chinese garb at all, nor has the original work ever been unearthed by European indologists.¹ The Pāli *Brahmajāla Sutta* in the D. . . . has nothing in common with the Chinese code of law except the title. But we have found the Chinese version of the Pāli text in the 14th chapter of the *Dirghāgama Sūtra* under the title *Fan-tung-ching* "Sūtra of Brahma's movements" which in Sanskrit would likewise give *Brahmajāla Sūtra*.

No commentary to it seems to have been written in Sanskrit but there is a commentary to it by Chi Chie, a Chinese monk of the 16th century.²

Kumārajīva rendered into Chinese another important Sanskrit Sūtra, a work which had inspired in a later age many Chinese monks to write on it. It was *Sūtrāṅgama Samādhi* (No. 399) in three fasciculi, the sequel of which also occurs in Tibetan Kanjur. Kumārajīva transliterated the name as *Shih-léng-yen-sam-mei* as *Sūra* (hero) *aṅga* (limb) and *samādhi*. Another recension of this Sūtra, but of much larger size, was done into Chinese in 10 fasc.

1 De Groot, *Young Pao*, 1898.

2 Courant, *Catalogue du Livres chinois*, vol. II, p. 606.

by Pāramiti and Mikaśakya (No. 446) in the T'ang dynasty. The importance of the book can easily be gauged from the fact that three commentaries to it by Chinese monks were written in the Sung dynasty. In 1165 A. D. Hsien Kwei compiled these commentaries (No. 1818) and arranged one after the other under each sentence or passage of the Sūtra. This arrangement greatly helps us to study at once the text from three commentaries. I believe Kumārajīva was responsible, as he was for many others, for the introduction of this Sūtra, which became so popular in the centuries to follow him.

It is to Kumārajīva that we owe the first introduction of the master minds of Indian Buddhism into China, viz, Aśvaghōṣa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva and Vasubandhu. These are the four great patriarchs of Buddhism, who established Mahāyāna on a sound basis of philosophy. Aśvaghōṣa is the twelfth patriarch of the Buddhist church. One of his greatest works is the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*.¹

It is a collection of pious legends after the model of the Jātakas and Avadānas which are narrated in prose and verse in the style of Sanskrit poetics. Many of these legends of old are known to us, such as the story of Dīṅghāyu, of king Śivi. Others already show more of the spirit of the Mahāyāna or at best a reverence for the Buddha which is more Mahāyānic in its tendency. In two of the stories of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* a part is played by king Kaniṣka. But it is much to be deplored that up to now we have only Chinese translation of Kumārajīva,² as the Sanskrit text so far has not been discovered. Not only is it a literary work of importance, the merits of which are apparent in the translation, but also of great significance for the history of Indian literature and culture inasmuch as it mentions the epics of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, it combats the philosophical doctrine of the Śāṅkhya and Vaiśeṣika schools just as forcibly as it opposes the religious views of the Brahmins and the Jains and refers in a variety of ways to the scripts, the arts, and painting.³ From the Chinese

1 This should not be confused with Asaṅga's *Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṅkāra*, which has been translated from Sanskrit into French by S. Lévi.

2 *Sūtrālaṅkāra* of Aśvaghōṣa translated by Kumārajīva (French translation by Ed. Huber).

3 Lévi, *J. A.*, 1908, pp. 77ff. translated by Nariman, p. 36; also Anesaki, *ERE.*, vol. 2, p. 159.

translation of *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, Huber was able to trace three stories to the *Divyāvadāna*¹.

Besides translating the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, Kumārajīva translated a biography of the Bodhisattva Aśvaghoṣa (Nanjio, 1460), and thereby popularized the legendary life of the patriarch among the Chinese. Aśvaghoṣa (*Ma-ming*, horse-neighing) was born of a Brahmin family in Benares, and received his education at Pāṭaliputra. He had a sound Brāhmanical education before he embraced Buddhism. He was a great force in the country and many a legend is connected with his life. He was a great musician, a poet and a dialectician. His epic *Buddha carita* has been mentioned elsewhere, which was introduced into China almost within ten years of the appearance of Kumārajīva's biography.

Nāgārjuna² the fourteenth patriarch was also introduced in China by Kumārajīva. Nāgārjuna was a great and versatile writer and was the founder of the Madhyamaka philosophy. The principal work of this school is Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamaka Śāstra*. Ts'ing-mu Nāgārjuna. (Nilanetra) wrote a commentary, *Prāṇyamūla śāstra-tīkā* (Nanjio, 1179), which was translated by Kumārajīva into Chinese in 409 A.D. Nāgārjuna wrote several important Śāstras, among which the most compendious volume on Abhidharma was his *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā-śāstra* (Nanjio, 1169), which was a commentary on the *Pañcaviṃśati-Śatasūhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Nanjio, 116). This is the first book translated into Chinese explaining the Madhyamaka philosophy. Kumārajīva also gave a Chinese version of Nāgārjuna's life, which is full of miracles and legends (Nanjio, 1461).

A disciple of Nāgārjuna, and as great as his master, was Āryadeva³ (Deva, Kāṇa-Deva). He too was introduced to the Chinese reader by Kumārajīva. Deva's *Śata-Śāstra* with Vasubandhu's Āryadeva. commentary (Nanjio, 1188) was rendered into Chinese in 304 A.D. Traditionally Deva is the fifteenth patriarch and was an inhabitant of Southern India (some say Ceylon). He lived in the third century A.D. Āryadeva's life was also made known in China by Kumārajīva.

The wonderful service done by Kumārajīva, for introducing these master-minds in Chinese, cannot be gainsaid. The subtle and critical mind of the Chinese Confucianists and Taoists wanted critical and phi-

1 BEFEO., 1904, pp. 709-726.

2 Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 77.

3 Sogen, *Systems of Buddhist Thought*, Cal. Univ., 1912, pp. 187-194; also Edkins, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

losophical writings from the pen of Indian Buddhists, and the introduction of the philosophies of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva was the right thing for the hour. The real intellectual Buddhism was offered to China by Kumārajīva ; after him, as we shall see, hundreds of Abhidharma works of various schools of thought were introduced.

About the same time while Kumārajīva was preaching in the North China, there arrived by sea-route Buddhahadra (Shantung), who has been mentioned above as the first translator of the *Avataṃsaka* (Nanjio, 87). By the purity of his life, his great discipline and meditation, he influenced deeply the people of south China. It was in the South that he laid the foundation of the Shan-no (Dhyāna) school of Buddhism, which was in later times greatly strengthened by Bodhidharma.

Buddhabhadra
in S. China.

Other important Sanskrit works were also translated during this period by Indian monks. *Dirghāgama* which is the Sanskrit version of the Dīghanikāya was rendered into Chinese by Buddhayaśa with the help of Chu Fo-nien in 412-413 A. D. It consisted of 22 fasciculi 4 Vargas, 30 Sūtras. He also translated a Vinaya and a Prātimokṣa of the Dharmagupta school, which was one of the four sub-divisions of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda. Chu Fo-nien, who has already been mentioned as an assistant of Buddhayaśa, had helped many foreign translators of the Former T'sin Dynasty. He acquired knowledge of Sanskrit and himself translated 22 or 23 works from 374 A. D., till some time, under the Later T'sin Dynasty. Of his seven works only five are in existence. Dharmayaśa, another śramaṇa of Kubhā, translated 2 or 3 works in A. D. 407-415. In Wan-Chwang the Western T'sin established one of those ephemeral Tartar principalities mentioned previously. One Chinese śramaṇa Shih Shang-chien or Fa-chien translated about 14 or 15 works and today 10 of his works are still to be found in the collection of Tripiṭakas. During the reigns of the three T'sins in China (350-431 A. D.) 197 works were translated by known and unknown writers, but today only 124 of these works remain, others being lost. During the Eastern Tsin (317-420 A. D.) dynasty in 373 A. D., Tao-an, a Buddhist priest compiled the first Chinese catalogue of the Tripiṭaka. His Catalogue begins with books of An-hsi-kao and omits the earliest books of Buddhism. The reason is that he was a man of the North and probably the activities of the South were little known to him¹.

1 See Pelliot, *Meou-Tseu ou les doute Levés*, T'oung Pao, V, XIX. pp. 255 ff., also Giles' *Chinese Biog. Dicty*.

Nine translators flourished in the state of the Northern Liang (A. D. 397-439) which had its capital at Chang-ye and Ku-tsang. Of these translators Shih Tao-kung, Shih Fa-Chung, Shih Chu-mang, Tao-thai were Chinese monks. The last named Shih Tao-thai went to the west of the Himalayas to obtain texts of the Vibhāṣā and some Sūtras and Śāstras. After having returned to China, he met one Buddhavarman with whom he translated Kātyāyaniputra's *Abhidharma-Vibhāṣa-Śāstra* a book in 82 fasciculi, 3 khaṇḍas or divisions or 16 chapters. But this was an incomplete work. Afterwards he alone made the translation of *Mahā-puruṣa-śāstra* (Nanjio, 1242) and *Mahāyāna Avatāraka Śāstra*. (Nanjio, 1243).

Shih Chu-meng deserves special note. He started from Chang-an towards India in A. D. 404 with fourteen friends. Nine of them were frightened at the sight of the Himalayas and returned, one having died on the way. Chu-meng with four other friends went as far as Pāṭaliputra, where he obtained the Mss. of *Nirvāṇa-Sūtra*, *Mahā-saṅghika Vinaya*, and some other texts, from the very house of a Brāhmaṇa, from whom Fa-hsien had obtained the *Nirvāṇa-Sūtra* manuscripts. On the way back to China in A. D. 424, he again lost three more friends, and arrived at Liang-chiu with only one surviving friend. In A. D. 433-439 he translated the *Nirvāṇa-Sūtra* in 20 fasciculi, but his translation was lost in 730 A. D.

The only great Indian translator who has left a lasting name was Dharmarakṣa, who is said to have translated 23 or 24 works, of which twelve are still extant. As many of these books are important, I shall mention them briefly :—

(1) *Mahāvaiṣṭhīya-Mahā-sannipāta Sūtra* in four parts and 30 fasciculi (No. 61).

(2) *Mahā-parinirvāṇa-Sūtra* in 40 fasciculi, 13 chapters (No. 113).

(3) *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra*, which remained incomplete and was followed by a more complete version by I'tsing in a later age, and became very popular in China. It had two famous commentaries.

(4) *Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka Sūtra*, a well known extant Sanskrit book (No. 142).

(5) *Strīvivartva Vyākaraṇa-Sūtra*.

(6) *Bodhisattva-caryūnirdeśa*, and a few others.

But the most important of these books, which has evoked great discussion among the western literati, is Dharma-rakṣa's *Buddha-carita*. translation of the *Buddha-carita Kāvya* (Nanjio, 1351) by Aśvaghōṣa. This is a metrical work on the life of Buddha from his birth till the division of his relics. This Chinese version has been

translated into English by Mr. Beal and contains 28 chapters, whereas the original extant Sanskrit recension has only 17 chapters, the titles and contents of which agree with those of the first 17 chapters of the Chinese translation (except the titles of the 11th, 16th, and 17th chapters of the Chinese), which omits some verses. Beal in the translation of *Fo-shu-hsin-tsang-ching* (S. B. E., vol. xlix) and Cowell in his *Buddha-carita*¹ have compared these two versions and various Sanskrit originals. Dharmarakṣa however so amplified and transposed the original verses

1 According to a more critical study of the Sanskrit text of the *Buddha-carita*, the last four cantos of the Epic are held as spurious and are decidedly known as composition of Amṛtānanda, a Nepalese poet of no mean order. It has been further demonstrated by Leumann and others that the first 25 ślokas of the 1st canto are presumably composed by Amṛtānanda, as they do not occur either in the Chinese or the Tibetan versions. The Sanskrit text of the work was first known to the literati in 1893, when the late E. B. Cowell published the Sanskrit text in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Aryan Series, part VII, Oxford, 1893).

The English translation of the *Buddha-carita* by Cowell appeared in the S.B.E., vol. xlix, 1894. Since the publication of these two works almost all the Indologists have taken part in the discussion that followed, and each has helped to elucidate the text. Below we give the bibliography on Āśvaghoṣa :

Böhtlingk, Otto von und H. Kern : *Kritische Bemerkungen zu Āśvaghoṣa's Buddha-carita*—Kong. Sach. Gesel. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig, Phil-histor. Klasse, 1894 ; II, 1895, pp. 160-198.

Dahlmann, J : *Das Mahabharat als Epos und Rechtsbuch*—Berlin, 1895, pp. 141-152

Finot, L : *Notes sur le Buddha-carita*—J. As., Paris, 1895, pp. 512-545.

Hopkins, E. W., *Buddha-carita*, J.A.O.S., vol. xxii, 1901, pp. 387-388.

Kielhorn, F., *Zu Āśvaghoṣa's Buddha-carita*—Kong. Gesel. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil-histor. Klasse, 1894, pp. 364-374.

Leumann, E., *Some Notes on Āśvaghoṣa's Buddha-carita*—W.Z.K.M., Band viii, 1893, pp. 193-200.

———, *Zu Āśvaghoṣa's Buddha-carita*—Kong. Gesel. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil-hist. Klasse, 1896, pp. 83-90.

Lévi, S., *Buddhacarita d'e Āśvaghoṣa*—J. As., 1892, pp. 201-236.

Lüders, H., *Zu Āśvaghoṣa's Buddha-carita*—Kong. Gesel. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil-hist. Klasse, pp. 1—15.

that the result can hardly be called a translation, although it must have been so intended. I believe the greatest achievement under this Dynasty was the translation of the *Buddha-carita* and the blackest spot of the rulers is the way in which its translator was treated and eventually murdered by Tsin-chin-meng-suh (413-433) and the second ruler of the Northern Liang Dynasty.

In 420 a new Dynasty known as the Earlier Sung was founded in the south with Chien-yeh or modern Nanking as its capital. In the north, there were many Tartar principalities which were more or less favourable to Buddhism, but all except Wei perished before 400 A. D. Wei then split up into Eastern and Western kingdoms, which lasted for about a hundred years. In the south, the Earlier Sung gave place to these short dynasties, Chi, Liang, and Ch'en, until at last the Sui (589-605) united China (Eliot's *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. III, p. 252).

The Emperor Wen-Ti (424-454 A.D.) of the Earlier Sung Dynasty, although a patron of Confucianism, was not wholly inimical to Buddhism. The rapid advance of Buddhism in China roused the jealousy of the official and literary circle, who had great influence in the Chinese court. They wanted imperial interference to prevent the multiplication of monasteries and the growing expenditure on superstitious ceremonies. This marks the beginning of the desire to curb Buddhism by restrictive legislation. A similar reaction took place in the Wei kingdom where great persecutions were done, alternately favoured by some benevolent princes. The force of Buddhism was too strong to be curbed and in Wei we find as many as 13,000 Buddhist temples. In the Sung kingdom much restriction was placed

Reaction against
Buddhism.

Speyer, J. S., *Kritische Nachlese zu A's Buddha-carita*—Amsterdam, 1895.

Windisch, E : *Māra und Buddha*, Leipzig, 1895.

Formichi, Carlo, *Āśvaghoṣa Poeta del Buddhismo*—Bibliotheca di cultura Moderna—G. Laterza, Bari, 1912, p. 409 (The book contains a learned introduction, Italian translation, notes, and the above bibliography : The author, who is the greatest authority on *Buddha-carita*, gives in several places his own reading which has greatly helped to clear up hitherto obscure and apparently meaningless passages. Since the publication of this book, Hultzsch and Cappellar have written two articles in the *Z. D. M. G.* and *Z. Ind. Iran.*, 1922.

on the Buddhists by certain kings, amply compensated by a succeeding one. For fifty-nine years good progress was made in the translation of Sanskrit books, for as many as twenty translations from China, India, Ceylon and Central Asia are said to have existed in earlier times of which nine only remain.

A remarkable feature of this period is the tendency of Chinese Buddhists to go on pilgrimage to India ; since Fa-hsien's return in 414, Chinese students felt romantic pleasure to wend their way to In-do or India. Thus in 420 A. D. a band of 25 Chinese monks started on a pilgrimage to India.

During this Earlier Sung rule, we hear of two translations into Chinese of works of the Mahīśāsaka school. These translations were done by Buddhajīva, a śramaṇa of Kubhā, who arrived in China in 423 A.D. Besides Buddhajīva, there were Kālayāsa, Dharmamitra, Īśvara, Guṇavarman, Saṅghavarman, Guṇabhadra, Guṇaśīla (?), and others who came from India. Shih Chu-yen, Shih Pao-yun, Fa-yung, Tsü-chü-chin-shang, a layman, Hwui-kien, Siang-kung and others were Chinese translators.

Of the Indian monks of this period Guṇavarman¹ had international reputation. He was a native of Kubhā, a younger son of the king of the country. He visited Ceylon in 400 A.D. and it is said that he converted a country called Cho-po, which is identified with Java where he founded the first Buddhist monastery. The fame of the monk spread all over the Buddhist world and he attracted the attention and admiration of the Chinese scholars, who got the Emperor to invite Guṇavarman to China. The Indian monk came to China in 431 A. D., worked incessantly and died the same year. He translated ten works but only five remain, one of them being a book called *Dharmagupta Bhikṣuṇī-karman*, which is evidently the *Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa* according to the Dharmagupta school.

Guṇavarman completed another important work known as *Samyukta-abhidharma-hṛdaya-Śāstra* (Tsa-a-phi-hsin-lun), which had been done up to the tenth fasciculus by a śramaṇa named Īśvara. The book had 13 fasciculi ; but it was lost very early (Nanjio, App. II. 78).

1 Of the details of the life of Guṇavaraman, we have ample materials furnished by M. Ed. Chavannes in an article in the *Toung Pao*, 1904, which has already been abridged by Mr. P. N. Bose in his *Indian Teachers in China*.

This *Samyukta-abhidharma* of Dharmatrāta (Nanjio, 1287 ; 16 fasc.), which was a commentary on Dharmajñāna's *Abhidharma Hṛdaya*¹, was also translated by Saṅghavarman another Indian bhikṣu who arrived in Nanking in 433 A.D. Saṅghavarman's other important translations were *Sarvātivāda-Nikāya-Vinaya-Mātrkā* which in Chinese is transliterated as Sa-po-to-pu phi-ni moto-lo-chia (Nanjio, 1132), and *Nāgārjuna-Bodhisattva-Suḥrillekha* (Nos. 1440, 1441). The latter was a book of verses on the importance of the Law, composed by the Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna. It-sing says that the *Suḥrillekha* or letter to a friend was written by Nāgārjuna to his old Dānapati, a great king of the south Śātavāhana. He also says that the Buddhists in the five parts of India first commit these verses to memory when they begin to study their religion. So it is not unlikely that such a popular book should be translated into Chinese.

Guṇabhadra, another translator of versatile genius, arrived in China in 435 A. D. He was a native of Central India, Brahmin by caste and was nicknamed Mahāyāna for his deep knowledge of the doctrines of Mahāyāna. He is said to have translated 78 works, but only twenty-eight of them remain to this day. He translated *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, a well-known Sanskrit Book on Yogācāra, still read and revered by people. Many other Sūtras and Dhāraṇīs of indifferent merit and value were rendered into Chinese. Although a staunch Mahāyānist, he translated the Hīnayāna *Samyuktāgama-Sūtra* in 50 fasciculi. Almost half the sūtras of *Samyuktāgama* occur in the *Dīrghāgama* and *Ekottarāgama*, which are partly equivalents of the Pāli *Dīgha Nikāya* and *Aṅgutara Nikāya*. Another important work on philosophy viz. Vasumitra's *Abhidharma Prakaraṇapāda* (12 fasc.) was rendered into Chinese by Guṇabhadra in collaboration with an Indian paṇḍit named Buddhayaśas. Guṇabhadra's style of writing in Chinese was of a high order, and his books became very popular in China.

This Guṇabhadra was also responsible for a translation of a very important Pāli work, *Milinda-pañha*, but it was unfortunately lost by 664 A. D. There were three versions of the *Milinda-pañha* in Chinese :

(1) *Na-sien* (Nāgasena) *pi-yu-ching* or the Sūtra of comparisons by Nāgasena. This version was translated in the third century A. D. but was already lost in the 5th century.

¹ Trans. into Chinese by Gautama Saṅghadeva in 391 A. D. (Nanjio, 1288).

(2) *Na-sien pi-chiu ching* (Nāgasena Bhikṣu Sūtra) or *Na-sien ching* (Nāgasena Sūtra)¹, was first translated during the Eastern Tsin dynasty (317-420 A. D.). This version is anonymous; its original was probably redacted in a dialect of India, in two or three fasciculi. To the Chinese scholars one recension in two fasciculi was known.

(3) A version of the second, probably incomplete, was translated by Guṇabhadra; but his translation has not come down to us as stated above.

A comparison of the Chinese and Pāli versions of the book shows wide divergences in the preliminary part, and almost perfect agreement in the principal part. The two texts of the Chinese versions were held by Sprecht and Lévi to be different works, but they have since been proved by Pelliot² to be two recensions of one and the same work. Between these recensions it is difficult to decide which is the more ancient and the more exact. The Chinese text is much shorter than the existing Pāli one³.

In connection with Guṇabhadra's translation of the *Samyuktāgama-sūtra*, a very important problem presents itself: "What is the relation to the Pāli canon of the Chinese texts bearing titles corresponding to *Dirgha*, *Madhyama*, *Samyukta* and *Ekottara*? These collections of Sūtras do not call themselves *Nikāya* but A-han or Āgama: the titles are translated as 'Long', 'Medium,' 'Miscellaneous' and Tseng-i, representing *Ekottara* rather than *Aṅguttara*⁴. There is hence *prima facie* reason to suppose that these works represent not the Pāli canon, but a somewhat similiar Sanskrit collection. That one or many Sanskrit works may have co-existed with a somewhat similar Pāli work is clearly shown by the Vinaya texts, for here we have the Pāli canon and Chinese translations of five Sanskrit versions, belonging to different

Pāli Nikāyas
and Sanskrit
Āgamas.

1 Nanjio, 1358.

2 Pelliot, 'Les noms propres dans les traductions Chinoises du Milinda-pañha', *J. A.*, 1914, No. 2, pp. 379-420.

3 Takakusu, 'Chinese translations of the Milinda-pañha', *J.R.A.S.*, 1896, pp. 1-21. For a detailed discussion of the Chinese versions of Milinda-pañha, see Paul Demiéville, 'Les versions Chinoises du Milinda-pañha', *BEFEO.*, 1924, Nos. 1-2, pp. 1-255.

4 Anesaki, 'Traces of Pāli Texts in a Mahāyāna treatise', *Le Muséon*, 1905.

schools, but apparently covering the same ground and partly identical. For the Sūtra Piṭaka no such evidence is forthcoming, but the Sanskrit fragments of the *Samyuktāgama* found near Turfan contain parts of six sūtras which are arranged in the same order as the Chinese translation and are apparently the original from which it was made. It is noticeable that three of the four great Āgamas were translated by monks who came from Tukhāra or Kabul. Guṇabhadra, however, the translator of the *Samyuktāgama* came from Central India, and the text which he translated was brought from Ceylon by Fa-hsien². It is also certain that though the Chinese Āgamas and Pāli Nikāyas contain much common matter, it is differently distributed". (Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, pp. 296-7).

During this Liu Sung period a few Chinese scholars learnt Sanskrit and translated many books into Chinese. One of them, Shih-Fa-Yung had been so much attracted by Indian culture that he took the name of Thāsa-wu-Chia which is transliterated as Dharma-vikrama or Dharmasūra. He had been to India with the group of twenty-five monks, who had started for India in 420 A. D. and came back in 423 A. D. He translated only one work. Shih Hwui-Kien, another Chinese śramaṇa, whose native place is not known, translated 10 or 15 works in A. D. 457; but today only six works remain, and in 730 only seven works were in existence. We find the names of other Chinese śramaṇas, who translated a few books, but most of them are lost.

It is not always that the Buddhist monks alone laboured on translation of works. Even laymen took great interest in the work. Tsü-Chü Chin-Shang, a Chinese Gṛhapati or householder, was a cousin of the second ruler of the Northern Liang Dynasty, who had killed Dharma rakṣa mentioned above. Tsü-Chü-Ching-Shang in his youth had gone to Khotan, where he had met an Indian priest named

A lay Chinese
translator.

Buddhasena, from whom he probably learnt Sanskrit.

Having returned to the kingdom of the Northern Liang, he translated one work in 2 or 3 fasciculi, entitled 'an important explanation of the Law of Meditation' in A. D. 433-439, but it was lost before 730 A. D. After the destruction of the Northern Liang, Dynasty, he went southward and took refuge under the Sung, where he continued his work of translation with great vigour. By 455 A.D. he translated 28 or, some say, 35 works, of which sixteen only are in the Ming collection (Nanjio, App. II, 68, 83).

1 Lévi, 'Samyuktāgama Sanskrit' *T'oung Pao.*, 1904, p. 297.

The work of translation went on in the South in spite of the change of rulers. For in 479 A. D. the Lin Sung Dynasty was replaced by the Ch'i Dynasty, which retained the capital in Nanking as before, so that the culture of the Buddhists did not get any rude shock from the change of masters. In the reign of Wu-ti, the first emperor of this Dynasty, one of the imperial princes, named Tzu-Liang cultivated the society of eminent monks and enjoyed theological discussions. From the specimens of these arguments which have come down to us, we see that the explanation of the inequalities of life as the result of Karma had a great attraction for the popular mind and also that it provoked the hostile criticism of the Confucian literati¹. During this period of 23 years, we find mention of eight monks namely Dharmajāta-yaśa, Mahāyāna (Mo-ho-Shêng), Saṅgha-bhadra, Dharmamati, Guṇavṛddhi (?), Shih Fa-tu, Shih Than-Ching, Shih Fa-hwa, who translated 14 Sanskrit books, out of which only six are mentioned in the Tripiṭaka of today.

The Ch'i Dynasty in the South was followed by the Liang Dynasty of the Siao Family (A.D. 502-557), founded by Wu-ti, who alone ruled from 502 to 549. Although successful as a warrior in the beginning of life, he lost all interest in war and politics after he had embraced Buddhism, and died miserably in the hands of his opponents the Wei of the North. Wu-ti forbade sacrifice of animals, even representations of animals in embroidery on the ground that people might cut up such figures and thus become callous to the sanctity of life. He imitated Aśoka and rivalled him in pious enthusiasm, if not in power and prosperity. He expounded sūtras in public and wrote a book on Buddhist ritual.

It was during the reign of Wu-ti that the first Chinese edition of the Tripiṭaka in manuscript and not in print was made in 518 A.D. The Emperor paid great honour to Buddhism and he made a large collection of the Buddhist canonical books, amounting to 5,400 volumes, in the Hwá-lin garden. The Shā-man Pao-Chan compiled the Catalogue in fifty-four fasciculi². According to the Khai-yuen-lu, this Catalogue was compiled by Pao-chan under the Imperial order in 4 fasciculi, in A. D. 518 ; but it had been lost in 730 A.D. The total number of the sacred books

The Ch'i
dynasty.

Emperor Wu-ti,
a Chinese
Aśoka.

First Catalogue
and Chinese Tri-
piṭaka.

1 Eliot, *op. cit.*, III, p. 253.

2 Max Müller quoted by Nanjio, p. xvii.

that were translated from Sanskrit into Chinese between 67-518 A.D., that is, about four hundred and fifty years, is said to have reached about 1432 distinct works in 3741 fasciculi, arranged under 20 classes. This was the first collection of Buddhist sacred books made by an Emperor of China. But this Catalogue is lost. The one that is proved was compiled by a Chinese priest Sang Yien about 520 A.D. It was a private collection and consisted of 17 fasciculi (Nanjio, 1476). Its title was *Chu-San-tsang-tsi* or a collection of the records of translation of the Tripiṭaka.

In 520 A. D. the 28th Buddhist patriarch Bodhidharma came from India and landed in Canton. He was the founder of the Contemplative school of thought and although he never wrote or translated any book, his character and teaching showed great literary activity among the Indian as well as Chinese monks. Wu-ti gave him royal reception, but he was unable to grasp what Bodhidharma preached. Not being able to come to any understanding with Wu-ti, he went northwards and settled in the Wei kingdom. Wu-ti had international fame as a patron of Buddhism, and in 538 A.D. a hair of the Buddha was sent to him by the king of Fu-nan.¹

Fu-nan is Cambodia. In the next year Wu-ti despatched a mission to Magadha (India) to obtain Sanskrit books. It returned in 546 with a large collection of manuscripts, accompanied by the learned Paramārtha, who spent twenty years in translating them. He was also known as Guṇarata. He came from Ujjain of Western India and arrived at Nanking, the then capital of the Liang Dynasty in 548. He continued his work of translation during that Dynasty and till 569 A. D. of the next dynasty of Ch'an (557-589). He translated 10 works during the Liang and 38 or 40 works in the next, altogether about 50 works, of which 32 works remain to this date. Paramārtha must have been a great Abhidharma scholar, as all his extant books except five are on Abhidharma. The most important of his works was the translation of the *Śraddhotpāda-śāstra*, a very important book on Mahāyāna philosophy, attributed to Aśvaghoṣa.² The Sanskrit original is lost. But this serious loss has been greatly compensated by

1 Pelliot, 'Funan,' *BEFEO.*, 1904. See also Finot, 'Hindu Kingdoms in Indo-China', *I. H. Q.*, 1925, vol. I, p. 610.

2 Nanjio 1249, 1350 ; Tok. Ed. xxii, 5.c.

the English translation of the book entitled *The Awakening of Faith* by Abbot Suzuki of Japan. The great teacher Asaṅga wrote a book called the *Mahāyāna-samparigraha-śāstra*. Two commentaries were written on it—Bodhisattva Wu-Sung (or Agotra ?) having done fasciculi 1-10, and Bodhisattva Vasubandhu the remaining fasciculi. Now Paramārtha translated into Chinese, in 563 A. D., fasciculi 11-20 and 41-48, and the rest was done by Hiuen Tsang and Dharmagupta. The original *Samparigraha-śāstra* of Asaṅga was also translated by Paramārtha in that year.¹ He translated the Abhidharma books of Vasubandhu into Chinese for the first time, and thereby demonstrated to the Chinese people that the intellectual achievements of the Indians in philosophy were much subtler than theirs and the Buddhist literature did not contain merely books on Dhāraṇis and idle speculations on future heavens. Following are some of the important books of Vasubandhu :

(1) *Nirvāṇa-sūtra-pūrvā-bhūtotpannābhūta-gāthā-śāstra* (Nieh-p'an ching p'an-yu-chin-wu-chieh lun)². This is a literal translation of the Chinese title and we cannot say what its original was.

(2) *Śāstra* of the Sūtra of (Buddha's) last teaching³.

(3) *Buddha-gotra-śāstra* ⁴.

(4) *Vijñapti-mātra-siddhi*⁵, is a treatise on the philosophy of the Yogācāra school. It was thrice translated into Chinese by Bodhiruci, Paramārtha and Hiuen Tsang, but the extent of the translation differs from each other.

(5) *Madhyānta-vibhāṅga Sūtra*⁶.

(6) *Tarka-śāstra*⁷.

Paramārtha did not confine himself to translating Mahāyāna Abhidharma works only ; some of the Sarvāstivāda books translated by him are :

(1) *Abhidharma-kośa-(vyākhyā)-śāstra*,⁸ This is one of the

1 Nanjio 1183. It was previously translated by Buddhaśānta in 2 fasc. only—Nanjio 1184 ; translated also by Hiuen Tsang.

2 Nanjio 1207 ; Tokyo Ed. xxii, 1 i, 7 leaves.

3 Nanjio 1209 ; Tok. Ed. xxii, 1 k, 1 fasc.

4 Nanjio 1220 ; Tok. Ed. xxii, 2 k, 4 fasc.

5 Nanjio 1238-*Vidyāmātra-siddhi* ; Tok. Ed. xxii, 4 c.

6 Nanjio 1248 ; Tok. Ed. xxii, 5 b, 2 fasc. 7 chap.

7 Nanjio 1252 ; Tok. Ed. xxii, 5 e, 1 fasc.

8 Nanjio 1269 ; Tok. Ed. xxiv, 5 b, 6, 22 fasc. 9 chaps ; see under Hiuen Tsang.

greatest philosophical works of the Buddhists, and Paramārtha rendered great service to China by translating it into Chinese, although it was at a later date translated for the second time by Hiuen Tsang.

(2) Vasuvarman's *Caturṣatya-śāstra*.¹

(3) Guṇamati's *Lakṣaṇānusāra-śāstra*.²

Vasumitra's *Aṣṭādaśa-nikāya-śāstra*³ was also rendered by him into Chinese. Besides these, he translated some five books, of which the authors are unknown. One of these is *Lokasthiti-abhidharma-śāstra*⁴ which seems to be a Nibandha, "the subject of the first chapter being the motion of the earth and that of the 19th chapter that of the sun and the moon. The latter chapter is the principal text for some Buddhists who make astronomical calculations for the almanacs." But besides these books on Buddhism he translated *Śāṅkhya-kārikā* of Īśvara-kṛṣṇa which is known in Chinese translation as *Suvarṇa-saptati-śāstra* or *Śāṅkhya-kārikā-bhāṣya*. "In a note at the beginning of the book it is stated that the work was compiled by the heretical Ṛṣi Kapila, explaining the twenty-five tattvas (or truths), and it is not the law of Buddha. Towards the end of the translation as well as of the text we read that there were 60,000 verses composed by Pāñcaśikha (Kāpileya) whose teacher Āsuri was the disciple of Ṛṣi Kapila, and that afterwards a brāhmaṇa named Īśvarakṛṣṇa selected 70 verses out of 60,000." (Nanjio, 1300).

This Vṛtti translated into Chinese was identical, or at any rate exhibited many points of contact with the Bhāṣya of Gauḍapāda (H. H. Wilson, Oxford, 1837); it was accepted by Beal,⁵ Kasawara, and others long ago, and is placed beyond doubt by Dr. Takakusu, who, after searching comparison of the Bhāṣya of Gauḍapāda with the Vṛtti translated into Chinese, arrives at the conclusion that "in citations, illustrations, and even entire passages, the *Śāṅkhya-kārikā* coincidences between the two commentaries are as numerous and far reaching as to preclude the possibility of their being explained away as accidental." Dr. Takakusu identified the author of the Kārikās with the author of the Vṛtti, and believes that

1 Nanjio 1261; Tok. Ed. xxii, 6 a, 5 fasc, 6 chap.

2 Nanjio 1280; Tok. Ed. xxv, 3 b, 2 fasc.

3 Nanjio 1284; Tok. Ed. xxv, 4 d, 9 leaves only.

4 Nanjio 1297; Tok. Ed. xxv, 8 d, 9, 10 fasc.

5 S. Beal—On a Chinese version of the *Śāṅkhya-kārikā* etc., *JR AS.*, 1878, pp. 355-360; J. Takakusu, (French article on the *Śāṅkhya* System), *BEFEO.*, 1904.

by thus making Īśvarakṛṣṇa himself the author of both the Kārikās as well as this Vṛtti, he could partly take the edge off Gauḍapāda's subsequent appropriation of author's work as his own.

Prof. S. K. Belvalkar, however, is of opinion that Sanskrit *Māthara-vṛtti*, is the lost original of the *Śāṅkhya-kārikā-vṛtti*, which was translated into Chinese by Paramārtha between A. D. 557 and 562.¹

The reason why he translated this book should be known to the students of Buddhist philosophy. The Buddhists had to fight hard in the intellectual field with the most well-founded and deep-rooted systems in India, viz., the Śāṅkhya and Vaiśeṣika. Besides, the Mahāyāna had not merely to fight against the orthodox Hindu philosophers, but also against the different Hīnayāna schools of thought, specially the Sarvāstivādins. Bodhisattva Āryadeva wrote a book on the refutation of four heretical Hīnayāna schools mentioned in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*. The four schools treated there were (1) the Śāṅkhyas, who believe in oneness ; (2) the Vaiśeṣikas, who believe in difference ; (3) the Nirgrantha-putras, who believe in both ; and (4) the Jñātiputras, who believe in neither. Bodhiruci (508-535) translated that book of Āryadeva during this time.²

During the Liang and the Čhan Dynasties at Nanking the intercourse, which began under Wu-ti with Indo-China, seemed to have increased ; Mandra, Saṅghapāla (Varman), Subhūti all were inhabitants of the country of Fu-nan, mentioned above (Nanjio, App. II, 101). Mandra arrived in Nanking in 503 A. D., and began the work of translation. But he was not well acquainted with the Chinese language, and his translations are not quite perfect. He translated *Saptaśatikā-prajñā-pāramitā* (Nanjio 21), *Dharma-dhātu-prakṛty-asambheda-nirdeśa* (Nanjio 23) or the moral of the indivisibility of the rest of the Dharmadhātu ; both of these books are found in the Tibetan. *Ratnamegha-sūtra* (Nanjio 152) was translated jointly by Mandra and Saṅghapāla. Subhūti's translation of the *Ratnamegha* is lost. Saṅghapāla is the translator of nine books, most of them being minor Sūtras and Dhāraṇī, the only important book being Arhat Upatiṣya's *Vimokṣa-mārga-sūtra*, which he translated in 12 fasciculi. Saṅghapāla was a priest from the Fu-nan country (Camboja). After his arrival in China, he became a pupil of Guṇabhadra, who was then in China. Saṅghapāla was well-

1 See R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp. 171-184.

2 Nanjio 1259.

versed in several languages and translated various texts belonging to Hinayāna as well as Mahāyāna schools, during his stay in China (A.D. 505-520). He died at the age of sixty-five in A. D. 524.¹ His master Guṇabhadra was also a noted scholar of the Mahāyāna school. On his way to China, Guṇabhadra stopped at Siphala-dvīpa (Ceylon) and other southern countries. After his arrival in China in A. D. 435 until A. D. 443, he was actively engaged in the work of translation. Thus though we do not know which of the two Paṇḍits brought the original of the *Vimokṣa-mārga*, it is certain that it was brought from a centre of southern Buddhism, either from Ceylon or from Camboja. So the text *Vimokṣa-mārga* or *Vimutti-magga* is in all probability anterior to Buddhaghoṣa, whose arrival in Ceylon is put at A. D. 420.

The author of this text is Upatissa Sāriputta ; he is not Sāriputta, the friend and contemporary of Buddha, but a Sinhalese monk who probably flourished in the 1st century A. D. and was the fifteenth great therā from Mahinda. Mr. Nagai (*JPTS.*, 1917-19) points out that the *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghoṣa is but a revised version of the *Vimutti-magga* of this Upatissa. The work is entirely lost in Ceylon and it exists only in the Chinese translation referred to. Mr. Nagai shows how the Chinese text agrees generally with the text of the *Visuddhimagga*. He says, "In short, the *Visuddhimaggas* are one and the same work appearing in different dress" (p. 80).

Another translator, a royal monk, Upasūnya, son of the king of Udyāna of Western India, came to China and lived under the Liang, the Chian and the Northern Wei Dynasties and translated four books. In A. D. 565 he translated one sūtra called *Suvikrānta-vikrami-paripṛcchā*² which was a part of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā*. The Sanskrit text of this was obtained from a śramaṇa of Khotan, whom he met in China a few years back.³ Later on he translated three works, of which two exist. Of the Liang Dynasty 19 works by unknown authors are still preserved.

1 Pelliot, Fu-nan in *BEFEO.*, 1903, No. 3, p. 285 ; Nanjio, App. II, 106.

2 Nanjio 9 ; Tok. ed. V, 6 b ; 7 fasc.

3 Nanjio, App. II, 106.

In Wu-Ti, the first Emperor of the Liang Dynasty, Buddhism found the most devoted follower. The arrival of Bodhidharma the 28th Patriarch¹ was hailed with great reverence in China. "At the beginning of the sixth century", says Edkins,² "the number of Indians in China was upwards of three thousand. The Prince of the Wei kingdom (386-534 A. D.) exerted himself greatly to provide for their maintenance in monasteries, erected on the most beautiful sites. Many of them resided at Loyang, the modern Ho-nan-fu. The temples had multiplied to thirteen thousand." Hu, the dowager empress of Wei, a fervent devotee, though of indifferent morality in both public and private life, sent Sung Yun and Hui Shêng³ to Udyāna (N. W. India) in search of Buddhist

Buddhism
predominant.

3000 Indians
in China.

1 The following is the list of names of the 28 Patriarchs :—

- | | |
|------------------|---------------------|
| 1 Mahākāśyapa | 2 Ānanda |
| 3 Sāṇavāsa (?) | 4 Upagupta |
| 5 Dhṛtaka | 6 Mechaka |
| 7 Buddhanandi | 8 Buddhmitra |
| 9 Pārśva Bhikṣu | 10 Puṇyayaśas |
| 11 Aśvaghōṣa | 12 Kapimāla Bhikṣu |
| 13 Nāgārjuna | 14 Kāṇadeva |
| 15 Ārya Rāhulata | 16 Ārya Saṅghanandi |
| 17 Saṅghayaśas | 18 Kumarata |
| 19 Jayata | 20 Vasubandhu |
| 21 Manura | 22 Haklanayaśas (?) |
| 23 Siṃha Bhikṣu | 24 |
| 25 Basiasita | 26 Putnomita |
| 27 Prajñātara | 28 Bodhidharma |

In 472 A. D. Chi-Chia-Yê translated (?) a history of the succession of 23 patriarchs from Mahākāśyapa to Bhikṣu Siṃha. (Nanjio 1340).

Bodhidharma, the real founder of Dhyāna school, is the last or the 28th Patriarch.

2 Edkins—*Chinese Buddhism*, p. 99.

3 See Chavannes, *Voyage de Sung-Yun dans Udyana et le Gandhāra*, 518-522, *BEFEO.*, 1903, No. 3. See also *Foe-Koue-Ki* by Remusat, p. 48-51; Beal, *Travels of Fa-Hian and Sung-Yun, Buddhist Pilgrims*—Trübner, 1869. His narrative was also translated into German by Neumann (Edkins, op. cit., p. 100).

books, of which they brought back 175 (Eliot, op. cit., III, p. 284). "The decline of Buddhism in its motherland drove many of the Hindus to the north of the Himalayas. They came as refugees from the Brahmanical persecution, and their great number will assist materially in accounting for the growth of the religion they propagated in China. The Prince of the Wei country is recorded to have discoursed publicly on the Buddhist classics." (*Chinese Buddhism*, p. 99.)

Readers must have noticed that books on charm or magic known as Dhāraṇīs had begun to be translated into Chinese; but the Chinese literati were extremely annoyed at this and hated the importers of these gibberishes. Priests were put to death for practising magical arts. During this period a Chinese monk, Hui-Chiao, compiled the *Memoirs of Eminent Priests* (Nanjio 1490) in 519 A.D. The book was in 17 fasciculi and contained lives of 275 men separately, to which 239 were added in course of narration. They are either Indians or Chinese, and not only priests but also laymen, who lived in China sometime between A.D. 67 and 519.

During the Wei rule there were only eight translators who translated seventy-seven works, of which (51 only remaining) thirty were ascribed to Bodhiruci alone, ten to Buddhaśānta, five to Chi-chia-yê,¹ three to Ratnamati,² two to Dharmaruci,³ one each to Hui-Chiao,⁴ Than-Yao,⁵ Fa-Chang.⁶ Bodhiruci⁷ was a śramaṇa of Northern India, who arrived in Loyang in 508 A. D. and ūp till 535 A. D. translated 30 or more works on Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma. Some of his more important works were *Vajracchedikā-prajñā-pāramitā*

(Nanjio 11), *Laṅkāvatāra* (No. 176), *Aparimitāyus Sūtra*

Bodhiruci. (No. 1204). He translated Vasubandhu's commentary on *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* (No. 1232), which had been once done by Dharmaruci. I have already referred to the book by Āryadeva on the Indian heretics, which Bodhiruci translated. Another book, dealing with the conception of Nirvāṇa according to heretical schools of thought mentioned in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, was translated into Chinese. Bodhiruci translated a few Indian astronomical books into Chinese with the help of several Indian and Chinese monks. The translation of the astronomical works was done in more than 200 chapters.⁸

1 Nanjio, App. II, 110.

2 Ibid., 113.

3 Ibid., 111.

4 Ibid., 108.

5 Ibid., 109.

6 Ibid., 112.

7 Ibid., 114.

8 P. N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, Madras.

An important work on Abhidharma called *Pratītya-samutpāda-śāstra* composed by Suddhamati of India was rendered into Chinese by Bodhiruci (Nanjio 1211). It is known as *Dvādaśa-nidāna-śāstra* in Chinese translation. Chi-chia-yê, a śramaṇa of western region translated five books in 472 A. D. Of these the history of the patriarchs (6 fasc.), which he did along with Than-Yao, is the most important. This is a well-known history of the succession of 23 patriarchs from Mahākāśyapa to Bhikṣu Siṃha (Nanjio 1340).

Chronologically, among the translators of the Northern Wei Dynasty, the first was a Chinese śramaṇa, named Shih Hui-Chiao or Than-Chiao. He compiled a work in A. D. 445 known as *Damanakanidāna-sūtra* (Nanjio 1322 ; Tok. Ed. XXIV, 36 and 49). It was a story-book known as 'Tales of the Wise and the Fool.' It has a Tibetan version,¹ which, according to Cosma de Koros, was translated from the Chinese. This is further corroborated by Pelliot, Laufer and other sinologues. In his *Guide for the Examination of the Canon*, a Chinese work of Chia-Su (1654 A. D.) the author says that this book is a Hīnayāna sūtra, but we do not know the source of this statement.

Shih-Thanyao, a śramaṇa, whose native place is not known, translated in about 462 A. D. two or three works, of which only one has come down to us.

In the beginning of the sixth century *Śraddhā baladhānāvātūra-mudrā-sūtra* (Nanjio 90), which has a Tibetan translation, and *Sarva-buddha-viṣayāvātūra* (Nanjio 245) which was translated in the south by Saṅghapāla a little later, were rendered into Chinese by Dharmaruci. Dharmaruci (Nanjio, App. II, 111) came from Southern India and translated three books in the first decade of the sixth century. One of them was lost in 730 A. D. In 508 A. D. two books on Abhidharma, *Mahayānottara-tantra-śāstra* (Nanjio 1236) and Bodhisattva Vasubandhu's great commentary

1 This story was published with Tibetan text and translated into German as early as 1843—*Dsang-lun oder der Weise und der Thor* von I. J. Schmidt, St. Petersburg, 1843 ; also *Tibetan Tales* (derived from Indian Sources), trans. from the Kahgyur by Schiefner, done into English by W. R. S. Ralston, London, 1906. There is a Turkish version of the story. See *Indian Literature in Central Asia, infra*.

on the famous *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* (Nanjio 1233) were rendered into Chinese by Ratnamati, a śramaṇa of Central India.

Buddhaśānta, a monk from Central India, was the last translator, in the Northern Wei Dynasty. He arrived in China in 524 A. D. and worked till 439 A. D., the Sui having been established in 539. He translated 10 or 11 works, but today 9 works remain. Most of his books were Sūtras, the only important book that he translated was Bodhisattva Asaṅga's *Mahāyāna-saṃparigraha-sūtra* (Nanjio 1184), which was translated again in 593 by Paramārtha.

The Northern Wei Dynasty came to an end in 534 A. D., and the Eastern Wei founded their dynasty at Yeh and ruled from 534-550, followed by the Northern Chi, who had also their seat of government at Yeh from 550-577 A. D. In the South after the death of Wu-ti of the Liang Dynasty Yuan-ti, who reigned from 552 to 555, became a staunch supporter of Taoism. He was himself a great scholar. He had accumulated 140,000 volumes, which he burnt down when he learnt that the troops of Wei had marched on his capital, and neither his learning nor his collection of books was of any avail in his calamity. I have little doubt that numerous Sanskrit and Buddhist books must have been consumed in this conflagration. In the South under the Eastern Wei and Northern Chi Dynasties, Buddhism continued to be patronised by the state. During the short reigns of these two dynasties six translators translated 31 books in 202 fasciculi.

Gautama Prajñāruci, a brahmin of Benares, was the most prominent among them. He translated in 538-541 about 18 works (some say 14), of which fifteen existed in 730 A. D. and thirteen of them are found today in the Ming Tripiṭaka. I would like to mention a few of his works. The *Vimaladattā-paripṛcchā* became very popular with the Indian Buddhists of China (Nanjio 45). It was a sermon given by Buddha at the request of Vimaladattā, a daughter of King Prasenajit. It had been translated first by Chu-Fa-Hu or Dharmarakṣa and then by a Chinese monk Nieh-Tao-Chan during the Western Chin Dynasty and for the third time by Prajñāruci. There exists also a Tibetan translation of the work. His other books were *Vyāsa Paripṛcchā* (No. 60), *Īśvararāja-paripṛcchā* (No. 63) which had once been translated by Kumārajīva, *Niyatā-niyatagati-mudrāvātāra* (No. 132) which was at a later date translated by I-tsing, *Paramārtha-dharma-ijaya-sūtra* (No. 210), *Aṣṭa-buddhakasūtra* (No. 410 also in Tib.), *Prātimokṣa Vinaya* (No. 1108) and others. But his greatest work was the

Buddhism under
the E. Wei, N.
Chi and Liang
dynasties.

Prajñāruci.

translation of the *Saddharama-smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra* [also in Tibetan] in 70 fasc. or 7 chapters (No. 679). The subjects of the seven chapters are:— (1) the results of the ten kinds of good conduct (contrary to *duṣkṛti*), (2) birth and death, (3) the different hells, (4) the condition of Pretas, (5) birth as a beast, (6) condition of deva and (7) *kāya-smṛti-upasthāna*. He also translated a well-known work called *Madhyāntānugamaśāstra*, (Nanjio 1246), composed by Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga, the latter having explained the text of the former. It treats of the doctrine of the first *varga* of the *Mahā-prajñāpāramitā-śāstra*. None of the Sanskrit originals have come down to us.

The next important translator of the Eastern Wei period was Vimokṣa-prajñā or Vimokṣasena. He was a śramaṇa from Udyāna and was a descendant of the Śākya family of Kapilavastu. In 541 he translated five works in collaboration with Prajñāruci and other monks.

He translated four of Bodhisattva Vasubandhu's books
Vimokṣasena. viz., *Triṣṭūrṇa-sūtropadeśa* (No. 1196), *Dharma-cakra-pravartana-sūtropadeśa* (No. 1205), *Karma-siddhi-prakaraṇa* (No. 1222) of which a Tibetan translation exists, and *Ratna-cūḍā-sūtra-caturdharmopadeśa* (No. 1241). The other work on Abhidharma which he translated was Nāgārjuna's *Vivāda-śamana (sastra?) śāstra* (No. 1251), *Suśhitamati-pariṣcchā* (No. 48) a book on Mahāyāna Sūtra ascribed by some to Prajñāruci. *Nirvāṇa-śāstra* or *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra-śāstra* is a short commentary on that well-known book by the great Vasubandhu. It was made accessible to the Chinese public by one Dharmabodhi, about whom we know nothing.

During the Northern Chi Dynasty (550-577 A. D.) only two translators are known, one an Indian, the other a Chinese gṛhapati or Upāsaka, who translated *Ārya-jina-bodhisattva-pariṣcchā*. The Indian śramaṇa was Narendrayaśas, who had come from Udyāna or Gandhāra district of Northern India, translated seven works, together

with Gautama Dharmajñāna, son of Prajñāruci of Benares mentioned above. They translated the following books into Chinese : (1) *Pitā-putra-samūgama* in 17 fasc. and 29 chapters (No. 23, 16), (2) *Candra-prabhā-vaipulya* (No. 63), (3) *Sumeru-garbha* (No. 66), (4) *Mahākaruṇāpūṇḍarīka sūtra* (No. 117), (5) *Candradvīpa-samādhi-sūtra* (No. 191), (6) *Pradīpadāniya-sūtra* (No. 428), (7) *Abhidharma-hṛdaya-śāstra* (No. 1294), —compiled by the venerable Upasānta—a commentary on Dharma-jina's *Abhidharma-hṛdaya*, the original book having been translated during the Eastern Chin Dynasty by Hwui-Yuen in 391 A. D.

Narendrayaśas
and Dharmajñāna.

At this stage some great changes in the political history took place greatly hindering the progress and prestige of Buddhism for a time and created an atmosphere of lull. The Yü-Wan family founded the Northern Chou Dynasty at Chang-an in 557 ; they became powerful and destroyed Northern Chi in 557 A.D. Wu-Ti, the emperor of Northern Chou Dynasty put a ban on Buddhism and Taoism, ordered temples to be destroyed and priests to return to the world. Narendrayaśas and other Buddhist monks had to flee away for their lives. But as usual the persecution was not of long duration. Five years later Wu-Ti's son withdrew his father's edict. The Chou Dynasty came to an end in 581 A. D., followed by the Sui Dynasty. The Chou Kingdom, before it became a menace to Buddhism had harboured a few Buddhist monks in Chang-an before 578 A. D. These monks were :—Jñānabhadra, who together with Jinayaśa translated one sūtra on the Pañca-vidyā, or the Five Sciences, but this was lost in 730 A. D. and we cannot say what the contents of the original were ; Jinayaśa a śramaṇa of Magadha, translated (564-72) six works in collaboration with two of his Indian disciples. Two of their translations *Mahāmeghasūtra* (No. 187) and *Mahāyānābhisamaya* (No. 195) are still preserved. Yaśogupta, who is mentioned as a disciple of Jinayaśas, together with his fellow-scholar Jinagupta, who did such wonderful work in the Sui period, translated a book on Dhāraṇī. (No. 327).

Minor Writers
of Chou Period
(557-581 A. D.).

Section II

In 581 Sui Dynasty came to power and the emperor at once gave the people permission to become monks, which had been withheld by Chou Wu-Ti. Towards the close of his reign he prohibited the destruction or maltreatment of the images of the Buddhist or Taoist sects. The Confucian literati were not pleased at the emperor's tolerance and thought it to be due to weakness of age. It is said that the Buddhist books were at that time ten times more numerous than the Confucian classics. The Sui history, in the digest given by it of all the books of the time, states that the Buddhist sect had as many as 1950 distinct works. Many of the titles are given, and among them are not a few treating of the mode of writing by alphabetic symbols used in the kingdoms whence Buddhism came. It is called *Si-yo-hu shu* or "Foreign Writing of the Western Countries" and also *Po-la-men-shu*, or "Brahmanical Writing."

The tables of initials and finals found in the Chinese native dictionaries were first formed in the third century, but more fully early in the sixth, in the Liang dynasty. It was then that the Hindus, who had come to China, assisted in forming according to the model of the Sanskrit alphabet, a system of thirty-six initial letters, and described the vocal organs by which they are formed. They also constructed tables, in which, by means of two sets of representative characters, one for the initials and another for the finals, a mode of spelling words was exhibited. The Chinese were now taught for the first time that monosyllabic sounds are divisible into parts, and alphabetic symbols were not adopted to write the separated elements. It was thought better to use characters already known to the people. A serious defect attended this method. The analysis was not carried far enough. The intelligent Chinese understand that a sound, such as 'man' can be divided into two parts, *m* and *an* ; for they have been long accustomed to the system of phonetic bisection alluded to here, but they usually refuse to believe that a trisection of the sound is practicable. At the same time the system was much easier to learn than if foreign symbols had been employed, and it was very soon universally adopted. Sheu-Kung, a priest, is said to have been the author of the system, and the dictionary *Yu-P'ian* was one of the biggest works in which it was employed. That

Buddhism re-
vived under the
Sui Emperors

Influence of
Indian Phone-
tic on Chinese.

the Indian Buddhists should have taught the Chinese how to write the sounds of this language by an artifice, which required nothing but their own hieroglyphics and rendered unnecessary the introduction of new symbols, is sufficient evidence of their ingenuity, and is not the least of the services they have done to the sons of Han. It well answered for several centuries, and was made use of in all dictionaries and educational works¹. In Northern part of China four tones and in Canton nine tones are attached to a sound. It is said that this was due to the introduction of study of Sanskrit phonetics among the Chinese.²

The Sui Rulers were great patrons of Buddhist learning. A Chinese mission had been sent to India between 575-581 A.D. When they came to west of China, they heard that the Buddhists were persecuted by the Chou Emperors, so they did not at once proceed home but stopped in the land of Turks. There they met Jinagupta, whose profound learning struck the envoys with admiration. They were all recalled by the new emperor. The mission brought a large number of Sanskrit texts from India. A competent Indian Paṇḍit was sought for to translate them into Chinese and Narendrayaśas, who has been already mentioned, was summoned to the capital Chang-an from his exile in 582 A. D. He lived in the temple of Ta-hing-chan and began to translate the newly brought books. Some thirty Śramaṇas were asked to help in the work. With their assistance Narendrayaśas translated between 582-585 eight works in 28 fasciculi. He died in 589 A.D. His works were—*Sūrya-garbha Sūtra* (No. 62); *Mañjuśrī-vikrīḍita Sūtra* (No. 185); *Mahāmegha Sūtra* (No. 188)—a very popular book in China translated about six times by different writers; *Śrīgupta Sūtra* (No. 232); *Balavyūha-samādhi Sūtra*, (No. 409); *Śata-buddhanāma Sūtra* (No. 411); *Padmamukha(?) Sūtra* (No. 465); *Sthiradhī Sūtra* (No. 525).

The greatest name of this age was Jinagupta³ who translated two

1 Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 112-113.

2 These statements of Edkins are too general to be accepted by critical scholars; Maspero and other modern sinologues do not attach much importance to that theory.

3 Chavannes,—Jinagupta, *T'oung Pao*, 1905; also Nanjio, App. II, 129.

books in the earlier part of the Northern Chou rule, but had to leave the country for Wu-ti's rage. He like Narendrayaśas came back during the rule of the Sui dynasty and worked from 585-592 A. D. According to some compilers he wrote 39 books in 192 fasciculi of which 36 are found in the Ming catalogue.

I have already referred to the enthusiasm of the emperor for Buddhism; the method he adopted for a faithful translation in good idiomatic Chinese was doubtless commendable. He appointed a board of monks to undertake the work of translating the Sanskrit books brought from India by the last mission. The first board was presided over by the Indian monk Narendrayaśas. After the board had accomplished some works a few monks of Ta-hing-Chan temple found out some divergences and contradictions in the translations. They thought that a better qualified man should be put in charge of this responsible work and their choice fell on Jinagupta, who was still in exile. The emperor sent a special invitation and recalled him. A new board was constituted with Jinagupta as president for the translation of the rest of the texts. Jinagupta was asked to translate the Sanskrit texts with another Indian monk Dharmagupta and two Chinese śramaṇas.

Over this board ten other śramaṇas were appointed to supervise the translation and to see that the original sense was preserved. To revise these works and to make the style perfect, two other Chinese śramaṇas were appointed. This innovation in the method of translation greatly improved the style of Chinese and we find Jinagupta and his colleagues translating many popular books, which had already been done into Chinese. Jinagupta's books were mainly from *Sūtra literature*.

One of his greatest works was the *Abhinīṣkramaṇa Sūtra* in 60 fasc.

Abhinīṣkra-
maṇa Sūtra :
Beal's transla-
tion.

(Nanjio, 680) which in Chinese literally means 'Buddha-pūrva-kārya-saṃgraha-sūtra.' An English translation, in abstract form, of this book has been published by Beal entitled the *Romantic History of Buddha*.

Another important work of Jinagupta and Dharmagupta was the translation of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* (Nanjio, 139). There is an interesting preface to this work by one who seems to have taken part in the translation, and I believe, by one of the chief editors of the translation board mentioned above.

Saddharma-
puṇḍarīka in
China.

He writes, "the translations of Chu-Fa-hu or Dharma-rakṣa and Kumārajīva are most probably made from two different texts." In the repository of the Canon in the temple of Ta-hing-Chan there were two copies of the text of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, one

written on the palm leaves and probably in the then Nāgarī character of Northern India, while the other was written in the scripts of Karashar or Tukhāra i. e., Brāhmī. Kumārajīva followed the latter text as he was a man of that region (Nanjio, 134). The editor, in 601 A. D., together with Jinagupta and Dharmagupta, examined the two palm leaf texts and carefully collated the differences in the text. This is a later translation of Dharmarakṣa's and Kumārajīva's translations. (Nanjio, 134, 135).

The *Gayaśīrṣa Sūtra* and the *Mahāyāna Vaipulya-dhāraṇī Sūtra* were translated by Vinītaruci, a śramaṇa of Udyāna in 582 A. D. The last writer of this period was Dharmagupta, who assisted Jinagupta in translation. Dharmagupta was a native of Southern India, and had gone to China through the North-western passage. He translated several works between 530 and 616 A.D. Opinions greatly differ as to the number of works he translated. Some say seven works, others nine, while one compiler mentions eighteen works in 81 fasciculi; but we have only ten in the Ming Tripiṭaka. His principal works are the translations of the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*, and its commentary the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra-śāstra*, by Bodhisattva Asaṅga. He also translated fasciculi 21-30 of the commentary on Asaṅga's *Mahāyāna Samparigraha-śāstra* by Vasubandhu.

During the short rule of thirty-seven years of the Sui emperors, six translators translated 60 books in 265 fasciculi, a fact which really testifies to the encouragement obtained under these princes. Under them three catalogues of Indian books in Chinese were compiled in A. D. 594, 597 and 603. All of these catalogues have come down to this time. The *Li-tai-san-pao-chi*¹ (Record concerning the three precious things, Triratna, under successive dynasties) was compiled by Fa-chan-fang in 597 A. D., in 15 fasciculi. The first three fasciculi contain a general history of Buddhism, from the birth of Buddha to the time of the compilation of this work. The last fasciculus contains an index or a detailed list of the works. This catalogue contained 1076 works in 3,325 fasciculi of which 551 books belonged to Mahāyāna and 325 to Hīnayāna. The Canon was divided into Mahāyāna Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma, and Hīnayāna Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma. Books on Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna are almost equally represented in China; most of these Hīnayāna books were written in Sanskrit and it is a misconception

Catalogues of
Indian books.

Classification of
Indian books.

1st Catalogue.

of most people that Hīnayāna books were all written in Pāli. It is only the Theravāda, which has a Tipiṭaka written in Pāli, while almost all the other sects had Tripiṭaka written in semi-Sanskrit language, most of which have disappeared.

The *Sui-chung-ching-mu-lu* (Nanjio, 1608) is another catalogue of Buddhist sacred books collected under the Sui dynasty by the priests and literati in A. D. 603, who were appointed by the emperor Wan-ti. The total number of books in this catalogue is 2,109 in 5,058 fasciculi ; unfortunately 420 works in 747 fasciculi had been already lost. There were in this collection 370 books with one translation and 277 works had more than one translation.

The third catalogue (Nanjio, 1609) was compiled by Fa-Ching and others under imperial orders in 594 A. D. In it 2,257 distinct works in 5,310 fasciculi are mentioned. They classified the books into Sūtra, Vinaya, Abhidharma for Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna separately and under the fourth heading put as 'Later works, Indian and Chinese'—being extracts, records and treatises, which do not fall under the three or rather six divisions.

Nanjio speaks of another catalogue which is recorded in the Sui annals. "In the period Ta-yeh (A.D. 605-616) emperor Yang ordered the Shaman Chi-Kuo to compile a catalogue of the Buddhist books at the Imperial Buddhist chapel within the gate of the palace. He then made some divisions and classifications, which were as follows :—Sūtras, which contained what Buddha had spoken, were arranged under three divisions—(1) Mahāyāna, (2) Hīnayāna, (3) Mixed Sūtras ; other books, that seemed to be the production of later men, who falsely ascribed their works to greater names, were classed as Doubtful Books."

"There were Vinaya works under each division as before, Mahāyāna, Hīnayāna and Mixed. There were other works in which Bodhisattvas and others went deeply into the explanation of the meaning, and which illustrate the principles of Buddha. These were called Disquisitions or Śāstras."

"There were also records or accounts of the doings in their times of those who had been students of the system. Altogether there were 77 classes under which the books were arranged.' (Intro. xix). There were 1962 books in 6198 fasciculi. But neither the catalogue nor the compiler is mentioned in Chinese Buddhist works. The number of books is again different from that mentioned in the earlier catalogue in existence. This may however be called the fifth collection made by an emperor of China (Intro. p. xix).

Now we enter into the most brilliant epoch of Chinese history, viz., the T'ang and Sung Dynasties. The T'ang dynasty lasted from 628 to 907 A. D. i.e. about three hundred years. During these three hundred years, we cannot expect from our previous knowledge of history that the attitude of all the emperors towards Buddhism should be uniform.

Indeed its career was chequered during its long life. Buddhism succeeded in establishing itself as a faith of the majority among both Tartars and Chinese. Still there was a triangular war between the religions of Kung-fu-tzu (Confucius), Buddha and Lao-tzu. The opposition of the Mandarins and the Literati, who were generally Confucianists, some times caused great havoc to Buddhist culture and set back the progress made in one generation. Still the Buddhist and the Taoist made themselves felt in public life and estimation by their knowledge and character, and during the Sui and T'ang and the last half century of the Northern Sung dynasties their books were accepted as texts for the public examinations (Biot, *Histoire de l'instruction publique en chine*, pp. 289, 313). During the reign of the first emperor of the T'ang, magistrates were ordered to enquire into the lives of Buddhist monks and nuns, as a result of a memorial from the Confucianist blaming on their character. Those found guilty were ordered to return to the world. The second emperor allowed every monastery to receive five new monks and showed great favour to Buddhism.

It was during the rule of the second T'ang emperor that the great Chinese savant and traveller Hiuen Tsang flourished. The great

Indian emperor Harṣavardhana sent an envoy to China in 641 A. D. and two Chinese missions were despatched in return. During the rule of the empress dowager Wu Hou, Buddhism found favour with her. Even she

went to the length of getting divine honours and called herself Ku-an-Yin. But in the earlier part of the next reign reaction set in, and building of monasteries, making of images and copying of sūtras were forbidden ; 12,000 monks were ordered to return to the world. But in later life the same emperor became a devout Buddhist and one of the most important Tripiṭaka collection was done under his auspices in A.D. 730. Many Buddhist poets and artists of this period have won immortal fame. In 740 there were in the city of Chang-an alone 64 monasteries and 27 nunneries. During the eighth and ninth centuries of T'ang rule, the emperors with the single exception of Wu-Tsung, (841-847), were favourable to Buddhism and the latter half of the 8th century marked in Buddhist history not only an epoch of

increased popularity among the masses but also the spread of ritualistic and doctrinal corruption, for it is in those years that its connection with ceremonies for the repose and honour of the dead became more intimate (Elliot, III, p. 262). In 845 Wu-Tsung had ordered that 4,600 great temples and 40,000 smaller rural temples be demolished, that 2,60,500 monks and nuns be secularized and 1,50,000 temple servants set free. These figures, which might be exaggerated, still show the great influence and strength of Buddhism.

The T'ang dynasty collapsed in 907 A. D. owing chiefly to the incapacity of the later-day emperors. It was followed by a troubled period in which five short dynasties ruled in quick succession ruling 53 years in all. In 960 the Sung dynasty united China, of which we shall hear later on.

For the spread of Indian literature in China during these three hundred years, our record is most useful. About 27 monks flourished and translated more than 380 Sanskrit books into Chinese. The earliest books that were translated during this dynasty were *Ratna-tūra-dhāraṇī-sūtra*, (No. 82), *Prajñā-pradīpa-śāstra-kārikā* (No. 1185)¹ and *Sūtrālaṅkāra-ṭīkā* (No. 1190). The second book '*Prajñā-pradīpa-śāstra*' (Nanjio, 1185) was composed by Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna and a Vṛtti or explanation of the 500 verses was written by Nirdeśaprabha. This is the principal work of the Madhyamaka school founded by Nāgārjuna. Another very important work was '*Sūtrālaṅkāra Sūtra*' which had been composed by the great Aśvaghōṣa, no less an authority on Mahāyāna than the Bodhisattva Asaṅga, who wrote a commentary on it. The *Sūtrālaṅkāra* text, as we know, had been translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva in 405 A.D. in 15 fasc. But its *ṭīkā* which was equally important waited for an able pen to be rendered into a flowery language. Prabhākaramitra. These books were translated by Prabhākaramitra, a monk of Central India, Kṣatriya by caste. He arrived in 627 A.D. in China, and translated these works. He died at the 69th year in 633 A. D. which shows that he left his Indian home at an advanced age.

The greatest scholar of Chinese Buddhism was Hiuen Tsang,²

1 Walleser translated its Tibetan version called *Akutohaya Sūtra* of Nāgārjuna.

2 Seven different ways of spelling the name have been discussed by Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, 629-645, 2 vols, London, 1904-1905, I, p. 17.

who came to India in the seventh century. This illustrious pilgrim was born in the year 603 A.D. at Ch'in Liu in the province of Honan, close to the provincial city. At an early age he was taken by his second elder brother to the eastern capital Loyang. He was made a śrāmaṇera at his thirteenth year. On account of the troubles which occurred at the end of the Sui dynasty, Hiuen Tsang in company with his brother sought refuge in the city of Shing-tu ordained as a bhikṣu. After some time he began to travel through the provinces in search of the best instructor he could get, and so came at length to Chang-an. It was here, stirred up by the recollection of Fa-hsien and Chi-yen, that he made up his mind to go to the western regions to question the sages on points that troubled his mind. When Hiuen Tsang, at his twenty-sixth year, "expressed his desire to visit India, there seem to have been some willing to accompany him in his journey, but when he came near to the desert he had only two companions, of whom one was sent back to China as he was thought unfit for the hardships of the journey, while the other started in advance to Tun-hwang and was heard of no more. Finally, when he took leave of his patron, the king of Turfan, four novices were allotted to him as his attendants. The king helped him with brotherly care and introduced him to many of the Central Asian chieftains ; consequently he was welcomed everywhere and travelled with great facility. In India too, he was patronized by king Harṣa of Kanauj and had opportunities of meeting many worthies and savants of his time. At Nālandā, the then centre of the Mahāyāna learning, he found an able teacher in Śīlabhadra, the president of this University, and there he spent several years learning Sanskrit and chiefly Buddhist Idealism. The interest of the Buddhists of his time seems to have centred in the Mahāyāna, though the Hīnayāniic schools too were followed in all India."¹

He set out for India in 629 A.D., and returned after sixteen years in 645 A. D. He brought back with him :

1. Five hundred grains of relics belonging to the body of Tathāgata.
2. A golden statue of Buddha 3ft. 3 inches in height on a transparent pedestal.
3. A statue of Buddha 3 ft. 5 inches carved out of a sandal-wood on a transparent pedestal.

Treasures and
books from India.

4. Another statue like above.
5. A silver statue on a transparent pedestal.
6. A golden statue on a transparent pedestal.
7. Another sandal-wood figure of Buddha.
8. 124 works (sūtras) of the Mahāyāna.
9. Other works amounting in the whole to 520 fasc., (657 fasc., Edkins, p. 119) carried by 22 horses. (Beal, Introduction to *Si-Yu-ki*).

He was not satisfied with Mahāyāna books only but took great pains to collect books of various schools on Vinaya and Abhidharma :

Sarvāstivāda School	15 works.
Sāṃmitiya School	15 „
Mahīśāsaka School	22 „
Kāśyapiya School	17 „
Dharmagupta School	42 „
Mūla-sarvāstivāda School	67 „

When Hiuen-Tsang returned from India, he was received by the emperor with great honour, and a title was conferred on him. The emperor took keen interest in the pilgrim and commanded him to write a description of the Western countries he had visited, and the immortal work called *Ta-t'ang-hsi-yü-chi* (Nanjio, 1503) was the result. The emperor wrote a laudatory preface to this book. The record of the great traveller is handed down to us in three forms.

The first is of course his own work, *Hsi-yü-chi* (Nanjio, 1503) (Record of the Western Region), in 20 fasciculi, compiled by Pien-chi,

his pupil, 646 A.D. The travels cover 138 countries in all, of which he himself visited 110 and he gathered news about the rest from his informants, as we are told in an introduction by Ching-po. The characters and usages of the people and the state of Buddhist learning and practices are minutely described. The book is unique and indispensable for the study of Indian history and geography of the Buddhist period. In 1857 Stanislas Julien published the French translation with the title *Memoires sur les contrées occidentales traduits du Sanscrit en chinois, en l'an 648 par Hiouen tshang et du chinois en francais*. An English translation by Samuel Beal followed in 1884 with the title of *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, translated from the Chinese of Hiuen-Tsang, 2 vols. (London).

The second work is a résumé of Hiuen Tsang's Travels in the *Record of the Region of the Sākya* in 8 books by Tao-hsüan (Nanjio, 1470). It is interesting to note that the author was Hiuen Tsang's pupil and

one of his assistant translators, and that the work was compiled during Hiuen Tsang's life-time, i.e. A.D. 650.

There seems to have been another work in 10 books entitled *Hsi-yü-chüan*, (Record of the Western Region), by Yen-ts'ung, another pupil of the traveller. This record, it is said, treated more of the Indian life than the religion itself, whereas the traveller's *Memoires* paid more attention to the religion than the life. Tao-hsü-an says in his preface that both of these were too minute and copious for general information and that this very fact led him to a fresh compilation of his own work. No European translation of it has as yet appeared.

The third is an abridged form of the *Memoires* given in the life of Hiuen Tsang in 10 books compiled by Hui-li and annotated by Yen-ts'ung, A. D. 665. Julien published it at the same time as the *Memoires* in an abstract form under the title *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen Tsang et ses voyages dans l'Inde*, 629-645, (Paris, 1853), and Beal has also given an English translation.

So far as Hiuen Tsang's routes and geographical names are concerned, Thomas Watters, a great Sinologue, did a great deal, and the result of his studies was published in 1904-05 by T. W. Rhys Davids and S. W. Bushell with the title *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, 629-645, by Thomas Watters. His researches are accurate as usual, and, if he could have made more use of the results of the Indian and Central Asian excavations and several old mss. of the record discovered in Japan, nothing would remain to be desired.

Hiuen Tsang's record can be divided roughly into five parts : (1) a general introduction to Jambudvīpa and a description of Central Asian countries along the northern route ; (2) a detailed introduction to India (name, geography, calendar, life, language, customs, religion, castes, products, etc.) and a description of countries in the Panjab and to the north of the Gaṅgā as far down as the valley of the Gaṇḍakī ; (3) a detailed description of Magadha including Nālandā ; (4) the lower region of the Gaṅgā, countries on the South sea-coast, in the Dekkan and on the lower Indus ; (5) Central Asian states along the southern route. A résumé of the contents can be obtained best from Watters' work which gives the travels in their shortest possible form. Further a lengthy note on the itinerary was added by Vincent A. Smith at the end of the work.¹

The influence of this book on the Chinese mind must have been

1 Takakusu, *E.R.E.*, vol. 12, pp. 841-842.

immense ; such a detailed and first-hand knowledge of In-to (India) had never reached them before.

Hiuen Tsang went to Chang-an to translate the treasure he had brought from India and he was helped by twelve monks to carry out his object in practice. A board of nine monks was appointed to revise the composition. Some who learned Sanskrit joined him in the work. On presenting a series of translations to the emperor, he wrote a preface to them ; and at the request of Hiuen Tsang he issued an edict to the effect that five new monks should be received in every monastery in the empire. The convents then amounted to 3716. For nineteen years the Chinese savant worked incessantly with his group of helpers and at the close of his life he found that he had translated 75 works in 1335 fasciculi. Hiuen Tsang died at the 65th year in 664 A.D., honoured by all and mourned by all.

The most stupendous work that took him four years to translate was the *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* (Nanjio, I, Tok. Ed. ii, iii, iv), which had partly been translated and abridged by Kumārajīva two centuries and a half before him. It consisted of 600 *Prajñāpāramitā*. fasciculi, 2,00,000 ślokas or an equivalent number of syllables in prose. This is a collection of sixteen sūtras, short and long. To each of them a preface is added by a Chinese priest, Hiuen Tson, a contemporary of the pilgrim. The *Prajñā-pāramitā* treats of six perfections (*pāramitās*) of a Bodhisattva, and particularly of the *prajñā* or wisdom of the supreme excellence. The meaningless custom of embodying constant repetitions, which we find so annoying in the Pāli suttas, becomes in the voluminous *Prajñāpāramitā* so limitless and excessive that it would be quite possible to strike out more than half of this colossal work. Kumārajīva very intelligently omitted these repetitions and superfluities. But Hiuen Tsang most faithfully followed the Sanskrit text and translated one hundred and twenty volumes entire, in all their wearisome re-iteration of metaphysical paradoxes.¹

Hiuen Tsang translated the Abhidharma books of different schools ; and the Sarvāstivāda literature has been almost entirely preserved by him in translation ; and before we deal with his other works we shall treat a little in detail about this school. This school of thought is one of the oldest among the eighteen schools which are described in Vasu-mitra's *Aṣṭādaśa-nikāya-śāstra* also called '*Samayabheda-pravacana-cakra*' (No. 1284), or the Śāstra on the differences of the views of (18 or 20 Hīnayāna) schools translated by Paramārtha and Hiuen Tsang. This

1 Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*.

school probably separated from the Theravāda before the Buddhist Council held during king Aśoka's reign. The principal seat of the Sarvāstivādins was Kashmir, where their doctrine developed into an elaborate system known as the Vaibhāṣika. Fa-hsien (399-414) says that this school was followed in Pāṭaliputra as well as in China at his time. Vasubandhu criticised the Kashmir Vaibhāṣikas where they became powerful (499-569). Hiuen Tsang found them in Kashgar, N. W. India and the Northern India. I-tsing (671-695) gives a fairly minute description of this school, and the places of its popularity enumerated by him are the following :—Magadha, Gujrat, Sindhu, East India, South India with a few followers, Sumatra, Java where it largely prevailed, Champa, Cochin-China, parts of China, and Central Asia. From this short account we can see that this school spread throughout the Buddhist world. I-tsing says that this school had a separate Tripiṭaka amounting to 300,000 ślokas (*Records* : Introduction). The vast literature which has come down to us in Chinese shows quite clearly that this school had a separate Vinaya translated by I-tsing and a separate Abhidharma partly rendered into Chinese by Paramārtha and largely by the great Hiuen Tsang.

In Chinese, Sarvāstivāda is known as Sa-pa-to. They had seven Abhidharma books. The principal works of the school is Kātyāyanīputra's *Jñānaprasthāna*.

Kātyāyanīputra was named after his mother Kātyāyanī. He must have been an inhabitant of the plains of India, whence he went to Kipin or Kashmir. He wanted to edit an *Encyclopaedia of Abhidharma* and proclaimed to all, far and near, "If there be any who formerly heard the Abhidharma propounded by the Buddha, let him communicate what he knows whether it be much or little." Several contributions extensive and short came ; about 500 Arhats or men of superior powers and 500 Bodhisattvas or neophytes helped Kātyāyanīputra in collecting these sayings scattered throughout Northern India. He, as the chief editor, made a selection from the principles thus collected. When the principles did not contradict the Sūtra and Vinaya, they asserted and registered them, and rejected all those which conflicted with these authorities. The compilation thus made were grouped together according to their principles ; those illustrating *Prajñā* were collected in the *Prajñā-grantha*, those expounding the principle of meditation in the *Book of Meditation or Dhyāna-grantha*, and so with the remaining six groups. The eight books amounted to 50,000 ślokas. To

Sarvāstivāda
School.

Kātyāyanīputra's
Encyclopaedia
of Abhidharma.

this original book,¹ there were six supplements called 'Pāda,' the latter standing to the former in some such relation as that of six Vedāṅgas to the Veda.²

The seven Abhidharma-books are the following: 1. Kātyāyanīputra's *Jñānaprasthāna* (Nanjio, 1275, 20 fasc., 8 khaṇḍas, 44 chapters), said to have been composed 300 years after the death of Buddha.

Jñānaprasthāna. It is considered as the principal work of this school and was first rendered into Chinese by Gautama Saṅghadeva and others in A.D. 383. It must have been well-spread in China before the end of that century as Fa-hsien knows of the existence of the Sarvāstivādins in China. This book had two names: *Aṣṭa-grantha* used by Saṅghadeva, and *Jñānaprasthāna* by Hiuen Tsang. These two are translations from one and the same text; though the originals seem to have had variant readings here and there, the translations do not present any material differences in general scope. The original Sanskrit text, which is lost to us, consisted of 15,072 ślokas and in Chinese translation there are 195,250 words in 8 divisions and 44 chapters. Hiuen Tsang states that Kātyāyanīputra lived in the monastery of Tamasāvana in Cīnapati (N. India), three hundred years after the Buddha's nirvāṇa. The editor of the *Chi-yuen-lu* Catalogue (13th cent.) writes, "the Abhidharma-piṭaka is not one and the same in all schools. Now according to the method of the Sarvāstivāda school we place the original work 'body' (kāya) first, and the supplementary works, 'feet' (pāda) next. The branches thereof, the Vibhāṣā, and the title are placed last. Those of the other schools come next in order."

The *Saṅgīti-paryāya* (Nanjio, 1276, 20 fasc., 12 chap. (*Chi-i-men-tsu lun*)) is the first of the six (pāda) supplements to the above work translated into Chinese by Hiuen Tsang. It was composed by Mahā-kaṣṭhila. Both Sāriputra and Mahā-kaṣṭhila were immediate disciples of the Buddha, and it is doubtful if either of them was the author of this. The legendary portion of this work says that Sāriputra, advised and inspired by the Buddha himself, collected the more important Dharmas taught by the Master, convened his friends and rehearsed (saṅgīta) the laws. This

1. Saṅgīti-paryāya.

1 The Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha, translated by J. Takakusu, *Young Pao*, 1904, pp. 269-295.

2 The following account of the Sarvāstivāda literature is abridged from an article by J. Takakusu in the *Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, 1904-1905, pp. 64-146.

he thought, would prevent any dissension in the future when there was no Buddha. Takakusu observes that the work was probably compiled by a Mahā-kausthila at a time after the council of Vaiśālī, which was held chiefly for suppressing the ten theses of the Vajjian bhikṣus, and later on it might have come to be ascribed to Sāriputra, because he is the hero of the narrative throughout the work. The Chinese version *Chi-i-men-tsu-lun* translated by Hiuen Tsang is in 20 fasciculi, 12 vargas or chapters.

The *Prakaraṇa-pāda* (Nanjio, 1277, 18 fasc., 8 sections) is the second of the six pāda works of the Sarvāstivādins according to the Chinese authorities. There exist in Chinese two translations of it which seem to have been made from one and the same recension of the text. The first of these translators was Guṇabhadra who did it with the help of Bodhiyaśas in 435-443 A.D. The second one was by Hiuen Tsang, who tells us that this work was composed by Vasumitra in a monastery at Puṣkalāvati.

The third of the six pāda treatises of this school is *Vijñāna-kāya-pāda* (Nanjio, 1281, 16 fasc. 6 books) of Devaśarman who, according to its translator Hiuen Tsang, was a native of Viśoka near Śrāvastī and is alleged to have attained nirvāṇa 100 years after Buddha. It was done into Chinese in 649 A.D.

Of this series Vasumitra's *Dhātu-kāya* (Nanjio, 1282, 2 fasciculi, 2 chapters) was the fourth of the six pāda works of the Sarvāstivādins.

It was also rendered into Chinese by Hiuen Tsang in A.D. 663. According to Yaśomitra, the author of the Sanskrit original was Pūrṇa. The original Sanskrit text seems to have existed in two or three versions. The larger text was of 6000 ślokaṣ, whereas the other, middle and smaller ones, were of 900 ślokaṣ respectively. The text which was translated by Hiuen Tsang was of 830 ślokaṣ and was apparently the middle one. It treats of all mental faculties which this school assumes as separate elements called 'Dhātu.' We get the particulars about the Chinese translation from K'uei-chi, a pupil of Hiuen Tsang.

The *Dharma-skandha* (Nanjio, 1296, 12 fasc., 21 chap.) is the fifth of the six pādas of the Sarvāstivāda school. According to the Chinese authorities Maudgalyāyana is the author of the book ;

but Yaśomitra says that Sāriputra was its composer.

Whoever might be its writer, the book, though placed among the supplementary pādas, is not inferior in its matter and form to *Jñānaprasthāna*, the principal work of this school. Perhaps it does not go so much into details of metaphysical questions as the

latter does, but it treats of all important points of the fundamental principles of this school, and the importance of this work seems to have been recognised by the writers of the other pādas. In a colophon to this work Ching-mai wrote in 664 A.D. that *Dharma-skandha* is the most important of the Abhidharma books, and the fountain-head of the Sarvāstivāda system. Hiuen Tsang translated it (659 A.D.) in Chang-an; Shi-kuang took notes and Ching-mai put it into literary form, and Chin-tung made a final revision.

The Sarvāstivāda owes a great deal to Hiuen Tsang for its propagation in China and India owes as much to that great monk for his faithful translation, as the original texts of all these books are lost to us. The last or sixth of the six pādas, *Prajñāpti-śāstra*, was not translated by Hiuen Tsang still I think I should better put it here. The authorship of this book is as doubtful as most other ancient books. But Mahā-Maudgalyāyana is accepted as the writer of this book. This work is of doubtful character, as it was not translated before the eleventh century (1004-1058) by Fa-lu (Dharma-rakṣa) and its author's name is lost.

Hiuen Tsang will be remembered by future generations for another work, the importance of which need not be pointed out to the students of philosophy. The importance of *Abhidharma-kośa*¹ was fully recognised by Burnouf, Kern and all other scholars. This work has come down to us in Chinese in two forms, one containing verses (602 kārīkās) only, and the other being prose explanations of the verses. Paramārtha, the first translator of the *Kośa*, tells us that the prose text was compiled at the request of the 'Kāśmīra-Vaibhāṣikas.' Of course the verse-text is included in the prose explanation. Vasubandhu is the author of the kārīkās as well as the explanations. Hiuen Tsang translated the kārīkās in 2 fasciculi and the explanation in 309 fasciculi. In this book Vasubandhu deals with the views of the Vaibhāṣikas. There exists a Sanskrit commentary on this Śāstra, called *Abhidharma kośa Vyākhyā* or simply *Sphuṭārtha*. The author is Yaśomitra, who also mentions two earlier commentaries by Guṇamitra and Vasumitra.²

Vasubandhu's
Abhidharma-
kośa translated.

1 For the French translation of this book see La Vallée Poussin—L' Abhidharma-kośa de Vasubandhu, 5 vols., Société Belge d' Etudes Orientale, Louvain, 1923-25.

2 The Sanskrit text has been published in the Bibliotheca Buddhica by Stcherbatsky and Lévi. See Nariman, pp. 97, 279-286 (Nanjio, 1265).

Abhidharmanyāyānusāra and *Samaya-pradīpikā* of Saṅghadeva, who compiled the two Śāstras in Ayodhyā, were rendered into Chinese by Hiuen Tsang. *Samaya-pradīpikā* contained 10,000 ślokas and merely explain the doctrine of Vibhāṣā. This is a shorter work with similar explanation of the Vibhāṣā tenets. *Nyāyānusāra* was probably had another title—'*Kośakarakā*' i. e. Kośa-hail-stone; but the name was changed by the great Vasubandhu, into *Nyāyānusāra* after Saṅghadeva's death out of respect to his opponent. This book contained 120,000 ślokas, and is directed against *Abhidharma-kośa* of Vasubandhu. This is too elaborate and abstruse a book for general students, having 80 fasciculi, 1,751 pages and that is the reason why he composed 'Illustration of the *Samaya* or doctrines.' At the end of each fasciculus it is stated that this book belongs to the Sarvāstivāda. Saṅghabhadra writing about the doctrine in his preliminary remarks says,—“I have already written a treatise and called it *Nyāyānusāra* (Shum-Cheng-li, Conformity to Truth). Those who are fond of philosophical speculation have to study it. With the phrases and sentences so detailed and elaborate, a research into it is a matter of difficulty. One will not be able to understand it unless one works hard. In order to make it easy to be understood by curtailing the elaborate composition, I again compiled an abridged treatise and called it *Samaya-pradīpikā* (Hsien-tsung, Exposition of the doctrine). I embellished Vasubandhu's *Kārikās*, and regarded them as the course of reference. I cut short those extensive concluding arguments which are found in the *Nyāyānusāra*, and set forth the right expositions against Vasubandhu's proofs to illustrate the true excellent doctrine to which we adhere.” This book is preserved for us in Chinese by Hiuen Tsang.

There are other books translated by Hiuen Tsang and others, but their detailed notice need not be taken. The literary activity of the Sarvāstivāda covers at least not less than ten centuries of the intellectual life of India. But this vast literature rich in philosophy, is entirely lost to us and before we reconstruct the history of Indian Philosophy these and other books must be studied from the Chinese.¹

Of his seventy-five works about forty books belonged to Abhidharma. Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu were

1 The whole is a summary of J. Takakusu's *The Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma* books in the *Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, 1904-1905, pp. 64-146.

the principal writers on Mahāyāna philosophy. To be brief about the philosophical thoughts among the Buddhists, we can say that Āryadeva, Aśvaghōṣa and Nāgārjuna were great teachers of the Mādhyamika School, and Asaṅga and his brother Vasubandhu were the founders and exponents of Yogācāra Philosophy. The Yogācāra branch teaches Vijñānavāda, that is, nothing exists outside consciousness and repudiates Śūnyavāda. Paramārtha imported from Magadha to China the works of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu in 559 A. D. Hiuen Tsang translated four of Asaṅga's books and seven of Vasubandhu's thirty-six works and he is the real founder of Yogācāra school in China.

Besides these, other important books as well as books of minor importance were rendered into Chinese. His *Vajracchedikā*, *Sukhāvativyūha*, *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*,¹ *Bhaiṣajyaguru*, etc. are well known to the students of Buddhism. Among the other works that he brought to China were treatises on Grammar, Shing-ming-lun and Pe-ye-kia-lan-man (Edkins). There are three books on logic in Chinese² of which two were translated by Hiuen Tsang and one by I-tsing. But really these are two books, as one is only re-translated by I-tsing. These are Śaṅkara-svāmin's *Hetuvidyā-nyāya-praveśa-śāstra* or *Nyāyapraveśa-tarkaśāstra* and Nāgārjuna's *Nyāya-dvāra-tarkaśāstra*.

In Chinese the books are attributed to Śaṅkarasvāmin and Nāgārjuna but they are really compositions of the great logician Dignāga. In Tibetan we find Dignāga as the author of the work *Nyāya-praveśa*. The other work attributed to Nāgārjuna is clearly a mistake of name for Dignāga.³

The influence of Indian logic in China and Japan can easily be

1 See the English Translation of *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* by Hokei Idumi—*The Eastern Buddhist*, 1924-25, 26 continued.

2 Badajiro Sugiura—*Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan*, Philadelphia, 1900.

3 See the catalogue of Chinese and Japanese Books and Mss. in the Otani University Library (Japanese), p. 271, also Dignāga's *Nyāya-praveśa* and Haribhadra's commentary on it edited by N. Mironor (St. Petersburg). *Jaina-śāsana*, pp. 133-138.

Its Sanskrit text has been edited by Principal Dhruva of Hindu University; and the Tibetan text by Pandit Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya of Viśvabhāratī, both to be published in one volume in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.

gauzed from the very fact that in the Otani Library, Japan, there are about 120 books both printed and Mss. on Indian logic written in Chinese and Japanese.¹ Among these only three translations of two Sanskrit works are in Nanjio's catalogue. In the supplement of Kioto edition of the Tripiṭaka about eleven more books on Nyāya are named; but they are all *Vṛttis* or commentaries by Chinese or Japanese monks. There are six books on Dignāga's *Nyāyadvāra-tarkaśāstra* (Nanjio, 1223, 1224), five of which are written in Chinese and one in Japanese. But Śaṅkara-svāmin's (or Dignāga's) *Nyāyapraveśa* found more favour in both the countries and there are more than eighty books on logic written in Chinese and Japanese. [Catalogue of the Otani University (Japan), pp. 260-261].²

The other heretical opponent in philosophy was the Vaiśeṣika. Its view-point was made known to the Chinese by Hiuen Tsang.

This was known as *Daśapadārthaśāstra* and is an enlarged work of the *Ṣaṭpadārtha* of the Vaiśeṣika Śāstra.

Vaiśeṣika
philosophy in
China.

Its original is lost and an English translation of the Chinese text by Mr. H. Ui, published in the Royal

Asiatic Society Translation Series, has been of immense value to the students of Indian philosophy.

The Chinese title of the Vaiśeṣika treatise is *Shang-tsung-shih-chu-i-lun* and is known in Sanskrit as *Vaiśeṣika-(nikāya)-daśapadārthaśāstra*, i.e. a treatise on the ten categories of the Vaiśeṣika. It was composed by a follower of that philosophy, whose name is transliterated into Chinese as Chan-ta-lo which in Sanskrit would be simply *Candra*, in Chinese translation "wisdom-moon." According to later commentators, who give the full name, it is Chan-ta-(lo)-moti i.e. Candramati or Mati-candra. We know nothing of the life of this Indian Vaiśeṣika philosopher as his book in original Sanskrit is not known at present. According to Mr. Ui, Candra lived not later than the first half of the sixth century (p. 10).

It was probably taken to China by Hiuen Tsang and translated by him in 648 A.D. A tradition says that Kwei-chi, a famous disciple of Hieun Tsang, wrote a commentary on the treatise, but this, says Mr. Ui is perhaps a mistake.

Hiuen Tsang, as we have seen, translated a great many Sanskrit works into Chinese; but his main effort appears to have been

1 See Sugiyara's books, the bibliography portion specially.

2 Indian Logic has been dealt with in detail in the section *Tibet* where numerous books on logic have been preserved.

devoted to the translation of the works of the Sarvāstivāda, specially, the *Abhidharmakośaśāstra*, and of the Vijñānavāda, especially *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi-śāstra*. His disciples were divided principally between these two schools, though he introduced literatures of many other schools of thought. Kwei-chi is the orthodox propagator of Vijñānavāda and an authority on the *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi*. This is a commentary on Vasubandhu's *Vijñapti-mātratā-triṃśat-kārikā*, which is a highly authoritative exposition of the Vijñānavāda and had ten commentaries by as many different Indian authors. Hiuen Tsang first translated the ten commentaries, but he afterwards amalgamated them with the commentary by Dharmapāla, the teacher of his teacher Śīlabhadra. The *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi* is ascribed to Dharmapāla, and it is said that Kwei-chi commented on the work. Dharmapāla's work adopts an idealistic standpoint in epistemology and metaphysics and refutes the realistic systems, the Sāṅkhya, the Vaiśeṣika, other minor schools, and Hīnayāna Buddhism. From Kwei-chi's commentaries we can gather many facts concerning the attitude of philosophers towards *Vaiśeṣika* and other Indian systems of thought.

Hiuen Tsang was followed by a number of workers in the field of translation. Shih Chu-T'ung,¹ a Chinese śramaṇa translated some four books on Dhāraṇīs and topics of allied nature ;
 Successors of Hiuen Tsang. Bhagavaddharma,² a śramaṇa of West India translated one work ; Atigupta³ and Jñānabhadra⁴ were each responsible for one book. Though translations of only two works are attributed to Puṇyopāya or Nandi,⁵ he is known to us for his more important contributions. He reached China in 655 A.D. but before that he made extensive tours throughout India and Ceylon and collected 1,500 different manuscripts of the Tripiṭaka of both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna schools. This vast collection he carried to his new home in China and must have deposited them in some monastery library. In 656 he was sent by the Chinese emperor to some island in the China Sea to find some strange medicine. Nandi-Puṇyopāya, it seems, must have been an expert pharmacopist, otherwise the emperor would not have selected this new immigrant for this herb dis-

Puṇyopāya and his Sanskrit manuscripts.

1 Nanjio App. II, 134.
 3 " " " 136.
 5 " " " 137.

2 Nanjio App. II, 135.
 4 " " " 138.

covery. He returned to China in 663 A.D. and translated three books, of which two *paripicchās* are extant.

Indian settlers from Further India went to China. Jñānabhadra, a śramaṇa from Po-liang or Ho-liang (Kaling—Java ?) in the South Sea, helped the Chinese traveller Houi-Ning, who passed that country on his journey to India in 664-666 A.D. We do not know if he actually went to China.

Divākara, a śramaṇa from Central India, came to China in 676 A.D. and lived till 688 and during these years nineteen works were translated by him. But in a preface to his works by the T'ang Empress Wu Ts'-thien (684-705 A.D.) Divākara is said

Divākara. to have translated only ten works with the help of ten Chinese assistants, accomplishing the work in 685 A. D. Divākara translated various books including two books on Abhidharma—one being a commentary on Vasubandhu's *Pañcaskandhaka Śāstra* (Nanjio, 1175) by Sthiramati, and the other was *Vajracchedikā-Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra Śāstra* of Bodhisattva Guṇada, which seems to be a commentary on the *Vajracchedikā* in the *Prajñāpāramitā* series. But his more important and enduring work was his translation of *Lalita-vistara*¹ (Nanjio, 159 ; Tok. Ed., ix, 7b). The literal

Lalita-vistara. translation of the Chinese name of this book is *Vaipulya-Mahāvvyūha-sūtra*. There is another title of this book which if translated would be '*Rddhivikrīḍita (Sūtra)*' or '*Rddhi-kumāra-vikrīḍita (Sūtra)*'. The *Lalita-vistara* was not translated into Chinese for the first time by Divākara. It had been translated four times, but the first and the third were lost in 730 A. D., when the Khai-Yuen-lu-Catalogue was compiled. The two missing translations were both entitled *Phu-Yao-Ching* which would mean '*Samanta-prabhava-sūtra*.' The first was translated under the Later Han Dynasty, during 221-263 A.D., but the translator's name is lost. The third was translated under the Sung Dynasty (420-479 A. D.) by

1 Sanskrit Text, edited by Rajendra Lala Mitra, Bib. Indica, 1853 ; English Translation of a few chaps. by R. L. Mitra, Bib. Indica, 3 fasc., 1881-86. *Lalitavistara Erzählung von dem Leben und der Lehre des Śākyasiṃha*.....Deutsche übersetzt von Dr. S. Leffmann, Berlin, 1874 ; L.-V. Leben u. Lehre des Śākyā Buddha. Text ausgabe, mit varianten, metren u. Worterverzeichniss, von Leffmann, Halle 1902 ; French Translation of the Tibetan version of L.-V. by P. E. Foucaux, Paris. *Annales du Musée Guimet*, vol. vi, xix, Paris, 1887-92.

Chu-Yen and Pao-Yun. Of the extant translations the first was done by Chu-Fa-hu or Dharmarakṣa in 305 A. D., and the second was done by Divākara. As a matter of fact we do not at all know whether the Chinese biography of the Buddha mentioned above as *Phu-Yao-Ching* is really a translation of the Sanskrit text.¹

Buddhatrāta and Buddhapāla, two Indian teachers, went from Kubha or Kabul and translated two works. Devaprajña and Śikṣānanda were natives of Khotan, the great centre of Indo-Chinese culture where among the East Iranian peoples, Indians and Chinese elements met and there was a large Indian population. Devaprajña translated six works, one of which was a book on Abhidharma by Sthiramati called *Mahā-yāna Abhidharma Saṃyukta-Saṃgīti Sūtra* (Nanjio, 1178), which was a commentary on a book of that name by Asaṅga (Nanjio, 1199). Śikṣānanda was abler and better known than his other countrymen; and as many of his books are very important, I shall dwell upon some of them here.

In the Chinese Tripiṭaka there is a class of books known as *Avataṃsaka*. Under the Eastern T'sin Dynasty (317-420) Buddhābhadrā and his associates translated *Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahā-vaipulya-śāstra*, but it was not completed. The more complete copy of the text was in Khotan and the Empress Wu Tso-thien sent a special envoy for the Sanskrit text. Śikṣānanda translated it in 80 fasciculi and 39 chapters. The Empress herself took part in this translation and wrote a preface to this book.

Śikṣānanda's other important work was the *Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra*² to which the Empress also wrote a preface. I might mention here in passing that there are three translations of this book,—one by Guṇa (Bhūmi)-bhadrā, which is incomplete, the other two by Bodhiruci and Śikṣānanda. The last two agree with the Tibetan and Sanskrit versions, the latter having been edited by B. Nanjio in Japan (1923). The book gives a report of the miraculous visit of Buddha Śākyamuni to Rāvaṇa, the king of Ceylon. Rāvaṇa pays his reverence to the Buddha and presses him for a reply

1 Nariman, *Sanskrit Buddhism*, pp. 19-27.

2 In the fourth Band of "*Koku-Yaku-Daizokyo*" (Tripiṭaka translated into Japanese), vols. 13, 14 recently published. Rev. Yamakani Sogen has given an expository introduction to the Sūtra, and a Japanese translation of the Chinese 'Laṅkāvatāra' by Śikṣānanda. B. Nanjio has prepared another Japanese translation from the original Sanskrit (Nanjio, *Intro. to Laṅkāvatāra*, Tokio).

to a number of his enquiries touching 'Dharma.' The answers given by the Buddha which represent the doctrine of the Yogācāra school, go to form the main contents of the Sūtra. It is, moreover, interesting inasmuch as it exposes the tenets of the Sāṅkhyas, Vaiśeṣikas, Pāśupatas and other philosophical schools and religious denominations of Brāhmaṇic origin.

The *Avataṃsaka* is one of the most important books on Buddhism, and its deep philosophical thoughts have inspired many sects to accept it as their scripture. In Sanskrit there is no book known by that name. But in the collection of Buddhist books found in Nepal there is a book called *Gaṇḍa-vyūha*. The work is reckoned as one of the nine principal scriptures of the Buddhists, and held in high esteem. It gives the story of Sudhana in search of the perfect knowledge (R. L. Mitra, p. 90). It has been inaccurately identified by Mitra with the Chinese *Ghana-vyūha* translated by Divākara and Amoghavajra, but the mistake had been committed much earlier by Burnouf. *Ghana-vyūha* and *Gaṇḍa-vyūha* are two distinct works mentioned in the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, a Sanskrit Buddhist dictionary of the ninth century. Pelliot has compared the contents of *Gaṇḍa-vyūha* with the Tibetan versions of *Avataṃsaka* and found similarity. Its identity has also been recognised by Prof. Watanabe of Tokio. The full title of the book however is *Mahāvaiṣṭhavya-buddha-gaṇḍa-vyūha-yukti-sūtram*. Generally some used the name as *Gaṇḍa-vyūha* and others as *Buddha Avataṃsaka*, as it fell under Avataṃsaka literature. But it is the one and the same book.¹

In the T'ang Dynasty Chau-Kuang, the fourth patriarch of the Avataṃsaka school who died in 806 wrote an original commentary on Śikṣānanda's *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (Ta-feng Kuang-fo-hua-yen-ching-shu) in 60 fasciculi, and further a sub-commentary on it in 90 fasc. (Nanjio 1589, 1590) was written by him. Phu-tsmi of the Yuan Dynasty (1280-1368 A. D.) compiled a record of the explanation of the hidden meaning of the introductory part of the commentary on the Avataṃsaka in 40 fasciculi (Nanjio, 1622).

Another important work translated by Śikṣānanda was *Śraddhotpāda Śāstra*, attributed to Aśvaghōṣa. It is a philosophical treatise on the Mahāyāna Faith, which is studied even today in the monasteries of Japan. It was translated twice, once in 534 A.D. and again

1 Pelliot—Notes a propos d'un catalogue du Kanjur, *J. A.*, 1914, July-Aug, pp. 118-121 ; also *JRAS.*, 1907, p. 663.

in 710 A.D. From Śikṣānanda's version Suzuki prepared an English version, called the *Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna* (Nanjio, 1259). Suzuki holds Aśvaghōṣa, the poet of Buddhacarita, to be the author and asserts on the basis of the book itself that the actual founder of Mahāyāna was Aśvaghōṣa. The doctrine which the book teaches is, however, that of Vijñānavāda as taught by Asaṅga and the teaching of *Tathāgata-garbha* and the *Tathatū* which occurs in the *Laṅkāvatāra*. Prof. Takakusu, who holds the authorship of Aśvaghōṣa as altogether out of the question, says that the older catalogue of the Chinese text, does not contain the name of Aśvaghōṣa as the author. Although M. Sylvain Lévi says, "The poet of the Buddhacarita shows him here a profound metaphysician, as an intrepid reviver of a doctrine which was destined to regenerate Buddhism" (quoted by Nariman). We are, however, not inclined to accept Prof. Takakusu's views. The Sanskrit original of *Śraddhotpāda Śāstra* is long lost. According to the Chang-Yüan Catalogue (compiled between A.D. 784-804) the Sanskrit text is said to have existed at that time. It is a great pity that such an important Buddhist philosophical work as this can only be studied now through translation.

Two Chinese translations of this work exist in the Tripiṭaka collection. The first translation was made by Paramārtha already referred to in 554 A.D. The second one was done by Śikṣānanda of Khotan, of whom we have just now read. The originals of these two translations were not the same, the one having been brought from Ujjayini and the other from Khotan. But the difference is not fundamental. According to an unknown Chinese writer, quoted by Suzuki, the Sanskrit original found by Śikṣānanda in Tzu-an Tower was older of the two, and he translated it with the help of several native Buddhist priests.¹ Of the two translations Paramārtha's has found a more popular acceptance in Japan as well as in China, not because it is more faithful to the original, but because a learned and brilliant Buddhist scholar called Fa-tsang (A.D. 643-712) wrote a commentary on it and on that account the commentary is more studied than the text itself. Fa-tsang also assisted Śikṣānanda in preparing the second translation, but he preferred the first one for his commentary work, partly because the first one had already found a wide circulation among the commentators before his time, and partly because both translations agreeing in all their important points, he did not like to

1 Suzuki, *The Awakening of Faith*, p. 40.

show his "partiality" as a commentator, as Fa-tsang says, to the one in the preparation of which he himself took part (Suzuki, p. 41). No Sanskrit commentary of this important work has yet been discovered, but the Buddhist population of China studied it most carefully. Fa-tsang compiled the commentary (Nanjio, 1625, 5 fasc.) during the T'ang Dynasty. In the Sung period, another learned monk revised the work and published it in 15 fasciculi (Nanjio, 1626).

Non-Buddhist Indians sometimes translated Buddhist books. Li-Wu-thao, a Brahman of Lan-po in Northern India, is mentioned as a translator of a Dhāraṇī in 700 A.D. In 705, Mitrasena an Indian Śramaṇa residing at Tukhara (Tokhara-East of Kucha) translated a minor Dhāraṇī. Ratna-cintā, a Śramaṇa of Kāśmīra is responsible for seven translations in 9 fasciculi and he wrote between 693-706 A.D. He died in 721 when he was more than 100 years old. All his works were minor Dhāraṇīs or sūtras of indifferent value and shows the signs of degenerate state of Buddhism soon to follow.

After Hiuen Tsang's death, another Buddhist monk I-tsing by name started for India in 671 A.D., and arrived in 673. The object of I-tsing's tour was to know more thoroughly about the Vinaya or Buddhist views of Discipline. He wanted to correct the misrepresentations of the Vinaya rules, and to refute the erroneous opinions held by the schools of Vinayadharas then existing in China. I-tsing was a great traveller. He was twenty five years (671-695) abroad and travelled in more than thirty countries. In India he studied at Nālandā and visited almost all the sacred places. He spent a good many years in Śrī-vijaya in Sumatra, which was once a great centre of Sanskrit and Indian culture and politically as important as Singapore of today. He wrote a book called *Record of Buddhist Practices in Southern Seas*. He returned to China in 695, and took home some four hundred different Sanskrit texts, the ślokas numbering five hundred thousand, and a plan of the Vajrāsana of the Buddha. Between A.D. 700 and 712 I-tsing translated 56 works in 230 volumes. Among these works there are several important Sūtras and Śāstras, but in order to know how he represented the Mūlasarvāstivāda school, it will suffice to mention here only the Vinaya texts :—

- 1 Mūla-sarvāstivāda-Vinaya-Sūtra I Fasc. (agrees with Tibetan) (Nanjio, 1110).
- 2 °Vinaya in 50 fasc. (No. 1118).
- 3 °Saṃyukta-Śāstra 40 fasc. (No. 1121)

His works on
Mūlasarvāsti-
vāda.

- 4 °Saṅghabhedakavastu 20 fasc. (No. 1123)
- 5 °Nikāya-Bhikṣuṇī Vinaya 20 fasc. (No. 1124)
- 6 °Vinaya Saṅgraha—originally done by the Venerable Jinamitra. It had a Tibetan version. (No. 1127)
- 7 °Ekaśata-Karman 10 fasc. (No. 1131).
- 8 °Nidāna 5 fasc. (No. 1133).
- 9 °Māṭṛkā 5 fasc. (No. 1134).
- 10 °Vinaya-Nidāna-Māṭṛkā-Gāthā 15 leaves. (No. 1140).
- 11 °Vinaya-Saṃyukta-Vastu-Gāthā 10 leaves. (No. 1141).
- 12 °Vinaya-Gāthā 4 fasc. composed by Vaiśākhyā. (No. 1143).
- 13 °Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya-Sūtra 2 fasc. (No. 1146).

Besides these, six more Vinaya books were done into Chinese by I-tsing, viz.,

- i °Pravarjya (Upasampadā) Vastu, 4 fasc.
- ii °Varṣāvāsa Śāstra
- iii °Pravāraṇa Vastu
- iv °Carma Vastu
- v °Bhaiṣajya Vastu 18 fasc.
- vi °Kaṭhina-civara Vastu.

I-tsing thus represented the whole text of the Vinaya belonging to the Mūla-sarvāstivāda Nikāya, and founded a new school for the study of this branch of Buddhist literature in China (Takakusu, *Records*, Intro.). I-tsing is also responsible for some translations of Abhidharma works by Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and Nāgārjuna, three magnets of the Mahāyāna. He translated Diṇnāga's book on *Nyāya Praveśa* which had been translated previously by Hiuen Tsang in 648 A.D. *Vajra-cchedikū Prajñā-pāramitā* (Nanjio, 14) and *Śata-śāstra* (Nanjio, 1231) composed by Asaṅga and its commentary (also No. 1231) by Vasubandhu were also rendered into Chinese by I-tsing. I-tsing wrote an appendix to the book where he explained in the last part of the Śāstra, the meaning of Prajñā. Some catalogue-makers have considered this work as an independent one. Another important book of Abhidharma, *Vijñaptimātra Siddhi*, by Vasubandhu had been twice translated into Chinese. In India a commentary was compiled by Bodhisattva Dharmapāla, which was translated by I-tsing.

As we owe to I-tsing the preservation of Buddhist books on Vinaya in Chinese translation, the Sanskrit originals of which have been lost, we owe a great deal to his contemporary, Bodhiruci for the translation of a bulk of literature known as Ratnakūṭa, equally lost to us in the original with a few exceptions. Bodhiruci's

original name was Dharmaruci, which was changed into Bodhiruci by the order of the Empress Wu Tso-thien. He was a Śramaṇa of Southern India and a Brāhmaṇa by caste. He translated between 693-713 A.D., fifty-three works in 111 fasciculi, of which 12 works in 12 fasciculi were already missing in 730 A.D. It is said that he died in his 156th year in 727 A.D. His most stupendous work was his edition of *Mahā-ratnakūṭa-Sūtra* (Nanjio, 23; 120 fasc.). This is a collection of 49 sūtras, arranged by Bodhiruci, who himself translated 26 of them (Nanjio, App. II, 150). He became so popular that the Emperor Tsui-tsung wrote a preface concerning the life of Bodhiruci. Su-no, a contemporary of our writer, also wrote an introduction to his Ratnakūṭa work.

During the first quarter of the eighth century Buddhism still continued to be favoured as the state religion with a very brief period of reaction under Emperor Hsüan Tsang. It was represented to him that rich families wasted their substance on religious edifices and that the inmates were well-to-do persons desirous of escaping the burdens of public service. Building monasteries, copying sūtras and making images of Buddha and Bodhisattvas were forbidden and 12,000 monks were ordered to return to the world. In the latter part of his life he became more tolerant and Buddhism again flourished. During this period, only four translators worked. Pāramita (Pramiti), a Śramaṇa of Central India, together with Meghaśikha of Udyāna and Hwai-ti, a Chinese monk, translated a work on *Sūtraṅgama Sūtra* in 705 A.D. (Nanjio, App. II, 151). Shih Chu-Yen, a son of the king of Kustana (Khotan), who was sent to China as a hostage, became a Śramaṇa there in 707 A.D. He stayed there in a monastery, learnt Chinese and translated four books in 721 A.D.

TĀNTRIKA LITERATURE

The second quarter of the eighth century marks the introduction of Tāntrism in China with the advent of Vajrabodhi and his pupil Amogha-vajra in 719 A.D. According to Tibetan chronicles 'the first of all the Tāntriks who came to China from India was Sthavira Śrimitra'. He was an heir-apparent to a king of India, but gave up his realm in favour of his younger brother and became a Śramaṇa. He came to China in 307-312 A.D., when the Western T'sin was ruling at Nanking. He diffused the knowledge of Tāntrism by translating the Mahā-yāna and other Dhāraṇīs into the Chinese language. Although contemporaneously with him many other eminent Indian Tāntriks came

Ratnakūṭa
Literature.

8th century A.D.
Tāntrism.

to China yet very few books on Tāntrism had been translated for the public. The sage Kumāraśrī also did not communicate his Tāntrik lore to the general public, but only to one or two of his reliable disciples, so that Tāntrism made very little progress in China.' (*JASB.*, 1882, p. 93). During the period of four hundred years

Vajrabodhi, the
Tāntrik teacher
in China.

that intervened between Śrimitra and Vajrabodhi, a number of Dhāraṇīs were translated by various writers.

In A. D. 719 Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra arrived in China and reached Chang-an, the capital of the T'angs during the reign of the Emperor Hsuan Tsung (T'ang-ming-hung—Tibetan). Vajrabodhi instructed two Chinese monks in Tāntrik mysticism. He is said to have translated eleven works mostly on Tantra or Dhāraṇī. His principal works were *Caṇḍī-devī-dhāraṇī* (No. 345), *Vajrasekhara Yoga-tantra* (No. 534), *Sarvatathāgata Vajrāyur-dhāraṇī*, (No. 960), *Vajrasekhara-Vimāna-Sarvayogayogi-Sūtra* (No. 1039) *Vajrāyur-dhāraṇī-adhyāya-kalpa* (No. 1391), *Vajrasekhara-sūtra-yogāvalokiteśvara-rāja-tathāgata-caryūkālpa* (No. 1430), etc. All these books seem to be scriptures on Vajrayāna, and the name Vajrabodhi itself is an assumed name.

Amoghavajra, when he came with his master Vajrabodhi, was only twenty-one years old. His Guru at his death-bed (732 A.D.) instructed him to go to India and Ceylon for the purpose of collecting some texts. It was not before 741 that he could fulfil his Guru's request and went back to India. He writes "from my boyhood I served the late teacher for fourteen years and received his instruction in Yoga. Then I went to the five parts of India, and collected several Sūtras and Śāstras more than five hundred different texts, which had not yet been brought to China. In A.D. 746, I came back to the capital. From the same year till the present time (771 A.D.), I translated seventy-seven works in more than 120 fasciculi." He was greatly honoured by the Chinese Emperor and was given various honorific titles for his great work for the cause of Buddhism. He wanted to come back to India, but he was indispensable and could not be spared. He died in 774 A.D. in his 70th year, greatly honoured even after his death by the Imperial Order. He was held in veneration at the court of successive Emperors of the T'ang Dynasty. Under his influence the Tantra doctrine first gained ground in China. Tibetan chronicles say that he performed the ceremony of *Vajra-Garbha Maṇḍala* for the benefit of the king who, on account of his devotion to Buddhism, was given the religious name of Ta-Kuang-Shih-San-Tsang, i.e., Repository of Wisdom and

Knowledge of the Tripiṭaka. He is said to have performed many other miraculous works for the good of the Emperor. Being pleased with him for his eminent services, the king made him a gift of a piece of land supporting 3,000 tenants. After his retirement Hui-lang was installed in Amoghavajra's place as Guru or Vajrācārya.

Although both Vajrabodhi and Amogha-vajra and their disciples passed for saints and sages, yet Tāntrism did not flourish long, but soon decayed. During the reign of the Sung Dynasty, Dānarakṣita, Dharma-bhadra, and other Indian Paṇḍits visited China, but being very jealous of their mystic operations which were kept secret to the public, they only communicated the *mantras* to a selected few, under solemn promise of not revealing them to the public. The later monks were instructed in only a few of the Tāntrik rites, such as the ceremony of *Amogha-pāśa*. It was owing to the several restrictions that mysticism made no progress in China (*JASB.*, 1882, p. 94).

Amoghavajra's contribution to Chinese literature was very great. There are hundred and eight works ascribed to him in the Ming dynasty catalogue. Amoghavajra brought, as we have seen, 500 books from India, which had never been before his time imported into China, and it is not unlikely that he translated 108 of them—mostly Tantrik books.

Three years before the arrival of these great Tāntrik teachers, Śubhākara-Siṃha arrived in China in 716 A.D. He was a Śramaṇa of Central India, and a descendant of Amṛtodana, an uncle of Śākya-muni and lived in the Nālandā monastery. He brought to China a large collection of Sanskrit books and himself translated a few. Only five books are ascribed to him such as *Mahā-vairocan-ābhisambodhi* (No. 531), *Susiddhikara Mahā-tantra* (No. 533), etc.

In 781 Prajñā, one of the translators of the T'ang Period, came to China in order to get near the scene of Mañjuśrī's labours. He translated four books and collaborated with the Nestorian priest King-Ching or Adam, who erected the famous Sing-an-fu monument. Between them they made a translation of the '*Sat-pāramitā-sūtra*' (10 fasciculi, 10 chapters), which they offered to the Emperor Tai-Tsung. The Emperor, however, refused to receive it, saying that King-Ching should devote himself to preaching the doctrines of *Meshis* (Messiah),¹ leaving the Buddhists to propagate

¹ G. Sakurai in *Hansei Zasshi*, vol. xiii, p. 12, quoted by Lloyd in his *Creed of Half Japan*, p. 203.

the teachings of Śākyamuni. The book therefore appears in Prajñā's name. There is a preface added to it by the Emperor. Of his other books, '*Samanta-bhāṣa-praṇidhāna*' being a chapter of *Buddhāvataṃsaka Vaipulya-Sūtra*, deserves special mention.

Wu-ni¹ and O-chih-ta-sien (Ajitasena?), of whom we know little, were the last translators of the T'ang Dynasty. They seem to be Indians.

'In 751 a mission was sent to the king of Ki-pin, which at that time meant N. E. Afganistan. The staff included Wu-Kung, also known as Dharmadhātu, who remained in India, took the vows and ultimately returned to China with many books and relics. It is probable that in this and the following centuries Hindu influence reached the outlying province of Yünan or the Southern China directly through Burma' (BEFEO., 1904, p. 161; Eliot, III, p. 262).

Before we close our account of the emigration of Buddhist monks, during the T'ang rule in China, we must not forget to mention a very important item of debt which China owes to India, and which fact is observed even in an ordinary text-book of Chinese history. Li-ung-bing writes in his *Outlines of Chinese History*¹: "About the time of the reign of Empress Wu, (of the T'ang), the Hindu calendar was for the first time adopted in China. The Kuang Chi calendar, adopted in 684, was the work of a Hindu monk employed by the empress for the purpose of revising the old calendar. In the 9th year of K'ai Yüan, A.D. 721, a Chinese Buddhist monk and celebrated astronomer, I-Hsing, was employed for the same purpose. His method of calculation was based upon that of Gautamasiddha, a Hindu monk. At about the same time, arithmetical knowledge had made rapid progress in China, and it is probable that the Chinese received much help from such Brahmanical books on arithmetic as had been translated by the Hindu priests. These books are now hopelessly lost, although their names remain recorded in the Catalogue of the Sui dynasty without any remark concerning them."

During the three hundred years of T'ang rule in China, Buddhism flourished inspite of some reactionary attitude and prosecution of certain Emperors. One of the principal activities in the line of

¹ Pp. 156-157, Shanghai, 1914.

literature was the cataloguing of Buddhist Canons. We have seen already that four collections existed during the Sui Dynasty, the last of which had been done in 605-616 A.D. and has been lost. In the T'ang dynasty six catalogues were compiled, some by individuals living in monasteries, others by the imperial order.

Catalogues of
Buddhist Tripi-
ṭaka.

T'ang
Catalogues.

Ta-T'ang-mu-tien-lu or a Catalogue of the Buddhist books was compiled under the Great T'ang Dynasty in 16 fasciculi, by Tao-Suen in A.D. 664. This catalogue contains a list of works, whether translation or original treatises in Chinese with a biographical note of each author, and sums up the total number of works as 2487 in 8476 fasciculi. In the same year (664 A.D.) Tsing Mai compiled a catalogue which contains all the titles of translated works from the time of Kāśyapa Mātāṅga to the time of Hiuen-Tsang (617 A.D.). The number of translators was one hundred and twenty, and that of their works is 1620 (5552 fasc.) with the exception of 298 works whose translators are unknown. But these two were not done under royal orders. About thirty years later Ming-Chuen was ordered by the Empress Wu Tso-Thien (684-705) to compile a catalogue in collaboration with others (695 A.D.). This is the sixth collection made by a sovereign of China. The total number of books either translated from Sanskrit or Prākṛt or written on Buddhist or Indian subjects, was 3616 in 8521 fasciculi. Of these the number of works belonging to the Tripiṭaka of the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna was 1470 in 2406 fasciculi. Besides these, 859 works in 3882 fasciculi were admitted into Chinese Buddhist Canon by the imperial order. There is a list of 228 books which were considered spurious by the learned monks at the end of this catalogue.

Khai-yuen-lu
Catalogue, 730
A.D.

For a generation no more catalogues were compiled till 730 A.D., when one of the best catalogues of the Chinese Tripiṭaka was compiled by Chi-Shang. This catalogue is known as *Khai-Yuen-lu* and has been referred to in many places. It enumerates 2278 works ascribed to 176 translators, Indian and Chinese, with the exception of 741 books by unknown translators. The titles of these works are given chronologically and a short account of each translator or writer is added, preceded by a list of his works and various miscellaneous items of information, such as the number into which each work is divided, variations in the title, when and where the translation was made, etc. Chi-Shang, the editor-in-chief, says, "Thus under 19 dynasties, from the Eastern Han (B.C. 25-220 A.D.) to T'ang (618-907),

there were produced translations of the Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidharma or Śāstra of the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna, as well as the works of the sages and wise men, altogether 2278 works in 7046 fasciculi. Of these, 1124 works are now (730 A.D.) admitted into the Canon. The number of missing works is 1148 (Nanjio). We must remember that books written by non-Buddhists were freely translated into Chinese, and sixty-six books are mentioned as still extant in 730 A. D., which were written by Indian sages, and the total number of spurious and heterodox books translated up to that date was 382. *Khai-yuen-lu* was followed by a smaller catalogue, which gives a briefer treatment of the description and an index. This may be called the seventh collection, made by the order of the Emperor Huen-Tsung (713-755), under whose reign this index was made (see Nanjio, Introduction).

CHINESE PILGRIMS IN INDIA

In our ordinary history we are told that three Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien, Hiuen-Tsang, and I-tsing came to India; but from other Chinese sources we know that since Fa-hsien's return to China in 414 A.D., Chinese youths began to pour into India by scores and sometimes by hundreds.

Down to the period of missionary activities of Kumārajīva (344-413 A.D.), Buddhism and Indian culture penetrated into China mainly through the Central Asian routes. Most of the early Sino-Buddhist texts coming down from the Lo-yang school were from the pen of Yüeh-chih, Parthians and Sogdian converts to Buddhism, working in collaboration with Chinese Buddhists. In some of the Mahāyāna texts, we find a curious mixture of Indian, Khotanese, Iranian and Chinese spirit. Linguistic test also demonstrates that most of the earlier translations were not done directly from Indian classical language like Sanskrit and Pāli, but from popular dialects Prakṛt of various parts in which many important Buddhist books were written.

With the appearance of Fa-hsien (399-414 A.D.), the great period of direct Sino-Indian collaboration and communication commences. Classical Buddhist books were imported from India by Fa-hsien and they were translated into Chinese directly. Fa-hsien visited the great intellectual centres of Takṣaśilā (Taxila) and Puruṣapura, studied for three years at Pāṭaliputra, and two years at Tāmralipti, returned to China having

Chinese Pilgrims
in India—7th
century.

Fa-hsien and
direct Sino-
Indian commu-
nication.

stopped for sometime in the Indian colonies of Ceylon and Java on his way home.¹

Fa-hsien was followed by many Chinese monks, who came to India by the N.-W. passage. The Chinese youths were fired with enthusiasm and they felt almost a romantic attraction for a journey to India. This pilgrimage continued for centuries, only occasionally stopped by political disturbance.

Hiuen Tsang was only one of the many who had been to India, but as he had a literary gift he left a travel-diary of India, for which he is known to many of us ; but there were others who preceded or immediately after followed the great traveller to India who were not gifted with the talent of Hiuen Tsang and have therefore been forgotten. We find in Chinese history brilliant records of such monks coming to India during the earlier part of the T'ang period.

Hiuen Tsang came out to India in 629 A.D., went back to China in 645 A.D., and died in 664 A.D. About half-a-century later I-tsing, another great Chinese traveller, came out in 671 A.D. returning to China in 695 ; he died in 713 A.D. These dates are important for our study of this period. I-tsing, who came back in 695, wrote a book called *Ch'iu-fa-ko-sang-chuan*, which contains lives of Chinese Buddhist priests, who visited India, during the early period of the T'ang dynasty in the latter half of the seventh century. M. Chavannes in the introduction to his French translation of that work calls attention to the remarkable fact that in a single generation sixty persons were found willing to undertake such a perilous journey. Moreover, M. Chavannes shows good reason for assuming that there were many more pilgrims, of whose wanderings no record has been preserved and that the actual number of those pious palmers must have amounted to several hundreds.

I-tsing in his preface to his *Ch'iu-fa-ko-sang-chuan* (Nanjio, No. 1491) has alluded to the journeys of Fa-hsien and Hiuen Tsang, who proceeded to the Western countries to procure Buddhist books and pay reverence to the sacred relics. He briefly describes the dangers and hardships of the route,² and the difficulty of finding shelter and entertainment in the different countries visited by the Chinese pilgrims in consequence of

1 Quoted from Dr. K. D. Nag, Greater India, *Calcutta Review*, 1926, January.

2 *Indian Antiquary*, 1881 ; S. Beal, *Indian Travels of Chinese Buddhists*, pp. 109, 192, 246.

there being no temples set apart for Chinese priests. He then goes on to enumerate the names of the pilgrims referred to in his Memoirs.¹

Hiuen-Chiu was a Śramaṇa of Sin-Chang in Tai-chau province. As was the custom with many, this Chinese monk took the Indian name of Prakāśamati. He came of a Ci-ting-i-ho family and forsook the world when a youth. He made preparations to visit the sacred places of India, and for that purpose studied Buddhism through Chinese and in 638 A.D. came to a famous monastery where he applied himself to the study of Sanskrit literature. From there he proceeded towards South for India, crossed Tibet and came to Jalandhara. He spent four years in that town where the king of the Mung caused him to be detained and gave him all necessary entertainment ; during that period he studied Sanskrit literature with him. After this he came to Magadha, where he spent four years ; there he studied various books and went to the Nālandā monastery where he passed three years. Thence he went back to the Mung capital Amaravata, but the king detained him in the monastery of his capital Sin-che, for three years. In the meantime, the Chinese ambassador Wang-hiuen-tse, who was staying in the court of some great king in the North-western province, urged his return and consequently he returned to Lo-yang through Nepal and Tibet.²

The name of Wang-hiuen-tse is connected with the international politics of India, China and Tibet. After Hiuen Tsang's return to China, Harṣavardhana, the great king of Northern India wanted to open diplomatic relations with the Chinese Empire. He sent a Brahmin envoy to China in 641 A.D., who returned in 643, accompanied by a Chinese mission bearing reply to Harṣa's despatch. The mission remained till 645 A.D., when it returned home. The next year, Wang-hiuen-tse, who had been the second in command of the earlier mission, was sent by the Chinese emperor as head of a new mission. When the envoy reached India Harṣa had died (647 A.D.) and Arjuna or Aruṇāśva (O-lo-na-shuen), a minister of the late king, usurped the throne.

Wang-hiuen-tse
and Indian
politics.

1 Beal's *Life of Hiouen Tsiang by Hwui Li*, Introduction, pp. xxvii-xli, Trübner, 1914.

2 Voyages des pèlerins bouddhistes. Les religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les pays d'occident. Mémoire composé à l'époque de la grande dynastie T'ang par I-tsing, traduit par Ed. Chavannes, Paris, 1894.

The Chinese party was greatly maltreated by the tyrant and Wang-hiuen-tse and his colleagues escaped to Nepal by night. From Tibet and Nepal he got military aid and with its help the usurper was taken prisoner and carried to China. Tibet was then under Sron-gub-tsan-gampo, the mighty king, who for some time remained master of Tirhoot, which his rival had conquered.

Wang-hiuen-tse once more visited the scene of his adventures, being sent by imperial order in 657 A.D., to offer robes at the Buddhist holy places.¹

In 665 A.D. our pilgrim Hiuen-Chiu returned to Kashmir where he met a Brahmin Lokāyata [Lo-kia-yih-to] (popularly synonymous with an athiest) and others with whom he returned to China; they were asked by the Chinese ambassador of Kashmir to go to a country called Lo-tu. The party traversed much and tried to go back through Nepal and Kapisa, but could not reach China this time. Hiuen-Chiu died in the country of Amaravata in Central India aged 60 and odd years.

Hwui-Lun was a native of Corea; his Indian name was Prajñā-varman. He quitted his country inflamed with a desire to perform a pilgrimage to the holy places of Buddhism. From Corea he came to Lo-yang, the capital of China; there he was commissioned by the Emperor to follow the steps of Hiuen-Chiu, who had gone to the Western countries, and to attend him as servant. Having undertaken this, he went from place to place, paying homage to the sacred spots of his religion. He dwelt in the monastery of Amaravata in Central India. He visited many places, one of which was the monastery of Tou-ho-la-sse, built by the Tukhara people for the accommodation of their fellow countrymen. Here Hwui-Lun remained for the purpose of learning Sanskrit language. The monk visited many holy places including Nālandā. Near about it there was an old temple, the foundations of which even then remained; it was called 'China Temple'. The old story was that the temple was built by one Śrīgupta Mahārāja for the priests from China. During Śrīgupta's reign about twenty Chinese monks, having wandered away from Szu-chuen, came out near the Mahābodhi

Hwui-Lun, the
Corean in
India.

The China
temple near
Nālandā.

¹ Sylvain Lévi, *Les missions de Wang-hiuen-tsi dans l'Inde*—J. A., 1900. Translated in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1911, pp. 111ff.; V.A. Smith, *Early History of India* (4th ed.), pp. 366-67.

and offered their worship. The king moved with their piety, gave them a large village for their maintenance and settlement. Hwui-Lun says that this happened 500 years ago, which is not probable; but we may believe the kernel of the story as true. He further gives some traditional history of Nālandā and says that there were three thousand and five hundred priests in the monastery of Nālandā, which was supported by revenues derived from villages given by a succession of kings to the monastery.

Fa-hsien and a group of twenty-four youngmen, who came to India after him, Hiuen Tsang and some of his contemporaries all came to India either by the North-western passage or crossing the Himalayas. But there was another route through which communication had been established between India and China; on his way back, it was the sea route, which was taken by Fa-hsien in the early fourth century A. D. We have a record of about a score of Chinese monks who came to India proper or her colonies in the South Seas, by the sea route.

Of these I-tsing is the best known to us; his travels and his contributions to the diffusion of knowledge about India and Indian literature have already been described in details.

Next we hear of two Korean monks who came as far as Śrīvijaya, (formerly transliterated as Śrībhoja in Sumatra, modern Palembang), which was a Hindu colony and a great seat of Sanskrit culture; they died there without coming to Indian mainland. Another Chinese monk named Hui-Ning left China in 665 A.D., and passed three years in Ho-ling, or Kalinga, a name applied to the coastal country of Pegu; but the identification is not final. Wan-K'i of Kiau-Chau spent ten years in the Southern Seas, and was very proficient in the language of *Kiu-lun* (of Sumatra) and was partly acquainted with Sanskrit. He afterwards retired to a lay life and resided at Śrīvijaya.

Mochadeva, a young Cochin-Chinese, (but as his name sounds, it seems that he was an emigrant living in Further India), came to India. He visited all the countries of the Southern Seas and came to India, but died young. Another priest of Cochin-China was Kwei-Chung, who went by the Southern Seas to Ceylon. Afterwards in company with a priest called Hün-Chiu, he proceeded to the Bodhi tree and afterwards to Rājagṛha. He also died young at 30. A priest of the Mahāyāna school called Tang or the 'Lamp' (Dīpa) went with his parents when young to the land of Dvāravati, as part of Siam was called and there became a priest. He afterwards went with the Chinese

Two Korean monks.

Mochadeva.

Dīpa.

envoy to Chang-an in China. Afterwards he came to India, having visited the Southern Seas and Ceylon. He lived in Tāmralipti for twelve years where he applied himself diligently to Sanskrit, acquired great proficiency in the language and then proceeded to Nālandā, Gaya and other places.

Eastern Turkestan was a Buddhist country; there was an Indian settlement too, of which we shall hear in our study on

Central Asia. Two priests of Turfan going in company with a Chinese envoy through the Southern Seas died on board the ship. The books belonging to these monks, the Yoga-śāstra and others, I-tsing remarks, are still at Śrīvijaya. These priests might be Indians of Turfan and these books might be original Sanskrit texts, but we are not sure.

Tao-Lun, a Chinese priest was called Śīlaprabha by his Indian name, resided in many places in the South Seas and came to Tāmralipti, where he passed three years in the study of Sanskrit language. After visiting Buddha-Gaya, he came to Nālandā, where he studied *Kośa* (Abhidharma-kośa)

for a year or two. After visiting several holy places he proceeded to South India, and going through the Maratha country in Western India, he studied a work entitled *Ta-ming-chan* (*Vedī-dhara-piṭaka*). The current tradition is that this work was in 100,000 ślokas, which in Chinese translation would represent 300 chapters; that a great portion of it is lost and that after the death of the Buddha, the spirit of the verses was preserved by Ārya Nāgārjuna. Tao-Lun after this proceeded to Kashmir and the country of Udyāna. After some further travels he died at the age of fifty.

Another priest called Tan-Kuang came to India by the Southern route, and having arrived at A-li-ki-lu (Arakan?), he was reported to have found favour with the king and to have got a temple built, and books and images made; finally he is said to have died there.

Hwui-ming set out for India but could not reach it owing to the ship being stopped by a contrary wind.

Hwui-Ta, a priest of Kun-chow came of a high Chinese family. He appears to have accompanied an envoy in a Persian ship to the Southern seas. Having arrived at Śrīvijaya he remained there for six months studying the *Śabīta-vidyā* or the science of grammar. After visiting several places he came to Tāmralipti where he met Dīpa or T'ang mentioned above. In this place, they remained together one year learning Sanskrit and

practising *Śābala Śāstra*. After some further vicissitudes he reached Nālandā where he lived for ten years, and then going back to Tāmralipti he returned to Quedah with all his books and translations, amounting in all to 500,000 ślokas, enough to fill 1000 volumes ; he remained at Śrīvijaya.

A priest named Lingwan took the route through Annam and came to India and erected under the Bodhi-tree, a figure of Maitreya Bodhisattva, one cubit in height and of exquisite beauty. Lingwan had a companion named

Lingwan and
other monks.

Seng-chi who came to India by the Southern Sea route.

Having arrived at Samatāṣṭa he found the king of that country, Harṣavardhana by name, a upāsaka, who greatly revered the three objects of worship. Another Chinese priest Chi'Sze went to the south and resided at Shang-King near Cochin-China ; he then went south to Śrīvijaya, and afterwards proceeded to India. Chi'Sze was accompanied by a priest named Wou-Lung. He visited Ceylon, Burma and many other places till he arrived in India. He studied at Nālandā the *Yoga (Yogāvatāra)*, *Kośa (Abhidharmakośa)* and other works. Moved with a desire to obtain copies of the Vinaya, he went to Khardah (Kie-lo-ch'a) temple near the Mahābodhi. In the end he died at Nālandā. Fa-chin never reached India proper although he visited many places of Greater India. Ta-tsing of Lai-chow visited India and returned to the Southern Seas in 682 A. D., and after sending his books and images to China, he himself resided at Śrīvijaya, where he acted as an interpreter of the Kiu-lun language. He returned to Chang-an in 693 A. D.

I-tsing mentions twenty-one Chinese monks, who came to India by the Northern land route, of whom the following are noteworthy.

Tao-Hi, a man of noble descent, who took his Indian name as Śrīdeva, visited India during the Tang period. He resided at Mahābodhi for several years and lived in Nālandā as well

Tao-Hi.

for sometime ; while remaining at Nālandā he studiously applied himself to the study of Mahāyāna. He also resided

at Chu-po-pun-na and studied the *Vinaya Piṭaku* and *Śābda-vidyā*. Whilst in the Mahābodhi he engraved a memorial tablet in the Chinese language. He left more than 400 volumes, new and old, of Chinese sūtras and śāstras, at Nālandā. I-tsing did not meet this monk, for he had gone to Amarāvati where he died at the age of fifty, but he saw his chamber at Nālandā.

Another young Chinese Doctor of Dharma, Sse-Pin came to India by the Northern route ; he was well-versed in the Sanskrit Tantras. He met

Tao-Hi in Amarakuva. He died after remaining one summer in India.

A Korean monk named Ārya-varma left Chang-an about 638 A. D., and came to Nālandā, where he engaged himself in copying many sūtras. He was deeply versed in the Vinaya and Abhidharma. He died at Nālandā at about seventy. During this time another Korean monk Hwui-Nieh came to India, lived in the Mahābodhi Temple and then went to Nālandā, where he dwelt for a long time, reading and studying. I-tsing when arranging some Chinese books in the Nālandā Monastery Library saw some records of Hwui-Nieh. On enquiry at the temple, the priests said that the Korean priest who lived there died the same year at the age of sixty. The Sanskrit books copied by him were preserved at Nālandā Vihāra.

The third Korean monk Hiuen-T'ai called by the Sanskrit name of Sarvajñānadeva went in 650 A. D. to Middle India by the Tibetan road through Nepal; he visited Mahābodhi and other places in India and returned to China. He was a contemporary of Tao-Hi, whom he met in the Tukhāra country, by which Eastern Turkestan is meant. Another Korean monk came to India, only to die at Mahābodhi, without accomplishing any work worth remembering.

A Hindu colonist of Tukhāra country (Kucha or Turfan) named Bodhidharma, a man of great bodily size and strength, came to China and became a priest. He came to India and I-tsing met him at Nālandā. The priest died in North India at fifty or so.

I-tsing speaks of another Chinese monk of Ping-Chau, who came to Nepal and was living there while he wrote the book. Tao-Sing, an ācārya of Dharma, called in Sanskrit Candradeva, came by the Turfan road to Middle India in 549 A.D. He was greatly honoured at Nālandā. Twelve stages east to Nālandā, there was a monastery of the Hīnayāna, where Tao-Sing remained for many years learning the books of Tripiṭaka according to the Hīnayāna. He returned to China through Nepal.

Shang-Tih was a priest of the Dhyāna School founded by Bodhidharma. He was very ardent and wanted to come to India, but on the way the ship which was bringing them to India sank and the brave monk was drowned praying on board the ship. He had vowed to write out the whole of the Prajñā Sūtras in 10,000 chapters. He only finished a part of his vow in China.

Korean Monks
in India.

A Hindu of
Turkestan.

Tao-Sing or
Candradeva.

Shang-Tih.

Matisiṃha, a man of the Capital whose common name was Wong-po, accompanied the priest Sse-Pin and, arriving at the Madhyadeśa, began to learn Sanskrit. But he made little progress in the sacred language and he went to Nepal and died on the way there.

I-tsing mentions several other monks who either came to India or lived in Tukhāra, which is Eastern Turkestan. These monks learned Sanskrit and two of them, coming from Turfan, lived in Nepal ; they spoke Sanskrit well. An ācārya of Dharma named Lung got a copy of Sanskrit *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*. He died at Gandhāra.

Ming Yuen, a Chinese monk, whose Sanskrit name was Cintādeva, came to Ceylon by the sea-route ; and so much was his enthusiasm for religion and greed for relics, that he tried to steal the famous tooth-relic of Ceylon, but was detected and disgraced.

I-long, a priest of Yih-chau, well-versed in the Vinaya-Piṭaka, and the interpretation of Yogācāra, set forth from Chang-an with two other persons ; one having died on the way, two came to Ceylon, where they worshipped the tooth-relic and having obtained various books returned through Western India. I-tsing says that he never heard of I-long in Middle India. It would be interesting to know what books from Ceylon were taken by the monk in the middle of the seventh century, when Pāli Buddhism was predominant there. Ceylon had been visited by Chinese monks. It is a common mistake that in China Mahāyāna alone was preached. We have proofs of the existence of Sanskrit Hīnayāna books in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, but we have not definitely come across any Pāli book in translation, nor of any book belonging to the Theravāda.

Sin-Chin, whose Sanskrit name was Caritavarman came by the Northern route and died young.

Saṅghavarman was a native of Samarkhand or Central Asia. He first went to China, and then came to India to the Mahābodhi.

He went back to China and died at Cochin-China while relieving an epidemic there. Besides these there were a few travellers whom we can pass over.

These monks came to India to study Buddhism in the soil where it originated. The number of Chinese and other non-Indian monks, who came to visit India, in comparison with the great difficulty of the route, was indeed very great. These fifty-four monks, we have already pointed out, came to India a little before I-tsing, and some were his contemporaries. The enthusiasm and activity on the part of Chinese people can thus easily

be gauged. From the perusal of the above the readers will form the idea that it is not only the Indians who had gone out to preach but that other peoples also had enthusiasm. We shall however see that in the tenth century there is again such an outburst of holy pilgrimage to India.

The Tang Dynasty collapsed in 907 A. D. owing, as we have already indicated, to the incapacity of the later Emperors and was succeeded by a period of troubles in which five short dynasties founded by military adventures, three of whom were of Turkish race, rose and fell in 53 years. One of the Emperors of this epoch Shih-Tsung of the Later Chou Dynasty, stopped building monasteries and turned bronze images into currency. But in the South, Buddhism flourished in the Province of Fukien under the Princes of Ming and the dynasty which called itself South Tang. In 960 the *Sung* dynasty united the Chinese people, but had to struggle against the Khitan Tartars. In the 12th century appeared the Kins or Golden Tartars, who demolished the power of the Khitans in alliance with the Chinese but turned against their allies and conquered whole of China on the North of the Yangtse and harassed the Sung. But the Mongols soon appeared in the field. In 1232 the Sung emperor entered into alliance with the Mongols against the Kings, and although the Kings were driven, Kublai Khan of the Mongols, became emperor of entire China in 1280.

"The dynasties of Tang and Sung mark two great epochs in the history of Chinese art, literature and thought, but whereas the virtues and vices of the Tang may be summed up as genius and extravagance, those of the Sung are culture and tameness."¹ Buddhism inspired many artists to paint their master-pieces. We remember that Bodhidharma, the twenty-eighth Patriarch, founded the Chan or Contemplative sect better known as Zen Sects in Japan. This school of thought was specially responsible for great movements in art and literature in China as well as Japan. Block-printing was popularised and culture and learning greatly spread. Taitsu, the founder of the Sung Dynasty, although not a Buddhist, was a man of culture.

1 Eliot, *op. cit.*, III, p. 269.

It was in his reign (972 A.D.) that the first printed edition of the Tripiṭaka was published. The early and thorough application of printing to this gigantic Canon is a proof of the popular esteem for Buddhism. The emperor himself wrote a preface to this edition and his name will ever be remembered with gratitude for having printed and popularised the Chinese translations of Sanskrit books. In 971 A.D., he caused two copies of the same canon to be made, one written in gold and the other in silver paint. This may be called the eighth collection made by the order of the Emperor of China, though no Catalogue or Index seems to have been compiled on the occasion. The blocks of wood on which the characters were cut for this edition are said to have been 130000 in number. After this between 960 and 1368 there are said to have been as many as twenty different editions under the Sung and Yuen dynasties.

The first edition of the Tripiṭaka did not close the work of translation, for 275 works translated during the Northern Sung Dynasty are still extant. Religious intercourse with India continued, although henceforward the number of Chinese ramaṇas proceeding to India either on pilgrimage or for study was more than that of the influx of Indian monks into China. On the whole there was a decrease in the volume of religious literature, after 900 A.D. This decrease is natural; by this time most of the important and unimportant Sanskrit books of different sects had been rendered into Chinese. The literature of the Tang and the Chao dynasties was not at all favourable for the growth and spread of Buddhist culture. A few Indian monks came from India for a century and half before the Sung came in power. The history of the Sung Dynasty, in its account of India, refers to the arrival (in A.D. 951) of Samanta, a

Chinese pilgrims and Indian paṇḍits in the Sung period.

monk, with a large number of companions belonging to sixteen families of W. India. In 965 a Chinese priest, named Tan-Yuen, returned from a journey to the western countries with relics and Sanskrit Buddhist books written on "Palm-leaf" to the extent of 40 volumes. He was absent for twelve years and resided in India alone for half the period. He gave an account of his travels to the emperor and showed him the Sanskrit books he had brought.

M. Chavannes says that between 964 and 976, 300 Chinese Śramaṇas travelled to India. Edkins says that in 966 A.D., 157 Chinese priests set out together, with the emperor's permission, to visit India

and obtain Buddhist books.¹ They passed through Karashar, Kutch, Khotan, Peshawar (Pu-lu-sha) and Kashmir but nothing is said of their further travels.² One of the travellers of this period Kiye wrote a short account which has been translated into English by Gustav Schlegel under the title "Itinerary to the Western Countries of Wang-nieh in A.D. 964"³. Indians continued to come to China and in 972 A.D., three Śramaṇas arrived at the royal court of the Sung from Western India. Another came from a land called Sou-ko-to, who offered the emperor the relics and flowers of Mañjuśrī. Fourteen more Śramaṇas, about whose activities we have no particular information, came to China from Western India.

In 973 appeared in China one of the greatest translators of Sanskrit named Dharmadeva⁴ (Fa-Tien or Fa-hsien). He was a native of Magadha and came from the great Buddhist monastery of Nālandā. He worked from 973 to 982 under the name of Fa-tien, when he was honoured by the emperor and changed his name in 982 to Fa-hsien. In 982, a board of translators was formed with Dharmadeva, Tien-si-tsai and Dānapāla, each of whom was asked to translate one work into Chinese. There were also other Chinese monks well-versed in Sanskrit language. They were engaged to supervise translations, others were appointed to make the Chinese style idiomatic and perfect. We shall hear of their literary activities later on.

In 977 A.D. Ki-siang a Śramaṇa from India came, and brought with him some Sanskrit texts written on palm-leaves. It is said that he presented to the emperor a pretentious translation which he called the 'Sūtra of Collection of Magic Prayers of Mahāyāna,' but Dharmadeva denounced that work as spurious having no Sanskrit original and the emperor had it burnt.

Ki-t'song, a Śramaṇa of the temple of K'ai-pao in Western India, came to China with a number of his companions. He offered Sanskrit books, a relic of a stūpa of Buddha, the leaves of Bodhi-tree and some curios. Another Śramaṇa Po-na-mo of Central India also brought some curios to the

Dharmadeva
[Fa-T'ien].

Indian Śrama-
ṇas in China.

Prince Mañjuśrī
971 A.D.

1 Appendix to Les inscriptions Chinoises de Bodh-Gaya par Ed. Chavannes. (*Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, 1896, Jul-Aout).

2 Edkins, *op.cit.*, p. 144.

3 *Memoires du Comité Sinico-Japonais*, XXI, 1893.

4 Nanjio, pp. 450-451.

emperor, but no books. Sometime back in 971 A.D., a prince named Mañjuśrī had come to China with the Chinese monks returning from India. He was the youngest son of a king of Northern India, and according to custom, he had to become a monk. Tai-tsung (960-975) the then reigning emperor asked him to live in the temple of Siang-Kuo. He observed the discipline religiously and became the favourite of the people of the capital. The monks became jealous of him and as he did not know Chinese, they falsely told the emperor that the Indian prince-monk was homesick. The emperor granted him his request; Mañjuśrī was greatly annoyed, but there was no help for it. He said that he would go towards the South Seas to return on a merchant boat. It is not known where he had gone (978 A.D.).

In 980, landed in China two most famous Indian monks, whose literary activities have won them an immortal name in Buddhist Chinese literature. They were Tien-si-tsai and Che-hu
 Tien-si-tsai and Dānapāla.¹ or Dānapāla.¹ Two years after, the emperor honoured the three great Indian translators—Dharmadeva with the title of Chwang-chio-ta-shih, Tien-si-tsai with Ming-chiao-ta-shih and Dānapāla with Hsien-chiao-ta-shih. They were put at the head of the Translation Committee. The Chinese monks versed in Sanskrit were charged to pick up the translation by writing and by correcting the phrases, modelled at first on the Sanskrit original. The high functionaries were to polish the Chinese styles. The same year a priest of Western China returned from India with a letter from a king of Western India, an impression of the skull of Buddha, some pages of palm-leaf texts, and leaves of Bodhidruma, the most favourite thing of a Buddhist. It was translated by (Che-hu) Dānapāla and it contained congratulations on the favourable attitude shown by the emperor to Buddhism, together with some geographical details of India and adjacent countries. This king Mo-si-hang is identified with Mahāsenā mentioned in the Mahāvamsa of Ceylon.

The next year 983 the Chinese monk Fa-yu² while returning from India, whither he had gone in search of sacred books, arrived at San-fo-tse, a country bordering on Cambodia to the south-west, met a Hindu monk named Vimalaśrī (Mi-mo-lo-che-li). He expressed his wish to go to China to translate sacred books there. The emperor,

1 Nanjio, App. II, p. 161.

2 Nanjio, App. II, p. 162.

having heard that, sent for him and engaged him in the work. Fa-yu started again for India with the emperor's credentials.

The annals of the Sung Period mention quite a number of Indian monks who went to China, and Chinese monks who came back after a tour in India. A Buddhist priest of the Brahmin caste with Aliyin, a Persian, is mentioned as having visited the capital. Some people came by sea ; they could not make themselves understood, but the images and books, they brought with them, showed that they were Buddhists. Several other arrivals are also recorded. They presented Sanskrit books and Buddhist relics to the emperor as token of their gratitude to him for his love for Buddhism. In 989 Pout'o-k'i-to, a Śramaṇa of Nālandā came to the Chinese court with relics and Sanskrit texts. In 995 Kāla-sānti (?) of Central India brought the same thing. Rāhula, Ni-wei-ni, Fo-hu (Buddha-rakṣa) all brought Sanskrit texts between 997 and 998. In 1004 A.D. arrived another great Sanskrit scholar and translator Fa-hu (Dharma-rakṣa). He brought the relics of Buddha and Sanskrit texts written on palm-leaves. Śilabhadra, another monk, also brought some Sanskrit texts. Mou-le-che-ki of Kashmir, Ta-mo-pa of Western India, Chang-te, Kio-chie, Tsi-hien, and a host of these Indian travellers went to China with Sanskrit texts. Probably in India after the Hindu revival the Buddhists were no more safe, and sorely needed a shelter for themselves and their books.

The intimate relation between China and India is proved also by the three inscriptions in Chinese, found at Buddha-Gaya by Beglar and Cunningham of the Archaeological Department in 1878. These were first deciphered and reproduced by S. Beal in the *JRAS.*, for 1881 and noticed in the *Indian Antiquary* of the same year. In 1895 G. Schlegel made some observations in the *Toung Pao* (vol. VI, pp. 522-524) and corrected a few mistakes of Beal. In 1896 M. Ed. Chavannes published the complete text with critical study and translation in the *Revue de l'histoire des Religions* (1896, Jul.-Aout.—Les inscriptions Chinoises de Bodh-Gaya).

These inscriptions tell us that as late as the early eleventh century Chinese monks came to India. The first and the shorter inscription gives us the name of Chi-i, a priest of the great Han country, who had vowed to exhort or encourage thirty thousand men to prepare themselves by their conduct for birth in heaven, to distribute in charity 30,000 books relating to heavenly birth, and himself to relate as

Other Indian monks in China.

11th century Chinese Inscriptions in Buddha-Gaya.

many books ; then in company with others he travelled through India and arrived at Magadha, where he saw the Vajrāsana and other sacred places. After this in company with other Chinese monks he travelled through India.

The second, third and the fourth inscriptions belong to 1022 A.D. The second one is very long ; it says that Ho-Yun, a priest came to Buddha-Gaya with a view to worship the sacred relics of the place. He had great ambitions about religious piety and left behind him a hymn of praise of Tri-kāya of Buddha and of the three thrones occupied by them. The third inscription tells us that in 1023 A.D. two men, called I-tsing and I-lin, were sent from the eastern capital of China with a *Kāṣāya* garment in a golden case which they hung above the Bodhi-tree. The fourth inscription is very short and relates the same thing as above, but the monk was Chao-p'in. The fifth inscription is dated 1033 A.D., which says that a man named Hoai-Wen commemorates the erection of a Stūpa close to the Vajrāsana. He came as an agent of the Chinese emperor and empress.

These five inscriptions may not have any great value in ordinary history, but are of momentous importance to the religious history of the East ; it shows the strength of the religious impulse that urged so many pilgrims from China to visit Buddha-Gaya and other sacred places of India, and the sincerity of their belief in the merits of their pilgrimage.

During the Sung dynasty of 167 years, ten translators worked for the Chinese literature. The most prominent among these was

Dharmadeva. Dharmadeva (Fa-Tien or Fa-hsien as he called himself after 982 A.D.), a Śramaṇa of Magadha, who came from the great Nālandā University in 973 A.D. In 982 he received from the emperor Tai-Tsung an honorary title for his great learning. He died in 1001. 118 works are ascribed to him, these are all mentioned in the Ming Catalogue. Of these 118 books, 31 were either second or third or sometimes fourth translation of works done previously. These were mostly monograms or parts of bigger books. He translated 78 new books, mostly dhāraṇīs and sūtras of not much merit.

Among the translations we find a very interesting composition by King Śīlāditya. It was a laudatory verse in Sanskrit (Nanjio 1071). M. Sylvain Lèvi restored this

Sanskrit poem and published it. There were other Sanskrit poems, the originals of which are long lost, viz., *Trikāya-saṃskṛta-stotra* (1072), *Mañjuśrī-bodhisattva-srī-gāthā* (1074), *Ārya-*

Sanskrit stotras
in Chinese
transliteration.

vajrapāṇi-bodhisattva-nāmāṣṭa-śataka-saṃskṛta-stotra (1075), *Ghaṇṭika-saṃskṛta stotra* etc. These transliterations show that Sanskrit was greatly revered by the Buddhists in China.

A large number of Dhāraṇīs are found in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, both in translation and transcription. The transcription of Sanskrit sounds in Chinese ideograms is highly important to the students of Chinese phonetics. Some of the Dhāraṇīs are written in Nāgarī characters as well as in Chinese letters. The writing of these Gupta Nāgarī characters should receive the attention of epigraphists. Dhāraṇī.

I mention below a few of the *Dhāraṇīs* which are found both in transcription and translation from a collection called *T'o-lo-ni-tsa-chi* [T'o lo-niṃ Dhāraṇī], compiled during the Liang Dynasty (502-557):

- 1 Śākya Mahānāma Dhāraṇī.
- 2 Ānanda-bhikṣu-bhāṣita Dhāraṇī.
- 3 Samantabhadra-bodhisattva-bhāṣita Mahādhāraṇī.
- 4 Mañjuśrī Dhāraṇī.
- 5 Samādhiśvara-rāja-bodhisattva Dhāraṇī.
- 6 Śaḍlakṣara-bodhisattva Dhāraṇī.
- 7 Guṇalakṣaṇālakāra-bodhisattva Dhāraṇī.
- 8 Sukṛitī-bodhisattva Dhāraṇī.
- 9 Ratnacandra-prabha-bodhisattva Dhāraṇī.
- 10 Dhrūva-bodhisattva Dhāraṇī.
- 11 Mahābrahma-devarāja Mahādhāraṇī.
- 12 Māheśvara-devarāja Dhāraṇī.
- 13 Nirmāṇarati-devarāja Mahādhāraṇī.
- 14 Tuṣita-devarāja Mahādhāraṇī.
- 15 Yama-devarāja Dhāraṇī.
- 16 Trayastriṃśa-devarāja Mahādhāraṇī.
- 17 Maheśvara-devarāja Dhāraṇī, etc.

Courant in his *Catalogue des Livres Chinois*, etc. mentions 172 works on Dhāraṇī¹ most of which contain transliteration, and translation.

The fourth emperor Jin-Tsung of the Sung Dynasty was a distinguished patron of literature ; during his reign there was a galaxy of scholars ; he appointed fifty youths to study Sanskrit, although

1 Maurice Courant—*Catalogue des Livres Chinois*, Coriens, Japonis etc. (Bib. Nationale of Paris), 1910, II, pp. 564-590. Also the Chinese Tripiṭaka (Shanghai ed.), bk. 27.

he himself showed no inclination towards Buddhism.¹ In the system of education, Buddhist and Taoist subjects were introduced.²

Tien-si-tsai and Dānapāla (Sh-hu) were contemporaries of Dharmadeva (Fa-tien or Fa-hsien) already mentioned. Tien-si-tsai (whose original Indian name has not been restored) was a Śramaṇa either of Jalandhar or of Kashmir. He arrived in China in A.D. 980, and worked indefatigably for twenty years till 1000 A.D. He received Imperial honours during his lifetime and even after his death he was honoured by the emperor. Eighteen works are attributed to him. Of his works *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha* or *Ghana-vyūha-śāstra* is important. His translation was in 4 fasciculi, whereas the earlier translations by Dharma-rakṣa in 270 A.D. and the later by Guṇabhadra two centuries after contained only 2 fasciculi. Burnouf says that there are two versions of this book, the prose version having 67 folios or 134 pages, and the poetry version having 185 folios or 390 pages.³ It is evident that Tien-si-tsai translated from this longer version of *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha*. His other works were *Alpākṣara Prājñāpāramitā* in four leaves. We have heard of *Pañca-śikṣati-sukasa-prajñāpāramitā* and its abridgment, but not of the Alpākṣara. *Mañjuśrī Mūlatantra* in 20 fasciculi was translated by him. Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryā-sūtra* which is wrongly attributed to Nāgārjuna, (354) and *Dharmasaṅgraha-mahārtha-gāthā-sūtra* or better known as *Dharmapada* collected by Dharma trāta were rendered into Chinese. Tien-si-tsai's translation of *Dharmapada* is the last of the four Chinese versions of this famous book, which has been rendered into all the civilized languages of the ancient and modern world. A brief resumé of the Chinese translations of the *Dharmapada* will not be out of place here.

There are four principal copies of what may be called *Dharmapada* in Chinese, the first dating from Wu Dynasty, about the beginning of the third century A.D. This translation called Fa-cheu-ching, is the work of a Śramaṇa Wei-chi-lan and others. Its title means 'the sūtra of law verses'—Gāthāsaṅgraha. In the preface the

Chinese
Dharmapada.

1 Eliot, III, p. 270.

2 Biot, *L' Instruction Publique en China*, p. 350, quoted by Eliot.

3 *Introduction du Bouddhisme*, p. 196.

Chinese translator states that the Śramaṇas in after ages copied from the canonical scriptures various gāthās, some of four lines and some of six, and attached to each set of verses a title, according to the subject therein explained. This work of extracting and collecting is ascribed to the uncle of Vasumitra and Ārya-Dharmatrāta, the author of the Samyuktā bhidharma-śāstra and other works.

In the preface to the Fa-chun-ching we are told that the original, which consisted of 500 verses, was brought from India by Vighna in 223 A.D., and that it was translated into Chinese with the help of another Indian. After the translation was finished, 13 sections were added, making up the whole to 752 sections, 1458 words and 39 chapters (S.B.E., X, Intro., p. viii). The Pāli *Dhammapada* does not agree with Chinese and we know from the Central Asian finds that there were Prākṛt as well as Sanskrit versions of the *Dharmapada* and it is probable that the Chinese source is Prākṛit and not Pāli. The translation of Vighna is somewhat difficult in its expression, though simple words were used in order to make the meaning of the text as accurate as possible. Afterwards in the reign of Hwui-ti (290-306) Fa-li and Fa-chu translated a shorter sūtra with a commentary.

A third Chinese version is called Chie-ten-ching. Its translator was Buddhasmṛta (about 410 A.D.). The text of this work is said to have been brought from India by Saṅghabhadanta of Kipin (Cabul) about 345 A.D. It is an extensive work in 33 chapters with a very large commentary. The fourth translation was done by Tien-si-tsai; it consisted of 33 chapters.

Dānapāla was a Śramaṇa of Udyāna of Northern India. He arrived in China in A. D. 980 along with Dharmadeva and Tien-si-tsai. Two years after his arrival he received from the Chinese Emperor the

title of Hsien-chiao-ta-shih, Tien-si-tsai received Ming-chiao-ta-shih, and Dharmadeva received Chuang-chiao-ta-shih. The number of books translated by Dānapāla was one hundred and eleven—mostly Dhāraṇīs. These

Mantras became very popular with certain section of the Buddhists, the Chinese, and they swelled the bulk of the Buddhist Chinese literature. Since the days of Amogha-Vajra, Tantrikism made a little progress, and this literature was greatly cultivated and propagated by the Indian Tāntrik Buddhists. Dānapāla rendered into Chinese a few booklets ascribed to the great Nāgārjuna. These are *Bodhi-hṛdaya-rūpavimukta-śāstra* (No. 1304), *Mahāyāna Bhava-bheda-śāstra*

Dānapāla and
Tantra Literature,
980 A. D.

Three years after the death of Dānapāla, Dharmarakṣa (Fa-hu), a śramaṇa of ʼ arrived in China. As I have already told Fa-hu brought some Sanskrit manuscripts with him and he applied himself to translating them till A.D. 1058, when he died in his ninety-sixth year. In 1054 he received from the Emperor Jen-Tsung (1023-1063 A.D.) the special title of P'u-ming-tzu-chiao-chwang-fan-ta-shih for his meritorious work. In 1009 a Translation Board was formed by the Imperial command with Fa-hu, Wei-tsing and others. The *Ratnamegha-Sūtra* (Nanjio 964), one of the most popular Mahāyāna Sūtras, a shorter form of which had been twice translated before, was translated by Dharmarakṣa. Fa-hu and the Chinese monk mentioned above rendered into Chinese in 20 fasciculi *Tathāgata-acintya-guhya nirdēśa*, a Mahāyāna Sūtra, which had been translated by another Dharmarakṣa (Fa-hu) in the W. T'sin Dynasty (265-316) in 7 fasciculi. This formed a part of Ratnakūṭa Group of Mahāyāna literature. Another distinctly Tāntrik book *He-Vajra-tantra* (Nanjio, 1060) which agrees with the Tibetan version in the Kanjur was made accessible in a Chinese form. Bodhisattva Dharmayaśa's *Mahāyāna Saṅgīta-bodhisattva-vidyāsūtra* (1298) was for the first time translated by Fa-hu and Sūrya-yaśas in 20 fasciculi. In the Ming collection this book is placed for the first time among the Abhidharma works and was admitted into the Canon during the Sung-Yuen period. At this late period a Hīnayāna work was translated by Fa-hu and his colleagues. It was Mahā-Maudgalyāyana's *Prajñaptipāda-Śāstra* (Nanjio 1317); this is the last of the six pāda works of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharmas.

Wei-Tsing, a Chinese śramaṇa, who seems to have worked together with the Indian monks mentioned before, and had joined the Imperial Translation Board in 1009, must have acquired sufficient knowledge of Sanskrit to translate a few books from the original. His most important contribution was his translation of Bodhisattva Sthiramati's commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamaka Śāstra*. Jñānaśrī (Chu-chi-siang) and Sūryayaśas were contemporaries of Fa-hu and Sūryayaśas actually worked with Fa-hu. Sūryayaśas himself translated two books of the great Aśvaghōṣa—one being a book of fifty verses on the rules for serving a teacher (N. 1080), another known as *Daśa-duṣṭa-karmamārga Sūtra* (N. 1379). That the Buddhist monks were still held in great honour is shown by the fact that Maitreya-

Dharmarakṣa
and the Transla-
tion Board,

Miscellaneous
works.

bhadra, a śramaṇa of Magadha, became Kuo-Shih or the State-teacher of the Chinese Court. He is responsible for five translations.

Probably the last book that was translated in the Sung Dynasty by Shao-tih, Hwui-Sung and others was *Bodhisattva-Jātakamālā* (1312).

Jātakamālā. It was originally composed or collected by the Bodhisattva Āryaśūra and commented upon by Muni Jinadeva in 12 fasciculi. The translation did not find favour with the Chinese for its defective style. The Sanskrit original is preserved in Hodgson manuscripts and has been published by Kern in the Harvard Oriental Series and translated by Speyer.

The Northern Sung Dynasty ended with Hui Tsang (1101-1127,) who was carried in captivity by the Kitan Tartars. The Sung retired to the south of the Yang-tse, and Hang-chow became their capital. During their rule (1128-1280) we do not meet with any translator either Indian or Chinese.

Barrenness of
the N. Sung
period.

Buddhism of Chan (Dhyāna) school enjoyed respect and contributed many landscape painters to the roll. The greatest figure of this age was Chu-hsi, the famous commentator of Kung-fu-tze (Confucius), and he was greatly influenced by Buddhist thought and in spite of his denial, it is clear that he was imbued by the mystic spirit of Bodhidharma.

The Mongols now became supreme in China. They were a rude, uncultured people of nomadic and marauding habits. Khubilai Khan the first Mongol emperor of China, was a man of completely different temperament, and he was anxious to encourage any faith that might humanize his rude followers. Buddhism suited them best.

Khubilai Khan
and the Mongol
Rule.

One Tibetan Lama, Pagspa (Ārya), invented a script on a Tibetan model for the Mongols. It was issued by Khubilai, but failed to be popular because the writing was more complicated and ornate than the simple Syriac writing which had also been introduced. Pagspa in recognition of his service received the exalted title of "Prince of the Great and Precious Law of Buddha" from Khubilai. He knew Sanskrit and Chinese and edited a book on Hinayāna Vinaya which gave brief rules for the learning and practice of bhikṣus. The restored title would be *Mūla-sarvāstivāda-nikāya-pravarjyopasampadā-karmavācā* (Nanjio 1137).

Pagspa, the
Tibetan.

Another book translated by Pagspa's disciple Sha-lo-pa known in

Chinese *Chang-su-shih-lun* or the Śāstra on explaining known objects (Nanjio 1320). It is sometimes mentioned as a Śāstra of the Hīnayāna, but it is distinctly a book on Mahāyāna.

Chang-su-lun of
Pagspa.

This is a very useful and interesting manual of the Buddhistic terminology, consisting of extracts from several śāstras, such as Sūrya-garbha-śāstra, Saddharma-smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra, Abhidharma-kośa-Śāstra of Vasubandhu and few other minor books. It consists of five chapters as Bhojana-loka, Sattva-loka, Mārga-dharma, Phala-dharma, Asaṃskṛtadharma. It was compiled by Pagspa for the sake of Chan-Chin, the Crown Prince of the Emperor Khubilai. The original, which was probably compiled from Sanskrit sources in Tibetan, was translated into Chinese by Sha-lo-pa, a disciple of Pagspa. He received from the Emperor great honours and the title of Tripiṭaka-bhadanta (Hung-Chiao-fo-chih).

The list of translators at this age is very limited. We find three more names of whom only one was an Indian Śramaṇa, the second was from Tibet, and the third was a Chinese official; the exact date and other details of these translators are unknown. Although the Yuen Period did not produce as many great translators as the former periods did, this period of 88 years of Mongol rule attracted the attention of persons with a religious and literary bent. I have already noted somewhere that the Dhyāna School of Bodhidharma began to gain ground at a later date and became very popular in China and Japan. In 1291 a priest of the Chan or Dhyāna School named Siang-Mai compiled a work known as *Pien-wei-lun* (Nanjio 1607). It was a polemic work against the Taoist. Chu-pa

Compilation
work by Chi-
nese monks.

collected in 1314-1320 A.D. some gāthās known as Guhya-pāda-malla-mahā-rddhirāja-sūtra-gāthā of 175 verses (Nanjio 1384). I have already referred to Chu-pa's Catalogue of the Tripiṭaka (Nanjio 1611). Wan-Tsai, a Chinese priest, compiled two works—one being a new commentary on a Treatise by San-Chao, a disciple of the great Kumārajīva, and a commentary on the same (Nanjio 1627, 1628). P'u-tu, a priest compiled a work in 1314 A.D. entitled 'A precious mirror of the Lotus school,' being a work of a priest of Lu-Shang in 10 fasciculi. A very important book, viz., the history of the Patriarchs and other eminent priests of the Dhyāna school, which had been originally collected by a monk of the Southern Sung Dynasty in 1033 A.D., was continued by T'sing-men. A big tome of 30 fasciculi, consisting of the sayings of Upādhyāya Chung-fang, was compiled by his disciple of the Dhyāna School in 1321-23. In

1322 Yuen-Chia wrote a commentary on Tsung-Mi's well-known treatise 'on the origin of Man'. Tsung-Mi was the fifth patriarch of Hwa-Yen or Avataṃsaka School, who wrote his book about 841 A.D.

Nien-Chang of the Yuen Dynasty compiled a complete history of Buddhism in Chinese in 36 fasciculi (Nanjio 1637). The narration of this work begins with the first Emperor down to 1333-1344 A.D., when the compilation was finished. It relates several events concerning not only Buddhism, but also Confucianism and Taoism. One Pai-chang had written a few 'Pure Rules', something like Sanskrit Niti-books, in the T'ang Dynasty. Te-hwui and Ta-su edited and published them. 'Most of these rules referred to worldly matters, so that they are not only far from the Vinaya, but also from the original rules of Pai-Chang.' The rest of the Chinese writers were either of the Dhyāna School or the T'ien-Tai school. Wei-tso of Tien-Tai school wrote a big commentary in 20 fasciculi, on the *S-m-r-i-s, i Sūtra* and *Sukkhāvati-Vyūha*, the latter known as "an important gate or doctrine of meditation on the state of the Pure-land." P'u-zui, a priest of the Hwa-yen School wrote a big commentary in 40 fasciculi on the commentary of *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (Nanjio 1322). Phu-chao, Chi-no, Chi-cho, Chu-ting all wrote on the Dhyāna School. This long and rather dry list is given here to show that the Chinese were not inactive as regards Indian books. As most of the Buddhist books had already been translated, people now gave more matured thought on its contents and wrote and studied either commentaries or expository notes on them. Another important work, which has nothing to do with translation, is *Su-chwan-tang-lu*, in 36 fasciculi which contains the lives of 3118 eminent priests of the Dhyāna School. A similar work was compiled in the later Sung Dynasty. That was also a history of the Indian and Chinese Patriarchs of the Dhyāna School. From historian's point of view these books are very valuable.

The Mongol Emperors were extremely superstitious and showed their sincere devotion to Buddhist religious literature. Khubilai saw to the fact that the monasteries in Peking were all supplied with books and ordered the priests to recite them on stated days. A new collection of Tripiṭaka was published in 1285-87, under the Imperial order of Khubilai. This Catalogue was compiled by Ching-Chi-Siang in collaboration with Indian, Tibetan and Chinese assistants and is known

Tsung-mi.

Miscellaneous
writers.

Khubilai's attitude towards
Buddhism.

as Chi-Yuen-lu. The number of translated books in the Tripiṭaka mentioned in it is 1440 in 5586 fasciculi. These are the works made by 194 persons under twenty-two dynasties during the period of 1219 years¹ (67-1285 A.D.). Besides this there are 95 Indian and 118 Chinese works which are not purely Buddhist books but books dealing with Indian subjects. All the translations of Tripiṭaka and other Indian works are compared with the Tibetan Tanjur and Kanjur translation and to each of them is added the Sanskrit transliteration and a note after the Chinese title, stating whether both the translations were in agreement or not and whether the book was wanting in the Tibetan version. This composition, however, seems to have been made only through a catalogue of Tibetan books, and not actually with the translations themselves. From the Tibetan sources we get some information as regards this translation; during the reign of the Tartar Emperor, Sa-Chien, the Chinese scriptures were compared with the Tibetan collections of Kanjur and Tanjur. Such treatises and volumes as were wanting in the Chinese were translated from the Tibetan scriptures. All these formed one complete collection, the first part of which consisted of Buddha's teaching (Kanjur). To the second part 21 volumes of translations from Tibetan, with Chinese Śāstras, and works of eminent Ho-Shang (monks), comprising 153 volumes, were added. The whole collection consisted of 740 volumes. An analytic catalogue of all these books are furnished. In this collection many Śāstras were found which did not exist in the Tibetan collections" (*JASB.*, 1882, p. 92)

Another catalogue compiled originally by Wang-Ku of the Sung Dynasty was continued by Kuang-Chu-pa in A.D. 1305 under the Yuen (Mongol) dynasty. This Catalogue entirely depends upon the previous one and adds a short account of the contents of each book. The Catalogue was first sent by M. P. Habace of Russia to S. Julien of Paris in 1848. After a careful study,

1 "Preparatory to the translation of the Tripiṭaka into Mongolian the Emperor Khubilai convened his priestly and lay subordinates and constituted there a committee to examine the Buddhist works (1,400 in number) then extant in China and Tibet. This Committee consisted of some 28 men of several countries, China, Tibet, India, Turfan, Uigur and M... Takakusu, J.P.T.S., 1904-05, p. 80.

Julien published a 'Concordance-Sinico-Sanskrita' in the Journal Asiatique (1849 pp. 351-446). Bunyio Nanjio, while compiling his great Catalogue made use of this valuable Catalogue in which many Sanskrit words have been restored (*JPTS.*, 1905, p. 81).

The activities of Khubilai to enhance the cause of Buddhism was manifold. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, a census was taken, by the imperial command, of the Buddhist temples and monks in China. Of the former, the reported number was 42, 318 and of the latter 213, 148. About this time, Lamaism or the form of Buddhism developed in Tibet spread to Northern China and Lamas were not regarded as men of different sect as it is now done. I have already said that Khubilai was much influenced by Tibetan culture, and he ordered a Mongol to study Tibetan language. A complete translation of the Buddhist Sūtras and Śāstras from the Tibetan and Sanskrit into Mongolian, was presented to Khubilai in 1294 A.D. These were cut out in blocks of wood and distributed among the chiefs of the Mongols. Tibetan language was held in great honour in the capital. In 1312 the Mongol Emperor Jen-Tsung ordered Pu-lan-na-shih-li, who had learned Chinese and Sanskrit in his youth, to translate Buddhist books into Mongol Language. From Chinese he translated the Leng-Yen-Ching, (*Laṅkāvatāra*), a Sūtra highly honoured by the Chinese people, and four Sūtras from the original Sanskrit and an other from Tibetan, in all a thousand fasciculi or chapters. As the history of Mongolian Buddhist literature is directly connected with Tibetan Buddhist literature, we shall deal with it elsewhere. Eliot says (III, p. 274) "it is possible that the Buddhism of the Yuen Dynasty was tainted with Śāktism from which the Lama monasteries of Peking are not wholly free". He suggests that some of the indecent scandal of the last Mongol emperors contributed to the speedy downfall of them. The Mongols were driven by the native Chinese dynasty known as Ming, who reigned from 1368 to 1644.

Few Ming Emperors showed much personal interest in religion and their favour was always guided by some political motive. Still the first Ming emperor ordered that all monks should study *Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra*, *Prajñāpāramitā-Hṛdaya* and *Vajra-cchedika*. He called together the priests of the *Dhyāna School* to write commentaries, and Tsung-lo and Yu-chi wrote three commentaries on these books in 1378 A.D. The third emperor Cheng-tsu when a boy was educated by a Buddhist priest and the

Mongolian
Translation of
Tibetan and
Sanskrit Tripi-
ṭaka.

The Ming Dy-
nasty.

Emperor imbibed Buddhistic religious and literary tendencies. He wrote ten laudatory compositions in prose and verse between 1410 and 1415 which are incorporated in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. On the whole Buddhism flourished under the Mings and got the imperial support. It was only from time to time that it suffered persecution. The reign of Wu-tsung (1506-21) was extremely favourable to Buddhism. The Emperor himself learnt Buddhist literature and knew Sanskrit as well as Mongol and Arabic. The study of Sanskrit had been throughout encouraged in China and books on Grammar, Lexicon were written in Chinese, for the benefit of scholars. During the Ming Dynasty Sanskrit study decayed in China, still Yun-lo founded in 1407 a school of language for training interpreters at which Sanskrit was taught among other tongues (Eliot, III, p. 278).

During the Ming Dynasty the thirteenth Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka was published in 1368-1398 A.D. in 3 fasciculi. It was re-issued by the Third Emperor with more books added to it and finally published by Mi-tsang at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Afterwards it was republished in Japan by a Japanese in 1678-1681 A.D. There were two distinct collections in China—Northern and Southern. The Emperor T'ai-tsu-kao (1368-1398) caused the whole Tripiṭaka to be engraved in Nanking; and the Emperor T'ai-tsung-wan (1403-1924) again caused a good edition to be published in Peking.

The Chinese Tripiṭaka was preserved in Mss. from 67 A.D. to 972 A.D. for about 900 years, when they were first printed. Beal in his *Catena to Buddhist Literature in China* says that the tripiṭaka had been printed at various times in China from wooden blocks, which were often destroyed by fire or civil war. It is said that during the Sung and Yuen Dynasties (960-1368) as many as twenty different editions had been produced, but during the troubles occurring towards the end of the Yuen Period, all of them perished.

Under the Manchu Rule which began in 1644 and ended in 1910, the Chinese Tripiṭaka was published by the Emperors Shih-tsung and Kao-tsung who ruled from 1723-1795. But the most important and widely known collection is the Ming collection of the Tripiṭaka, the Catalogue of which has been edited by B. Nanjio in 1883. It enumerates 1662 works, classified into four divisions: (1) Sūtra, (2) Vinaya, (3) Abhidharma, and (4) Miscellaneous. The first three contain translations and the fourth original Chinese works. The first division called Ching or Sūtras

The Ming Collection.

Classification of the Ming Tripiṭaka.

amounts to nearly two-thirds of the whole, for it comprises no less than 1081 works and is divided as follows: (a) Mahāyāna Sūtras 541 books (b) Hināyāna Sūtras 240, (c) Mahāyāna and Hināyāna Sūtras, 300 in number, admitted into the canon under the Sung and Yuen Dynasty.

The Chinese Tripiṭaka is a literary and bibliographical collection rather than an ecclesiastical canon. It consists of translations of Indian works belonging to a particular class which possess a certain authority. Among these the Mahāyāna Sūtras contain the works most esteemed by Chinese Buddhists. It is divided into seven classes:—(1) Prajñāpāramitā, (2) Ratnakūṭa, (3) Mahāsannipāta, (4) Avataṃsaka, (5) Parinirvāṇa, (6) Sūtras in more than one translation but not falling into any of the above five classes, (7) other Sūtras existing in only one translation.

The Vinaya Piṭaka is divided into Mahāyāna and Hināyāna texts. The latter comprising, besides extracts, compendiums etc., five well-defined recensions of the code, viz. (1) Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins, (2) Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvastivādins of I-tsing, (3) Vinaya of the Dharmagupta School, (4) Vinaya of the Mahīśāsakas said to be similar to the Pāli Canon and (5) Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya.

The Abhidharma Piṭaka is also divided into Mahāyāna and Hināyāna. They are philosophical works of Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and others. They represent two principal schools of thought, viz., Yogācāra and Madhyamaka. The Hināyāna Abhidharma shows no correspondence to the Pāli Abhidharma Piṭaka.

The Miscellaneous portion contains books from Sanskrit as well as Chinese. The latter consists of about 200 works, historical, critical, controversial and homiletic written by 102 writers.

