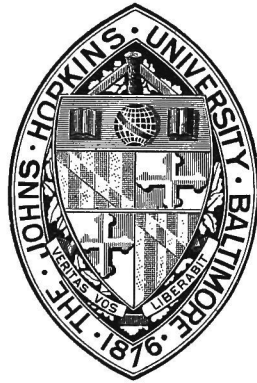


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An introduction to I-tsing's Record  
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in India and the Malay Archipelago  
(A.D. 671-695) Oxford, 1896.

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AN INTRODUCTION

TO

*I-tsing's Record of the Buddhist Religion*

AS PRACTISED IN

*India and the Malay Archipelago*

(A. D. 671-695)

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**Inaugural-Dissertation**

ZUR ERLANGUNG DER DOKTORWÜRDE

DER HOHEN

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## GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

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### PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

AFTER the introduction of Buddhism into China, A. D. 67<sup>1</sup>, Fâ-hien was the first to make a pilgrimage in India, the holy land of the Buddhists. His journey, which lasted about sixteen years (A. D. 399-414), was detailed in his Fô-kue-ki<sup>2</sup>. Next followed the travels of Sun-yun and Hwui-seng, A. D. 518; unfortunately, however, their narrative<sup>3</sup> is very short, and not to be compared with that of the other travellers. Much later, in the T'ang dynasty, the Augustan age of Chinese Buddhist literature, we have first the famous Hiuen Tshang, of whom we know so much through his work, Si-yu-ki, the Record of the Western Kingdom<sup>4</sup>. His travels in India covered some seventeen years (A. D. 629-645), and anything that came under his notice was fully recorded in the said work, which is an indispensable text-book for Indian history and geography.

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

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<sup>1</sup> This is the date of the arrival of the first Indian Sramanas, Kâsyapa Mâtaṅga and Bhârana (or Dharmaraksha), who were invited by the Chinese Emperor Ming-ti (A. D. 58-75), and it is the historical beginning of Buddhism in China, though there are some traces of it in the earlier literature.

<sup>2</sup> Fâ-hien's Fô-kue-ki, by Rémusat, 1836; by Beal, 1869 and 1884; by H. A. Giles, 1877; a notice by T. Watters in the *China Review*, 1879 and 1880; lastly by Professor Legge, 1886 (Clarendon Press).

<sup>3</sup> A translation in Beal's Fâ-hien, pp. 174-208.

<sup>4</sup> Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales, by Stan. Julien, 1858; the Records of the Western Kingdoms, by Beal, 1884; Histoire de la Vie de Hiouen Tshang, by Julien, 1853; the Life of Hiuen Tshang, by Beal, 1888.

in Srībhoga (Palembang, in Sumatra), where he further studied and translated Buddhist books, either Sanskrit or Pāli.

From Srībhoga, I-tsing sent home his work, which is here translated, A.D. 692, through another Chinese priest, Ta-ts'in, who was then returning to China. The book is therefore called 'Nan-hai-chi-kuei-nai-fa-ch'uan,' a 'Record of the Inner Law sent home from the Southern Sea<sup>1</sup>,' the islands which lie off the Malay peninsula being then known as the islands of the Southern Sea. Our author returned home A.D. 695, and was well received by the ruling empress, Wu-hou of Chou (as the period of her reign was called). Thus his stay abroad covers, roughly speaking, a period of twenty-five years (A.D. 671-695), though we must allow a few months' stay at home after his chance return to China, about which we shall have to speak presently. After 695 he was at home engaged in interpreting Buddhist texts with some nine Indian priests, Śikshānanda, Īsvara, and others. He completed fifty-six translations in 230 volumes, A.D. 700-712; besides, there exist five works of his compilation<sup>2</sup>, among which the chief is our Record here given.

Now as to our knowledge of this book.

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

2. Prof. Max Müller first recognised the importance of the contents of this work. His earliest notice about the grammatical works mentioned by I-tsing appeared in the *Academy* for September 25 and October 2, 1880; the next in the *Indian Antiquary* for December, 1880 (p. 305). A portion of the translation prepared by the late Kenjiu Kasawara, a Japanese Buddhist and pupil of the Professor, was published in 'India, what can it teach us?' 1883, pp. 210-213 and 343-349<sup>3</sup>.

3. Mr. Samuel Beal's notice of I-tsing's work appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1881, p. 197. Some matters contained in it were discussed by him in the *Academy* for September 9, 1883. He gave also a short abstract of the Record as well as the *Memoirs* in his *Life of Hiuen Tshang*, 1888, pp. xxxii-xxxvi.

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

<sup>1</sup> Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Buddhist Books*, No. 1492.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*, Nos. 1491, 1506, 1507, 1508.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 183, 296 ff., in Prof. Cappeller's German translation, *Indien in seiner weltgeschichtlichen Bedeutung*, Leipzig, 1884.

St. Petersburg, for October 24, 1888. I have carefully compared his translation with mine, with the help of Dr. Grusdef of Moscow. Both agree on the whole, while there are many insignificant points in which we differ from each other; but I am glad to say that there was nothing to necessitate an alteration of my translation, which was already printed, when I received a copy of the Russian translation through the kindness of Prof. Serge d'Oldenbourg.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Vinaya-piṭakam, p. xvii. In the Chinese translation of Buddhaghosa's *Samantapāsādikā*, the *Vibhaggavādī*, under Asoka's Council, is rendered Fên-pieh-shuo, 'He who adheres to the doctrine of distinction.' Nanjio's *Catal.*, No. 1125; book ii, fol. 9<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Vinaya-piṭakam, p. xlvii.

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

#### The Mûlasarvâstivâda School.

In the course of 100–200 years after the Buddha's Nirvâna<sup>1</sup>, that is to say, after the Council of Vaisâli, the object of which was chiefly to refute the ten theses of the Vaggian Bhikshus, the Buddhist Church is said to have split into various schools. The Sarvâstivâda-nikâya, to which I-tsing himself belonged, as it is one of the earliest schools, must have developed itself in the same period. In the *Dîpavamsa* V, 47, it is said that the Mahimsâsaka first separated itself from the Theravâda, and from the Mahimsâsaka, the Sabbatthivâda, and Dhammagutta. The history of our school, however, begins with the Kathâvatthu of Moggaliputta Tissa (B.C. 240), the head of Asoka's Council. It does not seem to have played a very important part at that time, for Tissa's work directs only three questions against the Sabbatthivâdas:—1. Can an Arhat fall from Arahatship? (Parihâyati Arahâ Arahattâ ti); 2. *Does everything exist?* (Sabbam atthîti); 3. Is continuation of thought samâdhi? (*Kitta-santati samâdhîti*)<sup>2</sup>. All these would be answered in the affirmative by the Sabbatthivâdas against the opinions of the orthodox school. This materialistic school appears later on as the Vaibhâshika, which is most likely identical with that of Sâyana's Sarvadarâsana-saṅgraha,—the Presentationalist, as Prof. Cowell (p. 15) calls it. About 300 years after the Nirvâna, Kâtyâyânîputra compiled the *Gñânaprasthâna-sâstra*<sup>3</sup>, which is the fundamental work of the Sarvâstivâdas. It is on this book Vasumitra and others composed, at the time of Kanishka, an elaborate commentary called the Mahâvibhâshâ-sâstra (No. 1263), belonging to this school, and they were consequently collectively called the Vaibhâshikas. About 400 years later, in the fifth century A.D., Vasubandhu wrote the *Abhidharma-kosa-sâstra* (No. 1267), in which he, as an adherent of the Mahâyâna, refuted the views of the Vaibhâshikas. Thereupon, his contemporary and former teacher, Saṅghabhadra of the Sarvâstivâda-nikâya, refuted in turn the opinions expressed in the Kosa in his *Nyâyânusâra-sâstra* (No. 1265). But it was before these two teachers that this school found a home in C. India. Fâ-hien (A.D. 399–414), who went to India to collect the Vinaya

<sup>1</sup> *Dîpavamsa* V, 16–18; *Mahâvamsa* V, 8.      <sup>2</sup> J. R. A. S., 1892, p. 8 f., i, 2, 6; xi, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Hiuen Tshang's *Mémoires*, iv, 200; Wassilief, *Buddhismus*, pp. 217, 218; Burnouf, *Introduction*, 399; Nanjio's *Catal.*, No. 1275.



texts, says that this school was followed in Pâtaliputra as well as in China, and that the Vinaya of it had not as yet been reduced to writing<sup>1</sup>. In Hiuen Tshang's time (A. D. 629-645), this school seems to have been widely followed. He mentions some thirteen places as belonging to it; Kashgar, Udyâna, and many other places on the northern frontier, Persia in the west, Matipura, Kanoj, and a place near Râgagrzha in C. India. The Tibetan Vinaya, which was translated between the seventh and thirteenth centuries<sup>2</sup>, is said to belong to this school<sup>3</sup>, though the analysis of the Dulva (= Vinaya) in reality presents a closer resemblance to the Dasâdhyâya-vinaya, which is, according to I-tsing, not exactly the text of the Sarvâstivâdas (p. 20). I-tsing in our Record gives the geographical extension of this school (p. xxiv). It flourished in C. and N. India, and had some followers in E. and W. India, but it seems to have had very few adherents in S. India, and was entirely absent in Ceylon. In Sumatra, Java, and the neighbouring islands, almost all belonged to this school, and in China all the four subdivisions of it were flourishing. Even in Champa a trace of it was found. No other school, so far as we can ascertain, ever flourished so *widely* as the Sarvâstivâda, either before or after the seventh century; though its adherents in India alone, in Hiuen Tshang's time, were not so numerous as those of the other schools<sup>4</sup>.

This school no doubt belongs to the Hînayâna, though our author does not expressly say so. He mentions the two Bauddha systems, Mâdhyamika (of Nâgârjuna) and Yogâkârya (of Asaṅga), found in Sâyana's philosophical work, and says that only these two were the Mahâyâna then existing or that ever existed. I-tsing makes an attempt to harmonise the two extreme Yânas, pointing out some facts common to both, such as the adoption of the same Vinaya and the same Prohibitions (p. 14). What constitutes the difference between the two is, according to him, the worship of a Bodhisattva and the reading of a Mahâyâna-sûtra, which are peculiar to the Mahâyânists. But it seems to have been the case that some of the eighteen schools, after coming into contact with the Mahâyâna, adopted its custom, or at all events, studied its system along with their own<sup>5</sup>. I-tsing's statement (p. 14) seems to imply that one and the same

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xxxix; Legge, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> As. Res. xx, p. 41 seq. The first Buddhist king, Sroṅ-tsan-gam-po, sent his minister, Thonmi Sambhota, to India for the scriptures in 632 A. D.

<sup>3</sup> Wassilief, Buddhismus, p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> J. R. A. S., 1891, p. 420.

<sup>5</sup> The Mahâbodhi-vihâra in Gayâ, for instance, adheres to the Sthavira School, yet belongs also to the Mahâyâna; the surrounding circumstances may have occasioned this. See below, p. xxxii, note 2.

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

As to the difference of the opinions held by the eighteen schools, he does not say a word; but we can see, from the fact that he is very particular in stating that his Record is in accordance with his own school only and no other<sup>1</sup>, that the opinions of the other schools were irreconcilable. He gives some trifling points of difference in their practices, such as the arrangement of lodging-places, the methods of accepting alms or wearing garments<sup>2</sup>, though they are not sufficient to draw a line between the Mūlasarvāstivāda-nikāya and the other schools<sup>3</sup>.

## THE RESULT OF I-TSING'S DESCRIPTION OF THE BUDDHIST SCHOOLS

(A. D. 671-695).

(His Introduction, pp. 7-14.)

The eighteen schools<sup>4</sup> of Buddhism under the four principal heads:—

### I. The Ārya-mahāsaṅghika-nikāya.

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

### II. The Ārya-sthavira-nikāya.

1. Three subdivisions.
2. The Tripitaka in 300,000 slokas<sup>5</sup>.
3. Almost all belong to it in S. India; it is in practice in Magadha (C. India). All belong to this in Ceylon. A few in Lāta and Sindhu (W. India). Side by side with the other schools in E. India. (Not in N. India.) Lately introduced into the islands of the Southern Sea. (Not in China.)

<sup>1</sup> Pages 20, 215.

<sup>2</sup> Pages 6-7, 66-67.

<sup>3</sup> I may add here that there is no trace of Brahmanic hostility in our Record; this is in harmony with the dates of Kumāriḷa Bhaṭṭa (about 750) and Saṅkarāṭārya (about 788-820).

<sup>4</sup> Compare Burnouf, Lotus, 357; Csoma, As. Res. xx, 298; Dīpavamsa V, 39-48; Mahāvamsa V; Rhys Davids, J. R. A. S., 1891, p. 411; 1892, p. 5; Wassilief, Buddhismus, 223; Beal, Ind. Ant., 1880, 299.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Rhys Davids, Buddhism, p. 19.

## III. The Ārya-mūlasarvāstivāda-nikāya.

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

IV. The Ārya-sammitīya-nikāya<sup>1</sup>.

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

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

India in general. Eighteen schools are in existence (p. 8, iv).

C. India. Magadha; all the four Nikāyas in practice, but III flourishes the most (except *b, c, d* of it),

W. India. Lāṭa and Sindhu; IV is most flourishing; a few of I, II, III.

N. India. Almost all belong to III; a few to I (II, IV not found).

S. India. <sup>2</sup>Almost all belong to II; a few to the other schools.

E. India. I, II, III, IV side by side.

Ceylon. All belong to II; I is rejected (III, IV not found).

Sumatra, Java, and the neighbouring islands. Almost all belong to III; a few to IV; lately a few to I, II.

Cochin-China. Champa; mostly IV; a few III (no I, II).

Siam. No Buddhism at present, owing to the recent persecution of Buddhists by a king.

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be most common; Sammiti in Dīpav. V, 46 (plural -tī), also in Wijesinha, Mahāv., p. 15, note.

<sup>2</sup> This fact is in harmony with Prof. Oldenberg's opinion expressed in his Vinaya-pitakam, i, p. liii, that the Ceylonese Buddhism might have been introduced through the southern coasts which had commercial relations with Ceylon in early times.

- E. China. *b* of III flourishing.  
 W. China. Shen-si: *b* of III, and also I followed.  
 S. China. South of Yang-tse-kiang, Kwang-tung, and Kwang-si: all III (*a*, *b*,  
*c*, *d*) flourishing.

The Mahâyâna and Hînayâna.

- China in general belongs to the Mahâyâna.  
 Malayu (= Srîbhoga), a few Mahâyânists.  
 N. India and the ten or more islands of the Southern Sea (Sumatra, Java, &c.)  
 generally belong to the Hînayâna.  
 All the remaining places in India. Both Yânas are found, i.e. some practise  
 according to the one, some according to the other.

THE LIFE AND TRAVELS OF I-TSING.

I. His Boyhood, to his Departure from China.

I-tsing, one of the three great travellers in India, was born in the year 635 A.D. in Fan-yang<sup>1</sup>, during the reign of T'ai-tsung<sup>2</sup>. When he was seven years old (641), he went to the teachers, Shan-yü and Hui-hsi, who both lived in a temple on the mountain T'ai in Shan-tung<sup>3</sup>. He was probably instructed by these teachers in the elements of general Chinese literature, with a view to his proceeding to the priesthood.

His Upâdhyâya Shan-yü died, to his great sorrow, when he was only twelve years old (646)<sup>4</sup>. He then, laying aside his study of secular literature, devoted himself to the Sacred Canon of the Buddha. He was admitted to the Order (Pravragyâ) when he was fourteen years of age. It was, he tells us, in his eighteenth year (652) that he formed the intention of travelling to India, which was not, however, carried out till his thirty-seventh year (671)<sup>5</sup>. During some nineteen years of the interval he seems to have applied all his youthful vigour to

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<sup>1</sup> Modern Cho-chou (= Juju of Marco Polo, near Peking), a department in the province of Chi-li.

<sup>2</sup> Reigned A. D. 627-649; 635 is, in Chinese, the ninth year of the Chêng-kuan period.

<sup>3</sup> Below, pp. 199, 207.

<sup>4</sup> Page 204; Hiuen Tshang returned from India in this year.

<sup>5</sup> Page 204.

the study of religion, so as 'not to render his life useless by indulging himself in secular literature<sup>1</sup>.'

He received his Full Ordination (*Upasampadâ*) at the required age of twenty (654), his *Karmâkârya*, Hui-hsi, then becoming his *Upâdhyâya* to take the place of the deceased Shan-yü. On the same day, pointing out to him the importance of holding firm to the Noble Precepts of the Buddha, and also the fact that the Buddha's teaching was becoming misinterpreted, the *Upâdhyâya* instructed him in earnest<sup>2</sup>. The words of his teacher must have guided him throughout the whole of his life, for what he did or wrote afterwards perfectly accords with them.

After that incident, he devoted himself exclusively to the study of the *Vinaya* text during the following five years (654-658). He made great progress in his pursuit, and his teacher ordered him to deliver a lecture on the subject; in fact he calls himself on one occasion 'One versed in the *Vinaya*,' so far as the Chinese study of it is concerned<sup>3</sup>.

Next to the *Vinaya* he proceeded to learn the larger *Sûtras*, practising some of the thirteen *Dhûttângas*<sup>4</sup> during his residence in the mountain *Vihâra*. Owing to the instigation of his *Upâdhyâya* he then went to Eastern Wei<sup>5</sup> to study *Asaṅga's* two *Sâstras* belonging to the *Abhidharma-piñaka*; thence he moved to the Western Capital<sup>6</sup>, where he further read the *Abhidharma-kosa* and *Vidyâmâtra-siddhi* of *Vasubandhu* and *Dharmapâla* respectively<sup>7</sup>. While he stayed at *Ch'ang-an* he may have witnessed the 'noble enthusiasm of *Hiuen Tshang*<sup>8</sup>,' and probably also the grand ceremony of his funeral carried out under the special direction of the emperor, for his death occurred during *I-tsing's* stay in the capital (664).

Stirred up perhaps by the great personality of *Hiuen Tshang* and by the honour and glory that attended him, *I-tsing* seems to have made a great effort to carry out his long meditated enterprise of a journey to India, which was in his time the home of Buddhist literature. *I-tsing* indeed became a great admirer of *Hiuen Tshang* as well as of *Fâ-hien*, as his biographer tells us<sup>9</sup>. He stayed in the capital till A.D. 670, the year prior to his departure from home.

As to his travels, the reader will perhaps prefer to read them in *I-tsing's* own words, though the record is unfortunately short<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Page 209; this was his teacher's instruction.

<sup>2</sup> Page 209.

<sup>3</sup> Page 65.

<sup>4</sup> Compare pp. 56, 57, note.

<sup>5</sup> Or, *Yeh*, now *Chang-teh Fu* in *Honan*.

<sup>6</sup> *Si-an Fu* or *Ch'ang-an* (= *Kenjanfu* of *Marco Polo*) in *Shen-si*.

<sup>7</sup> Page 210.

<sup>8</sup> Compare the *Life of I-tsing* (*Nanjio's Catal.*, No. 1495); *Chavannes, Memoirs*, p. 193.

<sup>9</sup> See l. c.; for his own words about his two predecessors, see below, pp. 184, 207.

<sup>10</sup> It would have seemed superfluous to give a long account after *Hiuen Tshang*; *I-tsing* must have known the *Si-yu-ki*, see e.g. his sayings against 'Indu' (p. 118; cf. *Hiuen Tshang, Mémoires*, ii. 56) and about the six seasons (p. 102, notes 3, 4).



## II. His Journey to India.

<sup>1</sup> I, I-tsing, was in the Western Capital (Ch'ang-an) in the first year of the Hsien-hêng period (670), studying and hearing lectures. At that time there were with me Ch'ü-i, a teacher of the Law, of Ping-pu <sup>2</sup>; Hung-i, a teacher of the Sâstra, of Lai-chou <sup>3</sup>, and also two or three other Bhadantas; we all made an agreement together to visit the Vulture Peak (*Grîdhrahakûta*), and set our hearts on (seeing) the Tree of Knowledge (*Bodhidruma*) in India. Ch'ü-i, however, was drawn back by his affection towards (his home in) Ping-ch'uan <sup>4</sup>, for his mother was of an advanced age, whereas Hung-i turned his thought to Sukhâvatî <sup>5</sup> on meeting Hiuen-Chan in Kiang-ning <sup>6</sup>. Hiuen-k'uei (one of the party) came as far as Kwang-tung; he, however, as others did, changed his mind which he had formerly made up. So I had to start for India, only with a young priest, Shan-hing, of Tsin-chou <sup>7</sup>.

The old friends of mine in the Divine Land (China) thus unfortunately parted with me and all went their ways, while not a single new acquaintance in India was yet found by me. Had I hesitated then, my wish would never have been fulfilled. I composed two stanzas imitating, though not in earnest, the poem on the fourfold Sorrow <sup>8</sup>.

During my travel I passed several myriads of stages,  
The fine threads of sorrow entangled my thought hundredfold.  
Why was it, pray, you let the shadow of my body alone  
Walk on the boundaries of Five Regions of India?

Again to console myself:

A good general can obstruct a *hostile* army,  
But the resolution of a man is difficult to move <sup>9</sup>.  
If I be sorry for a short life and be ever  
Speaking of it, how can I fill up the long Asaṅkhyā age <sup>10</sup>?

<sup>1</sup> The Ta-t'ang-si-yu-ku-fa-kaosêng-Ch'uan, vol. ii, fol. 4<sup>b</sup>; Chavannes, § 46, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Ping-chou or T'ai-yuen in Shen-si.

<sup>3</sup> Lai-chou Fu, in the Shan-tung promontory, said to have been named after the Lai aborigines.

<sup>4</sup> A Japanese text has Ping-chou.

<sup>5</sup> To be born in the Land of Bliss it is necessary to repeat daily the name of Amitâbha according to the Old Pure Land School; An-yang = Sukhâvatî. <sup>o</sup> In Kiang-su.

<sup>7</sup> A place in P'ing-yang in Shen-si. This priest was a pupil of I-tsing; he came as far as Sumatra and returned to China owing to illness, Chavannes, § 47, p. 126.

<sup>8</sup> An ancient poem composed by Chang-heng (A. D. 78-139), loc. cit., p. 115.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the Analects, IX, 25.

<sup>10</sup> A Bodhisattva passes through three Asaṅkhyā (immeasurable) ages, practising charity, &c.; I-tsing is here alluding to this.

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

<sup>2</sup>On the eve of my departure, I went to the tomb of my master (Shan-yü) to worship and to take leave. At that time, the trees around the tomb (though) injured by frost had already grown so much that each tree would take one hand to span it<sup>3</sup>, and wild grasses had filled the graveyard. Though the spirit-world is hidden from us, I nevertheless paid him all honour just as if he had been present<sup>4</sup>. While turning round and glancing in every direction, I related my intention of travelling. I invoked his spiritual aid, and expressed my wish to requite the great benefits conferred on me by this benign personage.

<sup>5</sup>In the second year of the Hsien-hêng period (671) I kept the summer-retreat (varsha or vassa) in Yang-fu<sup>6</sup>. In the beginning of autumn (seventh moon) I met unexpectedly an imperial envoy, Fêng Hsiao-ch'üan of Kong-chou<sup>7</sup>; by the help of him I came to the town of Kwang-tung, where I fixed the date of meeting with the owner of a Persian ship<sup>8</sup> to embark for the south. Again accepting the

<sup>1</sup> Page 210.

<sup>2</sup> Page 204.

<sup>3</sup> This is an alternative translation, cf. l. c.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Analects, III, 12.

<sup>5</sup> The Si-yu-ku-fa-kao-sêng-ch'üan, vol. ii, fol. 5<sup>a</sup>; Chavannes, p. 116.

<sup>6</sup> Yang-chou (= Yangju of Marco Polo) in Kiang-su.

<sup>7</sup> Old name for the S. E. part of Kwang-si.

<sup>8</sup> In I-tsing's time there was regular navigation between Persia, India, the Malay islands, and China. I think this explains the route of the first Nestorian missionary, Alopen or Alophen, who went to China A.D. 635. Dr. Legge supposed that he would have come to China overland through Central Asia (Christianity in China in the Seventh Century, p. 45). Dr. Edkins says that Śīlāditya received the Syrian Christians, Alopen and his companions, A. D. 639 (Athenaeum, July 3, 1880, p. 8). If so, it would seem that he went back to India. If, on the other hand, these were two different men, the fact would rather favour Yule's conjecture that Alopen, which is supposed to be Syriac 'Alopano,' might be merely a Chinese form of the Syriac 'Rabban,' by which the Apostle had come to be generally known (Cathy, p. xciv). For Adam, the writer of the Syro-Chinese inscription, see p. 169 note, and also my additional note at the end (p. 223).

invitation of the envoy I went to Kang-chou<sup>1</sup>, when he became my Dânapati (Benefactor) for a second time. His younger brothers, Hsiao-tan and Hsiao-chên, both imperial envoys, Ladies<sup>2</sup> Ning and P'ên, all the members of his family, favoured me with presents.

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

All I could have done regarding my pilgrimage (to the Holy Land) is due only to the power of the family of Fêng. Moreover the priests and laymen of the Lin-nan<sup>3</sup> experienced a bitter feeling at our parting; the brilliant scholars of the northern provinces were all distressed by our bidding farewell, as they thought never to see us again.

In the eleventh month of this year (A.D. 671)<sup>4</sup> we started looking towards the constellations Yi and Chên<sup>5</sup>, and having P'an-yü (Kwang-tung) right behind us. I would sometimes direct my thoughts far away to the Deer Park (*Mrigadâva* at Benares); *at other times* I would repose in the hope of (reaching) the Cock Mountain (*Kukkutapadagiri* near Gayâ).

At this time the first monsoon began to blow, when *our ship* proceeded towards the Red South<sup>6</sup>, with *the ropes* a hundred cubits long suspended from above, two by two<sup>7</sup>. In the beginning of the season in which we separate from the constellation Chi<sup>8</sup>, the pair *of sails*, each in five *lengths*<sup>9</sup>, flew away, leaving

<sup>1</sup> A place in Kwang-chou in the province of Kwang-tung.

<sup>2</sup> Chün-chün is a daughter of an imperial prince of the third degree, but often used as a title of honour of a noble lady, as here.

<sup>3</sup> South of the Plum Range, i. e. Kwang-tung and Kwang-si.

<sup>4</sup> Page 211.

<sup>5</sup> Yi = serpent, twenty-two stars in Crater and Hydra; Chên = worm,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\epsilon$  Corvus. Long.  $170^{\circ} 56' 9'' - 187^{\circ} 56' 52''$ , i. e. about the south.

<sup>6</sup> The colour assigned to the south is red, and that to the north is sombre, see below.

<sup>7</sup> I. e. 'the preparation of the spars having been duly made.' Prof. Chavannes' correction of 'Kuei' to 'Kua' is confirmed by Kâsyapa's copy of the Record; *Memoirs*, p. 118, note 4.

<sup>8</sup> Chi stands for the constellation  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\beta$  Sagittarii = Leopard. Long.  $268^{\circ} 28' 15''$ . This constellation consists of the stars which are visible in heaven only when the sun is  $16^{\circ}$  or more below the horizon. Accordingly, the first heliacal rising (ortus heliacus) at dawn for Lat.  $20^{\circ}$  (Canton) is on about Feb. 8, and the last heliacal setting (occasus heliacus) in the evening dusk, for Lat.  $20^{\circ}$  is on about Dec. 11. The corresponding day in the lunar month to our Dec. 11 will be about the 1st of the eleventh month, being about the time when the Chi constellation disappears.

<sup>9</sup> For this note, see next page.

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

Before sailing twenty days the ship reached Bhoga<sup>1</sup>, where I landed and stayed six months, gradually learning the Sabdavidyâ (Sanskrit grammar). The king gave me some support and sent me to the country of Malayu, which is now called Srîbhoga<sup>2</sup>, where I again stayed two months, and thence I went to Ka-cha<sup>3</sup>. Here I embarked in the twelfth month, and again on board the king's ship I sailed to Eastern India. Going towards the north from Ka-cha, after more than ten days' sail, we came to the country of the Naked People (Insulæ Nudorum). Looking towards the east we saw the shore, for an extent of one or two Chinese miles, with nothing but cocoa-nut trees and betel-nut forest<sup>4</sup>, luxuriant and pleasant (to be seen). When the natives saw our vessel coming, they eagerly embarked in little boats, their number being fully a hundred. They all brought cocoa-nuts, bananas, and things made of rattan-cane and bamboos, and wished to exchange them. <sup>5</sup> What they are anxious to get is iron only; for a piece of iron as large as two fingers, one gets from them five to ten cocoa-nuts. The men are entirely naked, while the women veil their person with some leaves. If the merchants in joke offer them their clothes, they wave their hands (to tell that) they do not use them.

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

<sup>1</sup> Lit. 'the pair of fives flew alone;' the sail may have consisted of five lengths of canvas. Chavannes: 'et la girouette de plumes flotta isolée.'

<sup>2</sup> See below.

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

<sup>4</sup> Ka-cha must be S. of the country of the Naked People, somewhere on the Atchin coast. This may represent Sanskrit *kakka*, 'shore.' The Chinese characters are now pronounced Hsieh-ch'a or Chieh-ch'a (ch'a is often misprinted for t'u; if so here, then Chieh-t'u).

<sup>5</sup> Pin-lang, from the Malay pinang; Sanskrit pûga.

<sup>6</sup> These agree with an account given of the Nicobar Islands, see below, p. xxxviii, 1.

This country is, I heard, in the direction of the south-west limit Shu-ch'uan (Ssü-ch'uan, in China). This island does not produce iron at all; gold and silver also are rare. The natives live solely on cocoa-nuts (nâlikera) and tubers; there is not much rice. And therefore what they hold most precious and valuable is Loha<sup>1</sup>, which is the name for iron in this country. These people are not black, and are of medium height. They are skilled in making round chests of rattan; no other country can equal them. If one refuses to barter with them, they discharge some poisoned arrows, one single shot of which proves fatal. In about half a month's sail from here in the north-west direction we reached Tâmrâlipti<sup>2</sup>, which constitutes the southern limit of E. India. It is more than sixty yoganâs from Mahâbodhi and Nâlânda (C. India).

<sup>3</sup> On the eighth day of the second month of the fourth year of the Hsien-hêng period (673) I arrived there. In the fifth month I resumed my journey westwards, finding companions here and there.

I met for the first time Ta-ch'êng-têng (Mahâyânâpradîpa)<sup>4</sup> in *Tâmrâlipti*, and stayed with him a (part of the) year, while I learned the Brahma-language (Sanskrit) and practised the science of words (grammar, Sabdavidyâ). Lastly, I started together with the master Têng (= Ta-ch'êng-têng), taking the road which goes straight to the west, and many hundreds of merchants came with us to C. India.

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

<sup>1</sup> Lo-ho in the Japanese text, but Lo-a in the Chinese. They evidently used the Sanskrit name.

<sup>2</sup> Page 185, note.

<sup>3</sup> Page 211.

<sup>4</sup> A pupil of Hiuen Tshang. He travelled in Dvâravatî (W. Siam), Ceylon, S. India, and came to Tâmrâlipti, where he stayed twelve years; skilled in Sanskrit. I-tsing goes with him to Nâlânda, Vaisâli, and Kusinagara; died in the Parinirvâna Vihâra at the last-mentioned town (Memoirs, i, fols. 13, 14; Chavannes, § 32, p. 68).



ance ; drawing a bow and shouting aloud, they came and glared at me, and one after another insulted me. First they stripped me of my upper robe, and then took off my under garment. All the straps and girdles that were with me they snatched away also. I thought at that time, indeed, that my last farewell to this world was at hand, and that I should not fulfil my wish of a pilgrimage to the holy places. Moreover, if my limbs were thus pierced by the points of their lances, I could never succeed in carrying out the original enterprise so long meditated. Besides, there was a rumour in the country of the West (India) that, when they took a white man, they killed him to offer a sacrifice to heaven (Devas). When I thought of this tale, my dismay grew twice as much. Thereupon I entered into a muddy hole, and besmeared all my body with mud. I covered myself with leaves, and supporting myself on a stick, I advanced slowly.

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Near the Bodhi tree, built by a king of Ceylon (Memoirs, Chavannes, p. 84). This Vihâra belonged to the Theravâda, yet adhered to the Mahâyâna (Hiuen Tshang, iii, p. 487 seq.); this fact perhaps misled Hiuen Tshang, who mentions Ceylon as belonging to both. *Bharukakka* and *Surâshtra* also belonged to both, according to Hiuen Tshang. Compare Oldenberg, *Vinaya-piṭakam*, p. liii, note.

<sup>3</sup> Pu-chou in Shan-tung.

<sup>4</sup> Ts'ao-chou in Shan-tung.

<sup>5</sup> Page 196, note 3.

should widely prevail among all sentient beings (Han-shih=sattva) in the region of the Law (Dharmadhātu), and I expressed my desire for a general reunion under the Nâga-tree to meet the honoured (Buddha) Maitreya and to conform to the true doctrine<sup>1</sup>, and then to obtain the knowledge that is not subject to births. I went round to worship all the holy places; I passed a house which is known (to the Chinese) as 十 Fan-chang' (in Vaisâli)<sup>2</sup> and came to Kusinagara, everywhere keeping myself devout and sincere. I entered into the Deer Park (Mrigadâva at Benares) and ascended the Cock Mountain (Kukkuṭapadagiri near Gayâ); and lived in the Nâlanda Vihâra for ten years (probably A.D. 675-685).

<sup>3</sup> In the first year of the Ch'ui-kung period (685) I parted with Wu-hing in India (in a place six yoganâs east from Nâlanda)<sup>4</sup>.

After having collected the scriptures, I began to retrace my steps to come back<sup>5</sup>. I then returned to Tâmrâlipti. Before I reached there, I met a great band of robbers again; it was with difficulty that I escaped the fate of being pierced by their swords, and I could thus preserve my life from morning to evening. Afterwards I took ship there and passed Ka-cha<sup>6</sup>. The Indian texts I brought formed more than 500,000 slokas, which, if translated into Chinese, would make a thousand volumes, and with these I am now staying at Bhoga.

<sup>7</sup> Roughly speaking, the distance from the middle country (Madhyamadesa) of India to the border lands (Pratyantaka) is more than 300 yoganâs in the east and in the west. The border lands in the south and in the north are more than 400 yoganâs distant. Although I myself did not see (all the limits) and ascertain (the distance), yet I know it by inquiry. Tâmrâlipti is forty yoganâs south from the eastern limit of India. There are five or six monasteries; the people are

<sup>1</sup> Page 213, note 1. Tsung here = 'school,' 'tenet,' 'doctrine.'

<sup>2</sup> Fan-chang = 'ten cubits square.' In Vaisâli there was a house which is said to be the room of Vimalakṛti, contemporary of the Buddha; Wan-hiuen-ts'ê, chief envoy to Sîlâditya, when in Vaisâli, measured the house and found that this room was ten cubits each way (Kâsyapa). Hence it was afterwards known as Fan-chang; later any room where a head priest lived was called so. Now any abbot and also any monastery are called Fan-chang. Compare Julien, *Mémoires*, vii, p. 385; Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tshang*, p. 100; Chavannes, *Memoirs*, p. 72, where I-tsing passes Vaisâli between the Diamond Seat and Kusinagara.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoirs*, vol. i, fol. 6<sup>a</sup>; Chavannes, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*, vol. ii, fol. 11<sup>b</sup>; Chavannes, p. 147. See below, p. xlvi.

<sup>5</sup> Yen here is not a verb but a particle; for an analogous use, see the Nestorian Inscription (Legge, *Christianity in China*, &c., p. 25), and *Memoirs*, vol. ii, fol. 13<sup>b</sup>, line 9.

<sup>6</sup> He landed here and met a man from the north (Tukhâra or Sûli), who told him that there were two Chinese priests travelling in the north (whom I-tsing considered to be his own friends), Chavannes, p. 106.

<sup>7</sup> The *Mûlasarvâstivâda-ekasatakarman* (Nanjio's *Catal.*, No. 1131), book v, p. 57.

rich. It belongs to E. India, and is about sixty yoganas from Mahâbodhi and Srî-Nâlanda. This is the place where we embark when returning to China. Sailing from here two months in the south-east direction we come to Ka-cha. By this time a ship from Bhoga will have arrived there. This is generally in the first or second month of the year. But those who go to the Simhala Island (Ceylon) must sail in the south-west direction. They say that that island is 700 yoganas off. We stay in Ka-cha till winter, then start on board ship for the south, and we come after a month to the country of Malayu, which has now become Bhoga; there are many states (under it). The time of arrival is generally in the first or second month. We stay there till the middle of summer and we sail to the north; in about a month we reach Kwang-fu (Kwang-tung). The first half of the year will be passed by this time.

When we are helped by the power of our (former) good actions, the journey everywhere is as easy and enjoyable as if we went through a market, but, on the other hand, when we have not much influence of Karma, we are often exposed to danger as if (a young one) in a reclining nest<sup>1</sup>. I have thus shortly described the route and the way home, hoping that the wise may still expand their knowledge by hearing more.

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

<sup>2</sup> At the mouth of the river Bhoga I went on board the ship to send a letter<sup>3</sup> (through the merchant) as a credential to Kwang-chou (Kwang-tung), *in order* to meet (my friends) and ask for paper and cakes of ink, which are to be used in copying the Sûtras in the Brahma-language, and also for the means (cost) of hiring scribes. Just at that time the merchant found the wind favourable, and raised the sails to their utmost height. I was in this way conveyed back (although

<sup>1</sup> Or does this refer to a robbers' den?

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs, vol. ii, fol. 17<sup>b</sup>; Chavannes, p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> Fu-shu means 'to send a letter.' I-tsing does not intend to go home, therefore he says (below): 'Even if I asked to stop,' &c. This was a very puzzling point. Beal makes out that I-tsing was intending to return but was left behind, while Chavannes thinks that I-tsing intended to return in order to get paper and ink, and did so.

not myself intending to go home). Even if I asked to stop, there would have been no means of doing so. By this I see it is the influence of Karma that can fashion (our course), and it is not for us, men, to plan it. It was on the twentieth day of the seventh month in the first year of the Yung-ch'ang period (689) that we reached Kwang-fu. I met here again with all the priests and laymen. Then in the midst of the assembly in the temple of Chih-chih I sighed and said: 'I first went to the country of the West with the hope of transmitting and spreading (the Law)<sup>1</sup>; I came back and stayed in the island of the Southern Ocean. Some texts are still wanting, though what I brought (from India) and left at Bhoga amounts to 500,000 slokas belonging to the Tripitaka. It is necessary under this circumstance that I should go there once again. But I am already more than fifty years of age (fifty-five); while crossing the running waves once more, the horses that pass through cracks<sup>2</sup> may not stay, and the rampart of my body may be difficult to guard. If the time for the morning dew (for drying) comes on a sudden, to whom shall those books be entrusted?

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

The assembly unanimously told me: 'Not far from here there is a priest; Chêng-ku (Sâlagupta), who has long been studying the Vinaya doctrine; from his earliest age he has preserved himself perfect and sincere. If you get that man, he will prove an excellent companion to you.' As soon as I heard these words, I thought that he would, in all probability, answer my want. Thereupon I sent a letter to him to the temple of the mountain, roughly describing the preparation for the journey. He then opened my letter; on seeing it he soon made up his mind to come with me. To make a comparison, a single sortie at the town of Liaò-tung broke the courageous hearts of the three generals, or one little stanza from (or, about) the Himâlaya mountain drew the profound resolution of the great hermit<sup>3</sup>. He left with joy the quiet streams and pine forests *in which he lived*; he tucked up his sleeves before the hill of the Stone Gate (Shih-mên, N.W. of Kwang-tung), and he raised his skirts in the temple of the Edict (Chih-chih). We bent our parasol (and talked friendly as Confucius did) and united our feelings in rubbing away the worldly dust; as we both gave up (to Religion) our five limbs,

<sup>1</sup> Liu-t'ung = 'propagating' or 'transmitting.'

<sup>2</sup> A strange simile in Chinese: 'Human life passes away as quickly as a white colt runs through a crack.'

<sup>3</sup> Liao-tung and the Himâlaya are well known, but I cannot explain at present to what incidents he is alluding.

we concluded (our friendship) in openheartedness, as if from former days. Although I never saw him before in my life, yet he was, I found, just the man who answered unexpectedly my wish. On a fine night we both discussed seriously as to what had to be done. Chêng-ku then said to me: 'When Virtue wishes to meet Virtue, they unite themselves without any medium, and when the time is about ripe, no one can stay it even if they wanted.'

'Shall I then sincerely *propose* to própagate our Tripitaka together with you, and to help you in lighting a thousand lamps (for the future)?' Then we went again to the mountain Hsia<sup>1</sup> to bid farewell to the head of the temple, K'ien, and others. K'ien clearly saw what was to be done at the right moment and acted accordingly; he never intended to retain us any longer with him. When we saw him and laid before him what we had meditated, he helped us and approved of all. He was never anxious about what might be wanting to himself, whilst his mind was intent only on helping others. He made, together with us, the preparations for the journey, so as not to let us be in want of anything. Besides, all the priests and laymen of Kwang-tung provided us with necessary things.

Then on the first day of the eleventh month of the year (A. D. 689) we departed in a merchant ship. Starting from P'an-yü we set sail in the direction of Champa<sup>2</sup> with the view of reaching Bhoga after a long vorage, in order to become the ladders for all beings, or the boats, to carry them across the sea of passion. While we were glad to accomplish our resolutions as soon as possible, we hoped not to fall in the middle of our journey.

[Chêng-ku, Tao-hung, and two other priests followed I-tsing and studied Sûtras three years in Bhoga; Tao-hung was then (689) twenty years old, and, when I-tsing wrote the Memoirs, twenty-three years<sup>3</sup>.]

<sup>4</sup> I, I-tsing, met Ta-ts'in in Srîbhoga (where he came A. D. 683). I requested him to return home to ask an imperial favour in building a temple in the West. When he saw that benefits would be great and large (had this petition been granted), Ta-ts'in disregarding his own life agreed to re-cross the vast ocean. It is on the fifteenth day of the fifth month in the third year of the T'ien-shou period (692) that he takes a merchant ship to return to Ch'ang-an (Si-an-fu). Now I send with him a new translation of various Sûtras and Śāstras in ten volumes, the Nan-hai-chi-kuei-nai-fa-ch'uan (the Record) in four volumes, and the Ta-t'ang-si-yu-ku-fa-kao-sêng-ch'uan (the Memoirs) in two volumes.

<sup>1</sup> A hill situated near Kwang-tung, where Chêng-ku lived.

<sup>2</sup> Zampa of Odoric (about 1323 A. D.); Chamba of Marco Polo (1288 A. D.). Skt. *Kāmpā*.

<sup>3</sup> Chavannes, pp. 185, 187.

<sup>4</sup> Loc. cit., p. 160, § 56.

## III. His Return Home, to his Death.

The Biography<sup>1</sup> tells us that I-tsing was twenty-five years (671-695) abroad and travelled in more than thirty countries, and that he came back to China at Midsummer in the first year of the Chêng-shêng period (695) of T'ien-hou (the queen-usurper, 684-704); further that he brought home some four hundred different texts of Buddhist books, the slokas numbering 500,000, and a real plan of the Diamond Seat (Vagrâsana) of the Buddha.

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

## A. The India Office Collection.

- |     |           |   |
|-----|-----------|---|
| 1.  | No. 1110. | Mûlasarvâstivâda-vinaya-sûtra, 1 vol.           |
| 2.  | „ 1118.   | „ „ „ -vinaya, 50 vols.                         |
| 3.  | „ 1121.   | „ „ „ -samyukta-vastu, 40 vols.                 |
| 4.  | „ 1123.   | „ „ „ -saṅghabhedaka-vastu, 20 vols.            |
| 5.  | „ 1124.   | „ „ „ -bhikṣuṣū-vinaya, 20 vols.                |
| 6.  | „ 1127.   | „ „ „ -vinaya-saṅgraha, 14 vols.                |
| 7.  | „ 1131.   | „ „ „ -ekasatakarman, 10 vols.                  |
| 8.  | „ 1133.   | „ „ „ -nidâna, 5 vols.                          |
| 9.  | „ 1134.   | „ „ „ -mâtṛzkâ, 5 vols.                         |
| 10. | „ 1140.   | „ „ „ -vinaya-nidâna-mâtṛzkâ-gâthâ (15 leaves). |
| 11. | „ 1141.   | „ „ „ -samyukta-vastu-gâthâ (10 leaves).        |
| 12. | „ 1143.   | „ „ „ -vinaya-gâthâ, 4 vols.                    |
| 13. | „ 1149.   | „ „ „ -bhikṣuṣū-vinaya-sûtra, 2 vols.           |

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

- |     |          |   |
|-----|----------|---|
| 14. | No. (1). | Mûlasarvâstivâda-pravragyâ(-upasampadâ)-vastu, 4 vols.<br>(Cf. Mahâvagga, Khandhaka I.) |
| 15. | „ (2).   | Mûlasarvâstivâda-varshâvâsa-vastu, 1 vol.<br>(Cf. Mahâv., Khandh. III.)                 |
| 16. | „ (3).   | Mûlasarvâstivâda-pravâraṇa-vastu, 1 vol.<br>(Cf. Mahâv., Khandh. IV.)                   |
| 17. | „ (4).   | Mûlasarvâstivâda-âarma-vastu, 1 vol.<br>(Cf. Mahâv., Khandh. V.)                        |
| 18. | „ (5).   | Mûlasarvâstivâda-bhaishagya-vastu, 18 vols.<br>(Cf. Mahâv., Khandh. VI.)                |
| 19. | „ (6).   | Mûlasarvâstivâda-kaṭṭhinaṭṭhivara-vastu, 1 vol.<br>(Cf. Mahâv., Khandh. VII.)           |

<sup>1</sup> The Sung-kaosêng-ch'uan, chap. i (Nanjio's Catal., No. 1495); Chavannes, Memoirs, p. 193 seq.

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

#### NOTES ON SOME GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES.

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

I-tsing passed this island when he sailed for India. It is ten days distant in the north from Ka-cha, and it points to one of the smaller Nicobar Islands lying on the north side. The description given by I-tsing agrees with some of the later accounts of the islands, so much so, that we are fully justified in identifying his Lo-jên-kuo with the present Nicobar. The group is believed to be the Lanjabálús or Lankhabálús of the Arab navigators in the ninth century, who recorded as follows: 'These islands support a numerous population. Both men and women go naked, only the women wear a girdle of the leaves of trees. When a ship passes near, the men come out in boats of various sizes and barter ambergris and cocoa-nuts for iron<sup>1</sup>.' The description of Marco Polo in the thirteenth century does not agree so well as the above. He says: 'When you leave the island of Java (Java the less=Sumatra) and the kingdom of Lambri, you sail north about 150 miles, and then you come to two islands, one of which is called "Necuveran" (or Necouran)<sup>2</sup>. In this island they have no king nor chief, but live like beasts; and I tell you they all go naked, both men and women, and do not use the slightest covering of any kind. They are idolators; there are all sorts of fine and valuable trees, such as red sanders and Indian nuts and cloves and brazil and sundry other good spices<sup>3</sup>.'

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

<sup>2</sup> Rashiduddin uses the name of Nâkvâram (not Lâkvâram), which may be a less corrupted form of the name, perhaps allied with Nâga (Yule, *Cathy*, p. 96). This may be Hiuen Tshang's Nâlikera-dvîpa (Cocoa-nut Island), as Yule thinks.

<sup>3</sup> Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, chap. xii, p. 289; he says (p. 291): 'The natives now do not go quite naked; the men wear a narrow cloth, the women a grass girdle. Famous for the abundance of Indian nuts or cocoa, also betel and areca-nuts; and they grow yams, but only for barter.'

The above two accounts as well as I-tsing's certainly refer to one and the same island, though the latter does not mention any name for it. It seems to have passed under the name of 'Lo-jên-kuo,' just like 'Insulae Nudorum,' as marked in Prof. Lassen's map<sup>1</sup>. The group of the Nicobar Islands was called the 'Land of Rákshasas' in the history of T'ang (618-906)<sup>2</sup>.

## II. The Islands of the Southern Sea (南海諸洲).

One must not confound what I-tsing calls the Islands of the Southern Sea with what we know as the South Sea Islands. By the term 'Nan-hai' is meant the Southern China Sea or Malay Archipelago, and I-tsing includes in it Sumatra, Java, and the then known neighbouring islands. There are, he tells us<sup>3</sup>, more than ten countries, and all are under the influence of Buddhism. The Islands of the Southern Sea are:—

1. P'o-lu-shi Island; Pulushih (婆魯師洲).
2. Mo-lo-yu Country; Malayu (末羅遊州)<sup>4</sup>; or,  
Shih-li-fo-shih Country; Śrībhoga (尸利佛逝國).
3. Mo-ho-hsin Island; Mahâsin (莫訶信洲).
4. Ho-ling Island, or Po-ling; Kalinga (訶陵洲).
5. Tan-tan Island; Natuna (阻阻洲).
6. P'ên-p'ên Island; Pem-pen (盆盆洲).
7. P'o-li Island; Bali (婆里洲).
8. K'u-lun Island; Pulo Condoré (堀倫洲).
9. Fo-shih-pu-lo Island; Bhogapura (佛逝補羅洲).
10. A-shan Island, or O-shan (阿善洲).
11. Mo-chia-man Island; Maghaman (末迦漫洲).

There are many more islands, not mentioned here.

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

<sup>1</sup> Karte von Alt-Indien zu Prof. Lassen's Indischer Alterthumskunde, Bonn, 1853.

<sup>2</sup> Book 222; see also the Essays on Indo-China, second series, vol. i, p. 207. Some Chinese accounts of the Andaman Islands (Chinese, Yen-t'o-mang; Japanese, An-da-ban) also agree with I-tsing's, e. g. nakedness, iron, &c.; they were, of course, the same race. Chao-ju-kua's description of it was given by Dr. Hirth, J. A. S. China, vol. xxii, Notes and Queries, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Page 10.

<sup>4</sup> Marco Polo, 'Malaiur' (chap. viii).



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

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

P'o-lu-shi may at first seem to represent the Barussae Insulae, which are, in Lassen's map, a group of the Andaman Islands in the Indian Ocean. I-tsing, however, does not seem to be referring to an island so far away, when he says that two Korean priests went on board to the country of P'o-lu-shi, west of Srībhoga, and there they fell ill and died<sup>1</sup>. Prof. Chavannes found in the History of T'ang (chap. ccxxii c) a country called 'Lang-po-lou-se,' which is said to be the western part of Shih-li-fo-shih, and identified with our P'o-lu-shi and Marco Polo's Ferlec (=Parlák), which is the present Diamond Point. His identification seems to be correct, as the country of Srībhoga extended (see below) as far as the coast of Malacca during the T'ang dynasty (618-906).

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

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

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

1. Bhoga the capital was on the river Bhoga, and it was the chief trading port with China, a regular navigation between it and Kwang-tung being conducted by a Persian merchant (p. xxviii, note 8).
2. The distance from Kwang-tung to Bhoga was about twenty days by a favourable wind, or sometimes a month (pp. xxx, xlvi).

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<sup>1</sup> Chavannes, *Memoirs*, p. 36, §§ 8, 9, and note.

<sup>2</sup> About nine times Srībhoga and twelve times Bhoga (the latter more often referring to the capital).

3. Malayu, which newly received the name of *Srībhoga*, was fifteen days' sail from *Bhoga* the capital, and from Malayu to *Ka-cha* was also fifteen days,—so that Malayu lies just halfway between the two places (p. xlvi).
4. The *country* of *Srībhoga* was east of *Pulushih* (p. xl).
5. The king of *Bhoga* possessed ships, probably for commerce, sailing between India and *Bhoga* (pp. xxx, xlvi).
6. The *Bhoga* king as well as the rulers of the neighbouring states favoured Buddhism (p. xxxiv).
7. The capital was a centre of Buddhist learning in the islands of the Southern Sea, and there were more than a thousand priests (p. xxxiv).
8. Buddhism was chiefly what is called the *Hīnayāna*, represented for the most part by the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* School. There were two other schools newly introduced, besides the *Sammitīya*. A few *Mahāyānists* were in Malayu (= *Srībhoga* the New) (pp. 10, 11).
9. Gold seems to have been abundant. *I-tsing* once calls *Srībhoga* 'Chin-chou,' 'Gold Isle'.<sup>1</sup> People used to offer the Buddha a lotus-flower of gold (p. 49). They used golden jars, and had images of gold (pp. 45, 46).
10. People wear *Kan-man* (a long cloth) (p. 12).
11. Other products were: *pin-lang* (Mal. *pinang*, Skt. *pūga*), nutmegs (*gāñī*), cloves (*lavañga*), and *Baros-camphor* (*karpūra*) (p. 48). They used fragrant oil (p. 45). People in these places make sugar-balls by boiling the juice of plants (or trees)<sup>2</sup>, and the priests eat them at various hours, while the Indians make sugar from rice-grain, and in making 'stone-honey' they use milk and oil (*Nanjio's Catal.*, No. 1131, book x, p. 72).
12. In the *country* of *Srībhoga*, in the middle of the eighth month and in the middle of spring (second month), the dial casts no shadow, and a man standing has no shadow at noon. The sun passes just above the head twice a year (pp. 143, 144).
13. The language was known as 'Kun-lun' (*Malay*, not *Pulo Condore*) (p. 1).

*Shih-li-fo-shih*, though not unknown<sup>3</sup>, has not been satisfactorily described by the Chinese historians, while the name seems to have been very familiar to Buddhist writers subsequent to *I-tsing*. *Fo-shih* (= *Bhoga*) is mentioned in the *History of T'ang* (618–906) as being on the south shore of the Straits of Malacca,

<sup>1</sup> Chavannes, p. 181, note 2. Cf. *Reinaud, Relation*, tom. i, p. lxxv. Sumatra is famous for gold; *Yule, Marco Polo*, vol. ii, chap. ix, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> Or, 'by boiling the wine (syrup) prepared from plants.'

<sup>3</sup> E. g. the *History of T'ang*, book 222 c.

and four or five days distant from Ho-ling (=Java)<sup>1</sup>. Next in the History of Sung (960-1279)<sup>2</sup> there is a country in the Southern Sea called San-bo-tsai (San-fo-ch'i), which is in all probability Shih-li-fo-shih (=Śrībhoga) of I-tsing, and its description runs as follows :—

'The kingdom of San-bo-tsai is that of the southern barbarians. It is situated between Cambodja (Chên-la) and Java (Shê-p'o), and rules over fifteen *different states*. Its products are rattan, red kino, lignum-aloës, areca-nuts (pin-lang), and cocoa-nuts. They use no copper cash, but their custom is to trade in all kinds of things *with gold and silver*. The weather is mostly hot, and in winter they have no frost or snow. The people rub their bodies *with fragrant oil*. This country does not produce barley, but they have rice, and yellow and green peas. They make wine from flowers, cocoa-nuts, pin-lang or honey<sup>3</sup>. They write with Sanskrit<sup>4</sup> characters, and the king uses his finger-ring as a seal; they know also Chinese characters; in sending tributes (to China) they write with them. With a favourable wind the distance from this country to Kwang-tung (Canton) is *twenty days*. Many family names there are "P'u." In 960, the king Shih-li-kuta-hia-li-tan<sup>5</sup> sent tribute to China. In 992, this country was invaded by Java. In 1003, two envoys from San-bo-tsai related that a Buddhist temple was erected in order to pray for the long life of the Chinese emperor, and the emperor gave to that temple a name and a bell specially cast for the purpose. In 1017, an envoy from thence brought bundles of Sanskrit books, folded between boards. In 1082, three envoys came to have an audience of the emperor, and presented *lotus-flowers of gold*<sup>6</sup> (Chin-lien-hua) containing pearls, *camphor-baros*, and sa-tien.'

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

<sup>1</sup> Book 436, p. 20, as quoted by Chavannes, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Book 489; some portion has been translated in the Notes on the Malay Archipelago, by W. P. Groeneveldt; see the Essays on Indo-China, second series, vol. i, p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Crawford, Hist. of Ind. Arch., vol. i, p. 398.

<sup>4</sup> Fan (barbarian) may mean any foreign characters, but here it seems to mean Sanskrit; so also Mr. Groeneveldt, see loc. cit., p. 188.

<sup>5</sup> Something like Śrī-kūta-harita, or Śrī-gupta-hârīta.

<sup>6</sup> In the History of Liang (502-556), Kandari, eastern coast of Sumatra, sent an envoy and presented a Fu-yan flower of gold, loc. cit., p. 187; Fu-yan is 'mallow,' but often used for 'lotus.'

<sup>7</sup> Chu-f'an-shih, by Chao-ju-kua. It is a rather rare book, and I am obliged to Dr. Rosthorn of Vienna for lending it to me. Dr. Hirth is going to translate it (J. R. A. S., Jan. 1896).

to the south of Ch'üan-chou<sup>1</sup>; the people put a *cotton cloth* (sarongs) round their bodies, and use a silk parasol. They wage war on water as well as on land, and their military organisation is excellent. When the king dies, the people shave their heads as a sign of mourning. Those who follow another in death burn themselves in the pile of fuel. This custom is called 'T'ung-shêng-ssü,' 'living and dying together<sup>2</sup>.'

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

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

Among *the fifteen states* which are mentioned in the same work as dependent on San-bo-tsai, Tan-ma-ling, Pa-lin-fêng, Sin-da, Lan-pi, and Lan-wu-li may be identified respectively with Tana-malayu (the next to Palembang in the list of Sumatran kingdoms in De Barros)<sup>3</sup>, with Palembang, Sunda, Jambi, and Lambri<sup>4</sup>, all indicating that they belonged to Sumatra.

We have another important and somewhat earlier account by the Arab travellers of the ninth century, who speak of the island of Sarbaza<sup>5</sup>, which was then subject to the kingdom of Zábedj<sup>6</sup> (=Iabadiu of Ptolemy, about A. D. 150,

<sup>1</sup> Ch'üan-chou and its bay (=Zayton of Marco Polo), in Fu-kien, lie lat. 25° N., opposite to N. Formosa.

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

<sup>3</sup> Yule, Marco Polo, vol. ii, chap. viii, p. 263.

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

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

<sup>6</sup> I do not think Srîbhoga is Zábedj, as in Chavannes, but Sarbaza, subject to Zábedj (=Java). Palembang was a Javanese colony, Yule, Marco Polo, vol. ii, p. 263. Zábedj of the Arabs represents some great monarchy then existing in the Malay Islands, probably in Java, the king of which was known to the Arabs by the Hindu title Mahârâja (Relation, tom. i, p. 93). Dabag, one of the islands of the seas, where the Syrian bishops, Thomas and others, were sent by the

Yavadi (Ya-p'ò-t'í) of Fâ-hien, A.D. 414, and Yavada (Ya-p'ò-ta) of the History of the First Sung, A.D. 420-478), which seems to be a corruption of Yavadvîpa.

Now, as to the position of San-bo-tsai (San-fo-ch'í), it is generally understood to be the present Palembang<sup>1</sup> in the southern part of Sumatra, and we have nothing to say against this general belief, while there are on the other hand many points which indicate the correctness of this identification. In all accounts, this great kingdom of the Southern Sea is about *twenty days distant*, or sometimes a month, from Kwang-tung. The capital is an *important trading port*, and the people seem to have embraced *Buddhism* for some time; and there are several points which show that they were of *Hindoo origin*. The country is, according to all accounts, rich *in gold*, and the gift of *golden lotus-flowers* is peculiar to the people. The accounts as to the use of *fragrant oil*, *kan-man* (sarongs), &c., and the *products* also, though common to the other islands, are in general agreement. Above all, the names, Shih-li-fo-shih (= Srîbhoga) of I-tsing, Sarbaza of the Arabs, and San-bo-tsai (= San-fo-ch'í) of the Chinese historians, are the weightiest proof, especially when we see that none of the accounts given under these three names contradict each other.

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

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

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

'From whatever place ships come, they enter the strait of Banka (P'êng-chia) at the Freshwater River (Tan-chiang, the Chinese name for the river Palembang),

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patriarch Elias (Assemani, iii, part i, p. 592), is probably a relic of the form Zábedj of the early narratives, used also by Al-Biruni. Ibn Khurdabah and Adrisi use Jaba for Zábedj; Yule, Cathy, p. civ.

<sup>1</sup> The History of Ming (1368-1643), book 324: 'In 1397, San-bo-tsai was for the last time conquered by Java, and the name was changed into Chiu-chiang' ('Old Port' or 'Old River,' which is the name for Palembang up to the present day). See Essays, &c., p. 195.

and near a place with many pagodas built with bricks, after which the merchants go up the river in smaller craft, and so arrive at the capital.'

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

Unfortunately, however, *the city of Malaiur* of Marco Polo has not been satisfactorily traced. Colonel Yule says<sup>1</sup>: 'Probabilities seem to me to be divided between Palembang and its colony Singhapura (Palembang itself is a Javanese colony). Palembang, according to the commentary of Alboquerque, was called by the Javanese Malayo. The list of Sumatran kingdoms in De Barros makes Tana-malayu<sup>2</sup> the next to Palembang. On the whole I incline to this interpretation.'

This point, I think, becomes clear from the notice I have given above that the country Bhoga, i.e. Malayu, lay on the southern shore of Malacca; if Malaiur be Singapore, it must lie on the northern shore where, according to the same history, the country was called Lo-yüeh<sup>3</sup>. Further for the determination of the position of Srībhoga-Malayu, I-tsing furnishes us with important data (pp. 143, 144): 'In the Srībhoga *country* (not the capital), we see the shadow of the dial-plate become neither long nor short (i.e. "remain unchanged" or "no shadow") in the middle of the eighth month (=autumnal equinox), and at midday no shadow falls from a man who is standing on that day. So it is in the middle of spring (=vernal equinox)'.<sup>4</sup> From this we can see that the *country* of Srībhoga covered

<sup>1</sup> Marco Polo, vol. ii, book iii, chap. viii, p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> The Descriptions of the Barbarians says that this country uses trays of gold and silver for barter.

<sup>3</sup> This is the place where Shinnio Taka-oka, an imperial prince of Japan, died, A. D. 881, on his way to India to search for the Law. He was twenty years in China learning Buddhism, whence he started for the West. The place of his death is supposed to be near Saigon in Champa or in Siam. If, however, our identification be right, it must have been in or near Singapore.

<sup>4</sup> We are perfectly justified in taking these two dates as the two equinoxes. A year is divided into four seasons, each of three months (1st, 2nd, and 3rd, Spring; 7th, 8th, and 9th, Autumn). Therefore, the 'Middle of Spring' is the middle of the second month. The Chinese names for the two equinoxes are accordingly Ch'un-fên<sup>a</sup> and Chiu-fên<sup>b</sup>, 'Division of Spring' and 'Division of Autumn.' I-tsing uses Ch'un-chung<sup>c</sup>, 'Middle of Spring,' which conveys the same idea as the above, and Pa-yüeh-chung<sup>d</sup>, 'Middle of the eighth month' (when the calendar is exact, this will be the 'Middle of Autumn'). In the Japanese calendar, the autumnal equinox is marked

<sup>a</sup> 春分.      <sup>b</sup> 秋分.      <sup>c</sup> 春中.      <sup>d</sup> 八月中.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Chavannes, *Memoirs*, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 184, note 2.

3. Mo-ho-hsin (Mahâsin).

The only name which comes near to this is Masin of the Syrians. The bishops, Thomas, Taballaha, Jacob, and Denha, were ordained by the Syrian patriarch Elias, A.D. 1503, 'to go to the lands of the Indians and the islands of the seas which are between Dabag (Java, cf. Zábedj) and Sin (China) and Masin<sup>1</sup>.' Mahâsin and Masin may be the present Bandjermasin on the southern coast of Borneo.

4. Ho-ling (Po-ling, Kaliᅅga).

This name is no doubt Indian, probably taken from Kaliᅅga on the coast of Coromandel<sup>2</sup>. According to the Chinese history<sup>3</sup>, this is another name for Java, or a part of it<sup>4</sup>, which had the earliest intercourse with Ceylon and perhaps also with the southern coasts of India. But the following statement of the Chinese historians, if correct, points to a place in the Malay Peninsula (6° 8' N.) :—

'In Ho-ling, when at the summer solstice a gnomon is erected 8 feet high, the shadow (at noon) falls on the south side and 2 feet 4 inches (= 2 $\frac{2}{5}$  feet) long<sup>5</sup>.'

Thus—North latitude of the place of observation =  $\phi$   
 Zenith distance of the sun . . . =  $z$   
 North declination of the sun . . . =  $\delta$

We have—

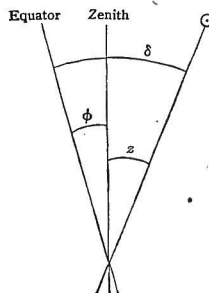
$$\tan z = \frac{2\frac{2}{5}}{8} = \frac{2.4}{8}$$

$$\log \tan z = 9.477$$

$$z = 16^{\circ} 7'$$

$$\delta = 23^{\circ} 5'$$

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



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

<sup>1</sup> Assemani, iii, part i, p. 592; Yule, Cathy, p. ciii.

<sup>2</sup> See Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, ii, p. 1076; iv, p. 711.

<sup>3</sup> The New History of T'ang (618-906), book 222, part ii: 'Kaliᅅga is also called Java;' book 197: 'Kaliᅅga lies to the east of Sumatra.'

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Groeneveldt places it on the north coast (long. 111° E.), while Prof. Chavannes on the western part of Java (Memoirs, p. 42, note).

<sup>5</sup> The New History of T'ang (618-906), book 222, part ii; see also Essays on Indo-China, second series, vol. i, p. 139.



As to the names of Java, the oldest Iabadiu of Ptolemy (circa A.D. 150), Javadi of Fâ-hien (414), and Yavada of the history of the first Sung (420-478) probably represent Yavadvîpa<sup>1</sup>, the 'country of millet.' The same name appears in some later accounts as Zâbedj (the Arabs) or Dabag (the Syrians). Neither of them, however, seems to have been used in I-tsing's time, though the name 'Java' occurs later in the History of Sung (960-1279)<sup>2</sup> and in Marco Polo's travels<sup>3</sup> at the close of the thirteenth century; and till the present day. Now a word about the Javanese civilisation will not be out of place. Java in Fâ-hien's time (414) was already settled by the Hindus; he says: 'Heretic Brahmins flourish there, and the Buddha-dharma hardly deserves mentioning.' One of the old inscriptions from Pagaroyang in Sumatra, dated A.D. 656, calls the king Âdityadharma, the ruler of the 'first Java' (or Yava). Moreover some of the Sanskrit inscriptions found in Java seem to date from the fifth century and they are Vaishnava<sup>3</sup>. Buddhism was, according to I-tsing, chiefly the Hînayâna, but it is remarkable indeed that the ancient ruins of the temple of Kalasam (Kâlâsa) and the Vihâra of Chandi Sari (dating from 779) indicate that the Buddhism here prevalent was a later form of the so-called Mahâyâna, as proved by the discovery of the images of Dhyâni Buddhas, Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitâbha or Amoghasiddha<sup>4</sup>. The Buddhist faith, whether the Hînayâna or Mahâyâna, possibly lasted till the propagation of Islam, as was the case with Sumatra.

5. Tan-tan (Natuna).
6. P'ên-p'ên (Pempen).
7. P'o-li (Bali).

According to Mr. Bretschneider<sup>5</sup>, the islands of Natuna were called Tan-tan, which is probably I-tsing's Tan-tan. Tan-tan (Don-din) of the History of Sui (518-617)<sup>6</sup>, which is supposed to be in Southern Siam or Northern Malacca, if correct, is not the island here mentioned, for our author knows that Siam

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<sup>1</sup> Lassen, vol. iv, p. 482. Not the 'country of barley,' for Java and Sumatra never produce barley, but millet is there called Java (Essays, second series, vol. i, pp. 132, 137).

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit., p. 141; the Descriptions of the Barbarians, of the same date, mentions Java, at one place Mahâ-Java; Yule, Marco Polo, vol. ii, chap. ix, p. 266; Sumatra is also 'Java the less.' Sumatra, perhaps Skt. Samudra, the 'sea.' Cf. Ch. Nan-hai.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Kern, Over den invloer der Indische, Arab. en Europ. beschaving op de Volken van den Ind. Archipel, p. 7; Yule, Marco Polo, vol. ii, chap. ix, p. 267.

<sup>4</sup> Minutes of the Batavian Society, April, 1886; Essays, pp. 140, 141.

<sup>5</sup> The Knowledge possessed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs, &c., p. 19; see also Julien, Hiuen Tshang, tom. i, p. 451.

<sup>6</sup> Book 82; Essays, p. 205.

(Dvâravatî) is not one of the islands of the sea, and mentions no continental place among them. Besides, the identification of Dondin is by no means conclusive; Colonel Yule marks Andaman Islands 'Dondin?'

P'ên-p'ên, I think, represents modern Pembuan on the southern coast of Borneo. This seems to be right, for I-tsing says that P'u-p'ên (=P'ên-p'ên) was situated in the north of Kaliŋga (N.E. Java)<sup>1</sup>. There is, however, a place named P'an-p'an<sup>2</sup> in the southern part of Siam, which may be the present P'un-p'in or Bandon. But this identification is again very doubtful.

P'o-li, probably the present Bali Island, E. of Java, was called P'ang-li by the Chinese<sup>3</sup>, but the accounts given of this island are very scanty. Owing to the interesting discovery of the Kavi literature there, the name is now well known to us. I should refer my readers to Mr. R. Friedrich's Account of the Island of Bali (Essays on Indo-China, second series, vol. ii).

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

K'u-lun is identical with K'un-lun, the Chinese name for Pulo Condore. The native name is Kon-non, Condore being a corruption of it. The Arab travellers of the ninth century call this group of islands by the name of Sundar<sup>4</sup> Fûlát, while Marco Polo names the same Sundur and Condur. It consists of one isle of twelve miles long, two of two or three miles, and some six other smaller isles, the largest being specially called Pulo Condore. According to I-tsing, the people of these isles alone are woolly-haired with black complexion (p. 12).

We often hear from Chinese writers of the 'slaves from K'un-lun<sup>5</sup>,' later signifying slaves in general, without any reference to the land where they came from. The inhabitants in I-tsing's time appear to have been negroes; the commentator Kâsyapa also, quoting an early authority, describes them as if of a different race: 'K'u-lun, Ku-lun, and K'un-lun are one and the same country. In this country no ceremony or courtesy is observed. The people live by robbing and pirating. They are fond of man's flesh, like Râkshasas or some wicked demons.

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

<sup>1</sup> Chavannes, *Memoirs*, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> *The New History of T'ang* (618-906), book 222<sup>b</sup>; *Essays*, p. 241.

<sup>3</sup> *The Hsing-ch'a-shêng-lan* (1436).

<sup>4</sup> Or, Sondor; Yule, perhaps Sanskrit Sundara, 'beautiful.'

<sup>5</sup> See, e. g. *Essays*, p. 257, note.

water without any suffering.' This peculiar people, however, seems to have embraced Buddhism to some degree, for I-tsing mentions a monastery with a peculiar clepsydra given by the king of the island (p. 145), and further says, though accidentally, that they praise Sanskrit Sûtras (p. 169). Two kinds of cloves grow there (p. 129).

One may well wonder why the K'un-lun language was prevalent in Sumatra or Srîbhoga in I-tsing's time<sup>1</sup>. One must not, however, be misled by the word K'un-lun, when used as the name of a language, for it has been for some time a general name for all the Southern Sea (cf. p. 11), and therefore the 'K'un-lun-yü' must mean the Malay language. The islands of Pulo Condore had nothing to do with it, though the inhabitants might have shared in speaking a dialect of the K'un-lun language.

9. Fo-shih-pu-lo (Bhoga-pura).

Fo-shih-pu-lo is no doubt Bhoga-pura in its original form, but it is not Bhoga, the capital of Srîbhoga, the modern Palembang. Mr. C. Baumgarten, writing to Prof. Max Müller (Feb. 20, 1883), says that Surabaja is the second city in Java, and that we still have a place there called Boja-nagara and the whole province Boja; and he adds that the seventh century seems to have been the golden age of Buddhism in Java<sup>2</sup>. This is probably I-tsing's Bhogapura, and further we have here perhaps the origin of the name Srî-Bhoga, for Palembang was certainly a colony of Java.

10. A-shan or O-shan.

11. Mo-chia-man (Maghaman).

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

As it comes after Bhogapura, it seems to be somewhere in the eastern part of Java near Bali; it may be the present Ajang<sup>3</sup>.

As to Mo-chia-man, I have nothing to say about it, except that it may phonetically represent Maghaman or Maghavan. Ma-shê-wêng or Ma-yeh-wêng<sup>4</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Chavannes, *Memoirs*, p. 159; Koen-luen there.

<sup>2</sup> This is well founded; the temple of Kâlâsa and the adjoining monumental Vihâra date from 779, as attested by a Sanskrit inscription in Old Nâgarî; besides, I-tsing's Record indicates the same.

<sup>3</sup> As to such names as Ajang, Bandjermasin, or Kota, I am not able to judge whether they are of ancient or modern origin.

<sup>4</sup> *Essays*, p. 202.

the position of which is not certain, may be the same island. It may have been meant for Madura.

### III. Further India or Indo-China.

1. Srî-kshatra or -kshetra (Thare Khetara).
2. Lañkasu (Kâmalañkâ).
3. Dvâravatî (=Ayuthya) } in Siam.
4. Poh-nan (=Fu-nan) } in Siam.
5. Champa (originally *Kampâ*).
6. Pi-king, in Annam.
7. Kwan-chou (probably near Tong-king).

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

<sup>1</sup> The Burmese calendar places the Buddha's death in 544 B.C.; A. B. 60 is therefore B. C. 484, if corrected, about B. C. 424.

<sup>2</sup> Asiatic Researches, vol. xx, p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> Julien, Mémoires, liv. x, pp. 82, 83; Beal, Life, p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> Îṣānapura was very successfully identified with Cambodja by Prof. Chavannes (p. 58); in

chou' (probably 'Yavanadvîpa,' meaning Sumatra). The reader will see that I-tsing's Lan̄kasu is here Kâmalan̄kâ, Poh-nan, Îsânapura, and Champa (p. 12), Mahâk̄ampâ; and we know from our Record that Pi-king (Turan or Hue) is N. of Champa, and that still further north one reaches Kwan-chou (near Tong-king) after a month's journey on foot, or five or six tides, if aboard ship. Thus all these statements are pretty clear, and in harmony with one another<sup>1</sup>.

#### IV. India and Ceylon.

I-tsing calls India in general the West (Si-fang), the Five *Countries* of India (Wu-t'ien), Âryadesa (A-li-ya-t'i-sha), Madhyadesa (Mo-t'i-t'i-sha), Brahmarâsh̄tra (Po-lo-mên-kuo), or Gambudvîpa (Chan-pu-chou). 'Hindu (Hsin-tu)<sup>2</sup>,' he says, 'is the name used only by the northern tribes (p. 118), and the people of India themselves do not know it. Indu (Yin-tu) is by some derived from the name of the moon, Indu (Hiuen Thsang, Mém. ii, 56), but it is not a proper name.' Hindu in Persian and Indo in Greek were perhaps corrupted from Sindhu, but it is curious that the Chinese should have known both forms of the name. Indu (Yin-tu) as the name of India came to be generally used in China from Hiuen Thsang's time, while T'ien-chu and Chüan-tu (both from Sindhu) are probably as old as the introduction of Buddhism into China (A. D. 67). The name for Ceylon is, in the Record, Simhala (Sêng-ho-lo) Island (or Shih-tzŭ-chou, Lion Island), or occasionally Ratnadvîpa (Pao-chu, Jewel Isle).

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> The text has 'Hsi,' but I-tsing directs that it should be pronounced by taking the first and last parts of *Hsü-lin*, i. e. 'Hsin.' 𑖀𑖄 = 𑖀𑖄 used for 'hin' of *Mahinda*.

can be gathered from his own writings. The places which he says definitely he visited are very few<sup>1</sup>, i.e. Kapilavastu, Buddhagayâ (in Magadha), Varânasî (Benares), Srâvastî (N. Kosala), Kânyakubga (Kanoj), Râgagrîha (ten years in Nâlanda), Vaisâlî, Kusinagara, and Tâmrâlipti (Tamluk). I doubt whether he visited Ceylon; although he often mentions it, his description does not appear to be that of an eye-witness. So it is in the case of Lâta<sup>2</sup>, Sindhu, Valabhî, Udyâna, Khara-*kar*, Kustana (Khoten), Kasmîra, and Nepâla. Besides the above, he mentions Tibet (T'u-fan), Persia (Po-la-ssû), the Tajiks (Ta-shih and To-shih)<sup>3</sup>, Tukhâra (T'u-ho-lo), Sûli (Su-li), the Turks (Tü-chüeh), and accidentally Korea (Kau-li, Kukkutesvara).

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

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

First of all the place where he compiled his work must be in Srîbhoga (Palembang in Sumatra)<sup>4</sup> as he says towards the end of chap. xxxiv. His return from India to this place must be later than A. D. 685<sup>5</sup>, when he was still near Nâlanda, and, as he says that he already passed four years in Srîbhoga before he wrote chap. xxxiv, his Record cannot be in any case earlier than A. D. 689 (685 + 4 = 689), even if we suppose that he returned there immediately after his parting with Wu-hing near Nâlanda. Further, he uses throughout the new dynastic name<sup>6</sup> adopted A. D. 690 by the Usurper Queen (reigned A. D. 684-704); this shows clearly that

<sup>1</sup> The *Mûlasarvâstivâda-samuyuktavastu* (Nanjio's Catal., No. 1121), chap. xxxviii, p. 85 (J.), and chap. xxxvi, p. 76<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 137, note 1, and p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> This is generally the name for the Mohammedan Arabs in Chinese. I-tsing says that the Tajiks occupied the way to Kapisa; *Memoirs*, vol. i, fol. 4<sup>b</sup>; *Chavannes*, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Not 'in Ceylon' as Messrs. Shimaji and Ikuta suppose in their *Short History of Buddhism in the Three Kingdoms* (India, China, and Japan), 1890, Tokio. Evidence, if any, is too weak to prove that I-tsing visited Ceylon.

<sup>5</sup> This date is in the Chinese text 'the first year of the Chui-kung period,' being the second year of the Usurper Queen, though she still used the dynastic name T'ang, which she changed in A. D. 690 into Chou, *Chavannes*, p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Chou, p. 214 below; Chou-yun and Chou-i, p. 7; the Great Chou, p. 118; Chou-yü, p. 148; lastly, in his text, not in his notes, the Great Chou, p. 214 (note 3). See the Chinese text, respectively, vol. i, fol. 3<sup>a</sup>; vol. iii, fol. 12<sup>a</sup>; vol. iv, fols. 2<sup>b</sup>, 27<sup>a</sup>.

our Record cannot be earlier than A.D. 690. It will be remembered that he sent this Record on the fifteenth day of the fifth month of A.D. 692, and we must therefore find the date of his whole composition within the period A.D. 690-692. Let us now examine the chapters which we can make use of for our purpose.

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

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

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

4. His Memoirs must be later than the contents of our Record (except the *Introduction*), for the former quotes the latter twice by name<sup>4</sup>. But the *conclusion* of the Memoirs must be at about the same time as the *Introduction* of the Record, for both mention the Memoirs in two vols. and the Record in four vols. (forty chapters)<sup>5</sup>, one by the other. In other words, the finishing up of the two works must be at about the same time.

Now it will not be very difficult to see that about seven folios of a *Supplement*<sup>6</sup> to the Memoirs have been written about the same time, for it is not likely that he would write a *Supplement* before the text. May it be an addition at a later date? According to my opinion, it cannot be later than A.D. 692, because he must have sent it with the texts. We see in the *Supplement* that a priest, Tao-hung, who was ordained in his twentieth year, soon after met I-tsing in Kwang-tung, and followed the party to Srībhoga, A.D. 689, was twenty-three years of age<sup>7</sup> (A.D. 689-692=3) when our author wrote the supplementary portion.

From this it is clear that he wrote it<sup>8</sup>, or at any rate, he sent it at the same

<sup>1</sup> Page 18 below.

<sup>2</sup> Page 95 below; for the impossibility of taking it as 'two dozen,' see note at the end, p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> Page 135 below. Compare p. 176, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> Chavannes, p. 88, note 1; p. 92, note 1, chap. 30 of our Record is quoted.

<sup>5</sup> Page 18 below; Chavannes, p. 160.

<sup>6</sup> Chavannes, p. 161; about twenty-four pages in French.

<sup>7</sup> Chavannes, pp. 185, 187. See p. xxxvi above.

<sup>8</sup> It is true that there is a portion which I-tsing might have added afterwards, but this part can be clearly seen in the text, as it is a general remark, not coming under any name; see Chavannes, p. 189, six lines from the bottom, beginning with 'Ces quatre hommes.'

time with the other texts. Thus the *Introduction* to the Record, the Memoirs and its *Supplement* will have to be referred to about the same time, the last mentioned being the last composed. Observe that I-tsing reckons three years from the latter half of A.D. 689 till the fifth month of A.D. 692.

5. Now, towards the end of chap. xxxiv—the most important of all chapters—he says that he remained over four years in Śrībhoga, since his return from India, the date of which we do not know. Only one year added to the period which I-tsing reckons as three years (A.D. 689–692) will give us the year of his second visit to Śrībhoga, i.e. A.D. 688<sup>1</sup> (he was in Bhoga A.D. 689 as we have seen). Thus the date of chap. xxxiv must fall in 691 or 692; the safest limit will be A.D. 691–692, the result being the same as that of chap. xxviii, &c.

All the evidence that can be adduced from the text points thus to the correctness of the date A.D. 691–692, strictly speaking A.D. 691 to the fifth month of A.D. 692, as the time when I-tsing wrote his Record. Resting on this result we can place with certainty the death of Gayâditya<sup>2</sup>, joint author with Vâmana of the *Kâsikâvr̥tti*, in A.D. 661–662, and that of Bhartr̥hari<sup>3</sup>, contemporary of Dharmapâla, in A.D. 651–652.

TABLES OF SEVERAL LITERARY MEN AND BUDDHIST TEACHERS OF INDIA, WITH THEIR DATES AND SUCCESSIONS, MADE FROM THE RECORD OF BUDDHIST PRACTICES (A.D. 691–692) OF I-TSING (A.D. 671–695 ABROAD; 673–687 IN INDIA).

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

I. (Chap. xxxii, pp. 156–157.)

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

1. Composed by Mâtriketa. *In Târanâtha's Geschichte des Buddhismus*, p. 89, Mâtriketa is said to have lived about the time of Bindusâra, son of Kandragupta.
2. Admired by Asaṅga
3. and by Vasubandhu, } *Brothers and contemporaries.*
4. Some verses were added by Gina. *Two of his works have been translated by Paramârtha, who worked in China* A.D. 557–569 (*Nanjio's Catal.*, Nos. 1172, 1255).

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

<sup>2</sup> Page 176 below.

<sup>3</sup> Page 180 below.



5. A further addition by Sâkyadeva of the Deer Park (at Benares).
6. Translated by I-tsing *while in the Nâlanda College (Nanjio)*, about A. D. 675-685. Sent home A. D. 692 (p. 166).

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

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

- a. (I-tsing's Introductory Chapter, p. 14.)
  - a. Asoka, 100 or more years after the Buddha's Nirvâna. (*This mistake arises either from confounding Dharmâsoka with Kâlâsoka or from taking the period (118) between the Second Council and Asoka as that between the Nirvâna and Asoka.*)
- β. (Chap. xxxii, pp. 163-166.)
  - b. Asvaghosha.
    1. His poetical songs.
    2. Sâtrâlañkârâsâtra (*translated into Chinese* A. D. 405, *Nanjio's Catal., No. 1182*).
    3. Buddhakaritakâvyâ (*translated* A. D. 414-421, *Nanjio's Catal., No. 1351*).
    4. *His Life was translated by Kumâragôva* A. D. 401-409, *Nanjio's Catal., No. 1460*.
  - c. Nâgârguna. His Suhrillekha.
    1. Addressed to a king of S. India (Kosala), Sâtavâhana (or Sadvâhana), whose private name was Getaka.
    2. *Translated into Chinese* A. D. 431 and 434 (*Nanjio's Catal., Nos. 1464 and 1440*), and by I-tsing, while abroad. Sent home A. D. 692 (p. 166).
    3. *His Life was translated by Kumâragôva* A. D. 401-409, *Nanjio's Catal., No. 1461*.
  - d. Silâditya.
    1. Gâtakamâlâ, by literary men living under him. (*Ârya Sâra's may be one of them.*)
    2. Gîmûtavâhana-nârika (= Nâgânanda), composed and popularised by himself.
    3. *Patron of Hiuen Tshang* (A. D. 629-645). *Death of Silâditya in about 655* A. D. (*my note, p. 163, and Chavannes, Memoirs, p. 19, note*).
- γ. (Chap. xxvii, pp. 127-128; cf. p. 131, note; pp. 222-223.)
  - e. An epitomiser of the Eight Books of Medicine (Âyur-veda), at about I-tsing's time.

## III. (Chap. xxiv, pp. 170-180.)

### Grammatical Works.

1. The Si-t'an-chang (or Siddha-composition), for beginners.
2. The Sûtra of Pâmîni.
3. The Book on Dhâtu (*a Dhâtupâtha*).
4. The Book on the Three Khilas (Ashadhâtu, Wen-ch'a, Unâdi-sûtra).

5. The *Vṛtti-sūtra* (*Kāśikā-vṛtti*).  
By *Gayāditya*, died nearly thirty years before the date of I-tsing's Record (A. D. 691–692) = A. D. 661–662.  
*Contemporary of Vāmana, who was joint author of the Kāśikā.*
6. The *Kūrni* (*Mahābhāṣya*), [Commentary on the above *Vṛtti, sic!*]  
By *Patañjali*.
7. The *Bhartrihari-sāstra*, Commentary on the *Kūrni*.  
By *Bhartrihari*, died forty years before the date of I-tsing's Record = A. D. 651–652.  
Contemporary of *Dharmapāla*.
8. The *Vākya*-discourse (*Vākya-padīya*).  
By *Bhartrihari*.
9. The *Pei-na* (a *Bedā-vṛtti*).  
The Commentary in prose by *Bhartrihari*, } contemporaries.  
The Sloka portion by *Dharmapāla*, }  
*The latter was teacher of Śīlabhadra, who was too old to teach Hiuen Tshang (about A. D. 635), and appointed Gayasena to instruct him.*  
*The translations of four works attributed to Dharmapāla all date A. D. 650–710, see Nanjio's Catal., Appendix i, 16.*

*The Result.*

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

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

IV. (Chap. xxxiv, pp. 181–184.)

Famous Buddhist Nāgas of India and Śrībhoga.

- a. Of an early age (before A. D. 400)<sup>1</sup>.
  1. *Nāgārguna*.
  2. *Deva*, *Ārya Deva* or *Kāna Deva*.
  3. *Arvaghosha*.  
*These three are generally made to be contemporaries of Kanishka, who is said to have lived in the first century.*

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<sup>1</sup> I do not mean by putting down these limits that every individual under *a, b, c, d* lived at these dates, but I wish to show the fair limits we can put from the present state of our knowledge to the terms, 'early age,' 'middle ages,' and 'late years.'

b. In the middle ages (about A. D. 450-550)<sup>1</sup>.

1. Vasubandhu, } *Brothers.* } *Contemporaries (Hiuen Tshang, Mémoires, iv, 223).*
2. Asaṅga, }
3. Saṅghabhadra. }
4. Bhavaviveka. *Contemporary of Dharmapāla (Hiuen Tshang, Mémoires, x, 111-113).*

## c. Of late years (about A. D. 550-670).

1. Ġina (in Logic). *Composed a work on Logic in Andhra (Hiuen Tshang, Mémoires, x, 106). (He seems to have lived earlier than 550; cf. I, 4 above.)*
2. Dharmapāla. *Contemporary of Bhartrihari, who died A. D. 651-652. Must have died before A. D. 635; see above, III.*
3. Dharmakīrti (in Logic). *Referred to in the Vāsavadattā (p. 235), and in the Sarva-darsana-saṅgraha (p. 24, Cowell). Contemporary of King Sroin-tsan-gam-po (A. D. 629-698), Wassilief, p. 54.*
4. Ślabhadra. *Pupil of Dharmapāla (Hiuen Tshang, Mémoires, viii, 452).*
5. Simhākandra. *A fellow-student of Hiuen Tshang (Vie, v, 219, 261; 218), Life, v, 190.*
6. Sthiramati. *Referred to in a Valabhī grant (Ind. Ant., 1877, p. 91; 1878, p. 80), and Hiuen Tshang, Mémoires, xi, 164, in Valabhī. Pupil of Vasubandhu (Wassilief, p. 78).*
7. Guṇamati (in Dhyāna). *In Valabhī together with Sthiramati (Mémoires, xi, 164), and in Nālanda (Mémoires, ix, 46).*
8. Praṅḡāgupta (in refutation). *Teacher of the Sammitīya and contemporary of Hiuen Tshang (Hiuen Tshang, Vie, iv, 220; Life, iv, 159).*
9. Guṇaprabha (in Vinaya). *His pupil, Mītrasena, was ninety years old, and taught Hiuen Tshang Śāstras (Vie, ii, 109; Life, ii, 81). Guru of Śrīharsha, and pupil of Vasubandhu (Wassilief, p. 78).*
10. Ġinaprabha. *Teacher of Hiuen Chao, who was in Nālanda about A. D. 649, Chavannes, Memoirs, p. 17.*

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

- |                       |   |  |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| I-tsing's<br>teachers | { | 1. Ġñānakāndra (in the Tiladhā Vihāra, near Rāgagriha). <i>Mentioned as a priest in Nālanda (Hiuen Tshang, Mémoires, ix, 47).</i>  |
|                       |   | 2. Ratnasimha (in the Nālanda Vihāra, near Rāgagriha). <i>Teacher of Hiuen Chao, who was in Nālanda about A. D. 649, Chavannes, Memoirs, p. 18.</i>  |
|                       |   | 3. Divākaramitra (in E. India).  |
|                       |   | 4. Tathāgatagarbha (in S. India).  |
|                       |   | 5. Śākyakīrti (in Śrībhoga, in Sumatra).   |
|                       |   | 6. Rāhulamitra (chief of the priests in E. India; thirty years old in Ġ-tsing's time, p. 63). <i>He is mentioned in Tāraṅkītha's Buddhism, p. 63; his favourite Ratnakīta-sūtra also belongs to the same period.</i> |
|                       |   | 7. Kāndra (in E. India; author of a dramatic poem on Vessantara [Visvantara = Sudāna], p. 164; he was still alive when I-tsing was in India (A. D. 673-687), p. 183).  |

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<sup>1</sup> See note on preceding page.

## Notes.

a. We have not made any progress in fixing the dates of 1, 2, and 3. But that these three lived at about the same time and before A.D. 400 seems to be quite certain. Hiuen Tshang (645) places them at one and the same period (*Mémoires*, xii, 214). Deva was a pupil of Nâgârguna (Life, ii, 76; so also the Tibetan), and both contemporaries of Kanishka (Schiefner, *Ratnadhar-marâga's Work*, *Mém. Acad. St. Pétersbourg*, 1848). Asvaghosha and Pârsva lived in Kanishka's time (Wassilief, *Buddhismus*, p. 52, note). The Chinese *Saṃyukta-ratna-piṭaka-sūtra* (No. 1329, vol. vi, dated A.D. 472) makes Asvaghosha Bodhisattva, the physician Karaka, and Mât/hara, a great minister, the contemporaries of Kan-dana-kaniṣa (= Kanishka), king of the country of Yueh-chi; and again, in the Record of the Twenty-three Patriarchs, Fu-fa-tsang-yin-yuen-king (No. 1340, vol. v, p. 13<sup>a</sup>, dated 472), Karaka, Asvaghosha, and Mât/hara appear under Kanishka. The dates of the translations alone show us that the three (Karaka, Asvaghosha, Mât/hara) must have lived before A. D. 400; besides, the lives of Asvaghosha, Nâgârguna, and Deva were translated A. D. 405 by Kumâragîva, who left India A. D. 383. Cf. the date of the translations of Asvaghosha's *Buddhaṅgira* and *Sâtrâlaṅkāra*, and Nâgârguna's Works (II. b. above). Further the 1, 2, 3 are said to have lived after 400 years of the Nirvâṇa, and Kanishka is believed to have reigned in the first century of our era, and his second successor Vâsudeva about A. D. 178. So far as our knowledge goes, nothing is against making them contemporaries of Kanishka. Nâgârguna was a contemporary of Sâtavâhana or Sâlivâhana (p. 159, note). Cf. Prof. Cowell, *Buddhaṅgira* (text), p. v. According to Prof. Kielhorn, Karaka must be placed before the middle of the seventh century (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xii, p. 227). Asvaghosha is perhaps the oldest, then Nâgârguna and Deva. The last is Ārya Deva (Schiefner, *Lebensbeschreibung*, 331), called Kâṇa Deva because he was one-eyed (Record of the Twenty-three Patriarchs, vol. vi); or Nīlanetra, because he had two spots like eyes on his cheeks; but his real name was Kandrakīrti (J. A. S., Bengal, 1882, p. 94; also Nanjio, App. i, 4).

b, c. b and c cannot be separated by a long period, for b<sup>1</sup> is a contemporary of c<sup>2</sup>; c<sup>1</sup>, c<sup>3</sup> are pupils of b<sup>1</sup>, while c<sup>2</sup>, c<sup>3</sup> are pupils of b<sup>2</sup> (according to the Tibetan). c<sup>4</sup>, c<sup>5</sup>, c<sup>6</sup> are all contemporaries of Hiuen Tshang, and c<sup>3</sup> is said to have lived at the time of Sroṅ-tsan-gam-po, who sent envoys to India A. D. 632. c<sup>1</sup>, c<sup>2</sup> are perhaps older than the others; Hiuen Tshang styles them 'Bodhisattvas,' and they lived probably early in the seventh century. Some of the others may have lived to the time of I-tsing's arrival, A. D. 673. As to the name Sthiramati, see my note to p. 181 at the end; for Dharmakīrti (Fa-chan), see Nanjio's Catal., App. i, 19, p. 374 (not Dharmayasas; cf. Vimalakīrti, Wu-keu-chan). Burnouf tried to identify Guṇamati with Guṇaprabha, but, according to our Record, the one is a teacher in Dhyaṇa, the other in Vinaya, and they seem to be quite different persons. For the dates of the translated works of those under b, c, see Nanjio's Catal., App. i. We cannot place Vasubandhu and Asaṅga much later than 500, for the translations of their works date from 509 and 531 respectively. In c, Gina must be much earlier than the rest, see above, I. 4.

d. Gñāṇakāṇḍa must have lived from a period earlier than 650, for he was known by Hiuen Tshang; the same is the case with Ratnasimha. It is difficult to draw a line between c and d; many of them must have been contemporaries. I-tsing seems to distinguish those dead (c) from those still living (d). For Śākyakīrti, see Nanjio's Catal., App. i, 54, p. 378 (not Śākyayasas; I-tsing has translated his teacher's work).

## THE TEXT.

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

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

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

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

義淨寄歸傳云。𑖀𑖄𑖔𑖃, 𑖀𑖄𑖔𑖃, 𑖄𑖄𑖔𑖃, 𑖄𑖄𑖔𑖃, 𑖄𑖄𑖔𑖃, 𑖄𑖄𑖔𑖃, 𑖄𑖄𑖔𑖃, 𑖄𑖄𑖔𑖃, 𑖄𑖄𑖔𑖃, 𑖄𑖄𑖔𑖃, 𑖄𑖄𑖔𑖃, 𑖄𑖄𑖔𑖃,

<sup>1</sup> Max Müller, 'India, what can it teach us?' 1883, p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> It is to be hoped that an accurate comparative catalogue will be drawn up; the arrangement is very different from that of the India Office copy, and several books found in the new are wanting in the old.

<sup>3</sup> See Nanjio's Catalogue, p. xxii.

𑖀 頤里, (是一字), 𑖀 蹊梨, (是一字), 𑖀 里, 𑖀 離, 𑖀 醫,  
 𑖀 藹, 𑖀 汗, 𑖀 奧; 𑖀 菴, 𑖀 阿. 𑖀 脚, 𑖀 佉, 𑖀 伽, 𑖀 噓, 𑖀 我;  
 𑖀 者, 𑖀 揮, 𑖀 社, 𑖀 綏, 𑖀 喙; 𑖀 吒, 𑖀 詫, 𑖀 茶, 𑖀 禪, 𑖀 拏;  
 𑖀 哆, 𑖀 他, 𑖀 挖, 𑖀 但, 𑖀 娜; 𑖀 跛, 𑖀 叵, 𑖀 婆, 𑖀 𑖀 𑖀, 𑖀 麼.  
 𑖀 野, 𑖀 囉, 𑖀 擻, 𑖀 婆, 𑖀 捨, 𑖀 灑, 𑖀 娑, 𑖀 訶; 𑖀 藍, 𑖀 乞 叉.  
 (末後二字不入其數) 惡等十六皆是聲韻, 向餘  
 字之上配之. 凡一一之字便有十六之別, 猶若  
 四聲於一字上有平上去入四番之異. 脚等之  
 二十五字, 並下八字, 總有三十三字, 名初章. 皆  
 須上聲讀之, 不可看其字而爲平去入也. 又云  
 十二聲者, 謂是 𑖀 脚, 𑖀 迦 (上短下長); 𑖀 𑖀, 𑖀 雞  
 (姜移反; 上短下長); 𑖀 矩, 𑖀 俱 (上短下長); 𑖀 雞,  
 𑖀 計 (上長下短); 𑖀 狐, 𑖀 告 (上長下短); 𑖀 甘, 𑖀 箇  
 (兩聲俱短; 箇字用力出聲). 呼佉等十二聲, 並  
 効此.

此十二字皆可兩兩相隨呼之, 仍須二字之中  
看字註而取短長也 (抄).

'It is said in the Record sent home by I-tsing: a, â, i, î, u, û, *ri, rî, lri, lrî*, e, ai, o, au; *am, ah*. Ka, kha, ga, gha, ña; *ka, kha, ga, gha, ña*; *ta, tha, da, dha, na*; *ta, tha, da, dha, na*; pa, pha, ba, bha, ma. Ya, ra, la, va, sa, sha, sa, ha; *llam, ksha*. (The last two are not included in the number of *the alphabet*.) The first sixteen, a to *ah*, are final sounds [meaning vowels], and these are to be distributed among the other letters [consonants]. Each letter of *the alphabet* [consonant], therefore, produces sixteen different *sounds* when combined, just as in Chinese a character has four different tones, even (p'ing), rising (shang), sinking (ch'ü), and entering (ju).

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

The Chinese characters here given well accord with those used in the Record, with the exception of a very few, and the quotation contains nothing whatever contrary to the passages in the existing Record. In chap. xxxiv, under the Si-t’an-chang, he says (p. 171): ‘There are forty-nine letters<sup>1</sup> (of the alphabet), which are combined together and arranged into eighteen sections.’ After this, very likely he added the above by way of notes, as he generally did in other cases, to explain what the forty-nine were and how they were to be pronounced, and at the same time to show his friends at home a correct transliteration of the Sanskrit alphabet. That the above quotation once formed a part of our author’s Record is confirmed by a much later work, a commentary on the Siddha-tzŭ-chi (published A. D. 1669)<sup>2</sup>. The commentator, Yŭ-kwai, says that whether I-tsing’s pronunciation was that of C. India or of S. India is a question discussed from olden times. ‘But why is it,’ he asks, ‘that the citation of the text of the Siddha-tzŭ-chi<sup>3</sup> is somewhat different from the actual words of I-tsing found in the Record, according to which am, aḥ are both short?’ He himself answers this question, attributing the difference to the careless citation on the part of the author of the Siddha-tzŭ-chi. From this we see that the original Record with the above quotation existed as late as 1669. Another commentator (A. D. 1696)<sup>4</sup> of the same work seems to have still

<sup>1</sup> Kâsyapa adds: ‘The number of the letters of the alphabet is severally recorded in Buddhist books, e. g. as fifty in the Mahāvairokaṇābhisambodhi (No. 530), Maṅgusūripariprīkṣā (No. 442), Vāgrasekhara-sūtra (Nos. 1033, 1036), and Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra; as forty-six in the Lalitavistara (Chinese, No. 159; forty-four in the Sanskrit text (Calcutta), p. 146); as forty-seven in the Siddha-tzŭ-chi (Bodl. Jap. 10); and now by I-tsing, as forty-nine.’

<sup>2</sup> Bodl. Jap. 11; it may have been written earlier, though published so late.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. lx.

<sup>4</sup> Bodl. Jap. 12, 13.

possessed a text different from ours; for he quotes a passage from our Record, which we have not in the existing text. While discussing the *Nirvâna* aspiration [Visarga], he says: 'Among the twelve mata<sup>1</sup> (=mâtrzkâ), given in I-tsing's Record, aḥ is transcribed by "a-han<sup>2</sup>" in Chinese, which is against the pronunciation in C. India, where aḥ is read by the Chinese "entering" tone. He may have introduced the pronunciation of S. India. He was, however, in Nâlanda for years, and it is but natural that he should represent C. India in reading. Thus we see in his translations that whenever a *Nirvâna* aspiration comes, he notes it as an "entering" tone. There are some in C. India, it may be noticed, who read aḥ like the Chinese a or o (in an "even" tone)<sup>3</sup>.' This quotation again shows us that the Record had once contained something more about the alphabet. Later in the year 1758 Kâsyapa Ji-un wrote a commentary on the very Record of I-tsing. He had the same text as we have now. As this priest was one of the best Siddha scholars in Japan, well versed in the canon; and very curious about any book relating to Sanskrit, and yet did not come across any text but ours, the original text which contained all the quotations above referred to seems to have wellnigh disappeared in Japan as well as in China. He says: 'There seem to have been several texts of the Record. Many quotations found in the works of Tsang-ning (A. D. 988) of the Sung dynasty, Shou-kwang of the Ming dynasty (A. D. 1368-1628), and Annen of Japan (A. D. 880), are not found in the existing text. I request the learned antiquaries of later times to seek and discover the original text in a stone antequary of some famous temples of China and Japan. My commentary has been written only on the current edition, and awaits correction or addition by a later hand.'

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> 阿漢.

<sup>3</sup> 阿; so in the quotation above, see p. lxi, line 2.



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

J. TAKAKUSU.

BERLIN, *January* 6, 1896.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES TO THE MAP.

1. The degree of longitude from Ferro is given on the map. To know that from Greenwich, reduce about  $18^{\circ}$  (exactly,  $17^{\circ} 39' 46''$ ) from the given numbers.
2. The position of *Lâta* on the map is not right; see my note at the end (p. 217, note to p. 9).

## VITA.

Geboren bin ich, Jyun Takakusu, am 25ten Mai, 1869, zu Bingo, Japan. Nachdem ich die Elementarschule verlassen hatte, besuchte ich eine nach chinesischem Muster eingerichtete Schule in der Stadt Mihara. Hier lernte ich hauptsächlich das Chinesische. Hierauf besuchte ich ein Lehrerseminar in der Stadt Hiroschima, wodurch ich als Lehrer in der Volksschule berechtigt war. Nachher kam ich nach Kiōtō, der zweiten Hauptstadt Japans, wo ich in das Hongwanji-Gymnasium eintrat. Im Jahre 1889 bekam ich mein Maturitätszeugniss, worauf ich mich im Februar 1890 nach England begab. Im Oktober desselben Jahres liess ich mich an der Universität Oxford immatrikulieren. Ich studierte klassische und orientalische Philologie bei Herrn Dr. R. W. M. Pope, dem Right Honourable Professor F. Max Müller, Professor A. A. Macdonell, Dr. M. Winternitz, und Professor J. Legge. Ausserdem habe ich die Vorlesungen über Religionsphilosophie der Herren Dr. A. M. Fairbairn und Professor J. Estlin Carpenter gehört. Im Jahre 1892 erhielt ich bei einem 'Scholarship'-Examen aus der chinesischen Sprache und Geschichte einen Preis von jährlich 50 Pfund Sterling.

Mein erstes Haupt-Examen absolvierte ich im Jahre 1893, das zweite und letzte Examen ('Honour School of Oriental Studies') im Jahre 1894, wodurch ich den Titel 'Baccalaureus Artium' erlangte.

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

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

1. Eine Uebersetzung von dem Amitâyur-dhyâna-sûtra (The Sacred Books of the East, vol. xlix).
2. On the Chinese Translations of the Milinda Pañho (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1896).
3. The Pāli Elements in Chinese Buddhism: a Translation of Buddhaghosa's Samantapāsādikā, a Commentary on the Vinaya, found in the Chinese Tripitaka (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1896).
4. Eine Uebersetzung von I-tsing's 'Record of the Buddhist Religion, as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A. D. 671-695), with a map of I-tsing's route to India and a letter from the Right Honourable Professor F. Max Müller (Clarendon Press, 1896),' deren Einleitung die vorgelegte Dissertation ist.

JYUN TAKAKUSU, B. A. OXON.





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