THE LIFE OF HSUAN-TSANG

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The Tripiṭaka-Master of the
Great Tzu En Monastery

Compiled by Monk Hui-li

(Translated Under the Auspices of
the San Shih Buddhist Institute)

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Foreword

During the past three years a series of activities in commemoration of the Ven. Hsuan-tsang have been carried out under the direction and with the assistance of the Buddhist Association of China. A number of valuable treatises regarding him and some popular books describing his life have been published. The Ching Ling Buddhist Text Society at Nanking has completed the task of carving new printing blocks to replace the lost ones for the complete works translated or written by the Ven. Hsuan-tsang. A memorial hall for him has been arranged in the Chinese Buddhist Academy in Peking, in which a piece of his relic-bone and his complete works, as well as other books, periodicals and pictures concerning him, are preserved. What is of particular importance is that the People's Government of China, at the suggestion of the Chinese Buddhist Association, presented to the Government of India in December 1956 a portion of the Ven. Hsuan-tsang's relic-bone, together with a donation for the construction of a memorial hall, to be forwarded to the Nālandā Monastery — the *alma mater* of the Ven. Hsuan-tsang.

The translation and publication of *The Life of Hsuan-tsang* are part of the commemorative activities. It has been suggested that the whole works of the Ven. Hsuan-tsang should be translated either into English or Hindi. This would be too tremendous and difficult a task for us

to undertake at present, for it could not be done in a moment. But, as the Chinese saying goes: "The first step is the beginning of travelling a distance of one thousand *li*," so let us hope that the translation of the present work is the first step leading to a long march of ten thousand *li*.

It is, of course, impossible to understand, merely through a biography, the whole features of a great personage. But a good biography is not only a book for us to understand a certain person, it is also a key to the comprehension of a certain age. For instance, if we want to know about the most flourishing period of the Nālandā Monastery and about the conditions of the study of Buddhism in ancient India, the present biography and the works of those people who went to India to study Buddhism in the same century as the Ven. Hsuan-tsang, especially the works of the Ven. Yi-ching, will provide us with important clues. It has been asserted by contemporary scholars that, owing to the emergence of such masters as Dinnāga, Dharmapāla, Dharmakīrti, Guṇamati, Sthiramati, Prājñāpāla, etc., and due to the existence of such a great institution for learning as the Nālandā Monastery, the five courses of Hetuvidyā, Abhidharma, Vinaya, Mādhyamaka and Yogācāra were gradually established as the chief subjects of Buddhism for study in India after the 5th century A.D., and it was generally fixed that Hetuvidyā and Abhidharma were studied at the beginning, while Mādhyamaka and Yogācāra were the final courses in the curriculum. When the Ven. Hsuan-tsang was staying in the five parts of India, he studied under various masters who were experts in the different courses, and traced the origin of the Buddhist teachings. After

returning home he spent the rest of his life in translating Buddhist texts into Chinese and in propagating Buddhism. It was due to his efforts and to the works supplemented by the Ven. Yi-ching of a later period, that the essence of all the five courses of Buddhism, studied in the Nālandā Monastery during its most flourishing period, was introduced into China. Although these five courses of Buddhism underwent certain changes at a later time, their main and fundamental teachings did not go beyond the scope of doctrine as was introduced by these two Chinese masters of Buddhism. This is a fact that should attract the attention of modern Buddhist scholars.

The most important function of a great person's biography is the education and encouragement it gives to his posterity. The Ven. Hsuan-tsang was born in the golden age of ancient Chinese civilization, and as a Buddhist he was not unworthy of his times. He made important contributions to the culture of his days. A new and unprecedented golden age of culture is approaching today. As successors of the Ven. Hsuan-tsang, we do not have the difficulties which he experienced, but have many advantageous conditions which he did not enjoy in his period. What we should try our best to contribute to our present age is an urgent and important problem that is facing every Buddhist in China today. And this is the motive for Chinese Buddhists to commemorate this great master whose example we should follow.

The great achievements of the Ven. Hsuan-tsang were due to his great courage and assiduity. It was this spirit that made him undaunted in his journey to India when "he encountered snowstorms and sandstorms and

where there was only one chance to survive out of ten thousand." It made him resolute to study both Buddhist and non-Buddhist knowledge which was as limitless as the sea. It made him confident in undertaking the task of translating the abstruse and voluminous Buddhist texts into Chinese. His assiduity rendered him persistent in learning and working from his youth to his old age. He fully utilized his life, without wasting a single moment, and he made the best use of his abilities for the cause of Buddhism.

The Ven. Hsuan-tsang's sublime character is shown in his selfless deeds for spreading the Dharma and for the benefit of others. It was because he possessed such a sublime character that he, after surmounting all hardships, could have been able to do what was difficult to do, to forsake what others would not forsake, to forbear what was hard to forbear, and to learn what was not easy to learn, and, finally, to realize his ambitions. It was because he possessed such a sublime character that he was able to carry out his research work so extensively and elaborately with veracity and accuracy. And it was because he possessed such a sublime character that he was able to study with energy and to teach others tirelessly. He not only enhanced the knowledge of his days with his vast erudition, but also disseminated Chinese and Indian cultures by his large quantity of translations and writings, thus laying a lasting foundation for the friendship between China and India and leaving behind a brilliant example for the exchange of culture among different nations.

Although the Ven. Hsuan-tsang lived 1,300 years ago, his features that "are as stately as a divine being and as handsome as a figure in a painting" would appear

before us and his "fine and sonorous voice and elegant talking" would resound in our ears, when we read his biography and study his works. Not only his manners that "are more graceful than a pine tree waving in a breeze and more refined than a lustrous pearl" would win our admiration, but his "everlasting merits and great deeds, as well as his ambition to save all sentient beings and to propagate the Right Law" would also inspire our respect and arouse us to follow his example.

Last but not least I must mention that to translate classical Chinese works into English is not an easy task. I should say here that Mr. Li Yung-hsi, the translator of this book, has done the work with meticulous care. It is hoped that this biography will present the image of a great personage vividly before the reader.

Chao Pu-chu

Vice-President of the Chinese Buddhist Association and Chairman of the San Shih Buddhist Institute

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BOOK I

Beginning from His Birth at Koushih and Ending with His Arrival at Kaochang

The Master's name is Hsuan-tsang and his family name is Chen. Being a native of Chenliu,[1] he is a descendant of Chung-kung[2] who was a magistrate of Taichiu[3] during the Han dynasty. His great grandfather, Chin, was a prefect of Shangtang[4] during the Later Wei Period (A.D. 386-534). His grandfather, Kang, being a man of distinguished learning, served in the court of Chi (A.D. 479-501) as a Professor of National Academy, living upon the revenue of Chounan,[5] and thus his descendants made their home there. Therefore the Master is also regarded as a native of Koushih.[6]

His father, Hui, was a man of brilliant and upright character and mastered the classics at an early age. He was tall and handsome with perfect eyebrows and bright eyes. He dressed in a loose garment in the usual man-

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[1] Modern Kaifeng in Honan Province.

[2] His family name was Chen.

[3] Taichiu was situated in the north-west of the modern Yungcheng County in Honan Province.

[4] Modern Changchih County in Shansi Province.

[5] Modern Loyang in Honan Province.

[6] The old site of Koushih was situated in the south of the modern Yenshih County in Honan Province.

ner of a Confucian scholar. The people of his time compared him to Kuo Tai. He was of a calm and simple nature and took no interest in official promotion. As the political situation of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589-617) at the time was in a parlous condition, he devoted himself to the profound study of the classics. He refused to accept, on the excuse of illness, the posts of magistrate, prefect, and garrison commander, that were repeatedly offered to him. For this he was highly praised by the learned men of the day.

He had four sons of whom the Master was the youngest. From his childhood the Master showed nobility of nature and outstanding brilliance. When he was a child of eight, his father taught him orally the *Book of Filial Piety*, and when he came to the passage relating how Tseng-tse[1] stood respectfully when he received his lessons, the Master got up from his seat and stood by the side of the desk in a reverential manner. Being asked why, he replied: "Since Tseng-tse should stand to receive his lessons from his teacher, why should I sit comfortably while receiving instructions from my father?"

His father was greatly pleased by the Master's precocity and had no doubt that his son would achieve greatness in his life. He told this incident to his clansmen, who complimented him, saying: "He is a filial son indeed!"

Afterwards, the Master thoroughly mastered the Classics. He loved the wisdom and the knowledge of the sages. He would not read any book which was not valuable and instructive, nor would he observe the manners which were not practised by the saints and the wise

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[1] Tseng-tse was one of Confucius' chief disciples who was well-known for his filial piety towards his parents.

men. He kept apart from other children and would not loiter outside his home. Even should there be a din of bells and drums in the street, or a performance of singing and dancing watched by a great crowd of men and women in the lane, he would not go out to behold it. And from his youth onward he knew how to please his parents and regulate scrupulously his temper in mildness and purity.

His second elder brother, Chang-chieh, had become a monk living in the Pure Land Monastery in the Eastern Capital.[1] Observing that the Master was competent to receive instructions in the Dharma, he brought him to his monastery to learn the scriptures. About that time an imperial decree announced that twenty-seven men would be allowed to take ordination at Loyang. Several hundred men who had studied the scriptures well presented themselves but the Master, being too young, was not considered eligible to become a monk. On the day of the ordination he stood by the side of the gate of the government house. When the imperial envoy, Cheng Shan-kuo, Lord of Justice and a man able to discern other people's talents, saw the Master, he was much surprised and asked him: "To whose family do you belong?"

The Master told him of his family.

The imperial envoy then asked: "Do you intend to get ordination?"

"Yes," replied the Master. "But as I have studied the scriptures for only a short period and have not reached the required standard of learning, I am not taken for ordination."

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[1] Loyang.

The imperial envoy inquired of him: "With what purpose do you want to become a monk?"

To this the Master replied: "I wish to continue the task of the Tathāgata and to glorify his bequeathed teachings."

The imperial envoy praised his ambition and, seeing that his manners were perfect, granted him special permission to become a monk. He said to his official colleagues, "It will be easy for one to complete one's studies in the scriptures, but it would be difficult for us to find a young man of such fine quality. If we allow him to become a monk, he will surely become great in the religion of Buddhism, even though you and I, gentlemen, may not witness his great success in the promulgation of the Buddha's teachings. Besides, a man of superior talents should not be allowed to fall into oblivion."

Observing what transpired in the years that followed, the words of the Lord of Justice were to prove strangely true.

After he became a monk, the Master stayed with his elder brother. At the time a reverend teacher, Ching, was preaching the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* in the monastery. The Master was so interested in the doctrine and studied the sutra with such absorption that he even forgot to eat and sleep. He also studied the *Mahāyāna-saṁgraha* under the instruction of the reverend teacher Yen. He loved the book so much that he read it through in one sitting. After a second reading, he remembered all of it. Astonished at his extraordinary talent, the people requested him to mount the pulpit and give a sermon repeating what the teacher had preached. He gave an exposition with full analysis in complete concordance with what the teacher had taught. His fame spread far and wide. He was then aged thirteen.

Afterwards, the Sui lost power and the country fell into a state of great turmoil. The imperial capital became a nest of bandits and the region between the Yellow River and the Lo River, a place occupied by cruel and evil men. Civilization in the region collapsed and the Buddhist public dispersed. Skeletons everywhere whitened the fields and roads. Even the turmoil caused by Wang Mang and Tung Cho[1] and the catastrophe of the invasions of Liu Yuan and Shih Leh[2] did not surpass it in slaughter and devastation. Although he was still a youth, the Master early realized the seriousness of the situation and said to his elder brother: "Although this is our native city, there is no reason, since the country is in such a tumultuous condition, why we should stay and wait for our death. I have heard that the Emperor of Tang has occupied Changan with his forces from Tsinyang and all the people of the country are flocking to

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[1]Wang Mang was a usurper of the throne at the end of the Former Han dynasty. Tung Cho was the premier who put Emperor Hsien (190-220) on the throne with the intention of usurping the throne for himself. General Yuan Shao mobilized his troops to attack him, and Lu Pu, his bodyguard, with the assistance of Wang Yun, a minister, killed him.

[2]Liu Yuan was the Lord of Former Han during the Tsin dynasty. He was a Hun and made himself King of Han in the city of Tsokuo in A.D. 319. Later he occupied Taiyuan and Hotung and declared himself emperor in A.D. 308. He reigned for six years before he died. Shih Leh was the Lord of Later Chao and served in the troops of Liu Yuan as a general. He occupied the kingdom of Hsiang and made himself King of Chao in A.D. 319. Later in A.D. 330 he killed Liu Yao, a descendant of Liu Yuan, and declared himself emperor. He reigned for fifteen years.

him as if he were their father. I wish to go there with you."

His elder brother consented and they came to Changan in the first year of Wu Teh (A.D. 618).

At that time, as the dynasty had just been founded and the war was still going on, all activity was concentrated on the military campaign. It was no time for carrying on either Confucian or Buddhist activities. Therefore no preaching meeting was held in the capital, which the Master deeply regretted.

Formerly, Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty had established four centres for Buddhist activities in the Eastern Capital and invited the well-known monks of the country to live in them. All those who were invited were men of great learning. Therefore there had been an army of well-learned scholars of whom Ching-to, Tao-chi and Pao-hsien were at the head. During the troubled time at the end of the Sui dynasty, they were no longer supported and most of the Buddhist scholars moved to Szechuan where they assembled and made Buddhism prosperous.

So the Master said to his elder brother: "As there is no Buddhist activity here, we should not waste our time. I wish to go to Szechuan where we may study."

His elder brother consented and they travelled again. After having passed through the Tzu Wu Valley,[1] they arrived at Hanchuan[2] where they met with two reverend teachers, Kung and Ching, both of whom were men of

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[1] The Tzu Wu Valley was an important passage-way among the Chinling Mountains between Shensi and Szechuan.

[2] Modern Nancheng County in Shensi Province.

great virtue in the Buddhist world. All were delighted and excited at the meeting. Having stayed there and studied under the two teachers for a little more than a month, the Master and his elder brother proceeded again towards Chengtu.

As all the men of learning congregated at Chengtu, they promulgated a wide range of the teachings of Buddhism. The Master attended the lectures given by Tao-chi and Pao-hsien on the *Mahāyāna-saṁgraha* and the *Abhidharma Samuccaya*, and he studied the *Abhidharma-jñāna-prasthana Śāstra* of Kātyāyana under the reverend teacher Tao-chen. He studied with great assiduity, wasting not a single moment of time, and within a period of two or three years he thoroughly mastered all the Buddhist scriptures of different schools.

At that time the whole empire was suffering from starvation and disorder, except Szechuan, where food was abundant and the people lived in peace. Therefore monks from all quarters of the empire came to live there. Always several hundred attended the preaching meetings; the Master's intelligence and talent surpassed them all. His name had become known in the regions of Wu, Shu, Ching and Chu. The people respected and honoured him for his learning just in the same way as the people in the past had esteemed Li Ying[1] and Kuo Tai.[2]

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[1] Li Ying was a learned scholar who served in the court of Emperor Huan (A.D. 147-167) of the Han dynasty.

[2] Kuo Tai lived during the Eastern Han dynasty and was a man of great learning. Although he was well-known in the capital and had opportunities to become an official, he refused to work in the government but chose to lead a life of teaching and had a thousand students.

The Master's elder brother, who lived in the Kung Hui Monastery at Chengtu, was elegant in his manners and sturdy physically just like his father. He was well-learned in both Buddhism and worldly lore and had preached on the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, the *Mahāyāna-saṁgraha* and the *Abhidharma Samuccaya*. He was learned in the Classics and history and was specially erudite in Laotzu and Chuangtzu. The people of Sze-chuan treated him with honour and admiration, and the governor, Tsan, specially respected him. His eloquence and comprehensiveness in discussion and his capacity to edify people were equal to those of his younger brother. But in the matter of loftiness of mind without being affected by worldly attachments; in profound researches in metaphysical aspects of the cosmos; in ambition to clarify the universe, to continue the tasks of the saints, the rectification of the collapsed principles, the transformation of evil customs, and in the sense of self-respect even in the presence of the emperor—in all these the elder brother did not show superiority over the younger one. Yet, both brothers led a life of purity in accordance with the monastic rules and had a good reputation to such an extent that even the two brothers of Lushan[1] did not surpass them.

When the Master in the fifth year of Wu Teh (A.D. 622) had reached the age of twenty, he took his full ordination at Chengtu, where he observed the summer retirement

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[1] This refers to Hui-yuan and Hui-tzu. Hui-yuan was the founder of the Pure Land School in China. He and his younger brother Hui-tzu lived in the Tung Lin Monastery at Lushan in Kiangsi Province and organized the White Lotus Society with 123 monks and laymen who practised the doctrine of the Pure Land School.

and studied the *Vinaya Piṭaka.* He thoroughly learned the disciplinary rules as contained in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* by studying them but once. When he had completed his studies of so much of the scriptures and commentaries as he could procure in Szechuan, he desired to go to the capital for the furtherance of his knowledge and in order to clear the doubts that he had found in them. His elder brother did not wish him to go so he did not immediately carry out his intention. Later still without the consent of his elder brother he went away in company with some traders and sailed down the Yangtse River. He passed the Three Gorges and reached the Tien Huang Monastery at Chingchow.[1]

Having long had heard of his greatness, the monks and laity of that region requested the Master, since he had favoured them with his presence, to preach to them. Thus, from the summer to the winter he preached for their benefit on the *Mahāyāna-saṁgraha* and the *Abhidharma Samuccaya* each for three times. At that time the Prince of Hanyang, a man of great virtue and a relative of the royal family, was governing that region. He was very pleased at the Master's arrival and paid homage to him in person. On the first day of preaching the prince and his officials, together with a large assembly of learned monks and laymen, congregated to attend the meeting. One after another put questions concerning the teachings of Buddhism to the Master and solicited his explanation. In answering them the Master expounded the Buddhist doctrine to the satisfaction of all. Those who had a deeper understanding of what he had taught were excited beyond words, and the prince

[1] Modern Kiangling County in Hupeh Province.

eulogized him in the highest terms. The Master took none of the money and gifts that were heaped on him.

After having preached at Chingchow, the Master travelled northward to search for learned teachers. On his way he stopped at Hsiangchow[1] where he visited the reverend teacher Hui-hsiu and inquired of him about dubious points in the scriptures. He then went to Chaochow[2] where he visited the reverend teacher Tao-shen under whose guidance he studied the *Satyasiddhi Śāstra.* From Chaochow he travelled to Changan where he stayed in the Great Enlightenment Monastery. Here he studied the *Abhidharma-kośa* under the reverend teacher Tao-yo. He could grasp the essential meanings of these treatises by studying them only once and he could memorize what he had read. Even an old scholar of deep learning could not compete with him. He studied with such profundity that he could comprehend the inner significance of the scriptures which others failed to understand, and there was more than one point on which he had his own particular view.

At that time at Changan were two reverend teachers of great virtue, Fa-chang and Seng-pien, who were learned in both the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna teachings and whose conduct was in full concordance with the "three studies."[3] They were great teachers of the Dharma in the capital and both monks and laymen studied under them. Their reputation resounded throughout the country and their fame was known beyond the seas. Students flocked to them to study as clouds group in the sky. They were

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[1] Modern Anyang County in Honan Province.

[2] Modern Chao County in Hopei Province.

[3] That is, disciplinary rules, concentration of mind and wisdom.

well versed in all the scriptures but they had a special liking to expound the *Mahāyāna-saṁgraha.*

Although the Master had had great achievements in the regions of Wu and Shu, he continued his learning after his arrival at Changan. But he soon exhausted the store of knowledge which the two teachers could impart to him. They praised him highly and said to him: "You are indeed outstanding in the religion of Buddhism. The shining of the Sun of Wisdom will depend on you. We regret that we are old and will not be able to witness your success." Whereupon his fame spread throughout the capital.

Having visited and learned from all the teachers, the Master scrutinized their theories and found that they were sectarian in character and were either manifestly or vaguely in contradiction with the holy scriptures. He was bewildered and unable to decide which of the theories should be accepted. Thus he made up his mind to travel to the West in order to clear his doubts, and to bring back the *Saptadaśabhūmi Śāstra,* which is now known as the *Yogācārya-bhūmi Śāstra,* to solve the doubts of all.

He said that since Fa-hsien and Chih-yen, prominent in religious history, could go to search for the Law for the benefit of all, someone should follow in their footsteps; that it would be an enterprise of greatness. Together with some companions, he submitted a petition to the imperial government, asking permission to go to India. The government refused. The others gave up the idea but the Master persisted in his intention.

Since he had to travel alone and the roads to the West were perilous, he tried himself with all sorts of physical pains in order to test his endurance and be prepared for

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the hardships of the journey. Then he entered a pagoda to make up his mind in the presence of the Buddha's image and to pray to all the saints to protect him with their divine influence so that he might go and return without encountering obstacles.

When the Master was born, his mother had a dream in which she saw him dressed in a white robe going towards the West. She said: "You are my son," and asked him: "Where do you want to go?" The Master replied, "I'm going to search for the Law."

This was indeed a prediction of the Master's journey to the West.

In the eighth month of the third year of Chen Kuan (A.D. 629), when the Master was about to start on his journey, he prayed for a good omen. In the night he dreamed that he saw the Mount Sumeru, which was most stately constructed with the four kinds of gems, situated in the midst of a great sea. He intended to ascend the mountain but the waves were high and there was neither boat nor raft in sight. Undaunted by the situation he determined to ascend the mountain. Suddenly stone lotus flowers came up through the waves, which supported him as he went over the sea, and disappeared as soon as he lifted his foot from them. He reached the base of the mountain but it was so precipitous that it seemed impossible for him to climb it. While he was trying to leap up the side, there came a wind which carried him to the top. He looked around him and found that everything was clear. He woke from the dream elated with joy.

With this auspicious omen, he started on his journey. He was twenty-six years of age.

A monk named Hsiao-ta of Chinchow[1] who had just completed his study of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* in the capital was about to go home. So the Master went together with him to Chinchow, where he stayed for one night. There he met with someone from Lanchow.[2] He went with that man to Lanchow where he stayed also for one night and met with some people from Liangchow[3] who were sending back post horses, and so he went to Liangchow with them. He stayed there for more than a month and, at the request of the monks and laymen, expounded the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, the *Mahāyāna-saṁgraha* and the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*.

Liangchow was the capital of Hohsi. It bordered on the West Regions. The merchants of the different countries in the east of the Pamir Range used to come and go from here without intermission. When the Master was preaching at Liangchow, many of the merchants came and saluted him with much praise and offered him jewels. After returning to their own countries, they extolled him in the presence of their lords, saying that he intended to go to the Brahmanic countries in the West to seek for the Law. Therefore the peoples of the countries in the West Regions made preparations in happy anticipation of his arrival.

When the Master had completed his preaching, abundant offerings of gold and silver money and a large number of white horses were presented to him. But he accepted only half of the gifts for his own religious

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[1] Modern Tienshui County in Kansu Province

[2] The capital of Kansu Province.

[3] Modern Wuwei County in Kansu Province.

purposes and distributed the other half to the different monasteries.

At that time, as the imperial government was newly established and the boundaries of the empire were not extensive, the common people were prohibited by imperial decree from going to the West Regions. Li Ta-liang, the governor of Liangchow, enforced the prohibition very strictly. It was reported to him that a certain monk from Changan intended to go to the western countries for an unknown purpose. Fearing that the law might be transgressed, the governor inquired of the Master his intentions. The Master told him that he intended to go to the western countries to seek for the teachings of Buddhism. On hearing this, the governor compelled him to return to the capital.

A reverend teacher, Hui-wei, who was a Buddhist leader in Hohsi and a man of brilliancy and great wisdom, respected the Master for his eloquence in preaching, and deeply sympathized with his ambition of going to seek for the Law. He sent two of his disciples, Hui-lin and Tao-cheng secretly to escort him to the West clandestinely. Because of the governor's prohibition, the Master dared not leave openly. By travelling at night and resting in the daytime, he reached Kuachow,[1] where the governor, Tuku Ta, welcomed him warmly and treated him with good hospitality.

The Master inquired about the route to the West and was told that over fifty *li* in the north was the Hu Lu River,[2] which was narrow at its upper part and wide at its

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[1] The old site of Kuachow is situated in the east of Anhsi County in Kansu Province.

[2] The Su Leh River.

lower region. As the current was rapid and the water deep, it was impossible to ford. Yet this was the only way to reach the Yumenkuan Pass which was situated at the upper part of the river and was the gateway to the West Regions. Beyond the Pass in the north-west were five watch-towers with garrisons stationed on them. These towers were one hundred *li* apart and there was neither water nor grass on the way. Beyond the five watch-towers was the territory of the country of Yiwu (Hami) in the Mo-ho-yen Desert.

On hearing this, the Master felt worried. His horse had died and he did not know what to do. He brooded over the situation in silence for more than a month.

Before he could continue his journey, a government notice arrived from Liangchow, stating that a monk by the name of Hsuan-tsang was trying to travel to the western countries and that all prefects and magistrates through whose domain he might pass should take every precaution for his arrest. Li Chang, the prefect, who was a pious Buddhist, suspected that the Master was the wanted man. He secretly showed him the notice and asked him: "Is the reverend teacher not the man mentioned in it?"

The Master hesitated and did not reply.

Li Chang said: "You must tell me the truth, and if you are, I'll try to help you."

Then the Master told him the truth. On hearing it, Li Chang highly praised him as a man of rare quality and said: "If you are truly trying to do what you have said, I'll destroy this notice." So saying he tore the notice to pieces in the presence of the Master and advised him to proceed on his way as early as possible.

Now the Master worried all the more. Of the two attendant monks, Tao-cheng had already gone to Tun-huang, and only Hui-lin remained. Knowing that he would not be able to stand the hardships which faced him, the Master dismissed him and let him go home.

He bought a horse but the trouble was that he had nobody to act as guide. Before the image of the Maitreya Bodhisattva in the monastery in which he was staying, he prayed for a man who might guide him through the Pass. That night, a foreign monk, named Dharma, who was also living in the monastery, dreamed that the Master was sitting on a lotus flower, going towards the West. The monk felt it strange and in the following morning he told his dream to the Master. On hearing this, the Master was quite glad in his mind, knowing that it was a good omen signifying the possibility of continuing his journey. But he said to the monk: "A dream is but a fancy and is not worth mentioning."

He entered the shrine hall to pray. Before long a foreigner came to pay homage to the image of the Buddha. He saluted the Master by going around him three times. Being asked his name, the man said that his surname was Shih and his personal name Pan-to. He begged for the conferment of the precepts and was given the Five Precepts. He was greatly pleased and went away, but not long afterwards he returned with cakes and fruits to offer to the Master. Seeing that this man was intelligent and strong, with a reverential manner, the Master told him about his intention of going to the West. The foreigner consented to send him across the five watch-towers and this greatly pleased the Master. He bought some clothes and a horse for the foreigner and made an appointment with him.

On the following day, when the sun was near setting, the Master went to a bushland where he waited for the man. He arrived with an old foreigner following, riding an aged, lean horse of a reddish colour. At this sight the Master felt displeased. But the young man said: "This old man knows the route to the West perfectly well. He has travelled to and returned from the country of Yiwu for more than thirty times. So I have brought him along to give you some advice."

The old man said: "The road to the West is dangerous and one has to cross the desert in which there are demons and hot wind. Whoever encounters them cannot be spared from death. Even if you travel together with a large number of companions, you might go astray or be lost. How can you, reverend teacher, try to go all alone? I wish you would think over the matter and not venture your life with so little thought."

But the Master replied: "I started on my journey to the West for the purpose of seeking for the great Law. I will not return to the East before I reach the Brahmanic countries. I'll not regret even if I should have died on my way."

The old man said: "If you insist on going, you had better change your horse for mine. My horse is a steady one and has travelled to the country of Yiwu fifteen times and knows the way well. Yours is too young to travel so long a distance."

Then the Master recalled that when he was about to start on his journey to the West from Changan, he had asked a sorcerer named Ho Hung-ta, whose witchcraft and divination were usually effective, to foretell the events of his forthcoming travelling. The sorcerer said to him: "You shall be able to go and it seems that you

will be riding on an aged, lean horse of reddish colour. There will be a piece of iron in front of the varnished saddle."

Now this old man's horse was lean and reddish in colour and there was a piece of iron on the varnished saddle. Thinking that it coincided with the words of Ho, the Master deemed it advisable to make the change and so he changed his horse with the old man who was quite pleased and went away after due salutation.

The Master then prepared his luggage and started on the journey with the young man at night. At about the third watch, they reached the river and saw the Yumen-kuan Pass at a distance. They went up the stream for about ten *li* from the Pass. The river there was over ten feet wide with a wood of wu-tung[1] trees by the bank. The foreigner cut down some branches and made a bridge, on which he spread some grass and paved it with sand. Then they drove their horses across.

Having crossed the river, the Master felt glad. He unsaddled his horse and took a rest at a place more than fifty paces from the foreigner. They spread their quilts on the ground to sleep. After a little while the foreigner got up and slowly advanced towards the Master with his sword in hand. But he retreated at a distance of about ten paces from the Master, and the purpose of his act was unknown. Suspecting that he might have some evil intent, the Master got up and recited the scriptures and repeated the name of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva. Whereupon the man lay down and slept.

When it was dawn, the Master wakened the man. They fetched water and washed themselves, and after taking

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[1] *Sterculia platanifolia.*

a repast, prepared to continue their journey. But the man said: "The journey ahead is far and dangerous with neither water nor grass on the way. As water can only be obtained at the five watch-towers, we have to reach there at night to steal water and pass along. But if discovered we shall be dead men. Therefore I think it is safer to return."

But the Master was determined not to go back, and thus the foreigner was compelled to proceed. He took out his sword and motioned the Master to go before him, but the Master refused to do so. When they had gone a few *li*, the man stopped and said that he would go no further, as he had a big family to support, and moreover he dared not trespass against the law. The Master knew his mind and let him go back.

The foreigner said: "You will certainly not be able to reach your destination. What shall I do if you are arrested and I am involved in the matter?"

The Master replied: "Even if I am cut to pieces, I will not implicate you in my affair."

He then took a solemn oath and the man was content. The Master presented him with a horse in gratitude for his service, and they parted.

The Master proceeded alone in the desert. He tried to find his way by the human bones and horse dung that marked the track, and in such a way he proceeded slowly.

Once there appeared suddenly in the desert an army of several hundred men who came forward and halted alternatively. They were dressed in felt clothes and were on horseback with banners and spears in their hands. Their features seemed to be changing all the time, and when they were at a distance they seemed quite clear, but they disappeared as they came nearer. At first he

thought them to be robbers, but because they disappeared when they approached, he realized that they were demons.

He heard a voice in the air saying: "Have no fear! Have no fear!" And he felt better in his mind.

After travelling more than eighty *li*, he saw the first watch-tower. Fearing that he might be seen by the watchmen, he hid himself in a ditch in which he remained until nightfall. He then went to the west of the tower, where there was water. He had drunk a little water, washed his mouth and hands and was about to fill his water-bag, when suddenly an arrow whizzed through the air and nearly hit his knee. A second later another arrow was shot. Realizing that he had been seen, he said aloud: "I am a monk coming from the capital. Do not shoot at me."

He led his horse to the watch-tower, and the men in the tower opened the door and came out to see him.

Seeing that he was really a monk, they returned to the tower and reported to the captain, Wang Hsiang, who ordered a lamp to be lit in order that he could see the Master.

"He is surely not a monk of Hohsi, and it seems that he really comes from the capital," he exclaimed.

He then inquired of the Master his purpose in travelling.

Replying, the Master asked him: "Did the captain not hear the people of Liangchow say that a monk named Hsuan-tsang was intending to go to the Brahmanic countries to seek for the Dharma?"

The captain answered: "I have heard that the monk Hsuan-tsang has returned to the East. How is it that you have come here?"

The Master then showed him his petition to the emperor, in which his name was written. The captain believed him. But he said: "The road to the West is long and difficult to travel, and you could never reach your destination. I will not deal with you in accordance with the law. But as I am a native of Tunhuang, I wish to send you back to that place, where there is a reverend teacher named Chang-chiao who loves wise and virtuous people. I am sure he will be delighted to see you. Please go to see him."

The Master replied: "I am a native of Loyang and have been a monk since my youth. I have studied under all the learned teachers of the two capitals[1] and the talented monks of Wu and Shu. As I have learned all they could teach me, I am able to discuss Buddhism as eloquently as they, and I have also been quite honoured by the people. If I wished to gain personal benefit and reputation, those places would not be inferior to your Tunhuang. It was because I regretted that the Buddhist scriptures were incomplete and the doctrines were ambiguous, that I made a vow to go to the West to seek for the bequeathed Law at the risk of my life without fearing the hardships and dangers of travelling. Now you do not encourage me but advise me to go back. Is that a cause for us to realize Nirvaṇa and to be free from the sufferings of the world? If you have to detain me, I am prepared to bear whatever punishment you decide. But I will not go back one single step towards the East against my original intention."

On hearing this, the captain said with sympathy: "How dare I do otherwise than comply with your wishes?

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[1] Changan and Loyang.

You are tired now. Rest till tomorrow. I will personally show you the way."

He prepared a bed for the Master to spend the night.

The following morning, when the Master had taken his breakfast, Wang Hsiang ordered his men to fill his water-bag and supply him with wheat cakes, and he escorted him a distance of more than ten *li*. He said to the Master: "By this route you may go to the fourth watch-tower. The man in charge of that tower is also good-hearted, and moreover he is a relative of mine, by name of Wang Pai-lung. When you reach there, you may say that I sent you."

He saluted the Master with tears in his eyes and turned back to his tower.

By nightfall the Master reached the fourth watch-tower. Fearing that he might be detained there, he planned to get some water silently and pass along. But before he could get his water, an arrow fell near him so he made an announcement as before and went hurriedly to the tower. Men of the guard came down from the tower, let him in and made inquiries. In reply the Master said that he was on his way to India and that Captain Wang Hsiang of the first watch-tower had sent him to come by that way.

On hearing this the garrison commander was pleased and lodged him for the night. The following morning he presented the Master with a large water-bag and some fodder and said to him: "You need not go to the fifth watch-tower, as the man there is of a rough nature and he might cause inconvenience to you. You may go from here for about one hundred *li* and reach the Wild Horse Spring where you can get fresh water."

Going onward, he reached the Mo-ho-yen Desert which stretched for more than eight hundred *li*. This was the "desert river," as called by the ancient people. No bird flew above, nor any beast roamed below, nor was there water or grass. Now he had only his lonely shadow as his travelling company and all he could do was to repeat the name of the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva and recite the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya Sūtra.*

Formerly when the Master was in Szechuan, he once saw a sick man suffering from foul boils and dressed in rags. With pity he took him to his monastery and supplied him with food and clothes. Out of gratitude the sick man taught the Master this sūtra, which he often recited. In the desert he met many strange-looking demons that surrounded him and refused to be dispelled, although he repeated the name of the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva. But as soon as they heard the utterance of this sūtra, they disappeared immediately. It was this sūtra that saved him from many a peril.

After having travelled more than a hundred *li*, he lost his way and could not find the Wild Horse Spring. Taking his water-bag to have a drink it was so heavy that it slipped from his hand and the water that was to sustain him during the long journey was lost.

As he was very uncertain of his direction he decided to return eastward to the fourth watch-tower. But when he had gone about ten *li*, he said to himself: "I made a vow not to go back to the East until I had reached India — not even one step. Why have I done so now? I would rather die on my way to the West than return to the East and live."

Thus he turned in his tracks and proceeded towards the north-west, whilst repeating the name of the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva.

He looked all around him but nowhere was there sign of any living creature. In the night the spirits sparkled as brightly as the stars in the sky, and during the day-time surprising gales blew up the sand which fell on him like a shower. Although he was in such a condition, he had no fear. His only trouble was that he had no water. At last owing to thirst, he could proceed no more. For a period of four nights and five days, he did not drink a single drop of water and both his mouth and stomach became dried up. He was unable to move forward, being at the brink of death. He lay down on the sand and repeated the name of the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva despite his desperate condition. He prayed to the Bodhisattva, saying: "The journey of Hsuan-tsang is not for the purpose of gaining wealth or personal reputation, but simply for the purpose of obtaining the supreme Law. With his compassion the Bodhisattva's duty is to save those who are in distress. I am now in distress indeed. Can't you hear my prayers?"

In this manner he prayed incessantly.

At midnight of the fifth day came a cool breeze which made him feel as if taking a bath in cold water. He was able to open his eyes and his horse got to its feet. Invigorated by the cold air, he fell into a doze, in which he dreamed of a giant deity of several tens of feet high, holding a spear in his hand. The deity said to him: "Why are you sleeping here instead of trying to go onward?"

The Master was startled and wakened from his dream. He continued his journey. When he had gone for ten

li, his horse suddenly changed its course and would not turn back, although he pulled hard at the reins. A few *li* further on, he saw a stretch of pasture several *mou* wide. He dismounted and let his horse feed on the grass. Ten paces beyond the pasture, he came to a pond of clean and sweet water. He lay down at the edge and drank and thus his life, as well as that of his horse, was preserved.

In conjecture, this pasture and the pond of water had not been there before, but were produced out of the compassion of the Bodhisattva. His sincerity of mind often communicated with the gods and there were in his life many instances like this.

He rested for one day by the side of the pond, and after having filled his water-bag and gathered some grass, he went onward again. After travelling for two more days, he rode out of the desert and reached the country of Yiwu.

Such hardships as he had experienced were numerous and could not all be related in detail.

When he arrived at Yiwu, he stayed in a monastery in which lived three Chinese monks. The oldest of them came out to receive the Master with such a strong emotion that he forgot to dress himself properly and was barefooted. He embraced the Master and cried piteously. After having conquered his emotion, he said that he had never expected to see again a countryman. The Master shed tears of sympathy with him. The monks and the king of the foreign people came to pay their respects and the king invited him to his residence and entertained him with offerings.

Chu Wen-tai, the king of Kaochang, had previously sent an envoy to Yiwu, who, returning that day and

having by chance met the Master, had reported to the king immediately he reached home. Thus the king had at once despatched an envoy to instruct the king of Yiwu to send the Master to him. Then he selected several tens of his best horses for his nobles and ministers to ride to receive the Master. After about ten days, the king's envoy arrived and conveyed the king's invitation with much sincerity.

The Master had originally planned to go by way of the Khan Stūpa, but now, since he was invited by the king of Kaochang and could not decline his invitation, he travelled through the South Desert. After proceeding for six days, he reached the Pai-li City in the territory of Kaochang.

As it was already evening, the Master wished to stay in the city for the night, but the local officials and the king's envoy said that the royal city was not far ahead and urged him to go onward without delay. The Master changed good horses several times on the way, leaving his red horse behind to be sent to him later.

At midnight he reached the royal city. The gatekeeper reported to the king who ordered him to open the city gate and the Master entered. The king and his attendants, candles in hand, came to receive him and ushered him in to sit behind a curtain in a storeyed pavilion in the inner court.

The king saluted him and inquired him about his journey in a very cordial manner. "When I heard of your name, I have been so happy that I forgot to eat and sleep. I computed the distance of the way and guessed that you would arrive tonight, and so I and my wife did not sleep but waited for your arrival, whilst reciting the scriptures."

In a moment the queen and several tens of her attending maids came to pay homage to him. It was nearly daybreak. The Master felt tired after so much talking. The king retired, leaving some eunuchs to look after the Master.

Early the following morning before the Master had risen, the king and his queen with their attendants came to pay their respects.

The king said: "The way through the desert is hard to travel. How wonderful it is that you could have come all alone!"

He praised the Master highly and could not refrain from showing his emotion.

Food was served and when the Master had taken his breakfast, the king led him to a monastery which was situated by the side of the palace, and sent some eunuchs to serve him.

The king requested a reverend teacher by the name of Tuan, who had studied at Changan and was well learned in the theories of the Dharmalakṣaṇa School. The king respected him and asked him to come to see the Master. After a brief interview the reverend teacher took his leave. The king also ordered the royal teacher, Wang, who was over eighty years old, to live together with the Master in order to persuade him to give up his idea of travelling to the West. The Master did not consent.

Having stayed for more than ten days, the Master desired to take his leave and continue his journey. The king said: "I have requested the royal teacher to convey my wish to you — what do you think of it?"

The Master replied: "It is a great honour indeed that you have asked me to remain here. But it is not in

agreement with the intention with which I set out on my journey."

The king said: "I have travelled to the Great Country with the late king and have visited, with the Emperor of Sui, both the east and the west capitals, as well as the regions of Yen, Tai, Fen and Tsin (corresponding to the area of present-day Hopei, and Shansi Provinces — *Tr.*). I have seen many monks of high reputation, but none of them has won my admiration. When I heard your name, I was so glad that I danced with delight. I planned that when you come here, you should stay with me to receive my offerings for a lifetime. I will order all the people of my country to be your disciples to whom you may teach Buddhism. We have not many monks here, they amount to only several thousand. I will instruct them also to hold the scriptures and be your students. I earnestly hope that you will consider my humble desire and give up the idea of travelling to the West."

But the Master replied: "Your proposed hospitality is cordial indeed, but I am unworthy to accept it. The purpose of my journey is not to obtain personal offerings. It is because I regretted that, in my country, the Buddhist doctrine was imperfect and the scriptures were incomplete. Having many doubts, I wish to go and find out the truth, and so I decided to travel to the West at the risk of my life in order to seek for the teachings of which I have not yet heard, so that the Dew of the Mahāyāna sūtras would have not only been sprinkled at Kapilavastu, but the sublime truth may also be known in the eastern country. The ambition of Sadāpralāpa[1]

[1] The name of a Bodhisattva who always wept while searching for truth.

inquiring after truth and the wish of Sudhana[1] looking for friends should be strengthened day after day, and it should not be abandoned halfway. I hope that Your Majesty will recall your words and not trouble yourself about me."

The king said: "As I have great adoration of you, I have decided to keep you with me so that you may accept my offerings. Even if the Pamir Range could be moved, my mind could not be changed. Please believe in my sincerity and do not have any suspicion."

To this the Master responded: "It needs no repeated explanation to understand your deep kindness. But as I am going to the West to seek for the Law, it is improper for me to stop halfway before I have found it. That is why I respectfully decline your kind offer and I wish that Your Majesty will have sympathy with me. Moreover, as you have done good deeds in your previous lives, you are now a lord of men, upon whom not only your subjects depend, but the religion of Buddhism also relies for support. It befits you to help in spreading it and not to obstruct its propagation."

The king said: "I dare not obstruct the propagation of Buddhism, but it is only because we have no teacher in my country to guide us that I wish to keep you here to illuminate those who are ignorant."

Despite the king's entreaties the Master would not accept his invitation to stay. The king became sullen and shouted, flapping his sleeves: "I have other ways to deal with you. How could you go by yourself? Either you must stay, or I will send you back to your

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[1] A Buddhist disciple mentioned in the *Avatamsaka Sūtra,* who visited and studied Buddhism under fifty-three teachers in order to find ultimate truth.

country. Please consider the matter well. I think it is better for you to comply with my wish."

The Master said: "I have come here on my way to obtain the great Law. Since I now encounter an obstruction, you can detain only my physical body; you cannot keep my mind."

Saying so, he burst into tears and could speak no more.

The king would not give the Master permission to go. He increased the amount of offerings, and every day at mealtime, he held a tray with his own hands to serve food to him. Having been kept from going against his own wish, the Master refused to take any food, thinking thus he would change the king's mind. He sat erect and did not drink even a drop of water for three days. On the fourth day, the king found that his breath had become very feeble and thus he felt ashamed of himself and saluted the Master, saying: "I will let you go to the West. Please take some food immediately."

Fearing that the king's words might be untrue, the Master requested him to take an oath with his finger pointing at the sun.

The king said: "If you wish it, we had better strengthen our relationship before the image of the Buddha."

Then they both entered the monastery to pay homage to the Buddha's image, and in the presence of his mother, the old Queen Chang, the king acknowledged the Master to be his brother and said: "I will let you go to seek for the Law. But when you are returning, you must come to stay in this country for three years to receive my offerings. When you become a Buddha in the future, let me be your patron and supporter just like Prasenajit and Bimbisāra had been so to the Buddha."

The Master was then invited to stay for another month to preach on the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra of the Benevolent King*, and during this time the king might make arrangements for his departure. The Master consented to this request to the great delight of the old queen, who desired to have the Master with them so that she might be taught by him in all her future lives.

Then the Master began to take food again. His firmness of will had always been like this.

Two days later the king established an arena, capable of seating three hundred men, for the Master to preach. The old queen, the king, the royal teacher and the ministers all sat in different parts to listen. At each preaching, the king held an incense-burner in his hand and ushered the Master to the place. When the Master was about to ascend the pulpit, the king would kneel down to serve as a stool for him to go to his seat. He did so every day.

When the Master had finished preaching, the king made arrangements to ordain four novice monks to be his attendants. He made thirty suits of religious garments for the Master, and as the climate in the western countries was cold, he made for him also face-covers, gloves, stockings and boots. A total amount of one hundred taels of gold, thirty thousand silver coins and five hundred rolls of silk were provided for him as travelling expenses to last for twenty years on his way to and from India. Thirty horses and twenty-five carriers were allotted to him, and Huan Hsin, the palace attendant and royal secretary, was ordered to escort him to the government of the Shehu Khan. The king also wrote twenty-four letters to the twenty-four countries including Kucha through which the Master would pass,

and to each letter was attached one roll of fine silk as a sign of credence.

Five hundred rolls of silk and two cartloads of fruits were presented to the Shehu Khan, to whom a letter was also written, in which the king said: "The Master, who is my younger brother, wishes to go to the Brahmanic countries to seek for the Law. I wish the khan will treat him with kindness just as he would treat me." And he also requested the khan to give orders to the countries in the west to send the Master out of their domains by relay of post horses.

On being informed that the king had given him four novice monks and provided him with letters of introduction and rolls of silk, the Master felt thankful for these rich gifts and wrote a letter to the king to express his gratitude:

"Hsuan-tsang has heard that one has to depend on a boat with oars to cross the river and sea which are deep, and in just the same way one has to depend on the holy teachings to guide one out of the doubts that exist in the minds of men. Therefore the Tathāgata was born into this world of impurity with a mind of compassion, as a mother would love her only son. He illuminated the darkness of mind with the Sun of Wisdom of the Three Knowledges. The cloud of Maitrī suspended in the sky and the rain of Dharma moistened the three thousand worlds. After having fulfilled his task of benefiting all beings, he abandoned what was untrue and returned to what was true. His bequeathed teachings have been spread to the East for more than six hundred years. Kāśyapa Mātanga and Saṁghavarman glorified the Law at Wu and Lo, while Dharmarakṣa and Kumārajīva embellished it at Chin and Liang. They

all taught the sublime truth and performed superior deeds. But as the translators came from distant lands, there were different expositions of the scriptures, and as the time of the Buddha has gone far, his doctrines were misinterpreted. Thus the unique teaching as bequeathed by the Buddha at the sāl-trees has been divided into two extreme views, and the unequalled doctrine of Mahāyāna has been split into the Northern and Southern Schools. Dissensions and disputes have lasted for several hundred years, and the people of the whole country were in doubt, but nobody could solve it.

"With his lucky causes of his previous lives, Hsuan-tsang has been able to enter the Order at an early age and has studied under various teachers for nearly twenty years. He has consulted with many well-known scholars and superior friends, and thus he has had a glimpse of the books of both the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Schools. But whenever he holds a scripture to study, he hesitates and feels at a loss to understand the intricate meanings contained therein. He has often longed to visit the Jetavana Garden and the Vulture's Peak, in order to solve the doubts that are in his mind. Although he understood that one could not examine the sky through a small tube and that one could not measure the sea with a little ladle, he would still not abandon his humble ideas. Thus after having made preparations, he started on his journey and managed to reach Yiwu with much difficulties.

"Being endowed with the great harmony of heaven and earth and gifted with the good spirit of the universe, Your Majesty is a king who rules over the people as if they were his sons. You have the manners of the Great Country in the East and observe the customs of the

hundred tribes in the West. The lands of Kroraina and Karashahr and the countries of Beshbalik and Langwang are all under the influence of your deep kindness and great virtue. Moreover, you respect the sages and love the scholars, and you like what is good and treat the people with kindness. You have great care for those who come from a distant land and you look after them with hospitality. Since my arrival you have treated me with deep kindness and granted me the honour to expound the Law. You have condescended to be related with me as a brother and regarded me with fraternal feelings. You have also written letters of introduction in favour of me to twenty-four countries in the West Regions, requesting them to treat me with propriety and send me out of their domains without any hindrance. Considering that I shall be travelling alone on my way to the West in a snowy road under cold climate, you have issued an order to ordain four novice monks to be my attendants and companions, and you have also provided me with more than fifty articles of clothing, including religious robes, hats, blankets, stockings and boots, as well as rolls of silk, gold and silver money as my travelling expenses sufficient to sustain me for twenty years on my way to and from India.

"For all these favours, I feel ashamed of myself and do not know how to express my gratitude. Even the overflow of the Chiao River is not comparable with the amount of your kindness, and your favour is weightier than the mountains of the Pamir Range. Now I have no more worry to travel across the suspending bridge over the perilous Icy River, and it is now time for me to visit the Land of the Heavenly Ladder and the Bodhi-tree. If I may achieve my objective, to whom shall I

owe my achievement? To nothing but the king's favour. I will visit all the teachers and learn the supreme Law from them. After returning to my country, I will translate the scriptures to spread what has not yet been known, so as to clear the wrong views and to refute the heretical theories, as well as to supplement the incomplete part of the Buddha's teaching and to set a compass for all to enter the gate of truth. With this humble task, I shall repay you for your special kindness.

"As the way that lies ahead is far, I cannot afford to stay here any longer. I shall take leave of you tomorrow and this makes me feel all the more sorrowful in my mind. With many thanks I am writing this letter to express my deep gratitude."

The king replied, saying: "Since you have consented to be my brother, what I have in my country is our common property. There is no cause for you to thank me."

On the day of departure, the king and the monks, the ministers and the people, all came out to send the Master to the western suburb of the city. The king embraced him and cried piteously, while the monks and laymen all felt sorrowful, and sounds of farewell resounded in the suburb. The king ordered his queen and the people to go back, then, accompanied by the monks, each on a horse, he escorted the Master to a distance of several tens of *li*.

The kings and nobles of the countries through which the Master passed all honoured him in the same way.

Going towards the west, he crossed the towns of Wupan and Tuchin and finally entered the country of Agni (which was wrongly called as Wuki in old times).

BOOK II

Beginning from the Country of Agni and Ending with the Country of Kanyākubja

Proceeding westward, the Master reached the Teacher's Fountain[1] in the country of Agni.[2] The fountain was on a sandy rock by the south side of the road. The rock was several tens of feet high and the water flowed out from the middle of the rock. Tradition had it that once a group of several hundred merchants exhausted their water on the way and were in sore straits when they reached this spot. Travelling with them was a Buddhist monk who, having no money, had lived upon their beneficence. The merchants consulted together, saying: "Because this monk is a Buddhist disciple, we have supported him, and thus he has been able to travel as far as ten thousand *li* without bearing any travelling expenses. Now we are suffering so, yet he does not show any sign of pity. Let us tell him about it."

The monk said to them: "If you wish to get water, you should all salute the Buddha, take the Three Refuges and observe the Five Precepts. Then I will climb up to the rock to get some water for you."

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[1] Arghai-bulak.

[2] It is also known as Karashahr, which was the ancient kingdom of Yenchi, situated at the modern Yenchi County in Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region.

Being in a distressful condition, they consented. When they had been given the precepts, the monk said to the merchants: "When I have climbed up to the rock, you shall call out: 'Teacher, bring down some water for us!' And say whatever quantity you wish to have."

When the monk reached the rock the merchants did as he had told them, and water flowed down profusely. All were greatly delighted. When the teacher did not come down, they went up to see him, but he had already entered Nirvāṇa. All the people, old and young, lamented and they cremated him in the manner of the western countries. Afterwards, according to the legend, they piled up bricks and stones to build a stūpa at the place where he was sitting.

The stūpa was still there and the water was still flowing. The fountain was sometimes big and sometimes small in accordance with the number of travellers that passed by. When there was nobody, it dried up to a mere drip.

The Master and his companions spent the night by the side of the fountain. The following morning they resumed their journey and crossed the Silver Mountain[1] which was very high and rich in silver. The silver for making the money that was used in the western countries was produced in this mountain.

West of the mountain, they encountered a group of robbers, but when they had given them some goods, the robbers went away. They then proceeded to the royal city and had spent one night on the way. At that same time, however, several tens of foreign merchants who were travelling together, eager to do business before the

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[1] The Kumush Mountain.

others, proceeded secretly in the night. They had gone little more than ten *li* when they met robbers who killed them all, sparing none. When the Master and the others reached the scene they only saw the remains of the dead men all their goods having been taken. They deeply regretted about the accident with many sighs.

Proceeding on their way for some time longer they saw at last the royal city in the distance. The king of Agni and his ministers came out to receive the Master and invited him to the city to entertain him. But as his country had recently been invaded by the bandits of Kaochang, the king was nursing his anger against them and gave no horse to the Master. The Master spent one night and passed on.

Continuing next day he crossed a big river, and after travelling for several hundred *li* across a plain towards the west, he entered the territory of the country of Kucha. As he approached the royal city, the king and his ministers and monks of great virtue, Mokṣagupta and others, came out to receive him. Several thousand monks had made encampments outside the eastern gate of the city and installed the Buddha's images in them. They stayed in the camps and played music.

When the Master arrived, the virtuous monks rose and greeted him. Having done so, they returned to their seats and ordered a monk to hand a tray full of fresh flowers to the Master. He received the flowers and offered them to the Buddha's images to which he paid his homage. After this he took his seat beside Mokṣagupta. When he had again seated himself, more flowers were offered to him, and after the flowers, grape-juice was given him. Having received the flowers and grape-juice in the first camp, he was treated in the same

way in the second and the other camps until sunset when the monks began to disperse.

Several tens of people from Kaochang were present. These had become monks in Kucha and lived in a separate monastery which was situated in the south-east part of the city. As the Master had come from their home country, they invited him to spend the first night in their monastery. He accepted the invitation. The king and the monks then returned to their different places.

On the following day, the king invited the Master to his palace and offered him food. But the food consisted of the three kinds of "pure meat"[1] and the Master would not accept it. The king thought it strange, so the Master explained that it was allowable according to the Gradual Teaching,[2] but he followed Mahayāna Buddhism which prohibited the eating of meat. Thus he took some other kind of food.

After the meal he went to the Āścharya Monastery in the north-west part of the city. This was the monastery in which Mokṣagupta lived. He was a man of intelligence and cleverness, and was respected as a teacher by the people of that country. He had travelled in India where he had studied for more than twenty years. Although he had learned all the Buddhist scriptures, he was most conversant in the *Śabdavidyā*. The king and the people respected him as a unique person.

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[1] The meat of which one has not seen the killing of the animal, has not heard of its being killed for him, and has no doubt thereon.

[2] According to Mahāyānism the Buddha's teaching is divided into the "gradual" and "immediate" teachings, the former beginning with the Hīnayāna and proceeding to the Mahāyāna, while the latter immediately starting with Mahāyāna.

On the arrival of the Master, Mokṣagupta treated him only as an ordinary guest and did not regard him as a man who understood the Dharma. He said to the Master: "We have in this country the *Saṁyuktābhidharma-hṛdaya Śāstra*, the *Abhidharma-kośa Śāstra* and the *Vibhāṣā Śāstra* which are good enough for you to study. You need not trouble yourself to suffer the hardships of travelling to the West."

The Master asked: "Do you have the *Yogācarya-bhūmi Śāstra*?".

Mokṣagupta said: "Why do you ask about that heretical book which no true Buddhist would care to learn?"

At first the Master had respected him, but on hearing this, he looked down upon him as dust. He said: "We also have the *Vibhāṣā Śāstra* and *Abhidharma-kośa Śāstra* in our country. But as I regretted that the doctrines contained in these books were superficial and were not ultimate teachings, I came with the intention to study the Mahāyāna *Yogācārya-bhūmi Śāstra* which was spoken by the Maitreya Bodhisattva. You say it is a heretical book — Don't you fear the bottomless hell?"

Mokṣagupta queried: "How do you know that the *Vibhāṣā Śāstra* and the other books are not profound, since you do not understand them?"

The Master asked in reply: "Do you know these books?"

Mokṣagupta replied: "I know them all."

The Master to interrogate him asked him to quote the first passage of the *Abhidharma-kośa Śāstra*. But Mokṣagupta made a blunder at the beginning. The Master asked him about another passage which he was unable to explain.

He became sullen and said: "You may ask me about some other passage."

The Master then quoted another passage, but he would not give an explanation, saying there was no such a passage in the śastra.

The king's uncle, Jñanachandra, who had become a monk and knew the scriptures and commentaries well, and was sitting with them, testified that there was such a passage in the śastra, and produced the book from which he read out the passage. Mokṣagupta felt quite ashamed of himself and said that he had forgotten it owing to his old age. The Master again asked him about the other books, but he also could not give a good explanation.

As the snowy path in the icy mountains was not yet passable, the Master could not proceed on his journey and stayed in this country for more than sixty days. Besides sight-seeing, he often went to talk with Mokṣagupta, who would squat on his seat no more when he saw him coming, but stood or went away to avoid him. He said privately: "This Chinese monk is difficult to combat. If he goes to India, he will probably not meet any young man as clever as he."

Despite his behaviour, he respected and praised the Master.

On the day of departure, the king offered the Master some carriers, camels and horses, and together with the monks and the laymen, he saw him off outside the city.

After travelling towards the West for two days, the Master met some two thousand Turkish bandits riding on horses. As they could not decide on equal sharing of the property they had taken from the travellers, they fought among themselves for sometime and dispersed.

Continuing further for 600 *li*, he crossed a small desert and reached the country of Baluka,[1] where he spent one night. Then north-west for 300 *li*, across a desert and he at last reached the Ice Mountain, which was the northern part of the Pamir Range. The mountain was precipitous and seemed as high as the sky. Since the creation of the world, it had been covered with snow which had accumulated and turned into ice that never melted whether in spring or summer. Cold mist mingled with cloud, and when one looked up, one could see only white snow without end. When ice-peaks broke away and fell on the path, they were often a hundred feet high and tens of feet wide. Because of this the mountain paths were uneven and difficult to traverse. Moreover, wind and snow mingled together, and one would tremble with cold, though one put on double shoes and double fur-coats. At the time of sleeping and eating, there was no dry place to stop. One could but hang the kettle to cook food, and sleep on the ice.

After seven days he came out of the mountainous region. Three or four men of every ten died of cold, and the cows and the horses suffered badly.

After coming out of the mountainous region, he reached a lake of pure water,[2] which was 1,400 or 1,500 *li* in circuit, long from east to west, narrow from south to north. It was a very large lake and the waves were tens of feet high without the agitation of the wind.

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[1] It was known during the Han dynasty as the kingdom of Kumo, including the present Paicheng and Aksu Counties in Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region.

[2] The Hot Sea, i.e., the Issykkul in the Kirghiz S.S.R.

Proceeding along the lake towards the north-west for more than 500 *li*, he reached the Shu-she City.[1] Here he met the Turkish Shehu Khan, who was just leaving on a hunting expedition. His military equipment was impressive. The khan was wearing a green silk robe. A white silk turban about ten feet long was wrapped around his forehead and hung behind his back, leaving his hair exposed. Two hundred officials, with plaited hair, all wearing embroidered silk robes surrounded him. The military men wore felt clothes made of coarse wool, and had banners and bows in their hands. So many were the camels and horses that they stretched out of one's sight.

The khan was greatly pleased to meet the Master.

"I shall be returning in two or three days," he said, "and you must go to my official residence." And he ordered an official named Ta-mo-chih to escort the Master to his official residence, where the Master was lodged.

The khan returned after three days and received the Master. The khan lived in a large camp which was decorated with dazzling, golden flowers. The officials, all dressed in embroidered garments in a magnificent manner, sat on mats in two long rows in front of the khan to attend him, while armed guards stood behind him. Although the khan was but a lord living in a camp, he had an air of elegance which commanded respect.

When the Master approached the camp, at a distance of about thirty paces the khan came to welcome and greet him, and invited him to enter the camp to take a seat. The Turks worshipped fire and would not use wooden beds, as wood contained the element of fire. So

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[1] Tokmak.

out of a sense of respect they would not sit on anything wooden, but sat on double mats on the ground. A bed of iron frames with a mattress on it was prepared for the Master to sit on.

Almost immediately an envoy of China and a messenger from Kaochang were ushered in. They presented their credentials and letters to the khan who asked the messengers to take seats and read them with obvious pleasure. He then ordered wine to be brought and music to be played, and he drank with his ministers and the messengers. Grape-juice was offered to the Master. They offered wine to one another and the cups were filled and refilled with much bustle.

The foreign music, which made a great din, though vulgar in tone was delightful and pleasant to the ear. Food was served, consisting of cooked beef and mutton, piled in great quantities. Special pure food was prepared for the Master. It included cakes, rice, butter, milk, sugar, honey and grapes. After the meal, grape-juice was offered to the Master, and then the khan requested him to preach the Law. Thus he preached on the Ten Good Deeds of having kindness for all living beings[1] and on the pāramitas which were the way to emancipation. The khan salaamed and accepted the teachings with delight.

When the Master had stayed there for some days, the khan advised him to remain in his country, saying: "You need not go to India which is a hot country; the climate there in the tenth month is about the same in the fifth

[1] The Ten Good Deeds are not to kill, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to tell lies, not to use a "double-tongue," not to speak coarse language, not to speak filthy language, not to be covetous, not to hate and not to hold wrong views.

month in this country. Judging from your appearance I fear that you would melt in that hot weather. The people there are dark and have no manners, and it is not worthwhile to visit them."

The Master replied: "My intention in going there is but to visit the holy places and to seek for the Law."

The khan then gave orders to find out someone in his army who could speak Chinese and other foreign languages. A young man who had spent some years at Changan and could speak Chinese, was found and made an interpreter. He was ordered to write letters of introduction to the various countries and to escort the Master to the country of Kapiśa.[1] The khan also presented the Master with religious garments made of red silk and fifty rolls of fine silk. He and his ministers then escorted him to a distance of more than ten *li* on his way.

Going westward for about 400 *li* the Master reached Bing-yul,[2] which means Thousand Springs. The place was several hundred *li* in circuit, with many lakes and woods of unusual trees which made the place cool and pleasant. This was where the khan lived during the summer season.

Westward again from Bing-yul for 150 *li* and he reached the city of Talas.[3] Then south-west for 200 *li* to the White Water City,[4] and a further 200 *li*, to the city of Kūyu.[5] From Kūyu south for 50 *li*,

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[1] Modern Kafiristan.

[2] Between Tokmak and Talas (Aulieata).

[3] Auliata.

[4] Isfidjab (modern Sairam).

[5] The city of Kūyu is also named as "Chien Cheng," or the city of Springs, Kūyu being the Turkish word for "well" or "spring."

he reached the country of Nejkend,[1] from which he travelled west for 200 *li*, to the country of Chaj,[2] which bordered on the Yaxartes[3] in the west.

A thousand *li* further west he entered the country of Sutrishna,[4] which bordered on the Yaxartes in the east. This river had its source in the northern plateau of the Pamir Range and flowed towards the north-west.

Now his path was north-west. He entered a great desert, in which there was neither water nor grass, and he proceeded by the marks of skeletons which lined the way.

Travelling for more than 500 *li*, he reached the country of Samarkand.[5] The king and the people did not believe in Buddhism but worshipped fire. There were two monastery buildings but no monks lived in them. If a guest monk attempted to stay in them, the native people would drive him out with fire.

When the Master first arrived, the king treated him with arrogance. After staying for one night, the Master preached on the law of cause and effect among men and heavenly beings, and told the king about the merits and advantages of praising and worshipping the Buddha. The king was impressed. He begged to observe the precepts. Then he respected the Master.

Two of the Master's attending monks went to worship the Buddha in the monasteries and were driven out by the native people with fire. The novices reported to the

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[1] It is also known as the "New City."

[2] It is also known as the "Stone Country." Modern Tashkent, capital of the Uzbek S.S.R.

[3] The Sir River.

[4] Modern Ura-tepe.

[5] Modern Samarkand in the Uzbek S.S.R.

king, who, on hearing it, ordered the arrest of the men who had tried to burn them. The king had the arrested men brought before him, and after assembling the people, ordered that the hands of the prisoners be cut off.

With a mind of kindness, the Master could not bear to see them mutilated and rescued them. Thereupon the king ordered that they be thrashed severely, and driven out of the city. After which the king and people believed in Buddhism and a great meeting was held to ordain some people, who afterwards lived in the monasteries.

Wherever the Master went, he corrected those who were wrong and enlightened those who lacked knowledge just as stated above.

Once more proceeding on his way he went towards the west for 300 *li*, and reached the country of Kochania.[1] Two hundred *li* further on he reached the country of Kharghan,[2] then 400 *li*, to Bokhara,[3] another 100 *li*, to Betik,[4] and still a further 500 *li*, the country of Khwarism,[5] which bordered on the Oxus River in the east.

Turning south-west, after travelling for 300 *li*, he reached the country of Kesh.[6]

Two hundred *li* south-west of Kesh he entered a range of mountains.[7] The path in the mountains was long, narrow and dangerous being passable by one person only.

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[1] Modern Kokand in the Uzbek S.S.R.

[2] The Kingdom of East An. Modern Kerminah.

[3] The Kingdom of Middle An. It is supposed to be situated to the north of the present city of Bukhara.

[4] The Kingdom of West An. It is supposed to be situated in the neighbourhood of the present Darganata district on the west side of the Oxus.

[5] The Kara-Kalpak A.S.S.R. in the north-west of the Uzbek S.S.R.

[6] Modern Stalinabad, capital of the Tadzhik S.S.R.

[7] The Badakhshan in Afghanistan.

There was neither water nor grass. Having travelled for more than 300 *li* among the mountains, he entered the Iron Gate. The peaks were precipitous and the rocks were rich of iron ore. The door, which was fixed on the rocks, was made of iron sheets and many iron bells were hanging on it, hence its name. This was a pass of the Turks.

Through the Iron Gate, he travelled onward to the country of Tukhara.[1] Continuing from here for several hundred *li*, he crossed the Oxus River and reached the country of Kunduz.[2] This was the place where General Ta-tu, the eldest son of the Shehu Khan, lived. He was also a brother-in-law of the king of Kaochang. The king of Kaochang had already sent a letter to him, but when the Master arrived, the queen, who was the princess of Kaochang, was dead and General Ta-tu was ill. Hearing that the Master had come from Kaochang with a letter of introduction, the general and his male and female relatives all wept. He invited the Master to stay and said: "My eyes are opened when I see you. I wish you will stay here for some time, and when I am recovered I will personally escort you to the Brahmanic countries."

An Indian monk who arrived gradually cured the general of his illness by exorcism. But a concubine of the general, being a young woman, poisoned her husband at the instigation of a son who was born by a senior queen. Since the general was dead and as the son of the princess of Kaochang was still a child, the prince of the senior queen usurped the position of general and married the concubine.

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[1] The northern part of Afghanistan.

[2] The Kingdom of Ho.

Because of the funeral services for the general, the Master stayed in this country for more than a month. There was a monk named Dharmasaṁgha who had studied in India and was regarded as a great teacher of the Law in the lands west of the Pamir Range. None of the monks of Kashgar and Khotan was competent to discuss the Law with him. Wishing to know the profundity of his knowledge, the Master sent a man to ask him how many scriptures and commentaries he could understand. On hearing this, his disciples were enraged, but Dharmasaṁgha said with a smile: "I understand all the scriptures, and you can make whatever inquiries you like."

Knowing that he did not learn Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Master made some inquiries concerning the Hīnayana *Vibhāṣā Śāstra*, but the teacher could not give a good explanation. He then acknowledged his inability, and all his disciples felt abashed, after which they were pleased each time they met one another, and the teacher always praised the Master, saying that he was not as learned as the Master.

When the new general had assumed his post, the Master asked that he be provided with guides and post horses, so that he could travel southward to the Brahmanic countries.

The general said: "In my domain there is the country of Bahlika[1] which borders on the Oxus River in the north. People say it is the Small Rājagṛha City and there are many holy sites. I wish the teacher would pay a visit to that place and then come back to take horses to continue your journey to the south."

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[1] Modern Balkh in northern Afghanistan.

Many monks of Bahlika had come to offer consolation on the occasion of the death of the general and respect to the new one. The Master met them and told them of his intention. They said: "You may come with us, there is a good road. If you return to this place as suggested by the general you would go in a roundabout way."

The Master accepted their advice, and after taking leave of the general and having obtained horses, he went with the monks. When he had arrived he saw that the city was spacious and the land was fertile. It was a good place indeed. In the 100 monasteries were 3,000 monks, all of whom studied Hīnayāna Buddhism. Outside the city to the south-west was the Nava-Saṁgharāma (New Monastery) which was beautifully constructed. In the Buddha-hall of the monastery was a Buddha's bathing tub, about two *tou* in capacity. There was also one Buddha's tooth-relic, one inch in length and eight or nine tenths of an inch in breadth, of a yellowish white colour. It often issued a bright light. There was also a broom which had been used by the Buddha. It was made of kāśa grass, about three feet long and seven inches round, and its handle was decorated with various sorts of jewels. These three articles were always exhibited on festival days, for the monks and laymen to worship. Those who worshipped them with sincerity might cause them to emit a divine light.

To the north of the monastery was a stūpa, more than 200 feet high; to the south-west was a Buddhist abode which had been built for many years. Many of the inmates had attained to the fourth stage of sainthood, generation after generation. After their Nirvāṇa, stūpas had been built for them, and several hundred foundations of such stūpas were connected one to the other.

Going towards the north-west of the great city for 50 *li*, the Master reached the Tapassu City, and to the north of this city about 40 *li* was situated Bhalluka City, in which were two stūpas, thirty feet high. Formerly, when the Buddha had just attained enlightenment, he accepted the parched flour and honey offered by two elders, who first observed the Five Precepts and practised the Ten Good Deeds. They requested something to worship and the Tathāgata gave some of his hair and nail-parings to them so that they might build stūpas over them, and he also told them about the style of the stūpas. When the two elders returned to their own country, they built these stūpas.

At a distance of 70 *li* to the west of the city, was another stūpa, more than 20 feet high, which was built at the time of the Kaśyapa Buddha in the past.

In the Navā-Saṁgharama was a Hinayāna teacher named Prajñakara of the country of Cheka.[1] Hearing of the many holy sites in the country of Bahlika, he had come here to worship them. He was a young man of intelligence and learning, and of a straightforward character. He was well-learned in the scriptures of the nine sections[2] as well as the Four Āgamas.[3] His reputation

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[1] The country Cheka is described as lying between the Bibas in the east and the Indus in the west. Thus it actually included the western part of Punjab in Pakistan.

[2] The Hinayāna scriptures are classified as the following nine divisions: (1) sūtras, the Buddha's sermons; (2) geyas, metrical pieces; (3) vyākaraṇas, prophecies; (4) gāthās, chants or poems; (5) udānas, impromptu or unsolicited addresses; (6) ityuktas or itivṛttakas, narratives; (7) jātakas, stories of former lives of the Buddha; (8) vaipulyas, expanded sūtras; and (9) adbhutadharmas, miracles.

[3] The Four Āgamas are (1) Dīrghāgamas, "long" works, cosmo-

as a Buddhist teacher was known throughout India, and he knew all the Hinayāna śastras, such as the *Abhidharma-jñāna-prasthana Śāstra*, the *Abhidharma-kośa Śāstra* and the six *Abhidharma-pada Śāstras*, etc. On hearing that the Master had come from a distant land to seek for the Law, he was delighted to meet him. Thus the Master inquired him about the dubious points in the *Abhidharma-kośa Śāstra* and the *Vibhāṣā Śāstra*, and he responded in a very expert manner. The Master stayed there for more than a month to study the *Vibhāṣā Śāstra* from him.

In the monastery were also two other Hinayana teachers, Dharmapriya and Dharmakāra, who were respected by the people of that country. On seeing that the Master had magnanimous airs and great intelligence, they honoured and respected him greatly.

To the south-west of Bahlika, were Yumadha and Guzgan.[1] The kings of these countries heard that the Master had come from a distant land, and both sent their noble ministers to invite him to their countries to receive offerings. He declined the invitations, but the envoys came again and again to invite him, and so he could not but go. The kings were highly delighted and offered him gold, gems, food and drink. But the Master returned without accepting anything.

From Bahlika going south, the Master and Prajñākāra arrived in the country of Gachi together and entered the Great Snow Mountain[2] in the south-east. After travelling for more than 600 *li*, they came out of the territory

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logical; (2) Madhyamāgamas, metaphysical; (3) Saṁyuktāgamas, general; and (4) Ekottarikāgamas, numerically arranged subjects.

[1] These two small kingdoms were situated to the south of Shibirghan.

[2] The Hindu Kush.

of Tukhara and entered the country of Bamian. Bamian was 2,000 *li* from east to west and was situated in the Snow Mountain. The roads were more dangerous and harder to travel than among the Ice Mountains or in the desert. Thick clouds and flying snow never ceased for a moment, and at the worst places the snow accumulated for scores of feet. Sung Yu[1] had said that the way to the West was so difficult that one had to pass for a thousand *li* through a land of ice with flying snow, and this was the place which he had referred to. Who would travel in this place at the risk of his life except those who had the intention of acquiring the supreme Law for the benefit of all beings?

When Wang Tsun[2] ascended Chiu-che-pan,[3] he declared that he was a loyal minister of the royal house of Han. Now as the Master had come to the Snow Mountain for the purpose of seeking the scriptures, he might well be said to be a true son of the Tathāgata.

The Master made slow progress but finally reached the capital of Bamian. Here were some ten monasteries, with several thousand monks, who studied the teachings of the Hīnayāna Lokattaravādinah School. The king of Bamian came to receive him and invited him to his palace, and entertained him there for several days. In the capital were two monks of the Mahasaṁghika School, Āryadāsa and Āryasena, both well versed in the theories

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[1] Sung Yu was a disciple of the famous poet Chu Yuan. This passage is quoted from his metrical prose the "Consolation of Souls."

[2] Wang Tsun was a general of the Han dynasty.

[3] The Chiu-che-pan, or the Hill of Nine Windings, is situated among the Chun Lai Mountains in Szechuan Province.

of the Dharmalakṣaṇa School. On seeing the Master, they were surprised to know that there should be such a monk as the Master in a country distant as China. With great courtesy they accompanied him to all the holy places.

On a hill to the north-east of the royal city, was an image made of stone, 150 feet high. To the east of the image stood a monastery, and to the east of the monastery a standing image of the Śakyamuni Buddha, made of bronze, 100 feet high. In the monastery was a recumbent image of the Buddha, in the posture of entering Nirvāṇa, 1,000 feet in length. All these images were made in a stately and beautiful manner.

Departing, he went south-east for more than 200 *li*, crossed the Great Snow Mountain and reached a small valley, where in a monastery was a Buddha's tooth-relic. There was also a tooth of a Pratyeka-buddha who lived at the beginning of the kalpa, five inches long and less than four inches wide; a tooth of a Golden Wheel King, three inches long and two inches wide, an iron eating-bowl of Sāṇakavāsa,[1] capable of containing eight or nine *sheng*; and his deep red Saṁghaṭi robe. This man had worn this robe during five hundred lives in his past and he was always born with it. Later it had become a religious robe and the story was related in detail in a book.

Travelling for fifteen days the Master came out of Bamian, but he encountered a snowstorm in which he lost his way for two days. At the Small Sandy Peak, he met some hunters who showed him the way. After crossing

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[1] Sāṇakavāsa was the son of a merchant of Rājagṛha. At the persuasion of Ānanda, he entered the Order and later became well learned in the Tripiṭaka.

the Black Mountain, he reached the domain of Kapisa.[1] This country was more than 4,000 *li* in circuit and it bordered on the Snow Mountain in the north. The king, being a Kṣatriya, was a powerful man of great ability and he ruled over more than ten countries.

When the Master approached the capital, the king and the monks came out of the city to welcome him. The city contained more than 100 monasteries, and the monks vied with one another in inviting him to stay. One Hīnayāna monastery was known by the name of Salakā. According to tradition it was built at the time when a prince of the emperor of China was sent to Kapisa as a hostage. The monks of this monastery said: "Our monastery was built by the son of the emperor of China, and now as you have come from that land, you should stay in our monastery first."

Seeing their sincerity, and as his companion, Prajñākara, was a Hīnayāna monk who did not desire to live in a Mahāyāna monastery, the Master accepted their invitation.

When the hostage prince built this monastery, he buried a vast amount of valuables under the feet of the great deity in the south of the eastern gate of the Buddha-hall, for the purpose of defraying the cost of future repairs. Out of gratitude the monks had painted the figure of the hostage prince in frescoes everywhere in the monastery, and they performed religious services for his benefit at the beginning and end of each rainy season. This had been done generation after generation without cessation till the present time.

An evil king who was covetous and cruel lately had intended to seize the treasures of the monks. He order-

[1] Kafiristan.

ed his men to dig under the feet of the deity, but the earth quaked and the figure of a parrot on the top of the deity flapped its wings and screamed in alarm when it saw the men digging. The king and his soldiers fell down unconscious, and finally they went away in fear.

In the monastery a stūpa had become dilapidated, and the monks wished to take out the treasure in order to repair it. But the earth quaked with a roar and nobody dared venture near it. When the Master arrived, the monks assembled and told him about the event. He and the monks went to the deity and prayed to him with the burning of incense, saying: "When the hostage prince stored up this treasure, he intended it to be used for meritorious deeds. It is now time to bring it out for use. I wish you would discern our true mind and relax your sense of responsibility. With your permission, I will open up the treasure and find out the exact amount before I hand it over to the authorities and request them to repair the stūpa without any waste of money. Being a divine deity, you may understand our mind."

Saying so the Master asked the people to dig the ground, and they did so without any trouble. Having dug for seven or eight feet, they unearthed a large bronze vessel containing several hundred catties of gold and many lustrous pearls. The monks were delighted and they all praised the Master.

The Master stayed in this monastery for the summer retirement. The king despised the arts, but he believed in Mahāyāna Buddhism and liked to listen to preaching. So he invited the Master and the reverend teacher Prajñākāra to hold a discussion meeting in a Mahāyāna monastery. Three learned teachers, Manojñaghoṣa of the Mahāyāna School, Āryavarman of the Sarvastivadin

School and Guṇabhadra of the Mahiśāsaka School, all were religious leaders but they were not learned in both the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna teachings. Though well versed in the theories of one school, they did not know much about the doctrines of the other. The Master alone knew the teachings of all schools and could answer all questions according to the theories of the different schools. Because of this, the people respected him for his learning.

The discussion meeting lasted for five days and then the people dispersed. The king was highly pleased and he separately presented five rolls of pure silk to the Master as a special honour.

After having spent the summer season in the Salaka Monastery, the reverend teacher Prajñakara was again invited by the king of Tukhara to return to that country, and so the Master parted company with him.

Travelling towards the east for more than 600 *li*, he crossed the Black Mountain,[1] entered the territory of North India and reached the country of Lampaka.[2] This country was more than 1,000 *li* in circuit. In its ten monasteries, the monks all studied Mahāyana Buddhism. After a stay of three days, the Master went south and reached a small mountain, on which stood a stūpa. The Buddha had once come from the south and stood at this place. Afterwards the people built the stūpa at that place in memory of the event.

All the lands to the north of this place were regarded as "border lands."[3]

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[1] The Black Mountain denotes those parts of the Great Snow Mountain which are not covered with perpetual snow.

[2] Modern Lamghan, near the source of the Kabul River.

[3] "Mleccha."

When the Tathāgata went about teaching the people, he used to come and go by flying through the air and would not walk on the ground. If he walked, the earth would quake.

The Master came down from the mountain and, crossing a river, after 20 *li* south, reached the country of Nāgarahara.[1] At a distance of two *li* to the south-east of the capital city, was a stūpa more than 300 feet high, built by King Aśoka. This was the place where the Śākya Bodhisattva had met the Dipaṅkara Buddha in the second circle of kalpas and had spread his deer-skin garment and hair on the mud to receive his prediction. Although the kalpa of destruction had passed, this place always existed, and the heavenly beings often scattered flowers on it as offerings.

The Master went to the place, worshipped the stūpa and circled round it. An old monk by the side of the stūpa told the Master the history of its building. The Master asked: "Since the Bodhisattva spread his hair on the mud in the second circle of kalpas, and from the second circle to the third circle, there had been innumerable kalpas and in each of the kalpas the world was constructed and destroyed many times, such as when the disaster of fire occurred and even Mount Sumeru was consumed to dust, how is it that this place alone could be preserved?"

The old monk replied: "When the world was destroyed, this place was also destroyed with it; but when the world was reconstructed, it reappeared at its old place, just like Mount Sumeru which always re-existed after destruction. As this is a holy place, why should it not

[1] Modern Jalalabad.

also reappear? From this comparison we shall have no more doubts."

This was what the old monk had said in reply.

Ten *li* further towards the south-west was a stūpa, built at the place where the Buddha had bought some flowers.[1]

Continuing south-east for another 10 *li* the Master crossed a sandy mountain and reached the city of the Buddha's skull-bone.[2] In the city was a many storeyed building, in the second storey of which was a small stūpa decorated with the seven kinds of jewels, in which the Buddha's skull-bone was stored. It was one foot and two inches in circuit, with distinct hair-pores, of a yellowish white colour, and it was kept in a precious casket. If one wished to forecast his fortune, he might grind some incense into powder and wrap it with a piece of white silk to make impressions from the skull-bone, and from the impressions he might know the good or evil of his future. The Master got an impression of the Bodhi-tree, and of the two attending novices, the older got an impression of the Buddha's image, the younger, that of a lotus flower. The Brahmin who was the keeper of the skull-bone, was delighted, and said to the Master whilst snapping his fingers and offering some flowers to him: "The impression you have got is a rare one and it signifies that you will surely realize Bodhi."

Still another stūpa for the skull-bone was in the shape of a lotus leaf. Here also was a Buddha's eye which was as large as an apple and it issued a bright light over the casket. Here, too, was a Buddha's Saṁghati robe

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[1] The Buddha is said to have bought some flowers to offer to the Dīpaṅkara Buddha in one of his previous lives.

[2] It is supposed to be the modern Hidda, situated about five miles south of Jalalabad.

made of the finest felt, and a Buddha's religious staff with white iron rings and the handle made of sandalwood. The Master worshipped all these relics with great reverence, and he offered fifty pieces of golden money, one thousand of silver money, four beautiful pennants, two rolls of silk and two suits of religious garments; and after having scattered different sorts of flowers, he took his leave.

He was told that at a distance of more than 20 *li* to the south-west of the Dipankara City, was the cave in which the Naga-king Gopala had lived. Formerly the Tathāgata had subdued this naga and he had left his shadow in this cave. The Master desired to visit the place, but the road was desolate and infested with robbers. Moreover, most of the people who had gone in recent years had not seen the shadow, and so few people went there. When the Master announced his intention of visiting the Buddha's shadow, the guides who had escorted him from the country of Kapiśa, advised him not to go, as they wished to return home and did not want to linger too long.

The Master said: "This is the shadow of the Tathāgata's true body which during innumerable kalpas has rarely been seen. Now that I have come to this place, should I not go to visit it? You may proceed slowly and I will go there and come back very soon."

Thus he started off alone to the Dipankara City. He entered a monastery to inquire the way and to ask for someone to be his guide, but none would comply with his request. Afterwards he met a child who said: "The village of the monastery is not far away and I will lead you to the village." The Master went with the child to

the village where he spent the night. He found an old man who knew the place, and asked him to lead the way.

Having gone only a short distance they met five robbers who approached with knives in hand. The Master took off his hat and showed them his religious garment.

The robbers said: "Where do you want to go?"

The Master replied, "I want to worship the Buddha's shadow."

The robbers said: "Did you not know there were robbers here?"

He replied: "Robbers are also human beings. Now I am going to pay homage to the Buddha, and I do not fear even if there are many wild animals on the way. What am I afraid of since you are all human beings?"

On hearing this, the robbers also desired to go with him to worship the Buddha's shadow.

Arriving at the cave, they saw that it was on a rock at the east side of a valley, with its entrance opening towards the west. When they peeped into the cave it was so dark that they could see nothing.

The old man said: "You may go straight in and you will touch the eastern wall when you have walked for fifty paces. Then you may look at the eastern side, and the shadow is at that place."

The Master entered the cave, and having walked for fifty paces, actually touched the eastern wall. He stood there as he was told, and worshipped with a sincere mind. He could not see anything when he had made more than one hundred prostrations, and so he reproached himself for his evil karma that prevented him from seeing the Buddha's shadow, and wept with regret. He then recited, with a sincere mind, the stanzas in praise of the Buddha as contained in the *Śrīmālā-devī-siṁhanāda*

Sūtra and the other scriptures. He recited the stanzas while he made prostrations, and when he had again prostrated for more than one hundred times, he saw on the eastern wall a bright light as large as an eating-bowl, which disappeared in a moment. With delight and excitement he prostrated again, and a bright light as large as a dish reappeared, but it also quickly disappeared. This increased his faith and admiration and he vowed that he would not leave the place if he did not see the Buddha's shadow.

When he had made two hundred more prostrations, the whole cave became brightly illuminated, and he saw the Tathagata's shadow distinctly on the wall, just as the golden mountain appeared when the fog dispersed. The shadow was lustrous with a bright and divine appearance. He was so delighted to have seen the Buddha's shadow that his happiness was beyond comparison. The Buddha's body and his robe were of a reddish yellow colour. Above the knee the figure was perfectly distinct, but it was a little blurred below the lotus seat. The shadows of the Bodhisattvas and the Arhats who stood on his left and right and at his back, were all there.

Having seen the shadow, the Master asked the six men who were outside the cave to bring in a fire in order to burn some incense. But when they had brought in a fire, the Buddha's shadow immediately disappeared. He hastily asked them to put the fire out and prayed again, and then it reappeared. Five of the six men could see the shadow, but one was unable to see anything. It was distinctly visible for about half a meal's time, and the light disappeared when they had worshipped, praised

and offered flowers and incense to the shadow. Then they came out of the cave.

The Brahmin who led the way was highly delighted. He said he had never seen it before, and added: "If it were not for the teacher's sincerity and will-power, we could not have seen it."

Outside the cave were many more holy sites.

When they had returned, the five robbers destroyed their weapons and went away, after having received the Precepts from the Master.

The Master joined his companions and travelling with them for more than 500 *li* among hills again towards the south-east, he reached the country of Gandhara.[1] It bordered on the Indus River in the east and its capital was Puruṣapura.[2] This country had many sages, and the ancient śastra-writers, such as Nārayaṇa-deva, Asaṅga Bodhisattva, Vasubandhu Bodhisattva, Dharmatrata, Manoratha and the Venerable Pārśva, were all born in this country.

To the north-east of the royal city was a precious terrace for keeping the Buddha eating-bowl, which had been shifted to many other countries, and was then kept in Benares.

At a distance of eight or nine *li* to the south-east outside the city, was a Pippalā tree, more than 100 feet high. The four past Buddhas had all sat under it and there were the images of these four Tathāgatas. The 996 Buddhas of the future time will all sit under it.

By the side of the tree, was a stūpa built by King Kaniṣka. It was 400 feet high, with a foundation one

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[1] The North-west Frontier Province of Pakistan.

[2] Modern Peshawar.

and a half *li* in circuit and 150 feet in height. On the top was a Diamond Wheel in twenty-five layers, in which was contained one *hu* of the Tathāgata's relic-bones.

More than one hundred paces to the south-west of the great stūpa, a white stone image, eighteen feet high, faced the north. It showed many divine signs, and the people often saw it walking around the great stūpa at night.

At a distance of more than 100 *li* to the north-east of the Kaniṣka Monastery, the Master crossed a big river[1] and reached the city of Puṣkalāvati.[2] In the east of the city was a stūpa, built by King Aśoka. This was the place where the four past Buddhas had preached the Law. In a monastery four or five *li* to the north of the city was another stūpa, more than 200 feet high, also built by King Aśoka. This was the place where the Śākyamuni Buddha, when he was a Bodhisattva in his former time, had practised alms-giving. He had been born in this country as a king for a thousand times and had also given his eyes as alms for one thousand times.

There were many such holy sites and the Master worshipped them all. He distributed all the gold, silver, silk and garments which the king of Kaochang had presented to him, to the great stūpas and big monasteries which he had visited, as offerings to show his respect.

From here he went to the city of Udakakhaṇḍa.[3] Travelling 600 *li* over mountains and rivers towards the north of the city, he reached the country of Udyāna.[4]

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[1] The Indus River.

[2] It was situated at the north of present Peshawar.

[3] Modern Und at the north of Attock.

[4] It was situated at the present Svat Valley.

On the two sides of the Subhavastu River,[1] had formerly been 1,400 monasteries with 18,000 monks, but now the monasteries were in a desolate condition and the monks few in number. The Vinaya of the monks was taught in five different schools, namely, (1) the Dharmagupta, (2) the Mahiśasaka, (3) the Kāśyapiya, (4) the Sarvastivadin and (5) the Mahāsaṁghika.

The king lived chiefly in the city of Manglaur,[2] which was rich and well-populated. Four or five *li* to the east of the city, was a great stūpa which had many miraculous signs. This was the place where the Buddha had been dismembered by King Kali, when he was the Patience Ṛṣi in one of his previous lives.

At a distance of 250 *li* to the north-east of the city, the Master entered a mountainous region and reached the Spring of the Apalāla Dragon, which was the source of the Subhavastu River that flowed towards the south-west. The place was cold and it froze both in the spring and in the summer. In the evenings the snow began to fall, and the flakes were of varied colours, dancing in the air just like different sorts of flowers.

More than 30 *li* to the south-west of the Dragon Spring and on a rock on the northern bank of the river, were the Buddha's footprints, which were variable in size according to the goodwill of the man who measured them. These footprints were left by the Buddha when he came here to subdue the Apalāla Dragon.

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[1] The Swat River.

[2] The capital of Udyāna. It has been identified with the modern Manglaur, a large and important village at the foot of one of the north-west spurs of the Dosirri Mountain between Swat and Boner.

Thirty *li* along the river was the washing-stone of the Tathāgata, the stripes of his robe still clearly visible on the stone.

Continuing 400 *li* towards the south of the city, he reached Mount Hi-lo, the place where the Tathāgata, in one of his previous lives, had given up his body to repay the kindness of a Yaksa, from whom he had learned half of a gāthā.

At a distance of 50 *li* to the west of the city of Manglaur, he crossed a big river and reached the Lohitaka Stūpa[1] which had been built by King Aśoka and was 100 feet high. This was the place where the Tathāgata incised himself to feed five Yaksas with his blood, when he was the King of Compassion-Strength in one of his previous lives.

Going north-east of the city for more than 30 *li*, he reached the stone Adbhūta Stūpa[2] which was 30 feet high. The Buddha had once preached the Law for men and heavenly beings at this place, and when the Buddha had gone away, this stūpa sprang into existence spontaneously.

He crossed a big river at the west of the stūpa, and after walking for three or four *li* reached a temple which contained an image of the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva, noted for its miraculous manifestations.

People told him that going over hills and gullies, then up the Indus River by a dangerous path, crossing suspension bridges and climbing over stone steps, for a distance of 1,000 *li*, one could reach the Darada Valley,[3] which was the old capital of Udyana. Beside a big

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[1] The Red Stūpa.

[2] The Marvellous Stūpa.

[3] Modern Dārel.

monastery in the valley was a wooden image of the Maitreya Bodhisattva, very stately, of a golden colour 100 feet high. It was made by the Madhyantika Arhat, who had sent an artist by his supernatural powers to the Tuṣita Heaven to observe the features of the Bodhisattva, and who, after going up to heaven three times, completed his task.

At the south of the Udakakhaṇḍa City, the Master crossed the Indus River, which was three or four *li* wide. The water was clear, but the current was very rapid. Many poisonous dragons and evil animals made their nest in the river. Anyone crossing the river with Indian precious gems, or rare flowers or the Buddha's relic-bones, his boat would certainly be overturned.

After crossing this river, the Master reached the country of Takṣaśila.[1] At a distance of 12 or 13 *li* to the north of the city was a stūpa built by King Aśoka, often emitted a divine light. This was the place where the Tathagata had given up his one thousand heads in order to attain enlightenment, when he was practising Bodhisattvahood as the great King Chandraprabha in one of his previous lives.

Beside the stūpa was the monastery, in which Kumāralabdha of the Sautrantika School had composed various treatises.

South-east for 700 *li*, the Master came to the country of Siṁhapura.[2]

Again at the northern territory of Takṣaśila, he crossed the Indus River, and continuing south-east for 200 *li*, he came across the Great Stone Gate. This was the place

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[1] It was situated in the middle of the present Shahdheri.

[2] Kalabagh (Salt Range).

where Prince Mahasattva had formerly given up his body to feed a starving tigress with seven cubs. The ground had been stained by the blood of the prince, and it was still red in colour and the plants were red also.

Going once more south-east among hills for 500 *li*, he reached the country of Urasa.[1]

Still continuing south-east, climbing over dangerous hills and crossing iron bridges, for a distance of more than 1,000 *li*, he reached the country of Kaśmira.[2] The capital city[3] was by the west side of a great river.[4] It had 100 monasteries with 5,000 monks. Four stūpas high and magnificent, built by King Aśoka, each contained one *sheng* of the Tathāgata's relic-bones.

When the Master arrived at the Stone Gate which was the western gate of the country, the king sent his maternal uncle to welcome him with carriages and horses. After entering the Stone Gate, he passed by many monasteries and worshipped the images of the Buddha. Finally he reached a monastery by the name of Huśkara, in which he spent the night. That night the monks all dreamed of seeing a deity who spoke to them, saying: "This guest monk has come from Mahā-cina. He desires to study the scriptures in India, to visit the holy places and to learn what he did not know before. Since he comes for the sake of the Law, he is followed by many good deities, who are now in this monastery. Owing to the good deeds done in the past, you are respected by this man who comes from a distant

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[1] Modern Hazara.
[2] Kashmir.
[3] Srinagar.
[4] The Jhelum.

land. You should recite the scriptures with diligence so as to win his praise. Why are you sleeping in idleness?"

Hearing this, the monks awoke from their sleep. Some walked to and fro, others sat in meditation or recited the scriptures. At dawn they all came to tell the story to the Master and treated him with greater reverence.

In the course of a few days the Master approached the royal capital, and had reached a guest-house a distance of about one yojana from the city. The king and his ministers and the monks in the capital came to the guest-house to welcome him. The king was attended by more than one thousand men holding banners and canopies, and they burned incense and scattered flowers all over the road. Arrived at the guest-house, the king greeted the Master and praised him, and having offered many flowers to the Master with his own hands, he invited him to ride on a big elephant to the capital.

Having arrived at the capital the Master stayed in the Jayendra Monastery (which was built by the king's maternal uncle). On the following day he was invited to the palace to receive offerings, and many virtuous monks, Saṁghakirti and others were invited to accompany him. After the meal the king requested him to preach the Law and to start a discussion, regarding which the king was highly pleased.

Moreover, as he had come from a distant land to study and there was no written book for him to read, the king ordered twenty copyists to copy the scriptures and commentaries for him. Five men were appointed to be his attendants, and whatever he needed was provided by the king.

The reverend teacher Saṁghakirti was a man of high virtue who observed the vinaya rules very strictly. He was a deep thinker, learned and had great talents. He loved sages and respected scholars, and since the Master was a royal guest, he treated him with special favour. The Master also learned from him whole-heartedly both day and night without feeling tired, and requested him to expound the various śastras.

The teacher, being nearly seventy years old, was very feeble, but he was glad to have met an intelligent pupil and so, with great effort, he exerted himself to teach him. In the mornings he expounded the *Abhidharma-kośa Śastra* and in the afternoons he explained the *Abhidharma-nyāyānusārā Śastra*, while after the first part of the night, he taught him the *Hetuvidyā Śāstra* and the *Śabdavidyā Śastra.* All the scholars in the country congregated to attend the lectures.

The Master could comprehend all that was taught without neglecting anything, and he studied the subtle teachings in their full details. The old teacher was very pleased with him and praised him to the utmost. He said to the people: "This Chinese monk has such a great intelligence that none of the people here could exceed him. With his wisdom he could be a worthy successor of the two brothers Vasubandhu and Asaṅga. It is a pity that he was born in a distant country and did not know the bequeathed teachings of the saints and sages at an earlier time."

Among the congregation were two Mahayāna monks, named Śuddhāsiṁha and Jinabandhu, two Sarvāstivādin monks, named Sugatamitra and Vasumitra, and two Mahāsaṁghika monks, named Sūryadeva and Jiṅatrata. They had come to study in this country before the

Master. All were firm in their faith and had great talent with full understanding of the Law. Though not as learned as Saṁghakīrti, they were far more learned than the rest of the monks. On hearing the Master praised by the old teacher, they were seized with jealousy and tried to raise difficult questions for him to answer. But the Master gave satisfactory answers without any hesitation, and the scholars were convinced of his great learning.

This country was formerly the lake of a dragon, and in the fiftieth year after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, Arhat Madhyāntika, who was the disciple of Ānanda, converted the dragon king and asked him to give up his lake, on the site of which he constructed 500 monasteries and invited many sages and saints to live in them upon the support of the dragon. Later in the 400th year of the Buddha's decease, King Kaniṣka of Gandhāra invited, on the request of the Venerable Pārśva, a party of 499 saintly monks who were well versed in both the Tripiṭaka and the "five knowledges,"[1] and including the Venerable Vasumitra, making a total number of 500 saintly monks, to compile the Tripiṭaka in this country. They first composed the *Upadeśa Śāstra* in 100,000 stanzas for the exposition of the Sūtra Piṭaka, and then the *Vinaya-vibhāṣā Śāstra* in 100,000 stanzas for the exposition of the Vinaya Piṭaka, and also the *Abhidharma-vibhāṣā Śāstra* in 100,000 stanzas for the exposition of the Abhidharma Piṭaka. This was a total number of 300,000

[1] The Pancavidyā: (1) Sabda, grammar and composition; (2) Silpākarmasthāna, the arts and mathematics; (3) Cikitsā, medicine; (4) hetu, logic; and (5) adhyātma, philosophy.

stanzas of 960,000 words.[1] The king had these treatises written on copper plates and kept them in stone cases, and he also built a great stūpa to store them and ordered the Yakṣas to guard them. It was owing to his endeavour that the profound teaching of Buddhism was again made clear to the people.

Thus the Master stayed in this country for two years to learn the scriptures and commentaries and to visit the holy places.

Leaving, he travelled south-west for 700 *li* in a mountainous region, until he reached the country of Punach. A further 400 *li* east he reached the country of Rājapura.[2] Down from the mountains and across a river,[3] and south-east for 700 *li*, he reached the country of Cheka.[4] From Lampaka to this land, the peoples lived in the frontier and desolate countries and their costumes and languages were slightly different from those of India, and they were rude and vulgar in manners.

After leaving the country of Rajapura and having travelled for two days, he crossed the Chandrabhaga River[5] and reached the city of Jayapura. He spent a night in a heretical monastery which was situated outside the western gate of the city. More than twenty men were living in it.

Two days later he entered the city of Śākala,[6] in which was a monastery with more than 100 monks. Formerly

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[1] Or 9,600,000 words according to the *Record of the Western Regions.*

[2] Modern Rājapuri.

[3] The Chenab.

[4] See note on p. 51.

[5] The Chenab.

[6] Modern Sialkot.

the Vasubandhu Bodhisattva had composed the *Paramārtha-satya Śāstra* in this monastery. Beside it there was a stūpa, 200 feet high, which was the place where the four past Buddhas had preached the Law. The traces of footprints were still there where they had walked up and down.

From here he left the city of Narasiṁha and reached a great palāśa wood in the east. In the wood he encountered a group of more than fifty robbers. When they had robbed all the clothes and money of the Master and his companions, they waved their swords and drove them to a dry pond by the southern side of the road, intending to slaughter them all. In the pond were thorny bushes, and the Master's attendant novice saw through the bushes a water-way on the southern bank of the pond, which was just passable by one man. He quietly told it to the Master and the young monk and the Master slipped away through it. After running hurriedly towards the south-east for two or three *li*, they met a Brahmin who was tilling the land, and told him that they had been attacked by robbers. He was astonished to hear this, and handing his cow to the Master, he returned to his village to blow a conch and beat a drum. Summoning eighty men, they armed themselves with weapons and ran to the place of the robbery. On seeing the people, the robbers dispersed into the wood.

The Master came back to the pond and released the others from their bonds. When he had distributed his clothes to his companions, he went together with them to the village to spend the night. Everybody cried sorrowfully, but the Master alone smiled without any sign of misery. His companions asked him, saying, "Our

clothes and money have all been stolen. We have only our lives left, and now we are in the most difficult situation. Thinking of what happened in the wood, we could not but feel sorrowful. How is it that you do not share our feeling of misery, but smile with an easy mind?"

The Master replied: "Life is the most precious thing in existence. Since we have our lives why should we worry? In my country we have a maxim: 'The great treasure between heaven and earth is life.' Since we still have our lives, we thus possess the 'great treasure.' There is no need to grieve over the unimportant loss of clothes and money."

His companions thereupon became enlightened. This showed the Master's character of magnanimity and detachment.

On the following day he reached the eastern part of the country of Cheka and arrived at a big city. To the west of the city and by the northern side of the road, was a large mango grove, in which lived a Brahmin 700 years old. He visited him and saw that he looked like a man of thirty with a strong body and a clear mentality. He was learned in the *Madhyāmika Śāstra* and the *Śata Śāstra*, as well as in the Vedas. He had two attendants, both of whom were over 100 years old. When he saw the Master, he received him with great pleasure, and on hearing that he had been robbed, the old teacher sent one of his attendants to the city to ask the Buddhist followers to prepare food for the Master.

In the city were a few thousand families, of whom only a small number were Buddhists, the majority being heretics. When the Master was in Kaśmira, his fame had already spread far and he was known in the various countries. The messenger went throughout the city,

saying: "The Chinese monk has arrived and he has met some robbers who have taken away all his garments. You should know that this is a good opportunity for you to perform meritorious deeds."

Under the spiritual influence of the Master, some of the heretics changed their faith, and on hearing this announcement, more than 300 noble men, each with a piece of felt cloth and some food, came to offer them to the Master with respect. They piled up the gifts before him and worshipped him. The Master blessed them and preached the doctrines of retribution and causality, advising the people to believe in Buddhism, to give up what was wrong and accept what was right. They smiled and talked among themselves and returned with great happiness.

The old teacher remarked that this was an event which had never happened before. The Master distributed the felt cloth to his companions and each had a quantity of cloth sufficient to make several suits of garments. As some cloth remained he offered five pieces to the old teacher.

The Master stayed here for one month to study the *Śata Śāstra* and the *Śata-śāstra-vaipulya.*

This old man was a disciple of Nagarjuna, and as he had received his learning from his teacher personally, his expositions were clear and easy to understand.

From here he went east for 500 *li*, to the country of Cinabhukti.[1] He proceeded to the Tośasana Monastery, in which lived a virtuous monk named Vinitaprabha. He had good manners and was well learned in the Tripiṭaka,

[1] The capital of this country is supposed to be the present Patti, a large and very old town situated 27 miles to the north-east of Kasur and 10 miles to the west of the Bias River.

and he had composed two commentaries in exposition of the *Pañcaskandha Śāstra* and the *Vidyāmātrasiddhi-tridaśa-karika Śāstra.* The Master stayed for fourteen months to study the *Abhidharma-samuccaya-vyakhya*, the *Abhidharma-prakaraṇa-śasana Śāstra*, the *Nyayad-varataraka Śāstra* and other treatises.

Continuing his journey south-east of the big city for 50 *li*, he reached the Tamasāvana Monastery, in which lived more than 300 monks who studied the teachings of the Sarvāstivādin School. The one thousand Buddhas of the Bhadra-kalpa will all come to this place to preach the Law for men and heavenly beings. In the 300th year after the Nirvaṇa of the Śākyamuni Buddha, the Śāstra-master Katyāyana had composed the *Abhidharma-jñāna-prasthana Śāstra* in this monastery.

From here north-east 140 or 150 *li* was the country of Jālandhara[1] (in North India). Here, the Master went to the Nāgaradhana Monastery, in which lived a virtuous monk named Chandravarma, who was well learned in the Tripiṭaka. He stayed for four months to study the *Abhidharma-prakaraṇapada-vibhāṣā Śāstra.*

From Jalandhara he went north-east 700 *li* over some dangerous mountains, to the country of Kulūtā.[2] From Kulūtā southward for another 700 *li* he crossed mountains and rivers, to the country of Śatadru[3] (in North India). Continuing, 800 *li* south-west he reached the country of Pāryātra.

Eastward 500 *li* from Pāryatra was the country of Mathurā[4] (in Central India.) Here were stūpas for the

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[1] Modern Jalandhar.

[2] Modern Sultanpur.

[3] The Sutlej Valley.

[4] It was situated in the Jumna Valley.

remains of Sāriputra and the other holy disciples of the Śākya Tathāgata. The stūpas for Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyanaputra and the others were still in existence, and there were also stūpas for Maitrāyaniputra, Upāli, Ānanda, Rāhula and Mañjuśri. Each year on the days of performing meritorious deeds, the monks came together to make offerings to the different stūpas in accordance with their different studies. The monks who studied Abhidharma made offerings to Sāriputra, the Samādhists to Maudgalyāyanaputra, the Sūtraists to Maitrāyaniputra, the Vinayists to Upāli, the Bhikṣunis to Ānanda, the Srāmaṇeras to Rāhula, and the Mahāyānists to the various Bodhisattvas.

Going east from the city for five or six *li*, the Master reached a hill, on which was a monastery, built by the Venerable Upagupta.[1] In it was a finger-nail relic of the Buddha. On the rock to the north of the monastery was a stone cell, more than 20 feet high and more than 30 feet wide, which was filled with small tallies four inches long. When the Venerable Upagupta preached the Law and taught one married couple to attain arhatship, he put down one tally, but for single members of different families, although they might have attained sainthood, the events were not recorded.

Travelling north-east for more than 500 *li*, he reached the country of Sthāneśvara.

Then east for 400 *li* to the country of Srughna,[2] with the Ganges in the east, a big mountain on the north, and the Jumnā flowing through it midway.

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[1] It is considered that the site of Upagupta's monastery was that of the Id-gah or Katra of the present Muttra.

[2] It was situated to the north of the present Rohtak.

Still going eastward, after travelling 800 *li*, he reached the source of the Ganges,[1] which was three or four *li* wide and flowed towards the south-east. The mouth of the river was more than ten *li* wide. The water was sweet, and fine sands came down with the current. It was said in the books of the country that the Ganges was a "river of felicity"; that those who bathed in it would be purified of all sins; that those who washed their mouths with the water would be saved from calamities; that those who were drowned in it would be reborn to heaven to enjoy happiness. Thus ignorant men and women flocked to the bank of the river. But all this was a wrong belief of heretics, without reality. Later the Deva Bodhisattva came and showed them the truth, and they stopped their practices.

In this country was a virtuous monk named Jayagupta, who was well learned in the Tripiṭaka. The Master stayed during the winter and half of the following spring in order to study the *Vibhāṣā Śāstra* of the Sautrāntika School.

Crossing the river to the eastern bank, he reached the country of Matipura.[2] The king was of the Sūdra caste. Here were ten monasteries with 800 monks, who studied the teachings of the Hīnayāna Sarvāstivādin School.

At a distance of four or five *li* to the south of the big city, was a small monastery in which lived 50 monks. Formerly the Śāstra-master Guṇaprabha composed in this monastery the *Tattvasandesa Śāstra* and more than

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[1] This is supposed to be Gangadvara or Hardwar, the place where the Ganges emerges from the Sivalik Mountains into the plains.

[2] It is identified with Madawar, a large town in western Rohilkhand, near Bijnor.

one hundred other treatises. The Śāstra-master was a native of the country of Parvata, and he had originally been a Mahayanist, but later became a Hinayānist. At that time the Arhat Devasena often visited the Tuṣita Heaven. Wishing to see the Maitreya Bodhisattva to clear the doubts he had in his mind, Guṇaprabha requested Devasena to bring him up to the heaven by his supernatural powers. But he would not worship the Bodhisattva when he had seen him, saying he was a fully ordained monk, whilst the Maitreya Bodhisattva living in the heaven was just like a layman, and thus it was improper for him to worship a layman. He went up to the heaven three times, but he would not worship the Bodhisattva. Thus, owing to his arrogance and self-conceit his doubts were never cleared.

Three or four *li* south of Guṇaprabha's monastery was another monastery, in which lived 200 monks of the Hinayana School. This was the place where the Śastra-master Saṁghabhadra had died. He was a native of Kaśmira and was a profound scholar well learned in the *Sarvāstivādin Vibhāṣā*. At that time Vasubandhu Bodhisattva who was also a well-learned scholar of great wisdom, had composed the *Abhidharma-kośa Śāstra* in refutation of the theories of the Vibhaṣa masters. It was a work of profound teachings written in a florid style and it was studied by all the students of the Western Regions and even by the spirits and deities. When Saṁghabhadra had read it, he felt indignant, and for twelve years he engaged himself in composing the *Abhidharma-nyāyānusāra* of 25,000 stanzas in 800,000 words. After having composed this śāstra, he desired to meet Vasubandhu in order to discuss the matter with him in person. But he died before he could fulfil his intention.

Afterwards when Vasubandhu had read the śastra, he said that it was an intelligent work and that the author did not have less perception than the other Vibhaṣā masters, and he also remarked that since it was quite coincident with his own views, it should be styled as the *Abhidharma-nyāyānusāra.* And thus it was so called.

After the death of Saṁghabhadra, a stūpa was still in existence which had been built for him in a mango grove.

By the side of the mango grove was another stūpa, built for the remains of the Śastra-master Vimalamitra. He was a native of Kaśmira and became a monk of the Sarvāstivadin School. After having travelled in the five Indias and completed his studies in the Tripiṭaka, he came to the stūpa of Saṁghabhadra on his way returning to his own country. He felt sorry that the Śastra-master should have died before he could popularize his work. Thus he vowed to write more treatises in order to refute the Mahāyāna teachings and to defame Vasubandhu, so that the śastra-master's theories might be handed down to coming generations. After having said so, he became delirious and five tongues emerged from his mouth, with blood issuing out all over his body. Realizing that this pain was due to his evil views he wrote a letter of repentance, advising his friends never to slander Mahāyāna teachings. He died after having said so. The earth sank into a pit at the place where he had died.

In this country was a virtuous monk ninety years old named Mitrasena. He was a disciple of the Śastra-master Guṇaprabha and was well versed in the Tripiṭaka. The Master stayed here for half a spring and a summer to learn from him the *Tattvasandesa Śāstra*, the *Abhidharma-jñanāprasthāna Śāstra* and some other books of the Sarvāstivadin School.

Leaving Matipura and travelling north for 300 *li*, the Master reached the country of Brāhmapura.[1]

Then south-east for 400 *li* to the country of Ahichatra[2] and still southward for 200 *li* he crossed the Ganges and reached the country of Vilaśāṇa.[3]

Next he went east for more than 200 *li* to the country of Kapitha.[4] Twenty *li* east of the city, was a monastery in the court of which were the triple precious stairs arranged in a row from south to north and sloping down towards the east and the west. This was the place where the Buddha had descended to Jambudvipa from the Trayastriṁśa Heaven after having preached the Law to Mahāmāyā. The middle staircase was made of gold, the left one was of crystal and the right one of silver. The Tathagata started from the Hall of Saddharma and descended by the middle staircase with many heavenly beings. Brahma holding a white whisk descended by the silver staircase at the right side, while Indra, holding a precious umbrella, walked down by the crystal one at the left. At that time a group of hundreds and thousands of heavenly beings and great Bodhisattvas came down from the heaven with the Buddha.

The stairs were still in existence a few hundred years ago. In memory of the stairs, later kings piled up bricks and stones in the original shape and adorned them with various jewels. They were then more than 70 feet high.

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[1] It is supposed to be in the districts of Garhwal and Kumaon.

[2] This country occupied the eastern part of Rohilkhand.

[3] The capital of this country has been identified with the great mound of ruins called Atranjikhera which is situated on the west bank of the Kali Nadi, four miles to the south of Karsana, and eight miles to the north of Eyta, on the Grand Trunk Road.

[4] It was known as Samkasya (the present Samkisa).

A temple was built over the stairs, with a stone image of the Buddha in it, the figures of Indra and Brahma on its left and right with illuminations, just like when they were descending from the heaven.

Beside the temple was a stone pillar 70 feet high, erected by King Aśoka, and beside the pillar a stone platform 50 paces long and seven feet high, which was the place where the Buddha had formerly walked up and down.

Going north-west for 200 *li*, the Master reached Kanyākubja.[1] This country was 4,000 *li* in circuit and the capital was more than 20 *li* long and four or five *li* wide, bordered by the Ganges in the west. Here were 100 monasteries with more than 10,000 monks who studied both the Mahayana and the Hinayana teachings. The king was of the Vaiśya caste and his name was Harṣavardhana, whose father was Prabhākaravardhana and his elder brother, Rājavardhana. Harṣavardhana was a benign king and the people of the country praised him.

At that time King Śaśaṅka of Karṇasuvarṇa in East India, being jealous of Rajavardhana's political ability, regarded him as a dangerous neighbour and murdered him treacherously. The Chief Minister Bāni and his colleagues lamented over the loss of their sovereign and enthroned the king's younger brother, Śiladitya, to succeed him.

The new king was a man of heroic character and had great administrative abilities. His virtue moved heaven and earth and his righteousness influenced men and gods. So he could take revenge for his brother and rule over

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[1] Modern Kanauj.

India. He conquered all the countries which his military strength and political influence could reach. When order had been restored in his domain, the people lived in peace. Military campaigns were put to an end; weapons were disused and good deeds encouraged. He ordered that no living beings should be killed in his domain, and his people were not to eat meat. He built many monasteries at the holy places and each year he entertained all the monks for twenty-one days. Every five years he convoked the Great Quinquennial Assembly, in which he gave all he had in his treasure-house as religious alms. Considering his deeds, he was just like Sudāna.[1]

In the north-west of the city was a stūpa, more than 200 feet high and six or seven *li* to the south-east and on the southern bank of the Ganges another stūpa which was also more than 200 feet high. Both were built by King Aśoka, they were places where the Buddha had formerly preached the Law.

The Master went to the Bhadra Monastery in which he lived for three months, and studied Buddhadāsa's *Vibhāṣā Śāstra* and Sūryavarman's *Vibhāṣā Śāstra* under the learned teacher Viryasena.

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[1] Sudāna was an elder of Śrāvastī and a patron of the Buddha. He bought the Jetavana garden from Prince Jeta and offered it to the Buddha to be his abode.

BOOK III

Beginning from the Country of Ayodhyā and Ending with the Country of Hiranyaparvata

From Kanyakubja the Master proceeded south-east for more than 600 *li*, crossed the Ganges and reached the country of Ayodhyā[1] in the south. In Ayodhyā were more than 100 monasteries with several thousand monks who studied both the Mahayana and Hinayana teachings. In the capital was an old monastery in which the Vasubandhu Bodhisattva had composed the Mahayana and Hinayāna śāstras and had preached for the people. Four or five *li* to the north-west of the city, on the bank of the Ganges, was a large monastery, in which stood a stūpa more than 200 feet high, built by King Aśoka. This was the place where the Buddha had formerly preached the Law for three months. Beside it was also the place where the four past Buddhas had walked up and down. Five or six *li* to the south-west of the city was the old monastery in which the Asaṅga Bodhisattva had preached the Law. In the night the Bodhisattva ascended to the Tuṣita Heaven, where he learned from the Maitreya Bodhisattva the *Yogācārya-bhūmi Śāstra*, the *Mahāyāna-sūtralaṁkāra* and the *Madhyāntavibhaga Śāstra*, and in the daytime he descended from the heaven to teach the Law to the people.

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[1] Present Oudh.

Asaṅga, meaning non-attachment, was a native of Gandhara. He was born 1,000 years after the Buddha's Nirvaṇa, and had at first become a monk of the Mahiśāsaka School, but later turned to be a Mahayanist. His younger brother, the Vasubandhu Bodhisattva, had at first been a monk of the Sarvāstivadin School, but afterwards he also had his faith in Mahāyana Buddhism. Both brothers were intelligent scholars and had talent in writing. They had composed many treatises in exposition of Mahāyana teachings and were great Buddhist teachers in India. The *Mahāyāna-samgraha Śāstra*, the *Prakaraṇāryavācā Śāstra*, the *Abhidharma-samuccaya-vyākhya*, the *Vijñāpti-mātrasiddhi Śāstra* and the *Abhidharma-kośa Śāstra*, etc., were all composed by them.

After having worshipped the holy places in Ayodhyā, the Master sailed down the Ganges with more than eighty persons in a boat, with the intention of going to the country of Ayamukha.[1] They had sailed for 100 *li* and had reached a place where there were dense woods of aśoka trees on both banks, when ten boatloads of robbers rowed to the middle of the river and surrounded them. The passengers were thrown into great confusion and several were drowned. The robbers led the boat to the bank and ordered the passengers to take off their clothes in order that they could be searched for valuables.

As the robbers were worshippers of the Durgā, their practice was to find a good-looking man every year in the autumn to be slaughtered as a sacrifice to the goddess so as to obtain her blessings. Seeing that the Master was fine-looking and had a strong body, they felt pleased and said among themselves: "The time for us to make

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[1] The exact spot of this ancient city is yet unidentified.

a sacrifice to the goddess draws near and we haven't yet found a suitable man. Now this monk has very good features, and isn't it auspicious for us to sacrifice him to the goddess?"

The Master said to them: "I would not feel sorry to sacrifice my humble body to your goddess. But as my purpose in coming from a distant land is to worship the Bodhi-tree, to visit the Gṛidhrakūta, and moreover to seek for the Buddhist scriptures, it would perhaps be inauspicious for you to kill me when I have not yet fulfilled my intention."

All the passengers pleaded for him, and some even offered to die instead of him. But the robbers would not consent. The head of the robbers ordered his men to bring some water and build up a mud terrace in the wood. Two men led the Master to the terrace and waved their swords preparatory to killing him.

The Master showed no expression of fear and this astonished the robbers. Knowing that he would not be spared, the Master said to the robbers: "I wish you will give me a little time and not press me too hard, so that I may die happily with a contented heart."

The Master then concentrated his thoughts and meditated on the Maitreya Bodhisattva in the Tuṣita Heaven, wishing to be reborn there so as to pay his reverence to the Bodhisattva and to learn from him the *Yogācārya-bhūmi Śāstra* and to listen to the good Law. After having gained complete wisdom, he would be reborn to this world again to teach these people so as to make them practise the good deeds and abandon their evil business, as well as to propagate the Law widely for the advantage of all beings. He then paid homage to the Buddhas of the ten quarters and sat down with a

concentrated mind, meditating on the Maitreya Bodhisattva without any other thought. He imagined in his mind as having ascended Mount Sumeru, transcended the first, second and third heavens and seen the Maitreya Bodhisattva sitting on a stage of gems in the Tuṣita Heaven, surrounded by many heavenly beings. At that moment he felt so happy, both mentally and physically, that he became unconscious of the fact that he was still on the terrace and also forgot about the robbers. All his companions cried loudly. Suddenly a gale of black wind rose from the four quarters, breaking the trees and blowing sand into the sky. Waves rose in the river and the boats were overturned. Greatly amazed, the robbers inquired of the passengers: "Where did this monk come from and what is his name?"

They replied: "He is the monk who has come from China to seek for the Law. It would be a great sin if you killed him. Now this windstorm is a sign that the gods have been offended, and you should quickly make a repentance."

The robbers were frightened and they paid homage to the Master and asked for his forgiveness, but he was unaware of them. They touched him with their hands and he opened his eyes and asked: "Is it time now?"

The robbers said: "We dare not injure you. Please accept our repentance."

The Master forgave them and told them that the evil deeds of killing, robbery and worshipping evil gods would cause them to suffer uninterrupted pains in the future, and that it was unwise to suffer pains for an endless long time in the future just on account of the physical body which was as impermanent as lightning or morning dew.

The robbers then worshipped him and said: "Out of our ignorance we did what we should not have done and worshipped what we ought not to worship. If we did not meet you and were not taught by your virtue, we would never be enlightened. From today onwards we will give up our career, and we hope that you will be our witness."

Then they admonished one another among themselves and collected their weapons which they threw into the river. They returned to their different owners the clothes and money which they had seized and they also received the Five Precepts. The windstorm ceased, and the robbers felt delighted and went away after having paid homage to the Master.

The companions all praised the Master and people far and near who heard of it remarked that it was a strange occurrence. If it were not owing to his sincere mind in seeking for the Law, how could he have escaped from this danger?

Having finished his journey down the river the Master travelled east for 300 *li*, and crossing the Ganges to the north, reached the country of Ayamukha. Then south-east for 700 *li* across the Ganges on the northern side of the Jumnā, he arrived at Prayāga.[1] In a campaka grove to the south-west of the city King Aśoka had built a stūpa where the Buddha had formerly subdued the heretics. Beside it was a monastery in which the Deva Bodhisattva had composed the *Śata-śāstra-vaipulya* in refutation of Hīnayāna and heretical views. To the east of the capital and at the west of the confluence of the two rivers, was a terrace, about fourteen or fifteen *li* in circuit. The

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[1] Present Allahabad.

ground was level, and the kings and noblemen from ancient times till the present day came to this place to make beneficent gifts to the people. Thus it was called the Great Arena for Alms-giving. The present King Śilāditya continued this practice, and he distributed all the wealth he had accumulated in a period of five years, to the temples and monks as well as to the lonely and the poor for seventy-five days, without neglecting anyone.

South-west from Prayāga the Master entered a big forest which was haunted by fierce animals and wild elephants. Continuing for a further 500 *li*, he reached the country of Kośambi.[1] Here were ten monasteries, with more than 300 monks. In the old palace in the city, in a temple, 60 feet high, was a Buddha's image carved from sandalwood, with a stone canopy suspended above it. It was made by King Udayana. When the Tathāgata one whole summer preached the Law for his mother in the Trāyastriṁśa Heaven the king, in remembrance of him, requested Maudgalyāyanaputra to send a skilful artist to the heaven to observe the features and deportment of the Buddha. Returning to earth, the artist carved this image of the Buddha. This was the image that went to welcome the World Honoured One when he descended from the heaven.

The ruins of a house in the south of the city was the residence of the Elder Ghosila. Not far away, in an old monastery which was built in the garden of the elder was a stūpa, more than 200 feet high, built by King Aśoka. To the south-east stood a storeyed building, the place where Vasubandhu had composed the *Vijñāptimātrasiddhi Śāstra*. Still further to the east in a mango

[1] Present Kosam.

grove were the ruins of a building in which the Asaṅga Bodhisattva had composed the *Prakaraṇāryavācā Śāstra.*

From here travelling towards the east for 500 *li*, the Master reached the country of Viśoka,[1] in which were 20 monasteries with 3,000 monks, who studied the teachings of the Hinayāna Sammitiya School. In a large monastery on the east side of the road south-east of the capital, the Arhat Devaśarman composed the *Vijñānakāyapāda Śāstra* in which he denied the existence of ego and non-ego, and the Arhat Gopa wrote the *Treatise on the Essential Realities of Buddhism,* affirming the existence of ego and non-ego. Thus serious controversies arose between the followers of these two opposite doctrines. It was also the place where the Dharmapāla Bodhisattva defeated 100 Hinayāna śāstra-masters in seven days. Beside it stood the place where the Tathāgata had preached the Law for six years. Nearby was a tree, more than 70 feet high, from which the Buddha had once plucked a twig and cleansed his teeth, and, after using it, thrown it to the ground. But the abandoned twig took root in the earth and grew and flourished. Heretical people often came to cut it, but it grew and flourished till the present day.

North-east again for another 500 *li*, and the Master reached the country of Śrāvasti.[2] It was more than 6,000 *li* in circuit with several hundred monasteries and several thousand monks who studied the teachings of the Sammitiya School. During the Buddha's time, this

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[1] It was situated on the northern bank of the Gumtt River, to the north of Lucknow.

[2] The old site of this country is said to be in the Sahet-Mahet district to the north-west of Patna, but according to other investigations, it is said to be in the district of Khajura in Nepal.

was the capital of King Prasenajit. In the city could be seen the ruins of the king's palace, and not far to the east, the ruins of the Great Preaching Hall which King Prasenajit had built for the Buddha. A stūpa was built over the site. There were other stūpas at the place of the nunnery of Prajapati (the Buddha's aunt), on the ruins of Sudatta's residence, and on the spot which marked where Aṅgulimālya had given up his heretical views.

The Jetavana, which was the garden of Anāthapiṇḍaka, lay five or six *li* to the south of the city. Formerly a monastery had been on the site but it is now in ruins. On the left and right sides of the eastern gate were two stone pillars, 70 feet high, erected by King Aśoka. All the buildings were dilapidated, with the exception of one brick house, which contained a golden image of the Buddha. When the Buddha had ascended to the heaven to preach the Law for his mother, King Prasenajit desired to see him, and on hearing that King Udāyana had carved an image of the Buddha with sandalwood, he made also this image.

In a place not far behind the monastery some heretical Brahmacārins had slain a harlot in order to bring reproach on the Buddha. One hundred paces to the east of the monastery a deep pit indicated the place where Devadatta, trying to kill the Buddha by poison, fell alive into hell. To the south another large pit marked the spot where Bhikṣu Kokālika, having slandered the Buddha, fell alive into hell. Eight hundred paces to the south still another pit marked where Chaṇḍamanā, a Brahmin woman, having slandered the Buddha, fell alive into hell. All three pits were so deep that one could not see the bottom.

In a temple 70 paces to the east of the monastery was a sitting image of the Buddha with its face towards the east. This was the place where the Tathāgata had formerly debated with the heretics. A deva-temple further to the east was of the same dimensions as the Buddhist temple. When the sun moved, the shadow of the deva-temple never reached the Buddhist temple, but the shadow of the Buddhist temple always overcast the deva-temple. Three or four *li* further to the east, a stūpa marked the place where Śāriputra had debated with the heretics.

More than 60 *li* to the north-west of the capital were the ruins of a city. This was the city of the Kāśyapa Buddha's father at the time when human life was 20,000 years in length during the Bhadra-kalpa. To the south was the place where the Buddha had first met his father after having attained to enlightenment. To the north a stūpa had been erected over the relics of the Kāśyapa Buddha's whole body. Both stūpas were erected by King Aśoka.

From here the Master went 800 *li* towards the south-east to the country of Kapilavastu.[1] It had a circuit of 4,000 *li* while that of the capital was ten *li*. The capital was all in ruins. The palace-city, whose circuit was fifteen *li*, was constructed with bricks and was very strong. In it were the old foundations of King Suddhodana's principal palace on which a temple was built with an image of the king in it. To the north were the old foundations of Queen Mahāmāya's bedrooms, on which a temple was built with an image of the queen in it, and, beside it, a temple built at the place where the

[1]In the southern part of Nepal.

Śākya Bodhisattva became incarnated in his mother's womb. According to the Sthavira School, the Bodhisattva became incarnated in his mother's womb in the night of the 30th day of the month Uttarāṣāḍha, corresponding with the 15th day of the 5th month of our calendar, while the other schools held that it was on the 23rd day of that month, corresponding with the 8th day of the 5th month of our calendar.

North-east a stūpa marked the place where the Ṛṣi Asita had told the fortune of the prince. On the left and right sides of the city were the places where the prince competed with the other Śākya youths in athletics, where he went over the city-wall on a horse, and where he returned to his palace with a sad feeling about the world, after having seen an old man, a sick man, a corpse and a monk at the four gates of the city.

From Kapilavastu the Master travelled east through a wild forest for more than 500 *li*, till he reached the country of Rāma.[1] It was sparsely populated. To the east of the old city was a brick stūpa more than 100 feet high. After the Nirvāṇa of the Tathāgata, the king of this country obtained a share of his relic-bones, for which he built this stūpa when he had returned home. This stūpa often issued a bright light. Beside it was a dragon's pool, and the dragon often transformed itself into a man and circled around the stūpa. Wild elephants always came with flowers to offer to the stūpa.

Near it was a monastery with a Śramaṇera as its abbot. It was said in tradition that once a Bhikṣu came with some of his fellow-monks from a far distance to worship this stūpa. They saw that the elephants brought flowers

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[1] Or Ramagrama.

to put in front of the stūpa, cleared the weeds with their tusks and sprinkled water on the ground with their trunks. All were moved by this sight and the Bhikṣu gave up the major precepts and volunteered to stay there in order to look after the stūpa. He said to the other monks, "The elephants are animals and yet they know to pay homage to the stūpa by offering flowers to it and keeping the place clean. I am a human being and have renounced my home under the guidance of the Buddha, should I not look after this stūpa when I have seen that it is in a desolate condition?"

Thus he parted with the others and stayed behind. He built a house and tilled the land to plant flowers and fruit-trees in the hot and cold seasons without feeling tired. The people of the neighbouring countries heard about this and donated money to build a monastery and invited the monk to be the abbot. And so the abbot of this monastery has always been a Śramaṇera since that time till the present.

The Master proceeded from the Śramaṇera Monastery towards the east through a big forest for 100 *li*. Here King Aśoka had built a stūpa at the place where the prince, after having come out from the city, took off his royal robe and crown and hair pearls which he handed over to Chaṇḍaka and asked him to send them back home. A stūpa also stood at the place where he had cut his hair.

Emerging from this forest the Master reached the country of Kuśinagara,[1] which was in an extremely desolate condition. In the north-east corner of the city a stūpa, built by King Aśoka, marked the old house of Cunda. Inside the house, the water in a well, which

[1] In the southern part of Nepal.

was dug for the purpose of entertaining the Buddha was still quite clear and fresh.

Three or four *li* to the north-west of the city, he crossed the Ajitavatī River, and not far along, by the side of the river, he reached the Śāla Grove. The śāla trees were like the oak with a greenish bark and white leaves which were very smooth. There were four pairs of śāla trees of the same height at the place where the Tathāgata entered Nirvāṇa. In a large brick temple was an image of the Tathāgata in the posture of entering Nirvāṇa, with its head lying towards the north. Beside the temple was a large stūpa, more than 200 feet high, built by King Aśoka. He also erected a stone pillar on which was inscribed the event of the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, but no date was recorded on it. It was said in tradition that the Buddha lived for eighty years and entered Nirvāṇa on the 15th day of the second half of the month Vaiśākha, corresponding with the 15th day of the 2nd month of our calendar, but the Sarvāstivādins held that the Buddha entered Nirvāṇa on the 8th day of the second half of the month Kārttika, corresponding with the 8th day of the 9th month of our calendar. It had been 1,200 years since the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, while some people said that it had been 1,500 years, and still others said that it had been over 900 but less than 1,000 years.

Stūpas were built at the places where the Tathāgata, sitting in the golden coffin, preached the Law to his mother; where he stretched out his arm to ask Ānanda a question; where he showed his feet to Kāśyapa; where he was cremated with scented wood, and where the eight kings shared his relic-bones.

From here the Master again entered a big forest and after having travelled for 500 *li*, reached the country of

Vārāṇasi.[1] It was more than 4,000 *li* in circumference and the capital, bordering on the Ganges in the west, was ten *li* long and five or six *li* wide. It contained 30 monasteries with 2,000 monks who studied the teachings of the Hīnayāna Sarvāstivādin School.

After crossing the Ganges at Vārāṇasi and going towards the north-east for 10 *li*, he reached the Deer Park Monastery, with its high terraces and halls, all connected by long corridors. In the monastery lived 1,500 monks who studied the teachings of the Hīnayāna Sammatīya School. Inside the main enclosure a temple, more than 100 feet high, contained 100 stone steps and brick niches, each with a gilt image of the Buddha in bas-relief. In the shrine hall was a life size bronze image of the Buddha in the attitude of turning the Wheel of Law. To the south-east of the temple was a stone stūpa, more than 100 feet high, built by King Aśoka. In front of the stūpa a stone pillar, more than 70 feet high, marked the place where the Buddha first turned the Wheel of Law. Beside it was where the Maitreya Bodhisattva received his prediction. Further to the west a stūpa marked the place where the Buddha, as the Jyotirpāla Bodhisattva in a previous birth, received his prediction from the Kāśyapa Buddha at the time when human life was 20,000 years long during the Bhadra-kalpa. To the south where the Śākyamuni Buddha received his prediction, was the place where the four past Buddhas had walked up and down. It was piled with blue stone, more than 50 paces long and seven feet high. Upon the terrace were images of the four Buddhas in the attitude of walking. To the west of the temple was the bathing

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[1] Benares.

pool of the Tathāgata, and the ponds for washing his eating-bowl and his robe. All these ponds were guarded by divine dragons and nobody would contaminate them. A stūpa beside the ponds marked the place where the Buddha, as a six-tusked white elephant, gave his tusks to a hunter when he practised the deeds of a Bodhisattva. There was also the place where he, as a bird, fixed seniority with a monkey and a white elephant under a banyan tree in order to edify the people, and places where he had been a deer-king and where he had converted Kauṇdinya and the other five disciples.

Leaving the monastery, the Master proceeded along the Ganges towards the east for 300 *li*, to the country of Yuddhapati.[1]

From Yuddhapati he went north-east, crossed the Ganges and, after having travelled for 140 or 150 *li*, he reached the country of Vaiśālī.[2] It was more than 5,000 *li* in circumference. The land was fertile, abounding in mangoes and plantains. But the capital city was in ruins and among its old foundations which were 60 or 70 *li* in circuit, remained only a few inhabitants. Five or six *li* to the north-west of the palace city was a monastery, beside which was a stūpa that marked the place where the Buddha had formerly preached the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*. Further towards the north-east at a distance of three or four *li*, another stūpa, built on the old site of Vimalakīrti's house, still had many miraculous manifestations. Not far away was a stone chamber, in which Vimalakīrti pretended to be ill and preached the Law, and beside it the houses of Ratnākara and Āmrapālī.

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[1] It is identified with the modern Gharipur, the "City of the Conqueror."

[2] Modern Besarh.

Further towards the north at a distance of three or four *li*, a stūpa marked the place where the Buddha, accompanied by heavenly beings and men, had stood before he went to Kuśinagara to enter Nirvāṇa. To the west was where the Buddha had a last view of Vaiśālī, and to the south the garden which Āmrapālī had presented to the Buddha, and the place where the Buddha agreed with the Māra-rāja that he would enter Nirvāṇa.

In the south of Vaiśālī the Master crossed the Ganges and after having travelled for more than 100 *li*, he reached the city of Svetapura,[1] where he obtained a copy of the *Bodhisattva Piṭaka.*

Once more he crossed the Ganges to reach the country of Magadha. It was more than 5,000 *li* in circuit. Its people loved learning and respected scholars. More than 50 monasteries housed 10,000 monks, most of whom studied Mahāyāna teachings. On the southern side of the river was the old city, with a circuit of more than 70 *li*. It was in ruins, although the foundations of the city-wall were still in existence. Formerly when human life was innumerable years long, this city was called Kusūmapura City, because there were many flowers in the king's palace. Afterwards, when human life decreased to a few thousand years, its name was changed as Pāṭaliputra[2] from the name of the Pāṭali tree. One hundred years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, King Aśoka, the great grandson of King Bimbiṣāra, removed his capital from Rājagṛha to this city. As that was a long time ago, only the old foundations remained. There had been several hundred monasteries, of which only two

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[1] According to the *Record of the Western Regions*, this was the name of a monastery.

[2] Modern Patna.

or three were still in existence. To the north of the old palace and by the side of the Ganges, was a small city in which lived a thousand families. To the north of the palace was a stone pillar, several tens of feet high, marked the place where King Aśoka had made a hell.

The Master stayed in the small city for seven days and worshipped the holy sites. South of the "hell" was a stūpa, one of the 84,000 that the king had built with human labour. This stūpa contained one *sheng* of the Tathāgata's relic-bones, which often issued a divine light. There was also a temple in which was a slab on which the Tathāgata had once stood. On the slab were two footprints of the Buddha, one foot and eight inches long and six inches wide. On each of the soles was the sign of a wheel, and on the ten toes the marks of the swastika, vases, fishes and the other things, all clearly visible. This was the trace left by the Tathāgata when he was leaving Vaiśālī at the time he was about to enter Nirvāṇa. Having come to this place he stood on a big square rock on the southern bank of the river and said to Ānanda, "This is the place where I have a last look at the Vajrāsana and at Rājagṛha."

To the north of the temple on a stone pillar, 30 feet high, was an inscription stating that King Aśoka had thrice offered Jambudvīpa to the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṁgha, and thrice redeemed it with precious substances.

To the south-east of the old city, the old foundations of the Kukkutārama Monastery, built by King Aśoka, marked the place where the king invited 1,000 monks and offered them the "four requisites."

The Master stayed for seven days and worshipped all these holy places.

Six or seven yojanas to the south-west the Master came to the Tilaḍaka Monastery, in which lived several tens of Tripiṭaka masters. On hearing of the arrival of the Master, they all came out to welcome him.

Continuing south for a hundred *li*, he reached the Bodhi-tree. The enclosure of the tree was built of brick, and it was high and very strong. It was long from east to west and narrow from south to north. The main gate faced the Nairañjāna River in the east, the southern gate connecting with a large flower-tank, the west side bordering on a steep hill, and the northern gate communicating with a big monastery. Inside many holy places connected one with the other. These were temples and stūpas, all built in memory of the Buddha by the kings, ministers and rich noblemen. In the centre of the enclosure was the Vajrāsana, which existed with the world at the beginning of the Bhadra-kalpa. It occupied the central position of the Three Thousand Great Worlds, extending from the surface of the earth down to the Golden Wheel. It was constructed with "vajra" and was more than 100 paces in circuit. It was called the Vajrāsana to signify that it was strong and indestructible and that it could destroy all things. If it had not been at this place, the Buddha would not have stayed here; and if it were not made of "vajra," there would be no place suitable for him to enter the Vajra-samādhi. In order to subdue the māras and to attain enlightenment, he must stay at this place. If he stayed elsewhere, the earth would quake and collapse. Therefore the one thousand Buddhas of the Bhadra-kalpa will all come to this place to realize Buddhahood. The place of enlightenment was also called the Bodhimaṇḍa, which would never stir even if the earth quaked.

During the last one or two hundred years the people, being less virtuous, could not see the Vajrāsana when they came to the Bodhi-tree. After the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, the kings of the various countries set two images of the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva sitting towards the east at the southern and northern limits of the seat. It was said in tradition that Buddhism would come to an end when these images sink into the earth and disappear. Now the image at the south side has submerged up to the chest.

This Bodhi-tree was a peepul tree; it was several hundred feet high at the time of the Buddha. Afterwards it had been cut down several times by evil kings, and at present is only 50 feet high. As the Buddha had sat under it and attained Buddhahood, it was called the Bodhi-tree. The trunk of the tree was of a yellowish white colour and the branches and leaves were green and would not wither even in the autumn and winter seasons. But on the day of the Buddha's Nirvāṇa the leaves would all fall suddenly and new leaves would burgeon the following day. On this day every year the kings and ministers of the various countries assembled under the tree to water it with milk. After having lit lamps and offered flowers to it, they would collect the withered leaves and depart.

The Master worshipped the Bodhi-tree and the Buddha's image in the posture of attaining enlightenment made by the Maitreya Bodhisattva. After having respectfully worshipped the Bodhi-tree and the Buddha's image, he prostrated himself and wailed with regret, saying in a manner of self-reproach: "I do not know where I was born at the time when the Buddha attained enlightenment. I can only have reached this place dur-

ing this Image Period.[1] How heavy my evil deeds must have been!"

As it was just at the time when the monks had spent their summer season, a number of several thousand people congregated at the place from far and near. Those who saw the Master all shed tears of sympathy with him.

Within one yojana of this place were many holy sites, and the Master stayed for nine days and worshipped them all.

On the tenth day the people of the Nālandā Monastery sent four monks of great virtue to welcome the Master, and he went with them. After having travelled for about seven yojanas, he reached the estate of the monastery, which was the village in which the Venerable Maudgalyayana was born. A little while after he had taken food in the estate, 200 monks together with 1,000 lay supporters, came to welcome him with banners, umbrellas, flowers and incense. They praised him and circled around him, and in this manner he entered the Nālandā Monastery.

When he had reached the monastery, all the monks assembled to meet him, and a special seat was prepared for him by the side of the abbot. When the monks had seated themselves, the director of duties, beating a bell, announced that the Master was to live in the monastery and that he might use all the utensils and implements of the monastery with the other monks. Then a number of twenty monks, who were neither too old nor too young, well learned in the Tripiṭaka and good in manners, were ordered to accompany the Master to see the Right Dharma

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[1] Buddhism is supposed to exist for three periods, i.e., the Right Dharma Period of 500 years, the Resemblance Period of 1,000 years, and the Final Period of 3,000 years.

The ruins of the Nālandā Monastery in India. During his stay in India, the Tripiṭaka-Master Hsuan-tsang lived in the monastery, where he studied, under the Venerable Śilabhadra, the *Yogācārya-bhūmi Śāstra* and other Mahāyāna and Hinayāna śāstras of the Abhidharma-piṭaka

Keeper, i.e., the Venerable Śilabhadra. Out of respect the monks did not call him by his name but mentioned him as the Right Dharma Keeper. The Master went with the monks to see him, and, having seen him, worshipped him as a teacher with utmost respect. He crawled on his knees and prostrated himself in accordance with their rites, and worshipped him at his feet. When he had worshipped and praised the teacher, the Right Dharma Keeper ordered seats to be prepared for the Master and the other monks.

After they had seated themselves, he asked the Master: "Where do you come from?"

In reply, the Master said, "I came from China to learn the *Yogācārya-bhūmi Śāstra* from the teacher."

On hearing this, the Right Dharma Keeper shed tears and called for his disciple Buddhabhadra, who was his nephew, more than seventy years old, thoroughly learned in the Tripiṭaka and eloquent in discussion. He said to him: "You may tell the monks how I suffered from illness three years ago."

On hearing this, Buddhabhadra dried his tears and related the event, saying: "The teacher used to suffer from rheumatism and each time when it relapsed he fell into convulsions and felt pain as sharp as if he were burned by fire or pricked by a knife. This illness troubled him for a period of more than twenty years; he sometimes recovered, sometimes relapsed. Three years ago the pain was aggravated to such an extent that the teacher became tired of his body and wished to end his life by starvation. One night he saw in a dream three heavenly beings, of whom one was golden yellow in colour, one was green and the other one silver white in colour. They had good features and were well-dressed, and they

came and asked the teacher: 'Do you intend to give up your body? It is said in the scriptures that this body is an object of suffering, but it is not taught to give up one's body. You were once a king in one of your past lives and caused much pain to the people, and thus you are suffering your retribution now. You should meditate on your past evil deeds with a sincere mind of repentance. Be patient with the pain and preach the scriptures and commentaries diligently, and then it will disappear. By giving up your body, you can never end your pains.'

"Upon hearing this, the teacher respectfully worshipped them, and the golden figure, pointing at the green person, said to the teacher: 'Do you recognize him? He is the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva.' He then pointed at the silvery person and said: 'This is the Maitreya Bodhisattva.' The teacher then worshipped the Maitreya Bodhisattva and asked: 'I have always wished to be reborn in your palace, but I do not know whether I shall be able to realize my wish.' In reply, the Bodhisattva said: 'If you widely spread the Right Law, you will be able to be reborn there.' Then the golden figure said: 'I am the Mañjuśri Bodhisattva. As we saw that you intended to abandon your body without any advantageous purpose, we have come to give you some advice. You should act according to my words to propagate the Right Law and preach the *Yogācārya-bhūmi Śāstra* and the other books to those people who have not yet heard about them. You will then gradually recover from your illness and you need not worry about it. A Chinese monk who wishes to learn the great Law, will come to study from you. You may wait to teach him.' Upon hearing this the Right Dharma Keeper worshipped them and said: 'I will act according to your instructions.'

When he had said so, the Bodhisattvas disappeared. Since then, the teacher is relieved of his painful illness."

When the monks had heard of this, they all had said with praise that it was a rare event. Having personally heard this account, the Master felt both excited and happy, and he again worshipped the teacher, saying: "Since such is the case as has been said, I will study with utmost effort. May you be kind enough to accept me as a pupil."

The Right Dharma Keeper asked again: "How many years did you spend on the way?"

"Three years," replied the Master.

Since the time coincided with his dream, the teacher said many pleasant things to please the Master, in order to show his affection as a teacher to a pupil.

After the interview the Master took his leave. He was lodged on the fourth storey of Buddhabhadra's house in the courtyard of King Bālāditya. After having been entertained for seven days, he was lodged in a guest-house, to the north of the house of the Dharmapāla Bodhisattva, and his daily requisites were increased. Every day he was provided with 120 tāmbūla fruits, 20 betel-nuts, 20 nutmegs, one ounce of camphor and one *sheng* of "Mahāśāla" rice. This rice was larger than the black bean, and when it was cooked it had a fragrance which no other kind of rice possessed. It was produced only in Magadha and was not found elsewhere. As it was offered only to the kings and well-learned monks of great virtue, it was called as Mahāśala rice. He was also supplied with three *tou* of oil in every month, and as regards butter and milk he took as much as he needed every day. He was attended by one servant and one Brahman and was exempted from ordinary monastic

duties, and when he went out he had an elephant to ride on. Of a total number of 10,000 host and guest monks of the Nālandā Monastery, only ten persons, including the Master, enjoyed such privileges. Wherever he travelled the Master was always treated with respect like this.

Nālandā means "insatiable of giving." It was said in tradition that there was a pond in the mango grove to the south of the monastery. In the pond was a dragon by the name of Nālandā, and as the monastery was built beside it, it was called by this name. It was also said that when the Tathāgata was a king during the time when he practised the ways of a Bodhisattva, he founded his capital at this place, and as he often gave alms to the poor and the lonely with a mind of compassion, the people named this place as "insatiable of giving" in gratitude for his favours. This place was originally the garden of the elder Āmra, and five hundred merchants bought it over with ten million golden coins to offer to the Buddha, who preached the Law at this place for three months and many of the merchants realized sainthood. After the Buddha's Nirvāṇa a former king of this country, Śākrāditya, built this monastery in memory of the Buddha. After the death of the king, his son, King Buddhagupta, succeeded him and built another monastery to the south. His son, King Tathāgata, also built a monastery at the east. His son, King Bālāditya, again built another monastery to the north-east, and when he saw that a holy monk had come from China and stayed in his monastery, he was so pleased that he abdicated and became a monk himself. His son, Vajra, succeeded him and built another monastery at the north. 'Afterwards a king of Central India built a monastery beside

it. Thus six kings built as many monasteries one after the other, and an enclosure was made with bricks to make all the buildings into one monastery with one entrance for them all. There were many courtyards and they were divided into eight departments. Precious terraces spread like stars and jade pavilions spired like peaks. The temples were in the mist and the shrine halls stood high above the cloud. Wind and cloud rose from the doors and windows, and the sun and the moon shone at the eaves of the buildings. Streams of blue water wound through the garden and green lotus flowers sparkled among the blossoms of sandal trees, and a mango grove was outside the enclosure. The monks' dwellings in all the courtyards had four storeys. The beams were painted with all the colours of the rainbow and were carved with animal designs, while the pillars were red and green. The columns and thresholds were decorated with exquisite engravings. The plinths were made of jade and the rafters were adorned with paintings. The ridges of the buildings stood high under the sunshine and the eaves were connected by ropes with decorative flags. In India there were thousands of monasteries, but none surpassed this one in magnificence and sublimity.

Always present were 10,000 monks, including hosts and guests, who studied both the Mahāyāna teachings and the doctrines of the eighteen Hinayāna Schools,[1] as

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[1] One hundred years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, a schism occurred in the Buddhist order resulting in the formation of two schools, viz., the Mahāsāṁghikah and the Sthaviravādin Schools. At the time of 200 years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, the Mahāsāṁghikah School was subdivided into (1) Ekavyavahārikāḥ, (2) Lokottaravādinaḥ, (3) Kaukkuṭikaḥ, (4) Bahuśrutīyaḥ, and (5)

well as the worldly books, such as the Vedas and the other classics. They also studied logic, grammar, medi-

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Prajñāptivādinah; and sometime later it also gave rise to (6) Jetavaniyāḥ, (7) Aparaśailāḥ, and (8) Uttaraśailāḥ.

At the beginning of the third century after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, the Sthaviravādin School was subdivided into (1) Haimavatāḥ School and Sarvāstivādin School, which again gave rise to (2) Vatsīputriyaḥ, which produced (3) Dharmottarīaḥ, (4) Bhadrayāniyāḥ, (5) Sammatīyāḥ, and (6) Sannagarikaḥ. From the Sarvāstivādin School there also rose (7) Mahiśāsakaḥ, which produced (8) Dharmaguptah; and it also gave rise to (9) Kasyapīyaḥ, and (10) Sautrāntikaḥ.

The Sarvāstivādin School was not counted, as it was subdivided into the above nine schools, which together with the Haimavatāḥ School, constituted the ten sects of the Sthaviravādin School.

I. The Mahāsāṁghikah School

(1) Ekavyavahārikāḥ
(2) Lokottaravādinaḥ
(3) Kaukkuṭikaḥ
(4) Bahuśrutīyaḥ
(5) Prajñāptivādinah
(6) Jetavaniyāḥ
(7) Aparaśailāḥ
(8) Uttaraśailāḥ

II. The Sthaviravādin School

(1) Haimavatāḥ
Sarvāstivādah
(2) Vatsīputriyaḥ
(3) Dharmottariah
(4) Bhadrayāniyāḥ
(5) Sammatīyāḥ
(6) Sannagarikaḥ
(7) Mahiśāsakaḥ
(8) Dharmaguptah
(9) Kasyapīyaḥ
(10) Sautrāntikaḥ

cine and mathematics. More than a thousand of them could master twenty scriptures and commentaries, more than 500 were expert in thirty books, and ten, including the Master, were thoroughly learned in fifty books. The Venerable Śilabhadra alone was well learned in all the books, and being an old scholar of great virtue, he was the teacher of all the monks. More than 100 teaching classes were held in the monastery every day, and the students studied hard without wasting a single moment of time. As all the monks were men of virtue, the atmosphere in the monastery was naturally grave and dignified.

In the seven hundred years since its establishment, none of the monks had committed any offence. Out of respect for them the king gave the revenue of more than 100 villages to support them, and each of the villages had 200 families who daily offered several hundred *tan* of rice, butter and milk. Thus the students could have the four requisites[1] sufficient for their needs without going to beg for them. It was because of this support that they achieved so much in their learning.

When the Master had been properly lodged in the Nālandā Monastery, he went to the city of Rājagṛha to worship the holy traces. The old city of Rājagṛha was known as the city of Kuśāgārapura. It was situated in the middle of Magadha and most of the ancient kings lived in it. As the place produced a kind of fragrant reed-grass (kuśa), it was named as Kuśāgārapura. The city was surrounded by precipitous hills with only a small path in the west and a main entrance in the north. It was long from east to west and narrow from south

[1] Clothing, food, bedding and medicine.

to north, with a circumference of more than 150 *li*. Within it was a smaller city, the foundation of which was more than 30 *li* in circuit. Sandalwood groves abounded, the trees blossomed in all the four seasons without intermission, and the leaves were of golden colour.

To the north of the city a stūpa marked the place where Devadatta and Ajātaśatru intoxicated the elephant Dhanapāla in an attempt to injure the Buddha. To the north-east of this place a stūpa stood upon the place where Śāriputra attained sainthood after having heard the Law from Bhikṣu Aśvajit. Nearby was a deep pit. This was the place where Śrigupta, being instigated by the evil advice of some heretics, plotted to kill the Buddha with a fire-pit and poisoned rice. Further to the north-east of the great pit and in the bend of the hill city, a stūpa marked the place where the physician, Jīvaka, had built a preaching hall for the Buddha. Beside it was the old house of Jīvaka.

North-east 14 or 15 *li* from the palace city, the Master reached the Gṛdhrakūta Mountain. It was connected with the mountains in the north and rose very high in the shape of a vulture, and it also resembled a high terrace. Thus it was called as the Vulture Peak or the Vulture Terrace. It contained clear springs and rich forests, and, when the Tathāgata was living in this world, he had spent most of his time on this mountain, preaching on the *Saddharma-puṇḍarika Sūtra*, the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* and many other sūtras.

Going from the northern gate of the hill city for little more than one *li*, he reached the Kalanda Bamboo Grove, in which a brick house still stood. Formerly the Tathāgata used to live in it and laid down the

Vinaya rules. The owner of this garden was Kalanda. He had previously presented it to some heretics, but after he had seen the Buddha and heard the profound Law, he regretted that he did not offer it to the Buddha. At that time the local gods knew his mind and worked to frighten the heretics into giving up the place. Then they told the elder, saying: "If you wish to offer the garden to the Buddha, you may quickly go there now."

When the heretics went away in anger, the elder was delighted, and after having built a monastery in the garden, he went personally to invite the Buddha, who accepted his invitation.

A stūpa, built by King Ajātaśatru, stood to the east of the Bamboo Grove. After the Nirvāṇa of the Tathāgata, the various kings shared his relic-bones, and King Ajātaśatru obtained his share, for which he built this stūpa when he returned home. Afterwards King Aśoka desired to build many stūpas and he opened this one to take the relic-bones, leaving only a small portion in it, from which often issued a bright light.

At a distance of five or six *li* to the south-west of the Bamboo Grove, was another bamboo wood by the side of a hill, in which was a large chamber. This was the place where the Venerable Mahākāśyapa and 999 great arhats collected the Tripiṭaka after the Nirvāṇa of the Tathāgata. At the time for collecting the Tripiṭaka, many holy monks assembled, and Kāśyapa said to them: "Those who know themselves as possessing the 'three knowledges' and the 'six supernatural powers' and understand all the Dharmas of the Tathāgata without any mistake, may stay here, while the rest may go as they please."

Thus a number of 999 men were selected among the congregation.

At that time as Ānanda had not yet attained sainthood, Kāśyapa said to him: "As you have not yet completely purified yourself, you need not stay here to defile the pure assembly."

Being ashamed of himself, Ānanda went away, and after having diligently practised the Dharma for one night, he cut off the bond of rebirth in the three worlds and attained arhatship. Then he returned to knock at the door, and Kāśyapa asked him: "Have you cut off the bond of rebirth?"

"Yes," he replied.

Kāśyapa said again, "If you have cut off the bond of rebirth, you ought to be able to come in at will without troubling me to open the door for you."

And so Ānanda entered the house through the crevice of the door and worshipped Kāśyapa at his feet.

Kāśyapa, holding Ānanda's hands, said to him: "It was because I wished you to purify yourself and attain sainthood, that I compelled you to go out. You should know this and do not bear a grudge against me."

Ānanda said: "If I bear a grudge against you, how can I be said as having cut off the bond of rebirth?"

Then he saluted Kāśyapa and took his seat. It happened on the fifteenth day of the summer retirement.

Kāśyapa then told Ānanda: "The Tathāgata used to praise you among the monks, saying that you were the most learned disciple and could understand all the Dharmas. Now you may take the chair to recite the Sūtra-piṭaka, i.e., all the scriptures, for the assembly."

Upon this instruction Ānanda rose to his feet and paid homage towards the direction of the place where the

Buddha entered Nirvāṇa, and then he took the chair and recited the scriptures, while the monks kept a record of what he had recited.

When this had been done, Upāli was again requested to recite the Vinaya-piṭaka, i.e., all the disciplinary rules. And after the recital of the Vinaya-piṭaka, Kāśyapa repeated the Abhidharma-piṭaka, i.e., all the commentaries. During the three months of summer retirement, the Tripiṭaka was collected and written on palm leaves for circulation. The holy monks said among themselves: "In repayment for the Buddha's kindness, we have collected the Tripiṭaka, and it is owing to his spiritual influence that we have completed this task today."

As Mahākāśyapa was an elder among the assembly, they formed the school called as the Sthavira-nikāya.

At a distance of twenty *li* to the west of this place a stūpa built by King Aśoka marked the place where the Mahāsāṁghikas had assembled. A number of several thousand monks, including arhats and ordinary men, who were not admitted into the assembly of Mahākāśyapa, congregated at this place. They said among themselves: "When the Tathāgata was living, we all studied under one teacher, and now as the Blessed One has passed away, they expel us like this. But can't we also collect the Tripiṭaka to repay the Buddha's kindness?"

Thus they also collected the Sūtra-piṭaka, the Vinaya-piṭaka, the Abhidharma-piṭaka, the Miscellaneous-piṭaka and the Dhāraṇī-piṭaka, making a total number of five piṭakas. As this assembly included both arhats and ordinary men, it was called the Mahāsāṁghika-nikāya.

Going further towards the north-east for three or four *li*, the Master reached the city of Rājagṛha. The outer

wall of the city was destroyed, but the inner wall, more than twenty *li* in circuit, was still strong with one gate on each side. When King Bimbisāra was living in his palace at Kuśāgārapura, the people's houses being too crowded, were often afflicted by disastrous fires. Thus he made a strict law that whoever originated a fire should be banished to live in the "cold forest," which was the place where the people of the country disposed corpses. Not long afterwards a fire broke out in the king's palace. The king said, "I am the king. I cannot punish my people if I myself do not keep the law."

Thus he ordered the prince to stay behind, while he moved into the "cold forest."

At that time the king of Vaiśāli, hearing that King Bimbisāra was living in the wild, decided to send his troops to attack him. The watchmen got wind of this and reported it to King Bimbisāra, who then built a wall around the place. As the king made his abode at this place it was called the King's Abode (Rājagṛha), and this was the New City.

Afterwards, when King Ajātaśatru ascended the throne, he made it his capital, and when King Asoka removed his seat of government to Pāṭaliputra, he gave this city to the Brahmins. Thus there were no inhabitants in the city other than 1,000 families of Brahmins.

In the south-west corner of the palace city was a stūpa, built at the place of the old house of the elder Jyotiṣka. Beside it was the place where Rāhula was converted.

To the north-west of the Nālandā Monastery was a large temple, more than 300 feet high, built by King Balāditya. It was magnificent and beautiful, and the image of the Buddha in it was the same as the one at the

Bodhi-tree. A stūpa was built to the north-east of the temple at the place where the Tathāgata had formerly preached the Law for seven days. Further to the north-west was the place where the four past Buddhas had sat, while to the south of this place was the Bronze Temple built by King Śiladitya. This latter was unfinished. It would have been more than 100 feet in height according to the plan.

At a distance of more than 200 paces to the east of the city stood an image of the Buddha made of bronze. It was more than 80 feet high and could be housed only in a tall building that had six storeys. This image was made by King Pūrṇavarman of the old times.

Several *li* towards the east, a stūpa marked the place where King Bimbisāra and hundreds and thousands of his people welcomed the Buddha when he was coming to Rājagṛha after he had attained enlightenment. Thirty *li* further was Indrasāilaguhā. In front of the monastery on the east peak of the mountain, was a stūpa called the "Haṁsa-stūpa." Formerly the monks of this monastery ate the three kinds of pure meat according to the "gradual teaching" of the Hīnayāna School. Once this kind of food could not be purchased, and the monk in charge did not know what to do. When he saw a flock of wild geese flying in the sky, he said jokingly: "Today the monks are short of food, and the Mahāsattva should know that this is the proper time to make a sacrifice."

When he had said so, the goose that led the others in the flight, returned and dropped from the high clouds to the ground. On seeing this the monk was frightened and felt ashamed. He informed the monks, and those who heard of it shed tears of regret. They said, "This is a Bodhisattva, and who are we to dare to eat his flesh?

The Tathāgata has taught the 'gradual teaching' for us to advance gradually, but we grasped what he has taught at the beginning as his final teaching. It is owing to our stupidity without trying to correct our error that caused this disaster. From now onwards we should act according to the Mahāyāna teachings and never eat the three kinds of pure meat again."

Thereupon they built a stūpa to bury the dead goose in memory of its spirit of self-sacrifice, and this was the stūpa that they had built for that purpose.

All these holy sites the Master visited and worshipped.

After returning to the Nālandā Monastery, the Master requested the Venerable Śīlabhadra to expound the *Yogācārya-bhūmi Śāstra* for him, and several thousand men attended the lectures.

The lecture had scarcely begun when a Brāhman came outside the monastery crying and laughing alternately. Being asked why, he said in reply: "I am a native of East India. Once, before the image of the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva on the Potalaka Mountain, I prayed to be reborn as a king. The Bodhisattva manifested himself and reproved me, saying: 'Do not pray for that. Later, at a certain time, the Venerable Śīlabhadra of the Nālandā Monastery will expound the *Yogācārya-bhūmi Śāstra* for a Chinese monk. You shall go to attend the lectures and after you have heard the Law, you will be able to see the Buddha. What is the use of becoming a king?' Now I see that a Chinese monk has come and that the teacher is preaching for him, quite in coincidence with what I heard. That is why I feel both excited and delighted."

The Venerable Śīlabhadra asked him to stay so that he might attend the lectures. After fifteen months when

the lectures were completed, he ordered someone to send the Brāhman to see King Śilāditya, who conferred on him a fief of three villages.

In the monastery the Master attended the lectures on the *Yogācārya-bhūmi Śāstra* for three times, the *Abhidharma-nyāyānusāra*, the *Prakaraṇāryavācā Śāstra* and the *Abhidharma-samuccaya-vyakhya* each for one time, the *Hetuvidyā Śāstra*, the *Śabdavidyā Śāstra* and the *Samuccaya-pramana Śāstra* each for two times, the *Madhyamika Śāstra* and the *Śata Śāstra* each for three times. As regards the *Abhidharma-kośa Śāstra*, the *Vibhāṣā Śāstra*, the six *Abhidharma-pada Śāstras*, etc., which he had already learned in Kaśmira and the other countries, he merely clarified the doubtful points that he had found in them.

He also studied the Brāhmaṇic book, and this Indian Brāhmaṇic book was known as the *Mnemonic Treatise*, the origin and author of which were unknown. It was first taught by Brāhmā to the devās at the beginning of each kalpa, and as it was taught by Brāhmā, it was called the Brāhmaṇic Book. It is a voluminous work, having one million stanzas, which was translated in old times as the *Pi-chieh-lo Śāstra*, but the spelling was incorrect. Its proper name is *Vyākaraṇa*, meaning a mnemonic treatise on the science of words. It is so called because it deals extensively with the words that convey all the dharmas.

Formerly at the beginning of the Constructive Kalpa, Brāhmā first taught it in one million stanzas, and later at the beginning of the Duration Kalpa, Indra abridged it to one hundred thousand stanzas. Still later the Ṛṣi Pāṇini of Śālātura City of Gandhāra in North India, again reduced it to eight thousand stanzas, and this was the

text which was prevalent in India. Recently a Brahman of South India again shortened it to two thousand and five hundred stanzas for the king of South India, but this text was prevalent only in the frontier countries and the learned scholars of India never studied it.

All these were books concerning the sounds and letters of the western countries.

As to the branch divisions, distinctions and mutual connections, there was a concise mnemonic work of 1,000 stanzas; one of 300 stanzas on the roots of words; and two books on the two different kinds of word-groupings. One of these latter was called Manḍaka in 3,000 stanzas, the other, Uṇādi in 2,500 stanzas, both of which distinguished word-groupings from word-roots. Another, the *Ashtaḍhātu Śāstra* in 800 stanzas, briefly treated the conjunctions of word-groupings and word-roots.

Relating to the active and passive verbs, these mnemonic treatises had two rules. One was "tiñanta-vājyam" with eighteen terminations and the other one, "subanta vājyam" with twenty-four.

The "tiñanta-vājyam" was mostly used in elegant compositions, but seldom in light literature; while the twenty-four terminations (of the "subanta vājyam") were used in all writings alike.

The eighteen terminations of the "tiñanta vājyam" were of two characters, the first being "parasmai" and the second, "ātmane," each having nine terminations, making a total of eighteen terminations.

According to the first nine terminations, when a thing is mentioned in ordinary discourse, it is classified into three persons (the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person), and each of which is again divided into three numbers (the singular, the dual and the plural). The other group of termina-

tions is the same, but as the voices are different, they are divided into two groups of nine terminations each.

According to the "parasmai" voice, we may say something as existing or non-existing. Take the word "Bhū" as an example. We may say it in three ways: bhavati (it exists), bhavatas (two things exist) and bhavanti (they exist).

In the second person, we may say it in three ways: bhavasi (thou dost exist), bhavathas (you two exist) and bhavatha (you all exist).

In the first person, we may say it in three ways: bhavāmi (I exist), bhavāvas (we two exist) and bhavāmas (we all exist).

With regard to the nine terminations of the "ātmane" voice we put the ending "vyati" to the above-mentioned nine terminations. Otherwise they are the same as the above.

One who is skilled in this language may write his compositions without any ambiguity and may express himself in the most elegant manner.

The twenty-four declensions of the "subanta vājyam" consist of eight principal cases, each of which is classified into three numbers, making a total of twenty-four cases. Each of these twenty-four cases has three genders, viz., masculine, feminine and neuter.

Of these eight cases the first shows the substance of all things (nominative), the second, what is done (accusative), the third, the instrument by which something is done and the doer (instrumental), the fourth, for whom the thing is done (dative), the fifth, the cause of the thing (ablative), the sixth, to whom the thing belongs (genitive), the seventh, that which the thing depends (locative), and

the eighth, the calling or summoning of the thing (vocative).

Now, for example, we take the masculine ending as in the word "man" and go through the eight cases. The Indian word for "man" being "puruṣa," we have:

(1) puruṣas, (2) puruṣau, (3) puruṣās for the nominative case;

(1) puruṣam, (2) puruṣau, (3) puruṣān for the objective case;

(1) puruṣeṇa, (2) puruṣābhyām, (3) puruṣais for the instrumental case;

(1) puruṣāya, (2) puruṣābhyām, (3) puruṣebhyas for the dative case;

(1) puruṣāt, (2) puruṣābhyām, (3) puruṣebhyas for the ablative case;

(1) puruṣasya, (2) puruṣayos, (3) puruṣāṇam for the genitive case;

(1) puruṣe, (2) puruṣayos, (3) puruṣesu for the locative case; and

(1) hi puruṣa, (2) hi puruṣau, (3) hi puruṣās for the vocative case.

From these one or two examples the other cases may be understood, and it would be difficult to make a full statement of all the words.

The Master thoroughly understood this language and was able to discuss the holy scriptures with the people of India. Thus he studied the scriptures of the various schools and the Brāhmāṇic books for a period of five years.[1]

From here he went again to the country of Hiraṇyaparvata.[2] On his way he reached the Kapota Monastery.

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[1] I.e., in the Nālandā Monastery.

[2] This country is identified with the modern district of Monghyr.

At a distance of two or three *li* to the south of the monastery, stood an isolated hill, which had precipitous peaks and dense forests with clear springs and fragrant flowers. Being a superior place, on it were numerous temples with many wonderful and miraculous manifestations. An image of the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva carved from sandalwood stood in the central temple. It was particularly miraculous, and always before it were several tens of people fasting for seven or even fourteen days, praying for the fulfilment of their wishes. Those who were most devout might behold the Bodhisattva coming out of the sandalwood image in a stately manner with a brilliant light, to console them and grant their wishes. Many people saw the Bodhisattva in such a way and thus more and more devotees came to worship him.

The man who attended the image feared that the visitors might soil it, and so he enclosed it with a wooden railing on the four sides at about seven steps from it. The people who came to worship the image, did so outside the railings and could not go near it. Offerings to it of incense and flowers were scattered at a distance. When the flowers rested on the hand or hung upon the arm of the image, it was regarded as auspicious and that one's wishes would be fulfilled.

Wishing to pray before the image, the Master bought different flowers and made some garlands with them. On approaching the image, he worshipped and praised it with a sincere mind. Then he knelt and made three wishes, saying: "First, may the flowers rest on your hand if I may safely return to my own country after I have completed my studies here; second, may the flowers hang upon your arms if I may be reborn to the Tuśita Heaven to serve the Maitreya Bodhisattva by the merit

and wisdom which I have cultivated; third, as it is taught in the holy teachings that a part of the sentient beings do not possess the Buddha-nature, I am now in doubt, not knowing whether I have it or not — may the flowers hang upon your neck if I have the Buddha-nature and may become a Buddha in the future."

Having said so, he scattered the flowers at a distance and they all stayed at the places as he had wished. Having fulfilled his wishes, he was greatly delighted, and on seeing this event the people who worshipped together with him and the keeper of the temple snapped their fingers and stamped their feet on the ground, saying that it was an unprecedented affair, and they suggested that the Master on account of this event should come to save them first when he should become a Buddha in the future.

From the monastery the Master continued to the country of Hiranyaparvata. Here were ten monasteries with more than 4,000 monks, most of whom studied the Sarvāstivādin teachings of the Hīnayāna School. In recent times the king of a neighbouring country had deposed the ruler of this country and given the capital city to the monks. He also built two monasteries in it, each having 1,000 monks. Two great teachers, Tathāgatagupta and Kṣāntisiṁha, dwelt here both of whom were well versed in the teachings of the Sarvāstivādin School. The Master stayed for one year to study from them the *Vibhāṣā Śāstra* and the *Abhidharma-nyāyānusāra* and some other books.

To the south of the capital a stūpa stood where the Buddha formerly preached the Law to the heavenly beings for three months. Beside it were the traces left by the four past Buddhas.

This country bordered on the Ganges in the west and it reached the Small Isolated Hill in the south. On this hill the Buddha once spent three months during the rainy season and subdued the Yakṣa Vakula. On a big rock at the south-east side of the hill was a trace of the place where the Buddha had sat. It was more than one inch deep in the rock, five feet and two inches long and four feet and one inch wide. There was also a trace at the place where the Buddha had put his water-jar, and it was more than one inch deep with the design of eight-whorled flowers.

This country in the south bordered on a desolate forest in which were many large and very strong elephants.

BOOK IV

Beginning from the Country of Champā and Ending with the Invitation of the King of Kāmarūpa

From Hiranyaparvata going along the southern bank of the Ganges towards the east for more than 300 *li*, the Master reached the country of Champā.[1] It contained ten monasteries with more than 200 monks who studied the Hīnayāna teachings. The city wall was constructed of brick, several tens of feet high, and the foundations and the moat, being wide and deep, were very strong.

Formerly at the beginning of the kalpa the people lived in caves. Afterwards a goddess came down to the human world, and whilst she was bathing in the Ganges the water spirit touched her body, and thus she gave birth to four sons, who divided Jambudvīpa among themselves, fixed the boundaries and built cities. This city was the capital of one of the sons.

At a distance of several tens of yojanas to the southern boundary of this country, a big mountainous forest extended more than 200 *li*, and in it were many wild elephants, several hundred in a herd. Therefore Hiranyaparvata and Champā had the greatest number of war elephants. Elephant-catchers were often ordered to catch and tame elephants in this forest for military pur-

[1] It has been identified with the modern Bhagalpur.

pose. The forest was infested with jackals, rhinoceros and black leopards, and so nobody dared to travel in it.

It was said in tradition that before the Buddha was born, a cowherd looking after several hundred cows, drove them into this forest. One of the cattle often went away alone and nobody knew where it had gone. In the evenings when the cattle were driven back, it returned to the group with a brilliant lustre and lowed so unusually that the other cows feared it and none dared to go before it. This happened on several days, and the cowherd, feeling it very strange, watched to see where it would go. When the cow went away as usual, he followed to see what would happen. The cow entered a cave; he followed. After four or five *li,* he suddenly came upon a bright place, well-wooded, with many beautiful and strange flowers and fruit trees that were not found in the outside world. He saw that the cow grazed on the grass, which had a special colour and fragrance and was also unknown in the human world. Seeing that the fruits were of a golden colour, being large and sweet, the cowherd picked one, but did not dare eat it although he would have liked to have done so. After a while the cow came out; the cowherd returned with it. But when he reached the mouth of the cave and had not yet come out of it, an evil demon snatched the fruit away, leaving the cowherd unhurt. He inquired of a great physician about it and gave him a full description of the fruit. The physician said he should not eat it, and told him to try to bring one out.

Another day he went again into the cave with the cow, and when he had picked one of the fruit and was about to return, the demon again tried to snatch it away. He put the fruit into his mouth, but the demon squeezed his

throat, and so he swallowed it. When the fruit entered his stomach his body swelled, and although his head had come out of the cave, the rest of his body remained inside it. Thus he was unable to return home. When his family came to look for him, they were surprised to see that he had been transformed in shape, but he was still able to speak and told them what had happened. The people of his family returned and employed some strong men to try to pull him out of the cave, but they could not move him.

On hearing of it the king came personally to see him, and, fearing that it might cause trouble in the future, he ordered some men to dig him out. They also failed. In the long run of time he was gradually fossilized, but still in the shape of a man.

Afterwards, another king, knowing that it was the transformation of a fairy fruit, said to his attending ministers: "Since that man was transformed by the effect of a drug, his body must also have turned into the drug. It appears to be a rock but it must be a divine object. Let us send some men to cut off some pieces with hammers and chisels."

Under the instructions of the king, the ministers together with some workmen went to cut the rock, but they could not cut off a single piece of stone, although they worked hard for ten days.

It was still in existence.

From here the Master travelled east for more than 400 *li* to the country of Kajangalā[1] to look for and worship the holy places. The six or seven monasteries had 300

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[1] It is supposed to be the present Rajmahal, or somewhere between Rajmahal and Sicligully.

monks. Continuing across the Ganges 600 *li* east, he reached the country of Puṇṇavaddhana[1] to look for and worship the holy places. The 3,000 monks in the 20 monasteries studied both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna teachings. At a distance of more than 20 *li* to the west of the city, was the Vāṣpa Monastery, which had lofty buildings and in which lived 700 monks. The stūpa beside it was built by King Aśoka. Formerly the Tathāgata preached the Law for three months at this place, and the stūpa often issued a bright light. Also the traces could be seen of the place where the four past Buddhas had walked up and down. Alongside this place was a temple, containing an image of the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva. The wishes of those who prayed before it with a sincere mind might be fulfilled.

Proceeding 900 *li* south-east the Master reached the country of Karṇasuvarṇa.[2] Its 10 monasteries had 300 monks, who studied the teachings of the Hīnayāna Sammatīya School. In three other monasteries milk products were not taken as food, in accordance with the bequeathed teaching of Devadatta.

Beside the capital city was the Raktāmṛita (Red Clay) Monastery. Formerly when Buddhism was not yet introduced into this country, a monk of South India travelled to this country and defeated, in discussion, a

[1] Opinions vary about the site of this ancient country. Some identify it with the present Rajshahi district, and others suppose it to be the modern district of Pabna, or the modern Rangpur, in East Pakistan.

[2] It is supposed that this kingdom comprehended the northern part of Burdwan, the whole of Birbhum, and the province of Murshidabad, including all those parts of the districts of Kishnaghur and Jessore.

boasting heretic who wore a copper sheathing around his waist,[1] and the king built this monastery for the monk. Beside it was a stūpa built by King Aśoka. This was the place where the Buddha had preached the Law for seven days.

Again going south-east the Master reached the country of Samataṭa.[2] It was situated by the side of a great sea and the climate was moderate. The 2,000 monks in the 30 monasteries studied the teachings of the Sthavira School. The heretical followers who worshipped in the deva-temples, were also numerous. Not far from the city was a stūpa built by King Aśoka. The Buddha had preached the Law to men and heavenly beings for seven days at this place. Not far away, was another monastery, in which was an image of the Buddha of blue jade, eight feet in height. This image was finely made with a stately appearance and had a natural fragrance which often pervaded the courtyard. Its coloured light always shone towards the sky, and those who had the good chance to see it would be deeply inspired.

Situated among the hills by the seaside to the north-east of this country was the country of Śriḳsetra;[3] to the south-east on a bay of the sea, the country of Kāmalāṅkā,[4] to the east the countries Tālapati,[5] Īśānapura,[6]

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[1] This heretic boasted that he possessed such an amount of learning that he had to wear a copper sheathing around his waist to prevent himself from bursting with his excessive amount of knowledge.

[2] It is considered to be in the Dacca district in East Pakistan.

[3] The district of Prome in Burma. But it is also suggested that it is in the Tipperah district.

[4] This country is said to be Pegu and the Delta of the Irrawaddy.

[5] It stands for the ancient capital of Thailand.

[6] This country has been identified with Cambodia.

and Mahāchampā[1] (the Country of Forest), and to the west the country of Yamanadvipa.[2]

All these six countries were situated beyond deep seas and high mountains. Although one did not go into these countries, one might hear of the customs of the people.

From Samataṭa the Master went west for more than 900 *li* to the country of Tāmralipti,[3] near a bay of the sea. Here in 10 monasteries were more than 1,000 monks. Beside the city was a stūpa, 200 feet high, built by King Aśoka. Alongside it were the traces of the place where the four past Buddhas had walked up and down.

At that time the Master heard that there was the country of Siṁhala situated in the sea, and that there were people who were learned in the Tripiṭaka of the Sthavira School and understood the *Yogācārya-bhūmi Śāstra*. One had to sail over the sea for 700 yojanas before one could reach that country. Before he started the voyage, he met a monk of South India, who advised him, saying: "If you want to go to the Country of Lions, you need not take the sea route, as there are always tempests and the trouble of Yakṣas in the sea. You may go from the south-east corner of South India and reach that country after a voyage of only three days. You will have to climb over mountains and go across rivers, but it will be much safer for you, and moreover you may go to visit the holy places in the country of Uḍa and in the other countries."

Thus the Master proceeded towards the south-west to the country of Uḍa. In its 100 monasteries 10,000 monks

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[1] It corresponded to modern Laos and part of Vietnam.

[2] No probable identification has yet been proposed for this island country.

[3] Modern Tamluk.

studied the teachings of Mahāyāna Buddhism. There were also heretical deva-temples; and the Buddhists and non-Buddhists lived together. Ten stūpas, all built by King Aśoka, often had miraculous manifestations.

By the seaside at the south-east part of this country was Caritra,[1] a seaport city where sea-going merchants and travellers from distant lands came and rested. The distance from here to the country of Siṁhala in the south was more than 20,000 *li*. On a calm and cloudless night one could often see the bright light of the pearls and gems on the Buddha's tooth-relic stūpa in that country, shining like stars in the sky.

Going towards the south-west through a big forest for 1,200 *li*, the Master reached the country of Konyadha.[2]

Continuing south-west through another big forest for 1,400 or 1,500 *li*, he reached the country of Kalinga.[3] It had 10 monasteries and its 500 monks studied the teachings of the Sthavira School. Formerly this country was densely populated, but once the people offended a Ṛṣi possessing the five supernatural powers, who, by some evil spell, imbued with a spirit of hatred killed all the people both old and young. Afterwards, the people of other places gradually emigrated into this country, but it was still not fully populated.

From Kalinga the Master proceeded north-west for 1,800 *li* to the country of South Kosala.[4] The king was a

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[1] Or Chitratola, near Cuttack in the Mahanadi delta.

[2] It has been identified with the district about the Chilka Lake.

[3] The capital of Kalinga has been identified with Rajamahendri on the Godavari River.

[4] It is distinguished from the Kosala in the north, of which Sravasti was the capital, and it is supposed to be the ancient province of Vidarbha or Berar, of which the present capital is Nagpur.

Kṣatriya by birth, and he respected Buddhism and loved the arts and learning. The country had 100 monasteries with 10,000 monks. Heretics, who worshipped in deva-temples, were also numerous. Not far to the south of the city was an old monastery, beside it a stūpa, built by King Aśoka. Formerly the Tathāgata subdued the heretics at this place with his great supernatural powers, and afterwards the Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva lived in this monastery. At that time the king of this country, named Sātavāhana, respected Nāgārjuna and provided him with rich offerings.

The Deva Bodhisattva came from the country of Siṁhala, wishing to have a discussion with Nāgārjuna. He requested to be admitted. The door-keeper reported to Nāgārjuna, who, having heard the fame of the visitor, filled a bowl with water and asked his disciple to show it to him. On seeing the water Deva silently dropped a needle into it, and the disciple took it back to his teacher. Nāgārjuna was greatly pleased by this and said with delight: "The bowl filled with water signifies my learning, and his dropping of the needle means that he could fathom the depth of my knowledge. With such a man I could discuss the mysterious teachings and to whom I may hand down the lamp of learning."

Thus he gave the order to admit him, and when they had seated themselves, they talked and discussed to their mutual delight and were as happy as a fish put in water. Nāgārjuna said: "I am old and feeble, and it will depend on you to make the Sun of Wisdom shine."

Deva stood up and saluted Nāgārjuna at his feet, saying: "Although I am stupid, I will be glad to receive your kind instructions."

In this country a certain Brahmin was well versed in Hetuvidyā, and the Master stayed there for more than a month to study the *Samuccaya-pramana Śāstra.*

From this place the Master travelled south-east through a big forest 900 *li* to the country of Andhra.[1] Beside the city stood a large monastery, a magnificent construction of a beautiful and stately appearance. In front of it stood a stone stūpa, several hundred feet high, built by the Arhat Ācāra. At a distance of 20 *li* to the south-west of the arhat's monastery, on an isolated hill, was a stone stūpa, built at the place where the Diṅnāga Bodhisattva composed the *Hetuvidyā Śāstra.*

Going south 1,000 *li* the Master reached the country of Dhanakaṭaka.[2] On a hill to the east of the city was the Pūrvaśila (Eastern Hill) Monastery, and on a hill to the west of the city, the Avaraśilā (Western Hill) Monastery, both built by a former king of this country for the Buddha. The construction had all the architectural elegance of a great mansion and the buildings were surrounded by scenic woods and springs. The deities guarded these monasteries and the sages and saints often came to live in them. Within 1,000 years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, once there came 1,000 ordinary monks to these monasteries to spend the summer season together, and when the summer season was over, they all attained arhatship and went away by flying through the air. After the thousand years both ordinary and saintly monks lived in them together. During the last 100 years

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[1] Modern Telingana.

[2] Modern Bezwada on the Kistna River.

the hill gods changed their nature and made trouble with wayfarers. Thus the people were frightened and nobody dared to go there, and consequently these monasteries were deserted and desolate, without any monk living in them.

Not far to the south of the city was a large rock hill, the place where the Śastra-master Bhavaviveka went to the Asura's palace to wait for the Maitreya Bodhisattva to become a Buddha in order to solve his doubts.

In this country the Master met two monks. One was named Subhūti and the other one, Sūrya. They were well versed in the Tripiṭaka of the Mahāsāṁghika School. He stayed for several months to study the *Mūlābhidharma Śāstra* and some other books of the Mahāsāṁghika School from them, while they also studied the various Mahāyāna śāstras from the Master. Then they travelled together to visit and worship the holy places.

From here the Master travelled west 1,000 *li,* to reach the country of Culya[1] (in South India). To the south-east of the city was a stūpa, built by King Aśoka. This was the place where the Buddha formerly manifested great supernatural powers to subdue the heretics, and preached the Law for men and heavenly beings.

In an old monastery to the west of the city the Deva Bodhisattva had a discussion with Arhat Uttara of this monastery. When they had come to the seventh question, the arhat was unable to give a reply, and thus he secretly went to the Tuśita Heaven by his supernatural powers to ask the Maitreya Bodhisattva. The Bodhisattva gave him the required explanation and said to him: "That Deva has cultivated his merits since a long time ago in

[1] It is supposed to be Nellore.

the past and will become a Buddha in the Bhadra-kalpa. Do not despise him."

When he had returned, he solved the difficult point, but Deva said: "This is what the Maitreya Bodhisattva has taught you and it is not solved with your own wisdom."

On hearing this the arhat felt ashamed and stood up to salute him with apology.

From Culya the Master went through a big forest towards the south for 1,500 or 1,600 *li* to the country of Draviḍa.[1] The capital of this country was Kāñcipura, which was the birthplace of the Dharmapala Bodhisattva. This Bodhisattva was the son of a minister of this country and was very intelligent since his youth. When he had come of age, the king admired his talents and wanted to marry the princess to him. But as the Bodhisattva had practised celibacy for a long time, he had no desire to be attached by marriage, and he was greatly worried on the night of wedding. Wishing to escape from his trouble he prayed before an image of the Buddha. In response to his earnest prayers, a great king of gods bore him out and sent him to the shrine hall of a monastery on a hill at a distance of several hundred *li* from the capital. When the monks came and saw him, they took him to be a thief. The Bodhisattva told them of his dilemma, and those who heard it were amazed and respected him for his sublime ambition. Thus he renounced his home and became a monk. Afterwards he devoted himself to the study of the Right Law and thoroughly mastered all the scriptures of the different categories and wrote many

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[1] It is suggested that modern Nagapatam is the site of Kāñcipura, the capital of Draviḍa.

books. He composed the *Sabdavidya-samyukta Śāstra* in 25,000 stanzas and also wrote several tens of books in exposition of the *Śata-śāstra-vaipulya*, the *Vijñāptimātra-siddhi Śāstra*, the *Hetuvidyā Śāstra* and some other works. All his books were widely read, and there was a special biography of him detailing his rich virtues and high talents.

The city of Kāñcipura was a seaport of South India, and starting from here one could reach the country of Siṁhala after a voyage of three days. Before the Master started his voyage, the king of that country had died and a severe famine occurred in that land. More than 300 learned monks, headed by Bodhimegheśvara and Abhayadanśṭra, came to India and arrived at Kāñcipura. Having met the monks, the Master asked them: "As I know that the learned monks of your country are well versed in the Tripiṭaka of the Sthavira School and in the *Yogūcārya-bhūmi Śāstra*, I am prepared to go there. How is it that you teachers have come here?"

In reply they said: "As the king of our country has died and the people are suffering from famine, we have nobody to depend upon. We have heard that Jambudvipa is a rich and happy country in which one could live in safety, and moreover it is the land in which the Buddha was born and there are many holy places. Therefore we have come here. As regards those knowing the Dharma, none surpassed us in our country, and if your Reverence has any doubtful questions, you may inquire of us as you please."

The Master then quoted some important passages of the *Yogācūrya-bhūmi Śāstra* for elucidation, but they could not give a better explanation than Śilabhadra.

The Master had heard that at a distance of more than 3,000 *li* was the country of Malakūṭa.[1] It was situated by the seaside and was rich in unusual jewels. To the east of the capital was a stūpa, built by King Aśoka. Formerly the Tathāgata preached the Law and exhibited great supernatural powers to convert countless people at this place. In the south by the seaside was the Malaya Mountain which had lofty peaks and deep valleys. On the mountain were many white candana and candaneva trees. The latter resembled the poplar and its wood was cool by nature, and thus serpents used to twine around these trees till the winter when they went away to hibernate. By this way the candaneva trees were distinguished from the candana trees. There were also fragrant karpūra trees, which looked like the pine, but had a different kind of leaf and their flowers and fruits also were different. When the wood of these trees was sappy, it had no scent, but when it was dried it produced a kind of fragrant substance resembling mica with a snow-white colour. This is what we call camphor.

He heard also that, by the seaside in the north-east, was a city, and that going from this city towards the south-east for 3,000 *li*, one could reach the country of Siṁhala. This country was 7,000 *li* in circuit and its capital city, 40 *li* in circuit. It was densely populated and was rich in cereal products. The people were black and short, and were impetuous by nature. Such was the general condition of this country.

Being an island of gems, this country produced many precious substances. Once a girl of South India was

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[1] The country of Malakūṭa (or Malayakuta) is supposed to include the modern districts of Tanjore and Madura on the east, with Coimbatore, Cochin and Travancore on the west.

sent to a neighbouring country in marriage, and she met a king of lions on the way. All the people who escorted her were frightened and fled away, leaving the girl alone in her carriage. The lion came and saw the girl and carried her far away into the mountains. It gathered fruits and hunted fowls to sustain her, and in the long run she gave birth to a son and a daughter, who were, however, human beings, but had a cruel nature.

When her son had grown up, he asked his mother: "What sort of creature am I, with an animal father and a human mother?"

Then his mother told him what had happened in the past. On hearing it, the son said: "Since human beings and animals are different creatures, why don't you go away instead of staying here?"

His mother said: "I am not without such an intention, but I have no way to escape."

The son then followed his father, the lion, wherever it climbed up mountains or went across valleys to observe the road. One day when his father had gone far away, he brought his mother and sister to a village, and then they went to the native country of their mother. When they found that their mother's family had no more descendants, they took up their residence in a village.

When the lion returned, he found that his wife and children had gone. He became enraged and came out of the mountains and entered a village roaring. Many of the villagers were injured by him. The people reported it to the king, who led his troops and selected some strong men to shoot the lion. On seeing them the lion roared with such vehemence that both men and horses fell to the ground and none dared to approach him. After many days they did not succeed in killing

him. The king then promised a reward of one hundred thousand golden coins for anyone who would kill the lion.

The lion's son said to his mother: "As hunger and cold are unbearable, I wish to take up the king's offer. What do you think of it?"

His mother said: "You must not do that. Although he is an animal, he is still your father. If you commit patricide, how can you be a human being any more?"

But her son said: "If I do not kill him, he will never go away, and he may perhaps come to this village to look for us. Once the king knows where we are, we shall die, because it is on account of us that the lion has become so furious. We should not save one life at the expense of many lives. After careful consideration, I think it is better to take up the king's offer." Then he went away.

On seeing his son, the lion became mild and happy, without any thought of harming him. His son then cut his throat and abdomen with a sharp knife. Although the lion was afflicted with great pains, because of his deep affection he suffered quietly and died.

The king was pleased to hear of the son's deed and inquired with amazement as how he had achieved it. At first the son would not tell the truth, but finally under close interrogation, he related the whole story.

The king said: "Alas! It is only an animal offspring who could have such a cruel mind! But as I have promised you a reward, I will not recall my word. Yet, as you are a patricide, I will not allow you to live in my country any longer."

Thus the king ordered the authorities to give him a great amount of gold and valuables and banish him from the country. Two ships were laden with gold and pro-

visions in great quantities and put to the sea to drift with the currents.

The son's ship sailed over the sea and reached this island of gems. Seeing that it was full of valuable products, he settled on the island. Afterwards some traders came with their families to live on the island in order to procure gems, and he killed the traders and kept their women, with whom he had many children. After many generations the people gradually increased, and then they formed a government with a king and ministers. As their ancestor was a killer of lion, they named their country as such.

The daughter's ship drifted and reached the west of Pārasi, where she was caught by some demons. She gave birth to many daughters and founded what we call now the "Women's Country" in the west world.

It was also said that "Siṁhala" was the name of a trader's son, who escaped from the injuries of the Rākṣasas by his wit. Later he became a king and came to this island of gems to kill the Rākṣasas and founded the country, which was called after his name. This was written in the *Record of the Western Regions*.

Formerly there was no Buddhism in this country. But one hundred years after the Tathāgata's Nirvāṇa, Mahendra, the younger brother of King Aśoka, renounced his desires and attained the fourth stage of sainthood. He came to visit this country by flying through the air, propagated Buddhism and showed his supernatural powers. Thus the people of the country believed in Buddhism and built some monasteries. More than 100 monasteries lodged 10,000 monks who practised the teachings of the Mahāyāna and the Sthavira Schools. They led a life of solemnity, strictly in accordance with the

Vinaya rules, and admonished one another without any negligence.

Beside the king's palace was the Buddha-tooth Temple, several hundred feet high and decorated with all sorts of gems. Above the temple was a post, on the top of which was placed a great Padmarāga ruby that shone brightly in the air and could be seen at a distance of 10,000 *li* in a calm and cloudless night. Beside it was another temple, also decorated with various sorts of gems, in which was a golden image of the Buddha, made by a former king of this country. The topknot of the image was adorned with a priceless pearl. Once a man intended to steal this pearl, but as the temple was well-guarded, he could find no way to enter it. Then he dug a tunnel, through which he slipped into the temple to steal the pearl. But the image rose higher and higher, so that the thief could not reach its head. He stood aside and said: "When the Tathāgata was practising the Way of Bodhisattvas in his past lives, he used to sacrifice his life and country for the welfare of all beings. But how is it that he is so parsimonious today? Considering this I fear that the words about his past lives may be untrue."

Upon these words the image stooped down to let the man have its pearl. After having obtained this pearl, that man came out of the temple to sell it, but someone recognized the pearl, arrested him and sent him to the king. The king inquired him where he had obtained the pearl. The thief said: "The Buddha himself has given it to me." And then he related the whole affair.

When the king went to see the image, he saw that its head was still stooping down, and having seen this miraculous manifestation, the king had a deeper faith in Buddhism and gave many valuable jewels to the thief

to redeem the pearl, which he restored to the topknot of the Buddha's image. It was still in existence.

The Laṅka Mountain in the south-east corner of the country was inhabited by many spirits and demons. Formerly the Tathāgata preached the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* on this mountain.

At a distance of several thousand *li* over the sea to the south of this country was the Nārikira Island. The inhabitants of this island were dwarfs, being only three feet tall, who had human bodies but bird-beaks. They raised no crops but lived on coconuts. As this country was situated far beyond the rough seas, one could not go there in person. And this was a brief information told by the people.

From Draviḍa the Master travelled back towards the north-west with more than 70 monks from the country of Siṁhala to visit and worship the holy places. After more than 2,000 *li* he reached the country of Koṅkaṇ-apura.[1] It had 100 monasteries with more than 10,000 monks who studied the teachings of both the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Schools. Numerous heretics worshipped in deva-temples. Beside the king's palace city was a large monastery in which lived 300 monks, all well-learned scholars. In the monastery the precious crown of Prince Sarvasiddhārtha, which was less than two feet high, was kept in a precious casket. On festival days it was displayed on a high terrace, and those who worship-ped it with a sincere mind might cause it to emit a wonderful light. The monastery beside the palace city had a shrine hall, in which an image of the Maitreya

[1] It is suggested that Annagundhi on the northern bank of the Tungabhadra River was the capital of this country.

Bodhisattva carved in sandalwood, more than ten feet high, also often emitted a bright light. It was said that this image was made by the Arhat Śroṇakoṭiviṁśa.

To the north of the city was a wood of tala-trees, 30 *li* in circuit. The leaves of these trees were oblong with a bright colour, and they were the most valuable material for writing in the various countries.

Proceeding towards the north-west through a big forest infested with wild beasts, and after travelling for 2,400 or 2,500 *li*, the Master reached the country of Mahārāstra.[1] The people of this country preferred death to disloyalty, and the king, being a Kṣatriya by birth, was warlike and loved military arts. Thus the troops of this country were well disciplined under strict military rules. When his generals went to fight with his enemies and were defeated in battle, they were not inflicted with any punishment, but were simply ordered to wear women's dress in order to humiliate them. Many of them, filled with shame, committed suicide. The king kept a number of several thousand brave men and several hundred wild elephants. As the time of battle approached he gave them much wine to drink, and they were sent to the front when they were almost drunk. Thus they would dash forward and break up the enemy's line. Depending on his military strength, the king was arrogant and regarded with contempt his enemies in the neighbouring countries. King Śīlāditya, who was sure of his own strategic talents and military strength, came to attack this country personally, but failed to subjugate it.

More than 100 monasteries existed with 5,000 monks who studied the teachings of both the Mahāyāna and

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[1] Nasik is supposed to be the capital of this ancient country.

Hinayāna Schools. In the country were also deva-temples of the heretics who smeared dust on their bodies. The five stūpas inside and outside the capital city were all several hundred feet high. These were places where the four past Buddhas had visited, and the stūpas were built by King Aśoka.

North-west again for more than 1,000 *li*, the Master crossed the Narbada River and reached the country of Bharukaccha.[1] After a further 2,000 *li*, he reached the country of Mālava.[2] Here the people were mild and gentle, and they loved the arts and learning. Among the five Indias only Mālava in the south-west and Magadha in the north-east were countries in which learning was prized and scholars respected, and the peoples were eloquent in discussion and had a refined nature.

In Mālava were 100 monasteries with 20,000 monks, who studied the teachings of the Hinayāna Sammatiya School, and there were also dust-smearing heretics who worshipped the devas.

It was said in tradition that more than sixty years ago Mālava had a king by the name of Śīlāditya who was highly talented and well learned. Being kind and benign, he loved his people and respected the Triple-gem. From the beginning of his reign till the time of his death, he never spoke a harsh word, nor did he show an angry face to anybody. He never hurt the feelings of his subordinates and would never injure the lives of insects. The drinking water for elephants and horses was filtered before it was used, lest the small insects that lived in the

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[1] Modern Broach at the mouth of the Narbada River.

[2] Modern Malwa.

water should be killed. He even ordered his people not to kill living creatures, and thus the wild animals became domesticated and the jackals and wolves ceased to harm people. Peace prevailed in his domain and his people became more and more prosperous. He constructed an extremely fine and beautiful monastery, in which he made the images of the seven Buddhas, and he convened the great quinquennial assemblies. All such meritorious deeds he performed during his reign of more than fifty years without intermission, and the people remembered him even at the present time.

At a distance of more than 20 *li* to the north-west of the capital was a Brahmanic town, beside which was a deep pit. This was the place where an arrogant Brāhman having slandered Mahāyāna Buddhism, fell into hell alive. This event was written in the *Record of the Western Regions.*

Still travelling north-west, after 2,400 or 2,500 *li*, the Master reached the country of Aṭali.[1] This land produced pepper trees, of which the leaves resembled those of the pepper trees in Shu (Szechuan), and it also produced olibanum trees, of which the leaves were like those of the pyrus tree in China.

After three more days, the Master reached Kheda,[2] (in South India) and 1,000 *li* further north he arrived at the country of Valabhi.[3] Here were 100 monasteries with 6,000 monks, who studied the teachings of the Hinayāna Sammatiyah School. When the Tathāgata was living he visited this country several times, and King Aśoka built monuments at all the places where the

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[1] This country is still unidentified.

[2] Modern Cutch.

[3] It is supposed to be Bhaunagar in the east part of Gujarat.

Buddha had visited. The reigning king was a Kṣatriya by birth and was a son-in-law of King Śilāditya of Kanyākubja. His name was Dhruvabhaṭṭa, and he was a man of hot temper with impudent manners, but he esteemed virtue, loved learning and respected the Triple-gem. Every year he convened a great assembly for seven days, in which he invited the monks of the various countries to whom he offered the best kind of food, bedding, garments and all other requisites, including medicine.

North-west once more, the Master travelled 700 *li* to the country of Añandapura;[1] 500 *li* further the country of Suraṭha[2] (in West India); and 1,800 *li* still further the country of Guchala.[3]

Turning south-east from here, after 2,800 *li*, he reached the country of Ujjayini.[4] Not far from the capital was a stūpa, built at the place where King Aśoka had made a hell.

North-east again, 1,000 *li* brought him to the country of Chitore,[5] and, 900 *li*, further on, to the country of Maheśvarapura.[6]

From Maheśvarapura, the Master once more entered the country of Suraṭha in the west. Continuing his journey, he reached the country of Ādinava-chila. When

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[1] This country has been identified with the triangular tract lying between the mouth of the Banas River on the west and the Sabarmati River on the east.

[2] Modern Kathiawar.

[3] In Rajputana.

[4] Present Ujjain.

[5] The capital of this country has been identified with the modern district of Bundelkhand.

[6] It is supposed to correspond to the old town of Mandala, the original capital of the country on the upper Narbada.

the Tathāgata was living, he frequently visited this country, and King Aśoka built many stūpas at all the holy traces. These stūpas were still in existence.

Westward another 2,000 *li*, he reached the country of Laṅgala.[1] This country was by the great sea and it was the way to the Women's Country in the west. From here going towards the north-west, one could reach the country of Pārasi, which was not within the dominion of India. It was heard that that land produced pearls, gems, silk, linen, sheep, horses and camels.

In the country of Laṅgala were two or three monasteries with several hundred monks, who studied the teachings of the Hīnayāna Sarvāstivādin School. The alms-bowl of Śākyamuni Buddha was kept in the king's palace. In the eastern part was Homa City. It bordered on the country of Fuling in the north-west, while on an island in the south-west was the West Women's Country, in which there were only women without men and it produced many valuable substances. It was subject to Fuling, and the king of Fuling sent men to mate with them once a year. According to their custom male infants were not reared.

Going from Laṅgala north-east for 700 *li*, he reached Pitāśilā.[2] In this country a stūpa, several hundred feet high, built by King Aśoka, contained the relic-bones of the Buddha, which often emitted a bright light. This was the place where the Tathāgata was killed by a king when he had been a Ṛṣi in one of his past lives.

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[1] It was situated in the eastern part of Mekran.

[2] It is suggested that this country was in the Thar and Parker districts of West India.

Again north-east for 300 *li*, to the country of Avaṇḍa.[1] In the big forest to the north-east of the capital, were the old foundations of a monastery, in which the Buddha had formerly permitted the monks to wear leather sandals. Beside a stūpa built by King Aśoka was a temple, in which stood an image of the Buddha made of blue stone, which often issued a bright light. Further to the south in the big forest at a distance of more than 800 paces was another stūpa which was built by King Aśoka. This was the place where the Tathāgata had formerly spent a night, and as it was cold he covered himself with three robes at the same time. Thus in the following morning, he permitted the monks to wear double robes.

From here the Master went east for more than 700 *li* to the country of Sindh. This land produced gold, silver, bronze, oxen, sheep and camels, as well as red, white and black salt, which the people of other places used as medicine. When the Tathāgata was living, he often visited this country, and King Aśoka built many stūpas at all the holy traces to mark out the places. There were also the traces where the great Arhat Upagupta had preached the Law to teach the people.

Continuing east 900 *li*, he crossed the river to the eastern bank and reached the country of Morasampuru.[2] The people worshipped the devas in a magnificent temple, in which there was an image of Sūrya which was cast in gold and adorned with the various kinds of gems. The people of the different countries often came to pray before this image. All around the temple were flowers,

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[1] This country is regarded as corresponding to the region of Middle Sindh, and its capital as the old city Brahmanabad.

[2] Modern Multan.

trees, ponds and terraces connected with one another, and those who visited the place would feel delighted with its scenery.

Going north-east for 700 *li*, the Master reached the country of Parvata. In a large monastery lived more than 100 monks, who all studied Mahāyāna teachings. This was the place where the Śāstra-master Jinaputra composed the *Commentary on the Yogācārya-bhūmi Śāstra*, and it was also the place where the Śāstra-masters Bhadraruci and Guṇaprabha renounced their home to become monks. As there were two or three well-learned teachers under whom one might study, the Master stayed here for two years to learn the *Mulābhidharma* of the Sammatiya School, the *Saddharma-Sampārigraha Śāstra* and the *Prasikṣā-Satya Śāstra*.

He returned from Parvata to the Nālandā Monastery in Magadha. After having paid homage to the Right Law Keeper, he heard that at a distance of three yojanas to the west of the monastery was the Tilaḍaka Monastery, in which lived a learned monk named Prajñabhadra, who was a native of Bālapati and had become a monk of the Sarvāstivādin School. He was well versed in the Tripiṭaka of his own school, as well as in Sabdavidyā and Hetuvidyā.

After staying two months to solve some doubtful points that he had in his mind, he again went to the Staff-forest Hill to visit the hermit Śāstra-master Prasenajit. Prasenajit was a native of Suraṭha and a Kṣatriya by birth. He had loved learning since his youth, and studied at first Hetuvidyā from the Śāstra-master Bhadraruci and learned Sabdavidyā and the various śāstras of both Mahāyāna and Hinayāna Schools under the Sthitamati Bodhisattva. He also learned the *Yogācārya-bhūmi*

Sāstra from the Venerable Śilabhadra, and he thoroughly mastered all the non-Buddhist books, such as the Four Vedas, astronomy, geography, medicine and mathematics, of which he had a deep understanding in their full details. Since he was well-learned in both Buddhist and non-Buddhist knowledges and was respected by the people for his virtue, King Purṇavarman of Magadha, who respected sages and scholars, was quite pleased to hear his name and sent an envoy to invite him to be the royal teacher with a conferment of twenty villages as his fief. But the Śāstra-master declined the offer. King Śilāditya then invited him to be his teacher with a conferment of eighty large villages in the country of Uḍa as his fief, but the Śāstra-master also declined this offer. The king insisted on his invitation again and again, but Prasenajit refused with determination to accept it. He said to the king: "I have heard that if one accepted the gifts of others, one would have to share their responsibilities. Now as I am urgently engaged in my work for the liberation of rebirth, how can I have time to attend to the king's affairs?"

Saying so, he saluted the king and went away, and so the king could detain him no more. Since then he had always lived on the Staff-forest Hill teaching pupils and expounding Buddhist scriptures. A number of several hundred people, both monks and laymen, always studied under his guidance.

The Master stayed with him for two years to learn the *Explanatory Treatise on the Vijñāptimatrasiddhi Śāstra*, the *Treatise on Doctrinal Theories*, the *Abhayasiddhi Śāstra*, the *Treatise on Non-attachment of Nirvāṇa*, the *Treatise on the Twelve Nidanas* and the *Mahāyāna-sūtrālamkara Śāstra*, and he also solved some

doubtful points in the *Yogācārya-bhūmi Śāstra* and the *Hetuvidyā Śāstra.*

When the Master had completed his studies, he dreamed one night that the buildings of the Nālanda Monastery were deserted and in a dirty condition with some buffaloes tied in the houses. He entered the monastery through the western gate of King Bālāditya's Court and saw a golden figure on the fourth storey, who had a stately appearance and whose light filled the room. With a happy mind he desired to ascend to the storey, and as he could not find the way, he requested the golden figure to lead him. But the figure said: "I am the Mañjuśri Bodhisattva. Owing to your karmic force, you cannot come up here." Then he pointed at the outside of the monastery and said: "Look there!"

The Master looked and saw that a great fire consumed all the villages and towns outside the monastery. The golden figure said to him: "You may return home at an early time, as after ten years King Śilāditya of this country will die and India will be in a state of famine and disorder, and the evil people may hurt you. You ought to know this."

Having said so the golden figure disappeared.

When the Master awoke, he thought the dream very strange and told it to Prasenajit, who said to him: "It may be true, as the Three Realms are indeed a place of insecurity. Since you have been told so, you may make your own decision."

From this we may know that wherever the Master went, he was always protected by the Bodhisattvas. Before he arrived in India, Śilabhadra was informed to wait for his coming, and when he had stayed there for a long time, he was shown the nature of impermanence

and was advised to return home. If his tasks were not in accordance with the Buddha's mind, who else could win such spiritual protection?

Later at the end of the period of Yung Hui[1] King Śiladitya actually died and India fell into a state of famine and disorder, just as had been foretold. Wang Hsuan-tse, the imperial envoy to India, witnessed all these events.

It was then the beginning of the first month of our calendar. According to the custom of the western countries, the Buddha's relic-bone in the Bodhi Monastery was exhibited in this month. The monks and laymen of the various countries all came to worship it. Thus the Master and Prasenajit went together to the Bodhi Monastery and saw that some grains of the relic-bones were large and some small, and the larger ones were like pearls with a pink-white hue. There were also flesh relics, as large as peas with a red lustre. The relic-bones were replaced in the stūpa when innumerable devotees had offered flowers and incense and paid homage to them.

After about the first watch in the night, Prasenajit discussed about the unusual size of the relic-bones with the Master and said: "I have seen relic-bones at other places and they were only as large as grains of rice. How is it that they are so large at this place? Don't you also have some doubt about it?"

The Master replied: "I also have some doubt about it."

A little while afterwards the lamp in their room suddenly became dim, and it was very bright inside and outside the house. Being amazed they went out to see and saw the stūpa of the relic-bone issuing a bright light that shone towards the sky. It was a coloured light and illuminated the sky and earth so brightly that the moon

[1] A.D. 650-655.

and the stars became darkened, and they also smelled an unusually fragrant scent which filled the courtyard. Thus the people told one another, saying that the relic-bones were showing a great miracle. Having heard this they assembled again to worship the relic-bones and praised it as a rare occurrence. After about a meal's time the light gradually diminished, and when it was about to disappear, it wound around the container of the relic-bones for several times and finally entered into it. The sky and earth became dark again and the stars reappeared. When the people had seen this sight, they had no more doubt about the relic-bones in their mind.

After having worshipped the Bodhi-tree and the other holy traces for eight days, the Master returned to the Nālandā Monastery.

The Śāstra-master Śilabhadra asked the Master to expound the *Mahāyāna-saṁgraha Śāstra* and the *Explanatory Treatise on the Vijñāptimatrasiddhi Śāstra* for the monks. The learned teacher, Siṁhaprabhā, had previously expounded the *Madhyamika Śāstra* and the *Śata Śāstra* for the four groups of followers,[1] in refutation of the teachings of the Yoga School. Being well versed in the *Mādhyamika Śāstra* and the *Śata Śāstra*, as well as in the *Yogācārya-bhūmi Śāstra*, the Master considered that the saints established their teachings in accordance with their particular views without contradiction. If one did not thoroughly understand the teachings and said that they were contradictory, it was but the fault of the student and had nothing to do with the Law. Having pity for his narrow-mindedness, the Master went to interrogate him several times, but he was unable to give ade-

[1] Monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen.

quate replies. Thus his pupils gradually dispersed and came to study under the Master.

The Master told him that the teachings of the *Mādhyamika Śāstra* and the *Śata Śāstra* only refuted the theory which regarded the seeming to be real, but did not mention about the nature of dependant arising and the nature of absolute reality. Siṁhaprabhā could not comprehend this, but asserted that the theory concerning the nature of absolute reality as advocated by the Yogacarya School should also be discarded, as it was taught in the śastras that everything was void without a true nature. Thus he often expressed his opinion in his sayings. In order to harmonize the teachings of the two schools without any contradiction, the Master composed the *Treatise on the Harmony of Teachings* in 3,000 stanzas. When it was completed, he presented it to Śilabhadra and all the monks, who praised it as a good work and declared that it should be studied by all.

Feeling ashamed of himself, Siṁhaprabhā went away to the Bodhi Monastery and asked Candrasiṁha of East India, who was his schoolmate, to come and raise a debate with the Master in order to erase his humiliation. But when that man came, he felt so awed in the presence of the Master that he could not utter a word. Thus the Master's reputation rose still higher.

Before Siṁhaprabhā went away, King Śiladitya had constructed a bronze temple over a hundred feet high beside the Nālanda Monastery, and this bronze temple was well-known in the various countries. Afterwards the king went to conquer Konyodha and arrived in the country of Uḍa on his way. The monks of this country all studied Hīnayāna teachings and did not believe in Mahāyāna Buddhism, which, they said, was the teaching

of the Śūnyapuṣpa heretics and was not taught by the Buddha. On seeing the king they said to him with derision: "We have heard that Your Majesty has constructed a bronze temple beside the Nālanda Monastery, which is indeed a grand and magnificent work. But why did Your Majesty choose to build it there and not beside some heretical temple of the Kāpālikas?"

The king said: "What do you mean by saying so?"

They replied: "Because the monks of the Nālanda Monastery are Śūnyapuṣpa heretics and are just the same as the Kāpālikas."

Formerly an old Brāhmaṇa named Prajñagupta, who was the Master conducting the coronation ceremony of the king of South India and was well-learned in the teachings of the Sammatiya School, composed a treatise in 700 stanzas for the refutation of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The Hinayāna teachers were all delighted with the work, and they showed it to the king, saying: "This is the teaching of our school. Could there be any Mahāyānist who could refute a single word of it?"

The king said: "I have heard that foxes and small rats regard themselves as stronger than a lion, but when they actually see a lion, they are frightened to death. You teachers have never seen the learned scholars of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and thus you stick to the stupid teachings of your school. I am afraid when you see them you will just be like the foxes and rats."

They said: "If Your Majesty is in doubt, why don't you hold a debating meeting to find out the right and wrong?"

The king said: "That will not be difficult."

He wrote a letter on that day and despatched a messenger to send it to the Venerable Śilabhadra, the Keeper

of the Right Law, of the Nālandā Monastery. In the letter he said: "Your disciple is here in the country of Uḍa and has met some Hīnayāna teachers, who, depending on their Hīnayāna views, have composed a treatise to slander Mahāyāna teachings. The words are injurious but quite unreasonable. They desire to hold a debating meeting with you teachers. Knowing that the virtuous monks of the monastery are talented and wise and profoundly learned, your disciple has consented to their request. I am writing this to inform you of the above and wish you would send four virtuous monks who are well versed in the teachings of both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Schools, as well as in non-Buddhist knowledges, to come to the country of Uḍa where I am staying."

On receiving this letter, the Keeper of the Right Law assembled the monks to select the competent persons, and he appointed Sāgarajñāna, Prajñāprabhā, Siṁhaprabhā and the Master as the four persons to comply with the king's order. Sāgarajñāna and the other two monks were quite worried, but the Master said to them: "I have learned the whole Tripiṭaka of the various sects of Hīnayāna Buddhism while I was in my own country and when I was staying in Kaśmira, and thus I thoroughly understand their teachings. It is impossible for them to refute Mahāyāna teachings with their own theories. Although I am not deeply learned with but little wisdom, I shall be able to deal with them, and therefore you need not worry about it. If I am defeated in the debate, it will be the failure of a Chinese monk and will have nothing to do with you."

On hearing this the other monks were pleased.

But afterwards King Śīladitya sent another letter to them, saying that the virtuous monks whom he had in-

vited previously, need not go immediately, but should wait for further notifications before they started.

At that time a certain heretic of the Lokāyatika School came to start a debate. He wrote his doctrines in forty points on a piece of paper and pasted it on the door of the monastery, declaring that if anybody could refute any one point, he would cut down his head to apologize. After several days had passed, nobody came out to accept the challenge. Then the Master sent his personal attendant to tear down the paper and he stamped it under his feet. The Brāhmāṇa was greatly enraged and asked: "Who are you?"

The attendant replied: "I am the servant of the Mahāyāna-Deva."

Having heard about the Master's name long in the past, the Brāhmāṇa felt ashamed and did not raise more questions. The Master then sent him in and in the presence of the Venerable Śilabhadra and the other monks as witnesses, he started a debate with him about the doctrines of the various heretical schools.

He said: "The Bhūtaḥ, the Nirgranthas, the Kāpalikas and the Jutikas have different appearances, while the Saṅkhyas and the Vaiśeṣikas vary in their theories. The Bhūtaḥ smear themselves with dust as a means of spiritual cultivation, making their bodies as dusty as a cat that has slept in an oven. The Nirgranthas make themselves prominent by living in nakedness and regard plucking their hair as a virtuous deed. With ripped skin and broken feet, they look just like a rotten tree by the side of a river. The Kāpālikas adorn their heads and necks with garlands of skulls, and their awkward appearance resembles the Yakṣas that haunt cemeteries. While the Jutikas wear dirty clothes and eat filth, with an offensive

smell like the foolish pigs in a muddy pond. Is it not stupid to regard these behaviours as the right Way?

"As regards the Saṅkhya heretics, they hold the twenty-five categories of truth, of which the primary nature gives rise to perception and from perception comes the concept of ego; and it also evolves the five subtle substances, the five gross elements and the eleven organs. These twenty-four categories are subject to the ego and are to be employed by it. When it is free from them, it is in a state of purity.

"The Vaiśeṣikas hold the six categories of cognition, viz., substance, quality, activity, generality, particularity and correlation. These six categories are possessed by the ego, and before the ego is emancipated, it employs these six categories, and when it is liberated and free from them, it is in a state of Nirvāṇa.

"Now let me rebut the theories of the Saṅkhyas. You say that among the twenty-five categories, the nature of ego is different from that of the others, and that the other twenty-four categories are the same in substance in an intermingling way, but the substance of the primary nature is composed of the three qualities of joy (sattva), gloom (rajas) and darkness (tamas), which also constitute the other twenty-three categories of perception, etc., in an intermingling way, and each of the twenty-three categories is composed of the three qualities. Now if perception and the rest are all constituted by the three qualities, they are just like a crowd or a forest which has no real existence at all. Then how can you say that they are all real?

"Again, if perception and the rest are all composed of the three qualities, then the one would be the same as the others. And if one is the same as the others, then

any one should have the same function as the others. If this is not permissible, then how can you hold that the three qualities are the substance of all?

"Again, if one is just the same as the others, then the organs of mouth and eye, etc., should have the same function as the organs of excretion; and if any one organ has the functions of all organs, then the organs of mouth and ear ought to smell perfume and see colours. If it is not so, then how can you hold that the three qualities are the substance of all things? How can any wise man formulate such theories?

"Again, if the primary nature is eternal, then it ought to be of the same nature as ego, and how can it be transformed into perception and the other categories? Again, if the nature of ego as you conceive it, is eternal, it ought to be the same as the primary nature and not as the ego. But if it is identical with primary nature, then it is no ego in substance and should not employ the other twenty-four categories. And in that case there should be no subjectivity of ego and objectivity of the other twenty-four categories. Since there is no distinction of subjectivity and objectivity, your theories of truth cannot be established."

In this way the Master debated repeatedly, while the Brāhmāṇa kept silent and said nothing. Finally he rose to his feet and said with apology: "I am defeated and I am ready to keep my words."

The Master said: "We Buddhists do not take the life of any man. Now I bid you to be my servant and wait upon me."

The Brāhmaṇa gladly obeyed his words with reverence and went to work in the Master's room. Those who heard about this event, were all highly delighted.

At the time when the Master intended to visit Uḍa, he obtained a copy of the Hīnayāna treatise composed in 700 stanzas in refutation of Mahāyāna teachings. He read through the composition and found several doubtful points in it. Thus he asked the Brāhmāṇa whom he had defeated in the debate: "Have you studied this treatise before?"

He replied: "I have studied it five times."

The Master desired him to explain it for him, but he said: "Being a slave of yours, how can I explain anything to your reverence?"

The Master said: "This is the theory of some other school, which I have not heard before. You may explain it for me without scruple."

Then the Brahmāṇa said: "If that is so, please let me explain it for you in the middle of the night, lest people should say that you are learning from your slave and defile your name."

Thus in the night the Master sent away all the people and asked the Brahmaṇa to expound the treatise once, and he grasped the essential principles of the treatise. Having found out all the fallacious points in the work, he composed the *Refutation of Evil Views* in 1,600 stanzas to refute them all with the teachings of Mahayana Buddhism. He presented his work to the Venerable Śīlabhadra and showed it to his students, who all praised him, saying: "With his profound wisdom, he has no opponent whom he cannot vanquish!"

This treatise is preserved somewhere else.

Then he said to the Brāhmaṇa: "You have been sufficiently humiliated to be my slave after you were defeated in the debate. Now I give you freedom and let you go wherever you like."

The Brāhmāṇa was highly pleased, and taking leave of the Master, he went to the country of Kāmarūpa[1] in East India, where he talked with King Kumāra about the virtue and righteousness of the Master. The king was delighted to hear this and immediately sent an envoy to invite the Master to go to his country.

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[1] It was situated in present Western Assam.

BOOK V

Beginning from the Divination of a Nirgrantha About His Homeward Journey and Ending with His Arrival in China

Before the arrival of the envoy of King Kumāra, one day a certain naked Nirgrantha, named Vajra, came into the chamber of the Master. Having heard that the Nirgranthas were good at divining, the Master asked him to take a seat and requested him to solve some of his doubts, saying: "Being a Chinese monk I have come here to study for so many years. Now I intend to return home, but I do not know whether I shall be able to reach my native country. Moreover, which would be better for me—staying in this country or going home? And I wish to know the length of my life. Will you please divine these matters for me?"

The Nirgrantha then asked for a piece of white stone and used it to draw lines on the ground for divination. He said to the Master: "It will be good for you to stay, as the religious people and laymen of the five Indias will all treat you with respect. If you return home, you will be able to reach your home safely and will also be treated with respect, but it will not be as good as staying here. As regards the length of your life, you will live for ten more years from now on, but if you perform meritorious deeds to prolong your life, then it is beyond my knowledge."

The Master then stated that, as he was desirous of returning, he did not know whether he was able to carry home the great amount of scriptures and images of the Buddha.

The Nirgrantha replied: "Don't worry about that. King Śiladitya and King Kumāra will appoint men to send you back and you can reach home without difficulty."

The Master said: "As I have never seen these two kings, how can they grant me such favours?"

The Nirgrantha said: "King Kumāra has already sent an envoy to come to invite you and he will be here in two or three days. After having seen King Kumāra, you will also see King Śiladitya."

Having said so, the Nirgrantha went away.

The Master then made arrangements about his scriptures and images of the Buddha, preparing for his homeward journey. Having heard of this, the monks all came to advise him to stay, saying: "India is the country where the Buddha was born. Although the Great Saint has passed away, the holy traces left by him are still in existence, and it will be quite delightful for you to go round and pay homage to them. Why do you want to go away after having come to this country? Moreover, China is but a border-land where good people are not respected and the Dharma is despised. Therefore the Buddhas are never born in that country, and as the people are narrow-minded with deep impurities, the saints and holy men will never go there. The climate is cold there and the road is dangerous. Why do you think of going back?"

The Master replied: "When the Buddha founded his teachings he meant them to be propagated. How can I

forget about those who have not heard the Law, while I have been benefited by it? Moreover China is a highly civilized country where the people have a high standard of behaviour, the emperor is sagacious and his ministers are loyal, and the father is kind towards his son while the son is filial towards his father. Kindness and righteousness are esteemed and the aged and the wise, respected. They are moreover able to discern what is subtle and profound, and their wisdom is corresponding with that of the gods. They act in accordance with the law of nature, and the seven planets could not overshadow their cultural brilliance. They have invented the device for the division of time and created the musical instruments of six notes. They are able to enslave the birds and beasts, inspire the ghosts and spirits and employ the principles of negativity and positivity[1] for the benefit of all creatures. Since the Buddha's bequeathed Law was introduced to the East, they have believed in Mahāyāna Buddhism. They practise meditation as tranquilly as a pond of clear water, and they observe the Vinaya rules in a manner as lovely as the fragrance of flowers. They cherish the mind to practise the deeds of a Bodhisattva with the wish to attain the Ten Stages,[2] and they cul-

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[1] This refers to the universal principles of *yin* and *yang*, or negativity and positivity, as elucidated in the *Book of Changes*.

[2] There are several groups of "ten stages" (dasabhūmi). The ten stages of Mahāyāna Bodhisattva development are: (1) the stage of joy (pramuditā); (2) the stage of freedom from all defilements (vimala); (3) the stage of illumination (prabhākari); (4) the stage of glowing wisdom (arciṣmati); (5) the stage of mastery of final difficulties (sudurjaya); (6) the stage of facing purity and wisdom (abhimukhī); (7) the stage of proceeding afar, getting beyond worldly knowledges and those of the Secondary Vehicle

tivate spiritual perfection with joined palms in order to realize the Three Bodies of a Buddha.[1] Great saints have always appeared in that land to edify the people, who have heard their wonderful teachings with their own ears and witnessed their golden features with their own eyes. They are just like a carriage drawn by two horses—how far it could travel you can never know. How can you despise that land simply because the Buddha was not born there?"

But the monks said: "It is said in the scriptures that the same heavenly beings eat different sorts of food according to their different meritorious deeds. We are, however, living together in Jambudvipa, but the Buddha was born in this country and not in that land. Thus it is regarded as an evil border-land. Since it is a place of no felicity, we advise you not to go back."

The Master replied: "Once Vimalakirti said: 'Why does the sun shine over Jambudvipa?' 'It is to discard darkness,' was the reply. It is with this significance that I intend to go back now."

Seeing that the Master would not accept their advice, the monks asked him to go with them to see the Venerable Śilabhadra to whom they expressed their wishes. Śilabhadra inquired of the Master: "What is your decision?"

(duramgama); (8) the stage of unperturbedness (acala); (9) the stage of good wisdom (sādhumati); and (10) the stage of the Cloud of Law (dharmamegha).

[1] The Trikaya, viz., the Dharmakāya, or the body of Dharma which is the reality of everything; the Sambhogakāya, or the body of reward; and the Nirmāṇākaya, or the body of transformation.

The Master said in reply: "As this is the country where the Buddha was born, I am certainly not unwilling to stay here. But I came here with the intention to acquire the great Law for the benefit of all living beings. Since my arrival I have been privileged to learn the *Yogācārya-bhūmi Śāstra* from your Reverence, and thus all my doubts have been solved. I have visited the various holy places and studied the teachings of the different schools to my great content that I feel I have not come in vain. Now I wish to return home to translate the books that I have learned into Chinese, so that those who have the good chance may also study them. In this way I wish to repay the kindness of my teacher, and that is why I do not wish to linger here any longer."

Śilabhadra was quite pleased to hear this and said: "This is indeed the wish of a Bodhisattva and it is also what I expect of you. Let him make the necessary arrangements and you people need not try to detain him any more."

After that the Master returned to his chamber.

Two days afterwards the envoy of King Kumāra of East India arrived with a letter for Śilabhadra, in which the king said: "Your disciple wishes to see the venerable monk of China. May the teacher be kind enough to let him come so as to satisfy my wish."

After receiving the letter, Śilabhadra said to the monks: "King Kumāra desires to invite Hsuan-tsang to his country. But he has already been appointed by the community to go to King Śiladitya to debate with the Hīnāyānists. If he goes now where shall we find him again, should King Śiladitya send for him? We should not let him go."

Then he said to the envoy: "The Chinese monk is preparing to return to his own country and has no time to accept the king's invitation."

When the envoy returned home, the king sent him again with the message, saying: "Even if the teacher is intending to go back to his own country, it will not be difficult for him to come to my place for sometime before he leaves. May you comply with my request and do not decline my invitation again."

But Śilabhadra still would not let him go, and thus the king was greatly enraged. He despatched another envoy to send a letter to Śilabhadra, in which he said: "Your disciple is an ordinary man who is attached to the pleasures of the world and did not pay much attention to Buddhism. I have been quite delighted to hear about the name of the foreign monk, and it seems that the sprout of faith has burst in me. But the teacher does not allow him to come, wishing to keep me in eternal darkness. Is this the way by which a virtuous monk propagates the bequeathed law of the Buddha and teaches the people? As I am longing to see the Chinese teacher, I am sending this letter to you with respect. If he is not coming, then I shall be compelled to be an evil man. Recently King Śāsaṅka destroyed Buddhism by damaging the Bodhi-tree.[1] Does the teacher think that the disciple did not have power to do the same? He will certainly array his elephants and troops and send them to trample the Nālandā Monastery to dust. Let the teacher wait and see."

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[1] Śāsaṅka was a king of Karnasuvarṇa, who tried to destroy the Bodhi-tree, and was later dethroned by Śiladitya.

On receiving this letter Śilabhadra said to the Master: "That king does not have a good mind and Buddhism is not very popular in his country. Since he has heard about you, it seems that he has been deeply interested. You may have been a good friend of his in a previous life. You had better go to him, since we renounced our homes for the benefit of others and this is the right time to carry out our duties. It is like cutting a tree—you just break the root and the branches will wither by themselves. You may go there and make the king a Buddhist, and then his people will follow his example. If you do not accept his invitation, something disastrous might happen. I wish you will not refuse the trouble of going there."

Thus the Master took leave of his teacher and went away with the king's envoy.

When he arrived in that country, the king was pleased to meet him. He and his ministers welcomed him with salutations and praises and invited him to his palace. Every day the king entertained the Master with music, food and drinks, and offered him flowers and incense and all the other kinds of offerings. He also requested the conferment of precepts. Thus the Master stayed there for more than a month.

When King Śilāditya returned from his campaign in Konyodha, he heard that the Master was at Kumāra's place. He said with resentment: "I have repeatedly invited him to come, but he did not come. How is it that he is in that country now?"

Then he sent an envoy to King Kumāra, asking him to send the Chinese monk to him immediately. But King Kumāra said: "You could have my head, but I will not let the Master come immediately."

The envoy returned and reported to King Śiladitya, who said in a great rage to his attending ministers: "King Kumāra despises me. How could he speak such harsh words on account of a monk?"

He then sent another envoy to reprimand King Kumāra, saying: "Since you have said that I could have your head, now give it to my envoy to bring it back to me."

King Kumāra feared that he had spoken wrongly, and he immediately gave order to arrange 20,000 elephant troops in 30,000 boats and sailed together with the Master along the Ganges to the place of King Śiladitya. When they reached the country of Kajangala,[1] they met King Śiladitya.

Before he started the voyage, King Kumāra had sent his men to prepare a temporary palace at the northern side of the Ganges. On the day of his arrival he crossed the river and reached his temporary palace, and after having lodged the Master in his palace, he and his ministers went to see King Śiladitya at the southern side of the river.

Śiladitya was very glad to see them coming to him, and knowing that King Kumāra adored and respected the Master, he did not blame him for what he had said before but only asked where the Chinese monk was.

King Kumāra said in reply: "He is in my temporary palace."

King Śiladitya said: "Why does he not come to see me?"

King Kumāra said: "Since Your Majesty respects the sages and honours the Dharma, it is improper to send for the Master to come and see you at your place."

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[1] It is considered that this ancient country was either situated at Sicligully or Rajmahal, or somewhere between these places.

King Śiladitya said: "Well, you may go now. I shall come to see him tomorrow."

When he had returned, King Kumāra said to the Master: "Although the king said that he would come tomorrow, I fear that he will come tonight. We had better wait for his arrival. In case he comes, you need not stand up to receive him."

The Master said: "According to the Buddhist way, I shall certainly not stand up."

At about the first watch of the night, the king actually came. Someone reported, saying: "Several thousand candles are burning in the river and there is the sound of marching drums."

King Kumāra said: "This must be King Śiladitya coming."

Then he ordered candles be lit and went personally with his ministers to welcome King Śiladitya at a distance.

It was the custom of King Śiladitya that wherever he went a number of several hundred golden drums were beaten to keep time with his pace and this was called as the "pace-rhythm drum." Only King Śiladitya enjoyed such a privilege and no other kings had the same honour.

When he had arrived, he worshipped the Master at his feet and scattered flowers with adoration. After having praised the Master with numerous eulogistic stanzas, he said to him: "How is it that you did not come when I previously invited you?"

The Master replied: "I came from a distant land to seek for Buddhism and to learn the *Yogācārya-bhūmi Śāstra*. When I received your order I was just in the midst of learning the śāstra and so I was unable to come to pay my respect."

The king asked again: "You came from China, and I have heard that you have a musical composition called as the 'Triumph of the Prince of Chin' in your country. I do not know who this Prince of Chin is and what meritorious deeds he has done so as to earn such praises for himself."

The Master said: "It is the custom of my country that the people composed songs in praise of those sagacious and virtuous persons who could suppress evil powers for the people and be advantageous to all. These songs are either sung on ceremonial occasions in the ancestral temple, or sung by the common people as folk-songs. The Prince of Chin is the present emperor of China, and he was made the Prince of Chin before he ascended the throne. At that time the whole country was in a condition of complete tumult without a lord to rule over the people. Human corpses piled high in the wild fields and human blood flowed in the rivers. Evil stars appeared in the sky at night and an ominous atmosphere condensed during the day. The three rivers were suffering under avaricious pigs and the four seas were troubled by poisonous snakes. Being a son of the emperor, the prince led his troops personally and suppressed the rebellious forces, in compliance with the order of Heaven. With his military power he established peace in the whole country and restored tranquillity in the universe, making the sun, the moon and the stars shine brightly again. As the people in the whole country felt grateful to him, they composed that music in praise of him."

The king remarked: "Such a man is indeed sent by Heaven to be the ruler of men!" And he said again to the Master: "I am going back now and I shall come to welcome you tomorrow. Please accept my invitation."

After saying so he took his leave and went away.

In the morning of the following day an envoy of King Śiladitya arrived, and so the Master and King Kumāra went together to King Śiladitya. When they had reached the side of King Śiladitya's palace, the king and more than twenty of his personal teachers came out to receive the Master and invited him to take a seat in his palace.

After having entertained him with the performance of music and delicious food, and after having scattered flowers, the king said: "I have heard that the teacher has composed the *Refutation of Evil Views.* Where is the book now?"

The Master said that it was in hand and presented it to the king. After reading the treatise, the king was quite delighted and said to his personal teachers: "I have heard that when the sun is shining, the light of a candle is dimmed, and when the heaven thunders, the noise of a hammer is muffled. Now he has refuted all the theories which you teachers have always adhered to. Would you try to save them?"

But none of the monks dared to say anything.

The king said: "Your teacher Devasena regarded himself as the most learned among all the scholars and well versed in the teachings of the various philosophical schools. He originated variant views and always slandered Mahāyāna Buddhism. But when he heard about the arrival of this guest monk of great virtue, he went away to Vaiśalī to worship the holy traces as an excuse to avoid seeing him. Thus I know that you are quite ignorant."

The king had a younger sister who was very clever and intelligent and was well learned in the theories of the Sammatiya School. She was sitting behind the king, and when she heard the Master explaining the profound

teachings of Mahāyāna Buddhism and pointing out the shallowness of Hīnayāna doctrines, she felt so pleased that she could not refrain herself from praising the Master.

The king said: "Your treatise is excellent. I and my teachers here all believe in it. But as I fear that the Hīnayānists and heretics of the other countries may still keep their ignorant views, I wish to hold a meeting for you at Kanyākubja and invite all the monks and Brahmanic heretics of the five Indias to come, so as to show them the wonderful and subtle teachings of Mahāyāna Buddhism in order to prevent them from slandering it, as well as to exhibit your rich virtues in order to subjugate their arrogance."

On that day the king issued an edict inviting all the learned scholars of the various countries to assemble at Kanyākubja to discuss upon the treatise composed by the Chinese Master.

At the beginning of the eleventh month, the Master sailed together with the king up the Ganges and arrived at the place of meeting in the twelfth month. Eighteen kings of the five Indias were present in the meeting, and a number of more than 3,000 monks who were learned in both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna teachings, more than 2,000 Brahmanic and Nirgrantha heretics and more than 1,000 monks of the Nālanda Monastery had also come to the assembly. All these scholars were widely learned and talented in debate, and they all came to attend the meeting with the desire to hear the Law. They had attendants and came either by elephants or by carriages, and they were surrounded by pennants or banners in a great congregation, overcrowding in an area of several tens of *li* just like a conglomeration of clouds. Even if

we should say that when they lifted up their sleeves they could form a piece of cloud, and when they wiped their sweat it would rain like a shower, it would still be inadequate to describe the gathering.

The king had beforehand ordered his people to construct two thatched halls at the place of meeting to install the Buddha's image and to accommodate the monks. When he reached there, both of the two halls had already been built. They were spacious, each being capable of containing 1,000 men. The king's temporary palace was at a distance of five *li* to the west of the place of meeting.

The king made a golden image of the Buddha in his palace, and he caparisoned a large elephant. On the elephant, behind precious curtains, was installed the Buddha's image. King Śilāditya dressed himself like Indra, and holding a white duster he attended at the right side, while King Kumāra dressed himself like Brāhmā, and holding a precious umbrella he attended at the left side. Both of them, wearing heavenly crowns, were adorned with garlands and strings of pearls and jade. Two other caparisoned elephants carried flowers and followed behind the Buddha's image. The flowers were scattered as the elephants went along the road. The Master and the king's personal teachers rode on different elephants and followed behind the kings. The kings, ministers and monks of great virtue of the various countries rode on three hundred large elephants that walked by the side of the road, and chanted praise as they proceeded. They dressed themselves in the morning and, starting from the king's temporary palace, they proceeded towards the place of meeting.

They alighted from the elephants when they reached the gate of the courtyard, and carried the Buddha's image

into the hall, in which it was placed on a precious throne. Then the king and the Master made their offerings to it, after which the eighteen kings were ushered in. More than 1,000 widely learned monks of the highest rank of the various countries then entered the hall, followed by 500 well-known Brahmanic heretics.

Then 200 ministers of the various countries entered. All the heretics and laymen stayed outside the gate of the courtyard.

The king ordered that food be served both inside and outside the courtyard. After the meal he offered to the Buddha's image one golden tray, seven golden bowls, one golden bathing-jar, one golden religious staff, three thousand golden coins and three thousand robes made of the finest felt. The Master and the other monks all received different offerings.

When the offerings had been made, the Master was invited to sit on a specially decorated seat to be the chairman of the meeting to propagate Mahāyāna Buddhism and to expound the meaning of his treatise. The Venerable Vidyābhadra, a monk of the Nālanda Monastery, was appointed to read out the treatise to the audience, while a written copy of the same was hung outside the gate of the place of meeting for the public to read, with the announcement that if one single word in the treatise was found illogical and refutable, the writer would cut his head in apology. But, till as late as nightfall, nobody had ventured to raise an objection. Being greatly delighted, King Śilāditya adjourned the meeting and returned to his palace. The other kings and monks all returned to their different places, and the Master, accompanied by King Kumāra, returned to the palace.

In the morning of the following day they assembled again, carrying the Buddha's image in a procession in the same way as on the previous day. Five days afterwards the Hīnayānists and the heretics, seeing that the Master had destroyed their doctrines, tried to murder him with a feeling of hatred.

Being informed of this intrigue, the king issued an order, saying: "Since a long time the heterodox schools have tried to corrupt truth in order to conceal the right teaching and to fool the people. If there is no man of supreme intelligence, who could distinguish the falsehood from the truth? The Chinese teacher is a man of magnificent character, whose knowledge is profound and whose realization of truth is deep. He came to travel in this country in order to rectify all the wrong views, as well as to spread the great Law so as to enlighten the ignorant. Now some foolish people not only do not feel ashamed of themselves, but with harm in their minds are trying to do what is illegal. If this is tolerable, then what is unpardonable? Anyone among the congregation who dares to injure the Master will be beheaded, and anyone who insults him will have his tongue cut off. But those who wish to argue with him in defence of their doctrines are not prohibited from doing so."

Thenceforward the evil people were subdued, and for a period of eighteen days nobody was able to raise an objection in debate. In the evening when the meeting was to be dispersed, the Master furthermore praised Mahāyāna Buddhism and extolled the merits of the Buddha, making numerous people give up what was wrong and accept what was right, and converting them from Hīnayāna teachings to Mahāyāna Buddhism. Thus King Śīlāditya respected him all the more and presented

him with 10,000 golden coins, 30,000 silver coins and 100 robes made of the finest felt. The eighteen kings also offered him different jewels and precious articles. But the Master accepted none of the offerings.

The king ordered his attending ministers to decorate a large elephant with tapestries and invited the Master to ride on it and go through the crowd, accompanied and protected by his noble ministers, to announce that he had established his theories unchallenged. It was the custom in the western countries that the winner in debate was always honoured in this way.

The Master declined the honour and would not go, but the king said: "This is an ancient custom and we should not act against it."

Then the Master's robe was placed on the elephant and a man announced to the public, saying: "The Chinese teacher has established the teachings of Mahāyāna Buddhism and has refuted the various heterodox views. For a period of eighteen days, none has ventured to raise an objection in debate. Let all the people be informed of this fact."

The congregation was delighted and the people vied with one another to confer titles on the Master. The Mahāyānists called him as "Mahāyāna Deva" (the Deva of Mahāyāna Buddhism), while the Hīnayānists presented him the title of "Moksa Deva" (the Deva of Liberation). When they had burned incense, scattered flowers and paid homage to him, they all dispersed.

The Master's fame spread far and wide.

To the west of the king's temporary palace, in a temple erected by the king was a Buddha's tooth-relic about one and a half inch long and yellowish white in colour. It often issued a bright light. In an earlier period, the

people of the Kṛta tribe of Kaśmira destroyed Buddhism and drove away the Buddhist monks. One Bhikṣu travelled far away to India.

The king of Himatala in Tukhāra felt indignant that the slavish tribe should have destroyed Buddhism. He disguised himself as a merchant, and commanding a troop of three thousand brave men, bringing with them a great amount of jewels and gems, he pretended to offer them to the king of Kaśmira. Being an avaricious man the king of Kaśmira was pleased to hear of this and sent an envoy to welcome him.

Now the king of Himatala was a heroic and brave man with dignified manners. When he reached the throne he took off his disguise and reprimanded the Kṛta king, who fell to the ground with consternation. Then the king of Himatala pressed on his head and killed him.

He said to the ministers: "I am the king of Himatala. Because you slavish people have destroyed Buddhism, I have come here to punish you. But as it is the fault of one man, it has little to do with you and so you may feel at ease. Only those persons who instigated the king to do such an evil deed will be exiled to some other country, while the rest will be spared."

Having suppressed the evil people, the king of Himatala established a monastery and summoned the monks back, and made his offerings to them. He then returned to his own country.

On hearing that peace had been restored in his country, the Bhikṣu who had formerly fled to India started his journey to return home. On the way he met a herd of elephants, trumpeting and coming towards him. On seeing them the Bhikṣu climbed a tree to hide. But the elephants sprayed water on the tree with their trunks

and dug at the root with their tusks. In a moment the tree was pushed down. One of the elephants put the Bhikṣu on its back with its trunk and carried him away to a big forest where a sick elephant lay on the ground. It had a sore on its body which the elephant made the Bhikṣu touch with his hand. He saw that a bamboo splinter was in the sore. He pulled it out, wiped the pus and blood, and tore a piece of cloth from his robe to dress the wound. The elephant was gradually cured.

On the following day the elephants vied with one another in gathering fruit to offer to the Bhikṣu, and when he had taken the fruit, one of the elephants carried a golden casket to the sick elephant, and then it offered the casket to the Bhikṣu. When he had received the casket, the elephants carried him back to the place where they had found him, and placing him on the ground, they worshipped him and went away. The Bhikṣu opened the casket and found a Buddha's tooth-relic contained in it, which he brought back for worshipping.

King Śiladitya had heard that there was a Buddha's tooth-relic in Kaśmira, and went personally to the frontier of his country to see and worship it. But the people were narrow-minded and would not bring it out to show him. Instead they hid it. Fearing the influence of King Śiladitya, the king of Kaśmira dug the ground and searched for it everywhere. Having found it he showed it to King Śiladitya. On seeing the holy relic, King Śiladitya highly respected it, and depending upon his strong power he seized it and took it back for worshipping. This was the tooth-relic which the king had taken back.

After the meeting was dispersed, the king entrusted the golden image of the Buddha which he had made,

together with the robes and money, to the monks of this temple for custody.

As the Master had already taken leave of the virtuous monks of the Nālanda Monastery and collected his scriptures and images of the Buddha, he desired to take leave of the king and return home on the nineteenth day when the meeting was over. The king said: "Since I ascended the throne to be the lord of the world, it has been more than thirty years. I have always been worried that my felicity and virtue will not increase and that my good causes of the past will not continue. Therefore I accumulated wealth and valuables and made a great meeting place between the two rivers in the country of Prayāga,[1] and invited all the monks, Brahmanas and the poor and the lonely people to receive my unlimited offerings for a period of seventy-five days in every five years. I have already conducted five such meetings and I am now going to hold the sixth meeting. Would you not like to come and join in the meeting?"

The Master said in reply: "When a Bodhisattva practises the Way, he tries to cultivate both worldly welfare and spiritual wisdom, and when a wise man has obtained the fruit, he never forgets about the tree. If Your Majesty is generous in giving his wealth to the people, why should I not stay here a little longer? Please let me go with you."

The king was greatly pleased.

On the twenty-first day they started for the place of great alms-giving in the country of Prayāga. The Ganges was in the north while the Jumnā, in the south, both flowing from the north-west towards the east and met

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[1] Modern Allahabad.

in this country. To the west of the confluence of the two rivers, was a great tableland about fourteen or fifteen *li* in circuit, which was as flat as a mirror. The kings of the past all came to this place to give alms, and so it was called the place of alms-giving. It was said in tradition that the merit of giving one coin at this place was greater than the merit of giving hundreds or thousands of coins at other places. Thus the people valued this place since the old times.

The king had ordered a meeting place for alms-giving to be built on the tableland, surrounded with a fence of reeds, one thousand paces long on each side. Within the fence were built several tens of thatched halls to store the various sorts of precious articles, such as gold, silver, pearls, red agate, emerald, sapphire, etc. Beside the halls were several hundred rooms in rows to store robes made of silk and spotted felt, gold and silver money, etc. Outside the fence was a separate place for cooking food. In front of the treasure-houses houses were constructed in more than a hundred rows, resembling the shops in our capital, and each row of the houses was capable of seating more than one thousand men.

The king had beforehand issued an order inviting all the monks, heretics, Nirgranthas, the poor and the lonely of the five Indias to assemble at the place of alms-giving to receive alms. Some of the people who attended the Master's discussion meeting at Kanyākubja did not return home, but went directly to the place of alms-giving. The kings of eighteen countries also followed King Śilāditya to that place. When they reached the place of meeting, a number of more than 500,000 men, including monks and laymen, were present. King Śilāditya encamped on the northern bank of the Ganges, and King

Dhruvabhaṭa of South India encamped at the west side of the confluence, while King Kumāra encamped beside a flower forest on the southern bank of the Jumnā and the almsmen encamped to the west of King Dhruvabhaṭa's camp.

On the following morning King Śilāditya and King Kumāra going by warships, and King Dhruvabhaṭa, followed by his elephant troops, went to the place of almsgiving, all attended by properly arranged bodyguards. The kings of eighteen countries and those below in rank accompanied them.

On the first day they installed the Buddha's image in the thatched hall at the place of alms-giving. They offered to it the best of the valuables, and robes and delicious foods, to the playing of music and scattering of flowers, till the evening when they returned to their camps.

On the second day they installed the image of the Sūrya, to which they offered half the amount of valuables and robes as they had offered to the Buddha's image on the first day.

On the third day they installed the image of Isvaradeva, to which the offerings were the same as those made to the Sūrya.

On the fourth day alms were distributed to a number of more than 10,000 monks who sat in one hundred rows. Each of them was presented with one hundred golden coins, one piece of pearl, and one suit of felt robe, together with food, drink, incense and flowers. They came out of the place when they had received the offerings.

The fifth group was the Brāhmaṇas. It took more than twenty days to make offerings to them all.

The heretics formed the sixth group. It took ten days to distribute alms to them.

The seventh group consisted of those people who came from distant lands, and ten days were occupied in distributing alms to them all.

The poor and the lonely formed the eighth group. This distribution took one month.

Thus the king exhausted all he had stored in his treasure-house during the last five years, except his elephants, horses and weapons which he kept for the purpose of suppressing rebellions and protecting his ancestral temple. All other valuables including his own garments, pearls, ear-rings, bracelets, jewels, necklace and the precious pearl in his headdress, were given to the people as alms without omitting a single article.

When he had given all his properties, he asked his younger sister to give him some coarse garment to wear, and he saluted all the Buddhas in the ten quarters with a happy mind. With his hands joined palm to palm he said: "Since I accumulated these properties I have always feared that they could not be kept in a strong store-house. Now I have stored them all in the field of good deeds, and they are now really stored in the proper place. I wish that I shall always be able to possess both worldly wealth and the Buddha's Law in all my future lives, so that I may give them to all living beings in order to achieve the Ten Stages of Freedom[1] and the Two Glories."[2]

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[1] I.e., (1) the freedom of life; (2) the freedom of mind; (3) the freedom of having the conducive requirements; (4) the freedom of karma; (5) the freedom of rebirth; (6) the freedom of understanding; (7) the freedom of will; (8) the freedom of supernatural powers; (9) the freedom of Dharma; and (10) the freedom of wisdom.

[2] The glory of wisdom and the glory of blessed virtues.

When the meeting was over, the kings of the various countries gave their different valuables and money to the people to redeem the pearls, the headdress jewel and the royal garment which King Śiladitya had given to them as alms, and presented the same to him. Thus after a few days the king wore his royal garment and his best ornaments as usual.

The Master then desired to take his leave and return home, but the king said: "As I am intending to work with you to spread the bequeathed Law of the Buddha, why do you want to go back so soon?" And so he stayed for another period of more than ten days.

King Kumāra also was anxious to detain him and said to the Master: "If you come to stay in my country to receive my offerings, I will build one hundred monasteries for you."

On seeing that the kings would not let him go, the Master appealed to them sincerely saying: "China is far away from here and Buddhism was known there at a very late time. Although we knew something about Buddhism, we could not understand its complete teachings. That was why I came here to search for what was unknown to us. It is owing to the sincerity of the sages of my country who longed to study Buddhism that I have been able to fulfil my desires. Therefore I could never forget them. It is said in the scriptures that those who obstruct the spreading of the Law will be reborn without eyes for many lives in the future. If you keep me in this country, then you would deprive many people in that land of the advantage of learning the Law. Wouldn't it be fearful to suffer the retribution of being born without eyes?"

The king said: "It is because I respect you and admire your virtues that I wish to be always in your presence. Since it would cause disadvantage to many people, I am really afraid to do so. Now I let you go or stay as you please. But I do not know which route you would choose to go home, and if you would go by way of the South Seas, I could send my envoys to escort you."

The Master replied, saying: "When I came from China I reached a country called Kaochang on the western frontier. The king is a man of great wisdom and takes delight in learning the Law. On seeing that I was coming to this country to search for Buddhism, he was quite pleased and supplied me with rich travelling expenses and wished that I should go to him again on my returning journey. So out of our friendship I must return by the northern route."

The king inquired: "How much travelling expenses do you need?"

The Master said that he needed nothing.

But the king said: "How can that be so?"

Then he ordered that he be supplied with money and other necessary things, and King Kumāra also offered him different sorts of valuables.

The Master accepted none of the offerings, except the Harali cape made of fine wool, presented by King Kumāra, to be used in case of rain during the journey. Then he took leave of them, and the kings, together with many people, escorted him to a distance of several tens of *li*, after which they turned back. At the moment of parting, they could not refrain from shedding tears of sadness.

With his scriptures and Buddha's images, the Master travelled together with the army of King Udita of North

India, and riding on a horse he proceeded onwards. King Śiladitya also gave one big elephant, 3,000 golden coins and 10,000 silver coins to King Udita to cover the Master's travelling expenses. Three days after departure, the king together with King Kumāra and King Dhruvapaṭa, each attended by several hundred horsemen, came again to say farewell to him — so greatly did they respect him. He also sent four officials, called Mahātāras, to send letters written by the king on white silk and sealed with red seals, to the various countries through which the Master would pass, requesting the authorities to supply him with horses and escort him until he reached the land of Han.

Starting from the country of Prayāga, he travelled towards the south-west and walking for seven days through a big wild forest, he reached the country of Kauśāmbi.[1] To the south of the city was the garden which was presented to the Buddha by the elder Ghosila. After having paid homage to the holy place, he travelled again with King Udita towards the north-west. In a little more than one month he passed through several countries and revisited the holy site of the Heavenly Ladders.

Proceeding further towards the north-west for three yojanas, he reached the capital of Vilasana,[2] where he stayed for two months and met with two schoolmates, Siṁhaprabha and Siṁhacandra, who were preaching on the *Abhidharma-kośa Śāstra*, the *Mahāyāna-samgraha Śāstra* and the *Vidyāmatra-siddhi Śāstra*. Both welcomed

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[1] Modern Kosam.

[2] The capital of Vilasana has been identified with the great mound of ruins called Atranjikhera, situated on the west bank of the Kali Nadi, four miles to the south of Karsana, and eight miles to the north of Eyta, on the Grand Trunk Road.

him with delight. The Master lectured on the *Yogādharma Śāstra* and the *Abhidharma-samuccaya-vyakhya Śāstra* for a period of two months, after which he took his leave.

Going north-west for more than a month and passing through several countries, he reached the country of Jālandhara[1] which was the capital of the king of North India, where he again stayed for a month. King Udita then appointed men to escort him towards the west. Travelling for twenty days, he reached the country of Siṁhapura.[2]

A hundred monks, all northerners returning home with scriptures and images of the Buddha, travelled together with the Master. From here he travelled for twenty days in a mountainous region where there were many robbers. Fearing they might rob him, the Master always sent a monk to go before him, telling him, should he meet any robbers to inform them that he had come from a distant land to search for the Law and that what he was bringing with him were scriptures, Buddha's images and relic-bones, so that they might protect him without having a mind to rob him. Actually robbers were encountered on several occasions, but they did not do him any harm.

After travelling another twenty days, he reached the country of Takṣaśilā and revisited the place where King Candraprabha had sacrificed his head for a thousand times in his previous lives. At a distance of fifty yojanas to

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[1] Modern Jālandhar.

[2] The capital of Siṁhapura has been identified with Ketas, situated on the north side of the Salt Range, at 16 miles from Pind Dadan Khan, and 18 miles from Chakowal.

the north-east of the country, was Kaśmira. The king sent an envoy to invite the Master, but as he was travelling on an elephant with heavy luggage, he did not accept the invitation.

After staying for seven days, he travelled again towards the north-west for three days and reached the great Indus River, which here was five or six *li* wide. His scriptures and Buddha's images were loaded into a boat with his companions to cross the river, while the Master waded across on his elephant. He had appointed a man to take care of the scriptures and some seeds of rare Indian flowers. When the boat reached the middle of the river, a hurricane suddenly arose shaking the boat and nearly overturned it. The man who looked after the scriptures was so frightened that he fell overboard, but was rescued by the others. Fifty fascicles of scriptures and the flower seeds were lost, while his other things narrowly escaped damage.

The king of Kapiśa who was in the city of Udakakhanda,[1] hearing of the arrival of the Master, personally came to the riverside to welcome him, and inquired: "I hear that you have lost some scriptures in the river. Did you bring any seeds of Indian flowers or fruits?"

The Master replied: "Yes, I did."

The king said: "That was the cause of the hurricane which nearly overturned your boat. Since ancient times anyone who tried to bring flower seeds across the river always met with such an accident."

Then he returned to the city with the Master, who stayed in a monastery for more than fifty days. In order to replace the lost scriptures, he sent some men to the

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[1] Modern Und to the north of Attock.

country of Udyāna to copy the Tripiṭaka of the Kāśyapiya School.

Having heard of the Master's arrival, the king of Kaśmīra came personally to pay his homage to him, regardless of the long distance, and returned home after spending a whole day with him.

The Master and the king of Kapiśa travelled together towards the north-west for more than a month and reached the domain of the country of Lampaka.[1] The king sent his prince to go beforehand to instruct the people and monks in the capital to prepare pennants and flags and come out of the city-wall to welcome the Master, while the king and the Master proceeded slowly. When they arrived, they were met by several thousand people, monks and laymen, holding pennants and flags in a very gay manner. On seeing the Master, the people were greatly delighted and after having worshipped him, they surrounded him and uttered praises while they walked back to the city. Arriving in the capital, the Master stayed in a Mahāyāna monastery, and the king convoked a great alms-giving meeting for seventy-five days.

From here he went south for fifteen days, to the country of Varaṇa[2] to worship the holy traces. Then north-west to Avakan and Jāguḍa.[3] After Jāguḍa he travelled north for 500 *li*, to the country of Vṛjisthāna.[4] Leaving

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[1] Modern Lamghan near the source of the Kabul River.

[2] Modern Bannu.

[3] Modern Ghazni.

[4] It has been identified with Wardaks about 40 miles north of Ghazni.

it by the east, he reached the domain of Kapiśa.[1] The king again conducted a great alms-giving for seven days, after which the Master took his leave and continued on his journey. Going towards the north-east for one yojana, he reached the city of Grosapam,[2] where he parted with the king and travelled towards the north. The king sent one of his ministers with more than one hundred men carrying fodder, provisions and other supplies, to escort the Master across the Snow Mountain. Seven days later he reached the summit of the great mountain. Here were cliffs and dangerous peaks of various shapes, some being flat and some precipitous of different appearance. Words fail to describe fully the difficulty of climbing this mountain. The Master could no longer ride on a horse but had to walk with a stick in hand.

After seven days he reached a high range, below which was a village of about one hundred families. Here the people reared goats as large as an ass: He spent the evening in the village, but in the middle of the night he resumed his journey, asking some villager riding on a mountain camel to lead the way. The place was full of snow pits and icy streams, and without a villager as guide he might fall into them. At the end of the following day he crossed the icy range. By then were left only seven monks with some twenty employed men and one elephant, ten mules and four horses.

Next day he reached the bottom of this range. Going by a winding path, he climbed another range, which appeared to be covered with snow, but when he reached

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[1] Modern Kafiristan.

[2] The capital of Kapiśa.

it he saw it was all white stone. This was the highest range, and even cloud and snow could never cover its summit.

In the evening of the day he reached the top of the mountain. The wind was so cold and strong that none of the travellers could stand erect. There was no plant on the mountain, only accumulation of stones and steep cliffs which looked like a forest of rocks. As the mountain was high and the wind strong, no bird could fly over it, and it could only stretch its wings beyond a distance of several hundred paces on both the southern and northern sides of the range. Of all the mountains in Jambudvipa, none surpassed this one in height.

The Master descended this mountain from the north-west side, and having walked for several *li*, he reached a piece of flat land, where he encamped to spend the night. The following morning he proceeded again, and after five or six days he came down from the mountain and reached the country of Antarāva,[1] which was the old territory of Tukhāra. Here were three monasteries with several tens of monks, who studied the teachings of the Mahāsaṁghika School. Here also was a stūpa, built by King Aśoka.

Having stayed for five days, the Master came down from the mountain in the north-west side, and after having travelled for 400 *li*, he reached the country of Khost, which was the old territory of Tukhāra.

Still proceeding north-west for 300 *li* in a mountainous region, he reached the country of Kunduz,[2] which was situated by the side of the Oxus and was the eastern

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[1] Modern Telingana.

[2] The country of Huoh has been identified with the present Kunduz.

limit of Tukhāra. The capital was on the southern bank of the river. Here he met the grandson of the Shêhu Khan. As he ruled over Tukhāra, he proclaimed himself to be a "shêhu." In his official residence the Master stayed for a month. Then the Shêhu sent some guards as escort, and the Master travelled eastward with some traders for two days and reached the country of Munjan.[1] Beside Munjan were the countries of Arni,[2] Ragh,[3] Krisma[4] and Parika,[5] all old territories of Tukhāra.

From Munjan, 300 *li* eastward in a mountainous region, the Master reached the country of Himatala,[6] which was also old territory of Tukhāra. The custom of this country was similar to that of the Turks. What was peculiar was that the married woman wore a wooden horn about three feet high on her head. It had two branches in front, representing the parents of her husband, with the upper one denoting her father-in-law and the lower one, her mother-in-law. One of the branches was removed on the death of the parent whom it represented, and when both of the parents were dead, the whole headdress was discarded.

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[1] It is suggested that the country of Munjan is modern Talikhan.

[2] It is considered that this country was close to Hazrat-Imam.

[3] It has been identified with Ragh, an important fief of Badakshan, between the Kokcha and the Oxus.

[4] The country of Krisma has been identified with the district of Talikan, or Ish-Keshm, at the lower end of the valley of Wakhan.

[5] It is supposed that the country of Parika, from its relation to Krisma, must have lain either immediately on the south bank of the Kokcha or just beyond that river.

[6] It is considered that the country of Himatala was situated in the province of Badakshan or Daraim.

East again for 200 *li*, to the country of Badakshan,[1] which was also old territory of Tukhāra. Owing to a snowstorm, the Master stayed here for more than a month.

Then 200 *li* in a mountainous region, south-east to Yamgān,[2] and another 300 *li*, over a dangerous path to Kurāna.[3]

From Kurāna, still in mountainous country north-east for more than 500 *li* to Termistat,[4] which was situated between two ranges of mountains beside the Oxus River. This country yielded good horses, which were small in size but were very strong. The people were uncivilized and ill-tempered of an ugly appearance. Their eyes were mostly blue in colour and this was different from the people of the other countries. Altogether there were more than ten monasteries, and, in the city of Khandut, which was the capital, was one built by a former king. In it was a stone image of the Buddha, above which was a round canopy made of golden bronze decorated with various gems. It was suspended in the air just above the head of the Buddha's image. If anyone worshipped and walked around the image, the canopy also turned around, and when the worshipper stopped walking, the canopy also stopped. Nobody could explain the miracle.

From Termistat he travelled to the country of Shighni,[5] again across the Termistat to Syamaka,[6] then

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[1] The capital of Badakshan is supposed to be on or near the site of modern Faizabad.

[2] Modern Jerm.

[3] Modern Kurān in the upper part of the valley of the Kokcha.

[4] Modern Wakhan.

[5] It has been identified with modern Shaghan.

[6] Modern Mastuj.

east 700 *li* in a mountainous region to the Pamir Valley. This is situated between two snowy mountains and is more than a thousand *li* from east to west, and more than a hundred *li* from south to north. As it was in the middle of the Pamir Ranges, snowstorms never ceased, even in the spring and summer seasons. The place was extremely cold, and there was scarcely any vegetation, with no crops at all. The district was desolate without any human traces. In the middle of the valley was a big lake, 300 *li* from east to west and 50 *li* from south to north, which was situated in the centre of Jambudvipa. The position of the land was high and protuberant. The lake was so extensive that the eye could not see the other side. All kinds of aquatic birds were present. They made a noise as loud as in a tumultuous market. Many of the birds were more than ten feet tall and their eggs were as large as urns. These were perhaps what were called the large eggs of Syria in the old times.

A river flowed from the lake towards the west and reached the eastern domain of Termistat, where it joined the Oxus and flowed westward into the sea. All the rivers on the right side flowed likewise. Another river flowed out from the lake towards the east and reached the western domain of Kashgar,[1] where it joined the Sitā and flowed eastward into the sea. And all the rivers on the left side flowed likewise. Beyond the mountains at the southern side of the valley was the country of Bolor,[2] which was abundant in gold and silver; and the colour of the gold was like fire. The distance of this lake from south to north was like that of the Anavatapta Lake.

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[1] Modern Shahr-i-sabz.

[2] Modern Baltistan.

Departing from the east of this valley and having travelled over a dangerous and snowy path for 500 *li*, the Master reached the country of Kabhanda.[1] The capital was built by the side of a steep hill with the Sitā at its back in the north. This river flowed eastward into the sea and had subterranean salt springs. It flowed out from the Asmakuta Mountain, which was the source of the rivers in this country. The king was an intelligent man and many years had passed since he ascended the throne. He acknowledged that he was a descendant of the Cina-deva stock.

In the old palace of the king was the monastery of the late Venerable Śāstra-master Kumāralabdha. Being a native of Takṣaśilā, the venerable teacher was a man of divine perception and elegant manners. He could recite 32,000 words every day and write as many words. Being a productive writer, well versed in all Dharmas, he composed several tens of treatises, which were all very popular. He was the founder of the Sautrāntika School.

At that time there was Aśvaghoṣa in the east, Deva in the south, Nagārjuna in the west and Kumāralabdha in the north. They were known as the "four suns" which could enlighten the delusion of all beings. When Kumāralabdha had risen to high reputation, a former king of this country went personally to attack his country and brought him back so that he might make offerings to him.

At a distance of 300 *li* to the south-east of the city, was a great rock in which there were two caves. In each of the caves an arhat sat in a trance of complete extinction

[1] It has been identified with Sol-gol or Sariq-gol, the chief city of which is Tashkurghan.

of sensation and thought. Each had sat motionless like skeletons for more than 700 years, but they did not fall or decay. The Master stayed in this country of more than twenty days.

Five days on his way north-east he met a group of robbers. His merchant companions were frightened and disappeared into the mountains, and his elephant was driven to a river and drowned. When the robbers had gone he proceeded again with the traders eastward. After travelling for more than 800 *li* over a dangerous path in a cold climate, he emerged from the Pamir Ranges and reached the country of Usa.[1]

At a distance of 200 *li* to the west of the capital, was a mountain with steep peals, on which was a stūpa. It was said that several hundred years ago the mountain was once split open by lightning, and in it was found the dried-up body of a monk sitting with closed eyes, and covered with long hair and a beard over his shoulders and face. A woodcutter saw it and reported to the king, who came personally to see and worship the monk. On hearing this news people came from far and near to make offerings, and flowers were piled in great heaps. The king inquired, "Who is this man?"

A Bhikṣu replied: "This is an arhat who has been sitting in a deep trance of complete extinction of sensation and thought. As he has been so for many years, his hair has grown to such a length."

The king said: "How can we stir him up from his trance?"

The Bhikṣu said: "Once the physical body that has been living without food is out of trance, it will collapse.

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[1] This country has been identified with modern Yangihissar.

We should bathe it with butter and milk first so as to moisten his skin, and then strike a gong, the noise of which might probably stir him up from his trance."

The king said: "So it shall be." And he bathed the arhat with milk and struck a gong as the Bhikṣu had said. The arhat opened his eyes and looked at those before him, asking: "Who are you, wearing the religious robe?"

They replied: "We are Bhikṣus."

The arhat said: "Where is my teacher the Kasyapa Tathāgata now?"

They told him that the Tathāgata had entered Nirvāṇa long ago. On hearing this, he felt very sad and asked: "Has Śākyamuni Buddha already attained supreme enlightenment?"

They replied: "He has already become a Buddha, and after having completed his task of teaching the people, he has also entered Nirvāṇa."

On hearing this, the arhat lowered his eyes for a long time and holding up his hair with his hand, he rose into the air and cremated himself with the fire of his great supernatural powers. His remains dropped to the ground, and the king and the people collected them and over them built a stūpa. This was the stūpa which they had built at that time.

North for more than 500 *li*, the Master reached the country of Kashgar.[1] Then south-east another 500 *li*, and, after crossing the Sitā River and climbing over a big mountain, he came to Chekuka.[2] In the south of this

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[1] Modern Suleh district in Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region.

[2] It has been identified that the country of Chekuka was

country was a mountain, on which were many caves. Many Indian arhats came by their supernatural powers to stay at this place, and a number of them entered Nirvāṇa there. At that time three arhats were still sitting in a deep trance in the caves, and their hair and beards were still growing, so that the monks had to go and shave them from time to time. In this country were many Mahāyāna scriptures, and several tens of books, each of which had as many as 10,000 stanzas.

Travelling east for more than 800 *li*, the Master reached the country of Kustana.[1] A greater part of the country was desert. This country yielded cereals in abundance. It produced rugs and fine felt, and the felt makers also weaved silk. The land produced much white jade and black jade. The climate was temperate, and the people were civilized and fond of learning and music. They had a good deportment which was different from the custom of the other Hu peoples. Their system of writing was derived from the Indian language, having only slight variations. They believed in Buddhism and had 100 monasteries with more than 5,000 monks, most of whom studied Mahāyāna Buddhism.

The king was a brave and warlike man and he respected and loved men of virtue. He claimed to be a descendant of Vaiśravana-deva. His ancestor was a prince of King Aśoka, who lived in the country of Takṣasilā and was later exiled to the north of the Snow Mountain to be a shepherd. In the course of looking for water and

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situated in the modern district of Yarkand in Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region.

[1] Modern Khotan district in Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region.

pasture, he came to this place where he founded his capital. For a long time he did not have a son, and so he prayed for one in the temple of Vaiśravana-deva, from whose forehead a son was born to him. Moreover the ground in front of the temple produced a kind of wonderful liquid which was as sweet and fragrant as milk. This was brought to feed the child and he gradually grew up. After the death of the king, his son succeeded him, and his political influence reached far and wide and his military strength surpassed all the other countries. The reigning king was a descendant of that king. As his ancestor was brought up with "earth-milk," so the country was called as "ku-stana" (earth-teat).

In the city of Bhāgya in Kustana was a sitting Buddha, perfect in features more than seven feet high, wearing a gem-crown on its head. It was said that this image was originally in Kaśmira and was brought to Kustana. Formerly an arhat had a Śrāmaṇera disciple who was suffering from measles. When he was dying, he asked for some rice-cake to eat. His teacher saw with his divine sight that there were rice-cakes in Kustana, so he went there by his supernatural powers and got some for his disciple. Having eaten the cakes, the Śrāmaṇera was glad and wished to be reborn in that country. After his death he was reborn by his will-power to the king's family. When he had ascended to the throne, he became a heroic man of great talent. Being ambitious and desiring the territorial expansion of his kingdom he crossed the Snow Mountain to attack his old country. The king of Kaśmira mobilized his troops and prepared to resist the invader, but the arhat said to him: "You

need not take the trouble to use your weapons. I will send him away." He went to the king of Kustana, told him the fault of greed and cruelty and showed him the Śrāmaṇera's robe which he had worn in his previous birth. On seeing it, the king realized the wisdom of knowing his past lives and felt deeply ashamed of himself. He renewed his friendship with the king of Kaśmira and withdrew his troops. But he brought back with his troops the Buddha's image which he had worshipped in his previous life.

When the image reached the city, it refused to be moved forward any more. Although the king and his troops tried to move it with great effort, they could not move it. Therefore a temple was constructed just above the image and monks were invited to live in it. The king offered his crown which he liked very much, to adorn the head of the Buddha's image. The crown was still in existence with many valuable gems on it. All who saw it admired and praised it.

The Master stayed there for seven days.

On hearing that the Master had arrived in his country, the king of Kustana came personally to welcome him. Two days later the Master continued on his journey towards the capital.

The king returned to his capital leaving his son to attend the Master. When the Master had travelled for two days, the king again sent his officials to convey his welcome. The Master stopped for the night at a distance of forty *li* from the capital. On the following day the king and monks and laymen received him by the left side of the road with music, incense and flowers. He was invited into the city and was lodged in a Hīnayāna Sarvāstivādin monastery.

Ten *li* to the south of the royal city was a large monastery, built by a former king of this country for the Arhat Vairocana. Before Buddhism had been introduced into this country, the arhat came here from Kaśmira and sat in meditation in a wood. The people who saw the arhat in dress strange to the country reported to the king, who upon hearing this, went personally to see him and asked: "Who are you, living alone in this wood?"

The arhat replied: "I am a disciple of the Tathāgata and am living here in seclusion in accordance with the Law."

The king asked: "What is the meaning of Tathāgata?"

The arhat replied: "Tathāgata is an honourable title of the Buddha, who was Prince Sarvārthasiddha of King Suddhodana. Out of pity for all living beings who are suffering in the sea of sorrow without anyone to save them and without a way of salvation, he abandoned his princely properties of seven kinds of jewels and gave up his position of a universal monarch in order to live in a forest to practise the Way. After a period of six years he attained his fruit, obtaining the golden coloured body and realizing the Law which was not taught to him by any teacher. He sprinkled the Sweet Dew at the Deer Park and showed the Mani-pearl on the Vulture Peak. When he had completed his task of teaching the Law for the advantage of all living beings, he gave up what was unreal and returned to reality at the age of eighty. His images and bequeathed teachings have been handed down till the present time. Owing to your good deeds done in the past, you are now a lord of men, and thus you should take the responsibility of turning the Wheel of Law and regard the Buddha as your guide. But how

is it that you are ignorant and have not heard about Buddhism?"

The king said: "It is owing to my accumulated evil deeds that I have not heard the name of the Buddha. It is really my good fortune that I have been edified by a saint now. Since there are images of the Buddha and his bequeathed teachings, I beg to have one Buddha's image to worship."

The arhat said: "If you really have such a wish, you should first build a temple and then the Buddha's image will come by itself."

Thus the king returned, and after having chosen a piece of good land with his ministers, he ordered the workmen to build a temple according to the instructions of the arhat. When the temple had been constructed, the king again said: "Now the temple has been constructed, where is the Buddha's image?"

The arhat replied: "Pray with a sincere heart, and the image will come very soon."

The king and his ministers and all the people burned incense and stood respectfully with flowers in their hands. Before long a Buddha's image came down from the air and descended on the precious pedestal. It had a stately appearance with a brilliant light. On seeing the image the king was greatly pleased and praised it without limit. He also invited the arhat to preach the Law for the people, with whom he made rich offerings to the image. This was the first temple that was built in this country.

As the Master had lost some scriptures when he was crossing the Indus, he sent some men to Kucha and Kashgar after having arrived in this country, to look for new texts to replace the lost ones.

The king of Kustana invited the Master to stay for some time. As he could not continue his returning journey at once, he wrote a letter and asked a young man of Kaochang to go with some traders and send it to the court of China, informing the emperor that he had gone to the Brāhmaṇic countries to seek for the Law and was now at Kustana on his return journey. The letter said:

"Monk Hsuan-tsang begs to state that he has heard that as Ma Yung was a scholar of wide learning, Cheng Hsuan went to his native place at Fufeng to study from him, and that as Fu Sheng was a man of discrimination and wisdom, Tsao Tso went to Tsinan to be his student. From this we may know that even for the shallow knowledge of Confucianism, the ancient people went far to seek for it. Should one fear the journey of long distance and not go to seek for the sublime Way by which the Buddhas benefited all living beings, and the wonderful teachings of the Tripiṭaka which could liberate us from suffering?

"Hsuan-tsang had formerly thought that, although Buddhism which flourished in the western countries, had been introduced to the East, the teachings were far from being complete, in spite of the fact that the holy scriptures had come to us. Thus I had always intended to make further inquiries. And so in the fourth month of the third year of Chen Kuan (A.D. 629) I started privately for India in violation of the imperial law. After traversing the wide moving desert, climbing over the high peaks of the Snow Mountain, passing through the dangerous path of the Iron Gate and sailing across the waves of the Hot Sea, I started from the imperial capital of Changan and finally reached the new city of Rājagṛha,

covering a distance of more than 50,000 *li*. Though I, travelled through many different countries and experienced all kinds of hardship, I met with no obstruction on the way owing to the imperial influence of Your Majesty. As I have always been treated with hospitality, I do not feel any tiredness. In fulfilment of my wishes, I have visited the Gṛdhrakūṭa Mountain and worshipped the Bodhi-tree. I have seen what I never saw before and have read the scriptures which I never read before. I have seen all the wonders of the universe and have seen the manifestations of nature, and I have also proclaimed the virtue of Your Majesty so as to win the respect and admiration of the foreign peoples. After having spent seventeen years in my journey, leaving the country of Prayāga, passing through the domain of Kapiśa, climbing over the Pamir Ranges and crossing the Pamir Valley, I have now reached Kustana on my return journey. As my elephant has been drowned and I have brought with me a great amount of scriptures for which I have not yet found horses to carry, I have to stop on the way for some time and am unable to hasten to see Your Majesty at an earlier moment. For this I feel deep regret. Now I am sending Ma Hsuan-chih, a layman of Kaochang, to come with some traders to submit this letter to Your Majesty beforehand."

Afterwards the Master expounded the *Yogācārya-bhūmi Śāstra*, the *Abhidharma-samuccaya-vyakhya Śāstra*, the *Abhidharma-kośa Śāstra* and the *Mahāyāna-samgraha Śāstra* for the monks of Kustana, and completed the exposition of these four treatises one after the other in one day and one night. The king and the monks and laymen, a thousand in number, came to attend the lectures every day.

After the lapse of seven or eight months, the messenger returned with an imperial decree to welcome and console the Master. It said: "I am highly delighted to hear that the teacher is returning home after seeking for the Way in the foreign lands. You may come to see me as quickly as possible, and you may, as well, bring the foreign monks who understand the Sanskrit language and the meanings of the scriptures to come with you. I have already ordered the authorities of Kustana and the other regions to escort you, and so you will not be in want of carriers and horses. I have also instructed the officials of Tunhuang to receive you at the Desert, as well as those of Shanshan to receive you at Chemo."

Upon receiving this decree, the Master immediately proceeded on his journey, and the king of Kustana richly provided him with travelling requirements.

After leaving the capital and having travelled for 300 *li*, he reached the city of Bhimā in the east. In this city was a standing image of the Buddha made of sandalwood, more than thirty feet high, which had a stately appearance and often worked miracles. If anyone suffered from some ailment, he might paste some golden flake on the part of the image corresponding with the part of his pain, and his illness could be cured. Those who prayed before it could often have their wishes fulfilled. It was said in tradition that this image was made by King Udāyana of Kauśāmbi during the Buddha's lifetime, and it flew to the city of Rallaka in the north of this country after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa. Afterwards it shifted itself to the present place. It was also said in tradition that it had been prophesied that this image would enter the palace of the dragons after the decline of the Dharma.

Going eastward from the city of Bhimā the Master entered the desert, in which he travelled for 200 *li* to reach the city of Niya.[1] Again eastward, he entered the Flowing Desert, in which the sand "flowed" with the wind, and there was neither water nor pasture, but full of the troubles of heat and demons. There was no road, and travellers had to look for human and animal skeletons as marks on the way. Because of this it was possible to proceed only slowly. After travelling 400 *li*, he reached the old country of Tukhāra, and after a further 600 *li*, the country of Calmadana, which was the land of Chemo.[2] Then, north-east for 1,000 *li* to the old country of Navapa, which was the land of Loulan.

Finally he reached the territory of his own country and the escorts of Kustana returned home with their camels and horses. The authorities sought to reward them for their services, but they accepted nothing.

When he had arrived at Shachou, he wrote another letter to the emperor, who was then in his palace at Loyang. On receiving this letter, the emperor knew that the Master was approaching, and instructed Prime Minister Fang Hsuan-ling, the Duke of Liang Kuo, who was then the Imperial Guard of the Western Capital, to issue orders to the authorities to welcome the Master.

Having heard that the emperor was about to leave on a military expedition for a region near the Liao River, the Master did not wish to delay on the way, but proceeded with double speed and reached the Canal very soon. As the local authorities did not know the ceremony of receiv-

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[1] It has been identified with the present Niya in Yutien district.

[2] The modern Chemo district in Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region.

ing him, no special arrangement had been made for the occasion. But the people who heard about his arrival came out by themselves to see and worship him. The street was so crowded that movement was not possible. Thus the Master could not proceed and had to spend the night at the Canal.

BOOK VI

Beginning from His Return to the Western Capital in the First Month of the Nineteenth Year and Ending with the Composition of the Imperial Preface to the Holy Scriptures in the Sixth Month of the Twenty-second Year of Chen Kuan

On the seventh day of the first month in the spring of the nineteenth year of Cheng Kuan (A.D. 645), Prime Minister Fang Hsuan-ling, who was the Duke of Liang Kuo and the Imperial Guard of the Capital, sent Hou-mochen Shih, the Great General of You Wu Hou, Li Shu-shen, the Governor of Yungchou, and Li Chien-you, the Magistrate of Changan, to receive the Master when he arrived with the scriptures and images of the Buddha. Being followed by a large crowd, the Master came by the Canal and stayed in the guest-house in the capital.

On that day the authorities instructed the various monasteries to prepare banners and tapestries to send the scriptures and images of the Buddha to the Hung Fu Monastery. The people were glad to make the required arrangements, and on the following day they assembled at the south end of The Red Bird Street. Several hundred receptacles were arranged in rows to receive the scriptures and images of the Buddha which the Master had obtained in the western countries, including

150 grains of red śarira of the Tathāgata; one golden replica of the Buddha's shadow-image in the Dragon Cave on the Pragbodhi Mountain in Magadha, three feet and three inches high including the stand; one sandalwood image of the Buddha, three feet and five inches high including the stand, made in imitation of the image of Turning the Wheel of Law at the Deer Park in Benares; one sandalwood image of the Buddha, two feet and nine inches high including the stand, made in imitation of the sandalwood image carved by King Udāyana of Kauśāmbi when he was desirous of seeing the Tathāgata; one silver image of the Buddha, four feet high including the stand, made in imitation of the image of the Tathāgata descending from heaven on the Precious Terrace in Kapitha; one golden image of the Buddha, three feet and five inches high including the stand, made in imitation of the image of the Buddha as preaching the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika Sūtra*, etc., on the Vulture Peak in Magadha; one sandalwood image of the Buddha, one foot and three inches high including the stand, carved in imitation of the shadow-image of the Buddha as subduing a poisonous dragon in Nagarahāra; one sandalwood image of the Buddha as going on his daily round for alms in Vaiśali; and some other images of the Buddha.

They also received the scriptures which the Master had obtained in the western countries, namely, 224 books of Mahāyāna sūtras, 192 books of Mahāyāna śāstras, 15 books of the Tripiṭaka of the Sthavira School, 15 books of the Tripiṭaka of the Sammatiya School, 22 books of the Tripiṭaka of the Mahiśāsaka School, 17 books of the Tripiṭaka of the Kāśyapiya School, 42 books of the Tripiṭaka of the Dharmagupta School, 67 books of the Tripiṭaka of the Sarvāstivādin School, 36 books concern-

ing the *Hetuvidyā Śāstra* and 13 books concerning the *Śabdavidyā Śāstra*, making a total number of 657 books, bound in 520 cases, being loaded on twenty horses.

On that day the authorities instructed all the monasteries to bring out all their banners, tapestries and the other ceremonial appliances to assemble at The Red Bird Street in the morning of the following day, i.e., the eighth day, to receive the newly arrived scriptures and images of the Buddha and send them to the Hung Fu Monastery. Thus the people vied with one another in making stately arrangements with great enthusiasm and prepared their best banners, tapestries, umbrellas, precious tables and carriages. When the different monasteries had sent out their ceremonial processions by different ways, the monks and nuns, properly dressed in their religious garments, followed. The court and monastic musicians played in front, while the people holding incense-burners in their hands followed them.

All having reached The Red Bird Street, and holding several hundred ceremonial appliances and carrying the scriptures and the images of the Buddha, they marched forward with pearls and jades tinkling in the air and golden flowers scattered over the road. For a distance of several tens of *li*, beginning from The Red Bird Street and ending at the main gate of the Hung Fu Monastery, the people of the capital, scholars and imperial and local officials, stood by the sides of the road and looked on the procession with respect. Those who joined in the procession forgot the dust and their tiredness and declared that it was a rare occurrence, and that they were delighted at being present on that rare occasion. As the street was overcrowded, the authorities, fearing that the people might tread upon one another, ordered that they

should not move, and that they should burn incense and scatter flowers only at the places where they were standing. Thus the smoke of incense and the voice of praise progressed from place to place.

When the Tathāgata descended from heaven in Kapitha and when Maitreya first ascended to the Tuṣita Heaven, the Nāgas and heavenly beings made offerings to them and the people surrounded them. Although this present occasion was not comparable with those of the old times, it was indeed the most splendid event since the death of the Buddha.

On this day the whole congregation witnessed a coloured cloud in the sky at the north of the sun, circling with a circumference of several *li* above the scriptures and images of the Buddha, as if it were welcoming the holy objects. It disappeared when the procession reached the monastery.

On the twenty-third day the Master had an interview with the Emperor Tai Tsung in the palace at Loyang.

On the first day of the second month the emperor received him in the Yi Luan Palace with great favour. Having sat down the emperor asked: "Why did you go (to India) without telling me?"

The Master replied with apology: "When I was preparing for my journey, I had sent petitions to Your Majesty several times, but as my project was unworthy, I did not enjoy the favour of being granted with an official permission. Because of my utmost sincerity for seeking the Law, I went away privately, for which offence I beg the pardon of Your Majesty."

The emperor said: "Since you are a monk, you are different from lay people in this matter. I am delighted that you went to seek for the Law at the risk of your life

for the benefit of all the people. There is no need to ask my pardon. I wonder how you managed to reach that country at so great a distance beyond mountains and rivers with different people with strange customs."

The Master said in reply: "I have heard that it is not far to reach the Heavenly Lake for those who could ride on a speedy wind, and it is not difficult to cross a stormy river, if one sailed in a dragon-boat. Since Your Majesty ascended the throne to rule over the country, your virtue and benevolence prevailed in all the areas, with the wind of morality blowing to the hot countries in the south and your political influence reaching as far as beyond the Pamirs. Therefore, when the sovereigns of the foreign people saw a bird flying from the east, they would suspect it as coming from the supreme country and would bow to it to show their respect, not to say that I am a human being under the protection of Your Majesty. It is owing to the imperial influence of Your Majesty that I have been able to go and return without any difficulty."

The emperor remarked: "You say so out of politeness, and I am not worthy of such praises."

He then inquired in great detail about the products and customs of the foreign peoples, the old traces of the eight kings and the four Buddhas in India in the west of the Snow Mountain, which were not found in the historical records either of Chang Chien, the Marquis of Po Wang, or of Pan Ku and Ssuma Chien.

Since the Master had visited that country personally and could remember what he had heard and seen without forgetting anything, he answered fluently what the emperor inquired of him, at which the emperor was greatly pleased and he said to his attending ministers: "In old times Fu Chien praised the Venerable Tao-an

as a man of great intelligence whom the whole court respected. Now the Master is elegant in his discussion and is upright in character. He is by no means inferior to the ancient people but far surpasses them."

Changsun Wu-chi, the Duke of Chao Kuo, said in reply to the emperor: "It is just as Your Majesty has remarked. I have read the *Annals of Thirty Kingdoms* in which the events of Tao-an are recorded. He was indeed a monk of high virtue and wide learning. But as Buddhism was newly introduced at his time and there were not many Buddhist scriptures and commentaries, what he studied was not the fundamental teachings of Buddhism. He was not like the Master, who has personally visited the Land of Purity where he made researches into the origins of all the wonderful teachings and saw the place where the Buddha entered Nirvāṇa."

The emperor said: "What you have said is right."

The emperor said to the Master: "As the Buddhist country is far away from our country and there is no detailed record of the holy places and Buddhist teachings in our historical books, you should write an account of the places which you have visited in person so as to inform those who have not heard of them."

Realizing that the Master was a man of great talent, being able to assist in public affairs, the emperor exhorted him to return to secular life in order to help him in worldly business. But the Master declined the offer, saying: "Since my youth I have been leading a monastic life in pursuance of Buddhism. What I have learned is the metaphysical teaching, and I have never studied Confucianism. If Your Majesty orders me to return to secular life, it would be like dragging a boat from the water to the land. It would not only become useless,

but it would also decay. I wish to practise the Way for life in order to repay the benevolence of my country. This will be my greatest good fortune."

In this way he firmly declined the offer of the emperor, who accepted the reasonableness of the Master's attitude.

The emperor was about to leave to suppress the rebellion along the Liao River and the military forces of the country were concentrated at Loyang. On hearing of the arrival of the Master, though he was busily engaged in military affairs he ordered that the Master should be ushered into the court to see him. But so engrossed did he become in the conversation that he forgot that the sun had passed the meridian.

Changsun Wu-chi, the Duke of Chao Kuo, said to the emperor: "The Master is staying in the royal guest-house, and it is getting too late for him to return."

The emperor said to the Master: "I have not yet said all I wish to say in our hasty conversation. I wish you to go with me to the East on my political inspection, so that I may talk with you beside my work of commanding the troops. What do you think of it?"

The Master declined, saying: "I am afraid I am unable to accompany Your Majesty as I have travelled a long distance and I am feeling unwell."

The emperor said: "You have been able to travel all alone in foreign countries, and this journey is but a very short distance for you. Why should you refuse to go with me?"

In reply the Master said: "In your eastward campaign, Your Majesty will be protected by six armies, and in your enterprise of suppressing rebellion and killing the treasonous ministers, Your Majesty will certainly enjoy victory as that of Muyeh and Kunyang. I calculate that

I would be helpless to your military affair, but be an unnecessary burden on you. Moreover, according to the Vinaya rules, a monk is prohibited from beholding a military campaign. Since this is the teaching of the Buddha, I must report it to Your Majesty. It will be good fortune for me if Your Majesty will have compassion on me."

The emperor accepted his words and consented.

The Master said to the emperor: "I have brought back more than 600 volumes of Sanskrit scriptures, of which not a word has been translated into Chinese. I know of the Shao Lin Monastery at the south of the Sung Mountain and the north of the Shao Shih Mountain, situated at a quiet place far from noisy towns and villages. It was built by Emperor Hsiao Wen of the Later Wei dynasty and it was the place where Bodhiruci translated Buddhist scriptures into Chinese. I wish to stay at that place to translate the Sanskrit texts. I am waiting for an imperial approval."

The emperor said: "You need not go to the mountains. After you had gone to the West, I had constructed in memory of my queen mother Mu the Hung Fu Monastery in the Western Capital (Changan in present-day Shensi Province), which is a quiet place suitable for you to translate the Buddhist scriptures."

The Master responded: "As curious people know that I have returned from the West, they flock together to see me and make my place as noisy as a market. Their behaviour is not only against the law, but it also hinders me in my religious affairs. I hope that gate-keepers will be appointed to prevent them from committing blunders."

The emperor was pleased and said: "What you have said is very important for your personal safety. I shall make proper arrangements for you. You may rest for a few days and then return to the capital and make preparations to live in the Hung Fu Monastery. Whatever you need you may ask of Prime Minister Fang Hsuan-ling."

Then the Master took his leave and returned to his place.

On the first day of the third month the Master returned to Changan from Loyang and lived in the Hung Fu Monastery. Before he started his translation work, he sent a petition to Prime Minister Fang Hsuan-ling, the Imperial Guard of the Capital and the Duke of Liang Kuo, requesting him to provide the necessary assistant translators, grammarians, stenographers and copyists. Fang Hsuan-ling ordered the authorities to make a report to the emperor at Tingchow, who issued a decree to the effect that whatever the Master needed must be provided sufficiently.

On the second day of the sixth month in the summer twelve renowned monks arrived who were well versed in both Mahāyāna and Hinayāna śūtras and śāstras were appointed to be his assistant translators. They were Monk Ling-jun and Monk Wen-pei of the Hung Fu Monastery in the capital, Monk Hui-kuei of the Lo Han Monastery, Monk Ming-yen of the Shih Chi Monastery, Monk Fa-hsiang of the Pao Chang Monastery, Monk Pu-hsien of the Ching Fa Monastery, Monk Shen-fang of the Fa Hai Monastery, Monk Tao-sheng of the Fa Chiang Monastery at Kuochow, Monk Hsuan-chung of the Yen Chio Monastery at Pienchow, Monk Shen-tai of the Pu Chiu Monastery at Puchow, Monk Ching-ming of the

Chen Yin Monastery at Mienchow, and Monk Tao Yin of the To Pao Monastery at Yichow.

There arrived also nine grammarians, namely, Monk Hsi-hsuan of the Pu Kuang Monastery in the capital, Monk Ming-chun of the Hung Fu Monastery, Monk Pien-chi of the Hui Chang Monastery, Monk Tao-hsuan of the Feng Teh Monastery on Mount Chungnan, Monk Ching-mai of the Fu Chu Monastery at Chienchow, Monk Hsing-yu of the Pu Chiu Monastery at Puchow, Monk Tao-cho of the Chi Yen Monastery, Monk Hui-li of the Chao Jen Monastery at Yuchow, and Monk Hsuan-tse of the Tien Kung Monastery at Lochow; one etymologist, namely, Monk Hsuan-ying of the Great Tsung Chih Monastery in the capital; and one Sanskrit scholar, namely, Monk Hsuan-mu of the Great Hsing Shan Monastery in the capital.

There arrived also some stenographers and copyists, together with the necessary appliances which the authorities had supplied.

On the first day of the seventh month the Master started to translate the palm-leaf Sanskrit scriptures, and at the beginning he translated the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka Sūtra*, the *Buddha-bhūmi Sūtra*, the *Sanmukha-dhūrani Śūtra*, and the *Prakaraṇāryavaca Śāstra*. He completed the translation of the *Sanmukha-dhāraṇi Sūtra* on that same day and finished the translation of the *Buddha-bhūmi Sūtra* on the fifteenth day. While the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka Sūtra* and the *Prakaraṇāryavaca Śāstra* were done by the end of the year.

On the first day of the first month in the spring of the twentieth year (A.D. 646) he again translated the *Mahāyānabhidharma-saṁyuktasaṅgiti Śāstra* and finished it

A woodcut made early in the Ming dynasty (14th century) showing the Tripiṭaka-Master Hsuan-tsang at his translation work. Following his return from India, the Master devoted himself to the translation of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese

in the second month, after which he again translated the *Yogācārya-bhūmi Śāstra.*

On the first day of the seventh month in the autumn the Master presented the translated scriptures to the emperor . . . and he also completed his *Record of the Western Countries* as was ordered by the emperor when he saw him at Loyang. . . .

In the spring of the twenty-second year (A.D. 648) the emperor visited the Yu Hua Palace. On the fourteenth day of the fifth month in the summer the Master completed the translation of the *Yogācārya-bhūmi Śāstra* in 100 volumes.

On the eleventh day of the sixth month the emperor invited the Master to the (Yu Hua) Palace. When the Master was on his way to the palace, the emperor repeatedly sent envoys to ask him to proceed slowly lest he should become fatigued.

On his arrival the Master saw the emperor, who was greatly pleased to see him. The emperor said: "As I am troubled by the heat in the capital, I have come to this palace in the mountains, where it is cooler, and feeling better I am able to attend to court affairs. But as I am thinking of your Reverence, I have invited you to come here. You must have suffered much on the way to come here."

The Master replied with gratitude: "The people of the whole country depend on Your Majesty for their lives, and if Your Majesty is feeling unwell, they all will be worried about it. On hearing that Your Majesty has recovered health, everybody danced with delight. May Your Majesty enjoy longevity as limitless as heaven. Being a man of no virtue, I am honoured by your sum-

mons and with a grateful mind I did not feel tiredness on my way coming here."

Knowing that the Master was a great scholar with an elegant appearance, the emperor had always desired to persuade him to return to secular life so that he might assist the emperor in his political affairs. Formerly, when the emperor saw him in the palace at Loyang he had mentioned the matter, and now he said again to the Master: "The emperors Yao, Shun, Yu and Tang, and the lords of the Chou and Han dynasties considered that the political affairs in the whole country were so extensive and complicated that one could not see all things with only two eyes and could not investigate all matters with a single mind. Therefore King Wu of the Chou dynasty depended on ten persons to help him in a time of turmoil and Emperor Hsun entrusted his political duties to five ministers, so that they might help in court affairs and stabilize the state. They were sagacious kings and wise lords, and yet they depended on men of ability to assist them in political administration. How can I, being a man of little virtue and wisdom, do without the help of able men? I desire that you take off your religious robe of Subhūti and put on the white garment of Vimalakirti, so that I may appoint you my prime minister to help me in state affairs and give me advice on politics. What do you think of it?"

The Master replied, saying: "As Your Majesty has said that state affairs are so extensive, even the Three Lords and Five Emperors of old times could not attend to public affairs all by themselves, but had to depend on the assistance of sagacious people. Confucius has also said that what a lord might neglect, his ministers may remind him, and therefore a lord is compared to the head of a

man and his ministers the limbs. But in my opinion this saying is applicable only to a man of moderate talents and not to one who has superior wisdom. If all lords who have ministers may manage state affairs well, then one cannot say that the emperors Chieh and Chou did not have ministers. Considering this, ministers are of secondary importance. Your Majesty is a lord of superior wisdom, under whose governance everything in the country is in good order. Since Your Majesty ascended the throne the country has been in a state of peace and no turbulence has occurred neither in nor outside the country. All this is due to Your Majesty's non-negligence in public affairs, non-indulgence in sensual pleasure and abstention from pompousness and luxury. Your Majesty is not proud of your achievement, but thinks of danger while living in safety and performs good deeds according to the wish of Heaven. Who else can share the honour of all these great feats with Your Majesty? . . . Even if Your Majesty is in need of assistants, there are many people who are as talented as Yi Yun and Lu Shang. Being a humble man as I am, how can I be able to participate in court affairs? My wish is to live in a monastery according to the Vinaya rules and to propagate the bequeathed Law of the Buddha. May Your Majesty be compassionate and enable me to fulfil my wish without compelling me to change my mind."

The emperor was pleased to hear this and said to the Master: "What your Reverence has just stated is but due to the protection of Heaven, as well as the spiritual influence of my ancestors and the efforts of my ministers without which how can I achieve anything? Since you wish to spread the sublime Way, I will not act against

your lofty ambition. Make effort in your work. From now on I will help you to spread the Way." . . .

At the time Chu Sui-liang, the Prime Minister, said to the emperor: "Now the whole country is pacified and the nine states are all in peace. This is due to the great virtues of Your Majesty, just as his Reverence has said. We ministers just occupy official positions in the government without doing anything. What is the use of a glowworm or a candle under the sunshine or in the moonlight?"

The emperor said with a smile: "No. It is not so. A precious fur-coat is not made with the fur of a single fox, and a mansion must be built with a large quantity of wood. How can I do anything alone without you gentlemen? His Reverence praised me profusely, because he wanted to preserve his pure character."

The emperor inquired of the Master what scripture he had been translating. In reply the Master said: "I have recently completed the translation of the *Yogācārya-bhūmi Śāstra* in 100 volumes."

The emperor commented: "That is a voluminous work. Who wrote this book and what is it about?"

The Master replied, saying: "It is taught by Maitreya Bodhisattva in exposition of the seventeen stages of Bodhisattvaship."

The emperor asked again: "What are the seventeen stages?"

In reply, the Master said: "They are the stage of the response of the five senses, the stage of the response of consciousness, the stage of having both investigation and consideration, the stage of having only consideration without investigation, the stage of having neither investigation nor consideration, the stage of Samāhita, the

stage of non-Samāhita, the stage of mentality, the stage of non-mentality, the stage being achieved by hearing the Law, the stage being achieved by meditating on the Law, the stage being achieved by practising the Law, the stage of Śrāvakas, the stage of Pratyeka-buddhas, and the stage of Bodhisattvas, the stage of incomplete Nirvāṇa, and the stage of complete Nirvāṇa." And he gave an outline of the teachings of that śāstra.

Being pleased to hear of the teachings of that treatise, the emperor sent a messenger to the capital to fetch the *Yogācārya-bhūmi Śāstra.* When the book arrived the emperor perused it attentively, and when he saw that the theories of this śāstra were so profound, he said to the attending ministers with admiration: "I realize that the Buddhist scriptures are as unfathomable as the height of the sky or the depth of the sea. As I have always been engaged in state and military affairs, I could spare no time to study Buddhism. Now the Master has obtained this profound Law from the foreign countries, and after reading through the book I begin to understand that the Buddhist doctrines are so extensive that I can scarcely comprehend the deep meanings. Comparing with the Buddhist scriptures, the texts of Confucianism and Taoism and the Nine Schools are but a small island in a great sea. It is ridiculous that the people should say that the three religions of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism are of equal value."

Thus he ordered the authorities to instruct the copyists of the Imperial Secretariate to make nine copies of each of the newly translated sūtras and śāstras to be distributed to the nine states of Yung, Lo, Ping, Yen, Hsiang, Ching, Yang, Liang and Yi for circulation, so that the

people of the whole country might study the doctrines of which they had never previously heard.

The emperor had earlier consented to compose a preface to the newly translated scriptures, but as he was busily engaged in state affairs, he did not have time to make the composition. The Master requested him again to do it, and so in a short time the emperor wrote the "Preface to the Holy Teachings of the Tripiṭaka of the Great Tang Dynasty" in 781 characters, which he copied with his own hand and ordered to be put at the beginning of the scriptures. In the Ching Fu Palace the emperor, being attended by all his ministers, asked the Master to be seated, and ordered Shangkuan Yi, a scholar of the Imperial Institute, to read the preface which he had composed in the most elegant style with much praise about Buddhism.

BOOK VII

Beginning from the Composition of the Preface to the Holy Scriptures by the Crown Prince in the Sixth Month of the Twenty-second Year of Chen Kuan and Ending with a Letter by the Master in the Second Month of the Fifth Year of Yung Hui

In the sixth month in the summer of the twenty-second year (A.D. 648) the crown prince also wrote a preface to the holy scriptures after he had read them in the Spring Palace. . . .

Monk Yuan-ting, the abbot of the Hung Fu Monastery, and the other monks in the capital asked permission of the emperor to inscribe the two prefaces on slabs to be kept in the monastery. With imperial approval Monk Huai-jen of the Hung Fu Monastery and some others inscribed the two compositions on slabs, with the characters written by Wǎng Hsi-chih, the famous calligraphist of the Tsin dynasty. . . .

On the eleventh day (of the sixth month) the crown prince, intending to repay the kindness of his mother who had deserted this world a long time before, and wishing to perform good deeds on behalf of her posthumously, ordered Kao Chi-fu, the second-grade secretary and acting right-attendant to the crown prince, to proclaim a decree, saying: "I have achieved nothing but

committed many sinful acts, and so my mother deserted me while I was still at the age of ignorance. This is a heart-piercing sorrow for my whole life, and my emotion for my mother is deeply incised in my heart. As she is now departed from this world, I can no longer attend upon her. There is no way for me to repay her kindness and I am unable to express my feelings as a filial son.

"Buddhism is a way of great compassion, by which one can perform meritorious deeds for the benefit of the dead. Therefore I follow Buddhism with a mind of sincerity. The authorities should be instructed to choose one of the old and desolate monasteries in the capital to be reconstructed and dedicated to the late queen. When the reconstruction of the monastery is completed, monks should specially be ordained to live in it. Around the monastery there should be trees and fountains, so as to make it look as beautiful as possible. I pray that my mother may be reborn to the Trayastriṁśās Heaven as a result of my meritorious deed, in fulfilment of my desire to repay her kindness."

Accordingly the authorities selected a good place with great care and started building a monastery on the site of the old Ching Chio Monastery at Tsin-chang-li facing the Chu-kiang Lake to the south of the Palace City.

Astrological and topographical surveys were made for the construction, and the monastery was built after the style of the royal palace and in imitation of the Jetavana Garden. The best artisans, as good as Lu Pan and Chui of old times, were employed, and all the good timbers of the mountains Heng and Ho were used. Marbles with natural stripes, and catalpa, cassia, camphor and palm trees filled in the wood. Pearls and jade, and paints of red, blue, brown, white, golden and green colours were

used to decorate the buildings, which consisted of storeyed pavilions and double halls, lofty towers and spacious chambers. They were divided into more than ten courtyards, of a total number of 1,897 rooms, all fully furnished with beddings, utensils and other articles.

The emperor also read the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka* which the Master submitted to him, and he highly praised it and ordered the crown prince to write an epilogue for the sūtra. . . .

Since then the emperor had more faith in Buddhism and studied the Buddhist teachings with great zeal. He never stopped praising the merits one could derive from the study of Buddhism, and lived with the Master without a moment's separation. He ordered that more daily requisites should be supplied to the Master and his seasonal clothing and bedding should be changed frequently.

On the seventeenth day of the seventh month in the autumn when the summer was over, the Master was presented with a piece of religious robe, worth one hundred pieces of gold, which was so finely made that not a single stitch was visible on it. . . . And he was also presented with a razor. For these gifts the Master wrote a letter to thank the emperor.

On the first day of the ninth month in the autumn the emperor issued an imperial decree (on the advice of the Master) . . . that each of all the monasteries in the capital and in the whole country should accept five persons to become monks, except the Hung Fu Monastery which should accept fifty persons. There were then 3,716 monasteries in the whole country, and a total number of more than 18,500 monks and nuns were admitted into the Order. . . .

The emperor asked again: "The *Vajra-prajñā-sūtra* is a sūtra by which all Buddhas are born. One who hears it without slandering it, may get much more merit than one would from sacrificing one's body in alms-giving, or even more merit than one could get by giving others as many gems and jewels as the sand in the Ganges. Moreover, the text is concise and yet contains subtle teachings, and so learned scholars like to study it. Do you think that the old translation of this sūtra done in a previous dynasty is a complete version?"

The Master replied: "The merit of studying this sūtra is really as great as Your Majesty has said. The people in the West all like and respect this sūtra. I have seen that there are some slight omissions in the old translation. According to the Sanskrit text the full name should be *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, but the old translation simply adopted the title of *Vajra-prajñā*. It explains that a Bodhisattva considers that discrimination is a form of Kleśa (passion) and the illusion of discrimination is as strong as diamond (vajra). What is taught in this sūtra is the wisdom of non-discrimination, which alone can cut off the illusion of discrimination. Thus its title is *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. Hence I know the words 'can cut off' are missing in the title of the old translation. Furthermore, in the text, one of the three questions, one of the two stanzas and three of the nine parables, etc., are omitted. As regards the words 'Śrāvastī' as translated by Kumārajīva, and 'Bhagavān,' by Bodhiruci, they are acceptable."

The emperor said: "Since you have got the original Sanskrit text, you may translate it again, so that people may have a full version of the sūtra. What is valued in a sūtra is the doctrine it contains. So it is needless to

make a florid composition which does not convey the full meaning."

Thus the new translation of the *Vajracchedikā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* was entirely based on the Sanskrit text. When it was reported to the emperor, he was greatly pleased.

In the tenth month in the winter, the emperor returned to the capital, and the Master returned with him. The emperor had previously ordered the authorities to build a house, with the name of the "Hung Fa Court" at the west of the Tzu Wei Palace in the north of the Imperial Residence. On his arrival the Master stayed in this new house, and he was invited to converse with the emperor during the daytime, while he returned to the Hung Fa Court at night to spend his time in translating the scriptures. He completed the translation of the *Mahāyāna-samgraha Śāstra* with commentaries by Asvabhava Bodhisattva in 10 volumes, the same śāstra with commentaries by Vasubandhu in 10 volumes, the *Pratitya-samutpada Sūtra* in one volume, and the *Satadharmavid-yānikaya Śāstra* in one volume.

On the first day (of the tenth month) the crown prince again issued a decree, saying: "The construction of the Tzu En Monastery is nearly completed and all its decorations finished, but there are still no monks to live in it. The emperor has ordered to ordain three hundred monks, with another fifty monks of great virtue to be specially invited, to live and practise the Way in this divine abode, which is dedicated to my mother. This newly-built monastery should bear the name of the Great Tzu En Monastery. A separate house for translating Buddhist scriptures should be constructed. The pillars and ceilings should be beautifully painted in colours,

and the foundations for the pillars should be made of the best stone and the steps, of bronze. The rings on the door should be made of gold and the door well decorated with paintings and embellishment. The Master will be invited to live in it to do his translation work, and at the same time be abbot of the monastery."

Upon receiving this instruction to be the chief monk of the monastery, the Master wrote a letter to the crown prince to decline the appointment. . . .

On the twenty-second day of the twelfth month the emperor ordered Wang Tao-tsung of Kianghsia, the Director of Ceremonies, commanding the nine government bands, Sung Hsing-chih, the magistrate of Wannien, and Pei Fang-yen, the magistrate of Changan, commanding the local bands of their districts, to assemble in the morning at the An Fu Gate Street, together with the religious processions of the various monasteries arranged in an extremely grand manner, in order to welcome the Buddha's images and the Master to the Great Tzu En Monastery. The procession consisted of 1,500 beautifully decorated carriages, carrying acrobatic players, and 300 umbrellas and canopies properly arranged in the thoroughfare. More than 200 pieces of embroideries and paintings of the Buddha's image and two golden and silver statues of the Buddha, together with 500 silk pennants, had been taken out from the palace to the Hung Fu Monastery on the previous day. Together with the scriptures and the Buddha's images and śariras which the Master had brought back from the western countries, they were taken out from the Hung Fu Monastery and were put on curtained carriages that proceeded in the middle of the procession. On both sides in front of the images were large, decorated carts, each being mounted with a long pole on

which was a pennant. The Lion-devas followed behind these pennants as vanguards of the procession. Fifty decorated carriages carried the monks of rank. The other monks in the capital, holding incense and flowers and chanting praises, followed behind them. Next came the civil and military officials, attended by their bodyguards. The nine bands of the Board of Ceremonies played at both sides of the procession. The musicians of the two districts followed behind. The banners and pennants, bells and drums made such a great display that the colours dazzled the eyes and the noise resounded throughout the capital. When one looked forward or behind, one could see neither the beginning nor the end of the procession.

The crown prince ordered his Chief Guard, Weichih Shao-tsung, and Deputy Chief Guard, Wang Wen-hsun, to command one thousand of his bodyguards to be carriers in the procession. The emperor ordered Li Chien-yu, the Imperial Inspector, and Hsiang Chih, the Superintendent of Police, to supervise the procession.

The emperor and the crown prince and the members of the royal family stayed on the storey of the An Fu Gate, and, holding incense-burners in their hands, they looked on the procession with great delight. Tens of thousands of people watched the procession in the thoroughfare.

When the scriptures and the Buddha's images reached the gate of the monastery, Chu Sui-liang, the Imperial Secretary, was ordered to receive and place them in the shrine hall, while holding an incense-burner in his hand. The nine bands played music and the dancers performed the "Dance of Triumph" and other acrobatic feats in the court. When the performance was over, they all left the monastery.

On the twenty-sixth day of the twelfth month the ceremony for the ordination of monks was to be performed. On the twenty-fifth the crown prince, attended by his bodyguards, left his palace and went to his old residence where he spent the night. In the morning of the following day he came from the south of the monastery with his guard of honour. Upon reaching the gate he alighted from his carriage and walked into the monastery. Accompanied by his officials, he paid homage to the Buddha's image and then had an interview with the fifty monks of great virtue, to whom he related his intention of building the monastery. He sobbed as he spoke, and his sentiment affected those who stood by. His attending ministers and the monks all shed tears of sympathy. Considering his emotion of filial piety, he was an Emperor Hsun of his time indeed.

After talking with the monks, he ascended the Eastern Pavilion, where he ordered Chang Hsing-cheng, the Deputy Attendant to the Crown Prince, to proclaim an imperial decree of amnesty to all prisoners then confined in the capital. Their heads were then shaved to become monks and they were given a meal. After presenting rolls of silk to the princes and dukes and those below in rank, the crown prince came down from the pavilion, irreverent people being cleared away, to pay homage to the Buddha's image, and had a look around the monastery with his wife and others. When he came to the Master's chamber, he composed a poem in praise of him and pasted it on the door. . . .

After visiting the monastery, he returned to his palace. Both the monks and laymen of the time were very glad and congratulated one another, saying that the Buddha's bequeathed teaching would be revived and that such an

affair had never happened in ancient days or in recent times.

On that same day the emperor invited the Master to return to the imperial palace.

In the fourth month in the summer of the twenty-third year (A.D. 649) the emperor favoured the Tsui Wei Palace with his presence, being accompanied by the crown prince and the Master. At the palace the emperor would discuss Buddhism with the Master and inquire about the holy traces in India, beside attending to court affairs. The Master gave him adequate replies with quotations from the scriptures, which the emperor accepted with deep faith, and he often remarked with regret: "It is a pity that I met you so late, and I could not propagate Buddhism to a greater extent."

The emperor was still in his usual spirit, though a little ill, when he left the capital. On the twenty-sixth day of the fifth month because of a headache he kept the Master to spend the night in the palace with him. On the twenty-seventh day he died in the Han Feng Palace, but his death was not announced until his remains were brought back to the capital, where his coffin was kept in the Tai Chi Palace. On that day the crown prince ascended the throne beside the coffin of the late emperor. After one year the title of reign was changed to Yung Hui, and the people in the whole country lamented as if their parents were dead.

The Master returned to the Tzu En Monastery and engaged himself exclusively in his translation work, without wasting a single moment. He made a time-table for his daily work, and if he did not complete his work during the day owing to some other business, he would finish it in the night. He put down his pen only after

the second watch. Having closed the scriptures, he would pay homage to the Buddha's image as a way of self-cultivation till the third watch, when he slept for some time. In the fifth watch he got up again to recite the Sanskrit texts and mark with a red writing brush the paragraphs which he would translate the following day. After breakfast every day he would expound the newly translated sūtras and śāstras for two hours in the morning, and the student monks of the various regions often came at this time to solve their doubts and ask for elucidations. Because he was the abbot of the monastery, he had also to attend to the monastic affairs. The imperial envoys often came to perform meritorious deeds, and they had made from time to time ten copies of the scriptures, which were bound in double ramie-cloth, and had carved more than twenty images of the Buddha. They asked the advice of the Master in all these matters. In the evenings a number of more than one hundred disciples in the monastery would come to ask for his instructions. They all stood in the corridor and the Master would answer their questions without neglecting anybody. Although he was very busy every day, he conducted his daily work in an orderly manner without confusion. He often talked with the monks about the different theories of the various schools founded by the saints of the western countries, and about how he studied in the capital when he was a youth. He was so energetic and full of vigour that he could often talk for a long time without feeling tired.

Several princes and high-ranking government officials often came to show their respect to the Master, who enlightened them with Buddhist teachings and converted them to Buddhism. They all gave up their proud and

extravagant ways and treated the Master with veneration and praise.

On the eighth day of the first month in the spring of the second year of Yung Hui, Chia Tun-yi, the governor of Yingchow, Li Tao-yu, the governor of Puchow, Tu Cheng-lun, the governor of Kuchow, and Hsiao Jui, the governor of Hengchow, who were in the capital on official business, came to visit the Master at a moment when they were free from court affairs, to request him to confer on them the Bodhisattva Disciplinary Rules. The Master did so and explained to them the practices of a Bodhisattva and exhorted them to serve their lord with loyalty and to treat the people with love and kindness. The governors were highly pleased and went away. They offered the Master money and wrote a letter which they dispatched by a messenger to express to him their gratitude for having heard about the Bodhisattva Disciplinary Rules. . . .

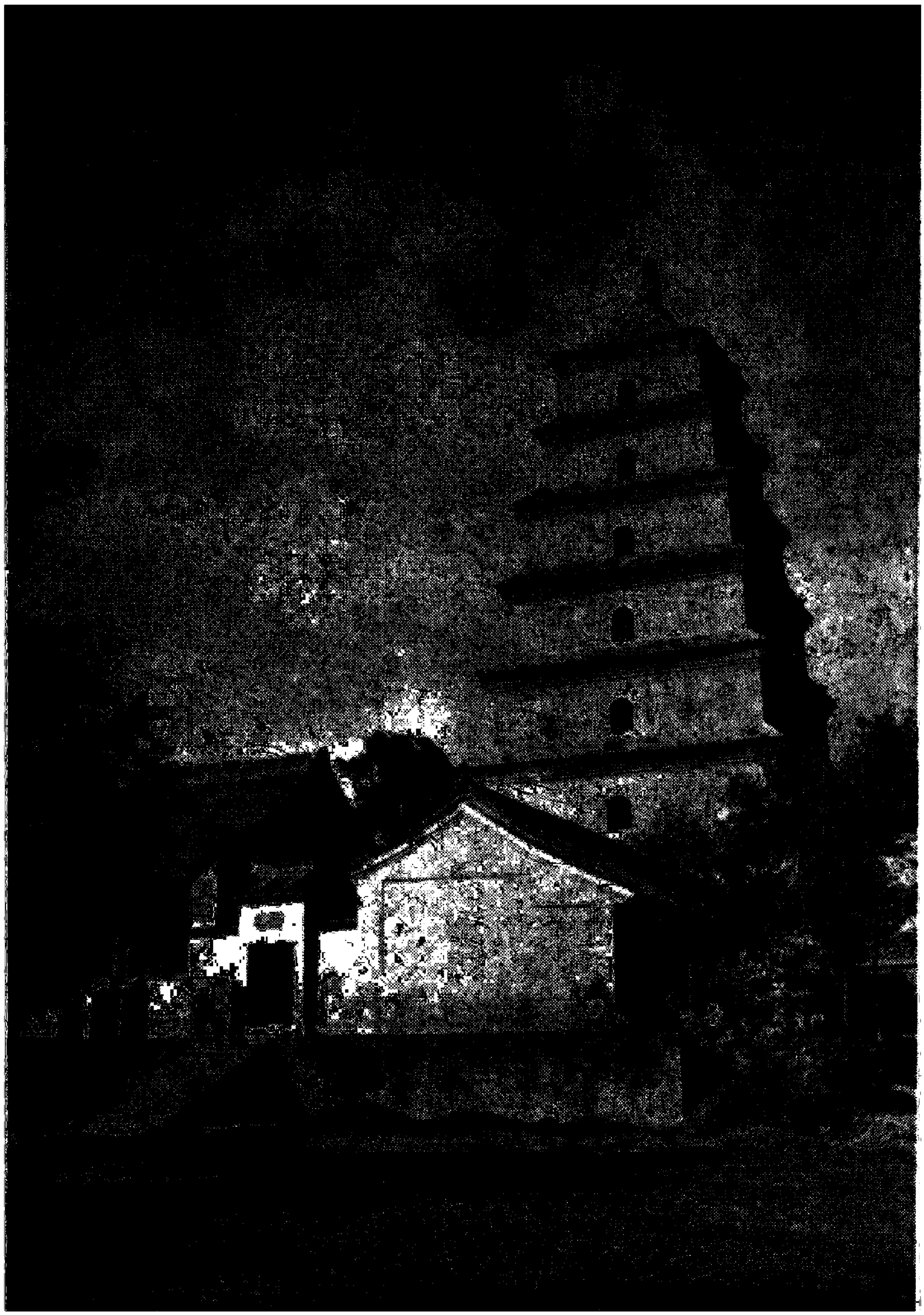
In the third month in the spring of the third year of Yung Hui (A. D. 652) because he feared that the scriptures might be lost in the time to come, or they might be destroyed in case of fire the Master decided to construct a stone pagoda at the southern side of the main gate of the monastery to store the scriptures and the Buddha's images which he had brought back from the western countries. The pagoda was designed as 300 feet in height, to show the magnificence of a great country and to be a monument for the Śākyamuni Buddha. Before he started to build it, he made a report to the emperor, who ordered Li Yi-fu, an imperial secretary, to inform the Master: "As the pagoda you intend to construct is so tall, it will perhaps be difficult to build with stone. It should be constructed with bricks. I do not wish the

Master to worry about it. I have already given instructions to contribute all the garments and other articles of the deceased members of the royal family for the construction of the pagoda."

Thus the pagoda was constructed with bricks in the west court of the monastery. Each side of the base of the pagoda was 140 feet in length after the fashion of the pagodas in the western countries and it was not built in the Chinese style. It has five storeys, being 180 feet in height including the "dew basin" and the spire, and in the centre of each storey are śariras to the amount of one thousand, two thousand or ten thousand grains. On the top storey is a stone chamber with two slabs on the southern side inscribed with the two "Prefaces to the Holy Teachings of the Tripiṭaka" as composed by the former emperor and the reigning one. The inscription was made with the characters written by Chu Sui-liang, the Prime Minister and the Duke of Ho Nan. . . .

The Master participated in the construction of the pagoda by carrying bricks and stones for it, and it took two years to complete.

On the twenty-third day of the fifth month in the summer, Jñānaprabha and Prajñādeva, two monks of the Mahābodhi Monastery in Central India, wrote a letter to the Master. Jñānaprabha was thoroughly learned in both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna scriptures, as well as in such heretical books as the *Four Vedas* and the treatises of the Five Knowledges. Being a prominent disciple of the Venerable Śīlabhadra, he was respected by the scholars of the five Indias. Prajñādeva was an expert in the teachings of the eighteen Hīnayāna Schools and was also respected by the people. When the Master was travel-



The Great Tzu En Monastery and Tayen Pagoda at Sian, Shensi Province. The monastery was built in the 22nd year of Chen Kuan period (A.D. 648) of the Tang dynasty. After his return to China from India, the Master Hsuan-tsang engaged himself in the translation of Buddhist scriptures in this monastery. The Tayen Pagoda was built in the third year of Yung Hui period (A.D. 652) of the Tang dynasty. Designed by Hsuan-tsang himself, the pagoda was erected to store the Buddhist scriptures he had brought back from India. The Master participated in the construction of the pagoda by carrying bricks and stones for it

ling in the west, he used to discuss Buddhism with them. Although they were well-learned in Hinayāna teachings, they did not know much about the Vaipulya doctrines. For their persistence in biased opinions, the Master used to censure them. In the religious meeting held at Kanyā-kubja they were once again defeated by him in debate, and acknowledged frustration with a sense of shame. Since the Master parted with them, they always remembered him with admiration. So they entrusted Dharmarudha, a fellow-monk of their monastery, with a letter to him to convey their greetings with two rolls of cotton cloth as a token of their deep veneration. In the letter they said:

"The Venerable Prajñādeva, who is surrounded by a group of well-learned scholars, of the Mahābodhi Monastery at the Varjrāsana of the Buddha, the Abstruse and Auspicious One, sends his best greetings to the Mokṣā-carya of Mahā-Cina who is erudite in the sublime teachings of the Tripiṭaka, and wishes him in his best health.

"I, Bhikṣu Prajñadeva, have composed a stanza in praise of the great divine powers of the Buddha, as well as the sūtras, śāstras and the Four Noble Truths, which I have entrusted Bhikṣu Dharmarudha to send to you.

"The old virtuous Ācārya Jñānaprabha of this place whose knowledge is unlimited, also sends his greetings to you, and Upāsaka Sūryalabdha also pays homage to you.

"We are now sending you two rolls of white cotton cloth to show our remembrance of you. As the way is too far we hope that you will accept it without thinking it is so small a gift. If you are in need of any sūtra or śāstra, you may just give us a list and we shall make copies of the required books for your use.

"May the Mokṣācarya note the above."

This shows how the Master was admired by the scholars in the distant lands.

In the second month in the spring of the fifth year (of Yung Hui) (A. D. 654), Dharmarudha took his leave to return home and asked the Master to make a reply. The Master wrote a letter in reply and prepared some gifts, which he gave to the messenger after having made a report to the emperor. In the letter he said:

"Bhikṣu Hsuan-tsang of the great Kingdom of Tang begs to send his greetings to the Venerable Jñānaprabha, the Tripiṭaka-Master of Magadha in Central India. It is more than ten years since we parted, and as we are separated by a long distance, I have scarcely heard of you. My remembrance of you increases as the time passes. When Bhikṣu Dharmarudha arrived he conveyed your kind regards to me and informed me that you were in your best health. His information made me feel as if I saw you with my own eyes and my pleasure was indescribable. The season is becoming warmer and I wonder how you are getting on since you wrote me that letter. Some years ago our envoy returned from India and informed me that the Right Dharma-Keeper had shown the Principle of Impermanence, which was indeed sad news for me. The boat on the sea of suffering has sunk and the eyes of devas and men have closed. His death is all too soon for us. The Right Dharma-Keeper had cultivated good deeds and performed meritorious acts during a long period in his past lives, and thus he inherited the good nature of equanimity and peace, and was endowed with great and eminent talents. He succeeded Āryadeva and continued the brilliancy of Nāgārjuna. He re-lit the torch of wisdom and re-established

the banner of Dharma, and thus he quenched the flame of heterodox views and changed the current in the sea of mistaken theories, exhorted the lazy people to go onward to the place of treasure and showed the right direction to those who lost their way. He was a great and magnificent pillar in the gate of Buddhism. Moreover, he was well versed in the teachings of both Mahāyāna and Hinayāna Buddhism, and fully understood the heterodox theories of annihilation and permanence. He could understand the most difficult literature and make abstruse meanings clear to all. Therefore, both Buddhists and non-Buddhists became his pupils and regarded him as a great teacher of India. He taught his students day and night without feeling tired and satisfied them all according to their different requirements. When I was studying in India he enlightened me with his kind instructions, and stupid as I am, I have been highly benefited by his teaching. He gave me special instructions when I left him to return to my own country, and his kind words are still sounding in my ears. I hoped that he would live long to propagate the teachings of the Buddha and never expected that he should have died so soon. It is unbearable for me to think of this sad event of my teacher. You studied under him for a long time and are a great disciple of the teacher. It must be hard for you to suppress your emotion after his death. What can we do? We can't help it since such is the law of impermanence! I hope you will overcome your sad feelings. When the Enlightened One passed away, Mahākāśyapa succeeded him in his great task, and after the death of Śāṇakavāsa, Upagupta continued to disseminate his good teachings. Now the teacher is dead and it is your turn to succeed to his post. I hope your eloquence in preaching will

always be as fluent as the water in the four seas, and your adornments of felicity and wisdom will be as permanent as the five mountains. Of the scriptures and commentaries which I have brought back from India, I have already translated into Chinese the *Yogācārya-bhūmi Śāstra* and some other books of a total number of more than thirty works. The *Abhidharma-kośa Śāstra* and the *Abhidharma-nyāyānusara* are in the course of translation and will be completed in this year. The Emperor of the great Kingdom of Tang, who is in his best health and enjoys all sorts of felicity in a land of peace, and who is spreading the Buddha's teachings with the compassion of a king of Cakravarti, has personally composed an imperial preface to all the Chinese translations of the scriptures and commentaries, and ordered the authorities to copy them for circulation in the whole country as well as in the neighbouring lands. Although we are at the end of the Semblance Period, the brilliant doctrine of Buddhism is still as prosperous as it was taught in the Jetavana Garden in Śrāvasti. This you may be interested to know. When I was crossing the Indus I lost a horse-load of scriptures in the river, of which I have made the attached list, and I hope you will kindly send the books to me at your convenience. Attached under separate cover is some small gift from me. As the way is far, I could not send more gifts to you, and please accept it without thinking it is too little. Homages from Hsuan-tsang."

He also wrote a reply to the Venerable Prajñādeva as the following:

"Bhikṣu Hsuan-tsang of the great Kingdom of Tang begs to send his greetings to the Venerable Prajñadeva of the Mahābodhi Monastery. Since we parted, I have

always been thinking of you, and as it is difficult to send you a letter, I could find no means to pay my respects to you. When Bhikṣu Dharmarudha arrived he conveyed to me your kind letter, which I received with great delight. I have also received two rolls of fine white cotton cloth and one fascicle of eulogistic stanzas. These are great gifts indeed which I, being a man of little virtue, am unworthy to accept. The season is becoming warmer and I don't know how your health is since you wrote me that letter. I think life must be pleasant for you, since you well understand the theories of a hundred schools and the sūtras of the nine divisions. You established the banner of the right Dharma to convert people to Buddhism, and beat the drum of victory to vanquish boastful heretics. You are proud in the presence of kings and nobles and your friends are all learned scholars. Being a man of ordinary ability, I am growing weak, and my remembrance of your virtues and my admiration for your benignity make me think of you all the more. When I was studying in India I had the opportunity to meet your Reverence, and in the meeting of Kanyākubja we had debated together to find out the truth in the presence of the kings and numerous followers of the different schools. It was unavoidable that there had been bitter arguments as one party holding the doctrines of Mahāyānism, while the other party the teachings of Hīnayanism. Truth was what was sought after, regardless of personal feelings. Thus I had probably offended you during the course of debate, but as soon as the meeting was over, all resentment was cleared immediately. Now the messenger still conveyed to me your apology for that event. How scrupulous you are! You are a good scholar of great eloquence and noble character. The water in the

Anavatapta Lake is not comparable to the amount of your knowledge and a pure Mani-pearl cannot exceed the purity of your character. Being a man of high virtue, you are an example to your students, and I hope that you will exert yourself to spread the right Dharma. No doctrine is as perfect as Mahāyāna Buddhism and I regret that you did not have a deep faith in it. It is like those who are content with a sheep or deer cart but give up a bull carriage. One should appreciate crystal instead of a piece of glass. Learned scholar as you are, why are you so persistent in your biased views? This physical body of ours can never last long. It befits you to embrace the right views of Mahāyāna teachings at an earlier date, so that you will not repent at the moment of death. The messenger is now returning home and I am entrusting him with this letter with my respects to you. Attached is a small gift for you, and it is but a sign of my gratitude, quite inadequate to express my deep admiration of you. This I hope you will note. Formerly I had lost a horse-load of scriptures while I was crossing the Indus on my returning journey. Attached is a list of books, which I hope you will kindly send to me. The other things I am unable to relate in detail in this letter. With homage from Bhikṣu Hsuan-tsang."

Beginning from the Completion of the Translation of the *Nyayadvarataraka Śāstra* in the Fifth Month of the Sixth Year of Yung Hui and Ending with the Imperial Inscription for the Tzu En Monastery in the Third Month of the First Year of Hsien Ching

On the first day of the fifth month in the summer of the sixth year of Yung Hui (A.D. 655), the Master also translated the *Nyayadvarataraka Śāstra* besides his regular work. He had previously translated the *Hetuvidyā Śāstra* while he was living in the Hung Fu Monastery. These two śāstras are of one volume each, being works of logic in explanation of the methods of argumentation and refutation by direct knowledge and inference. A number of monks living in the monastery for translation competed with one another in writing commentaries on these two works. Hsi-hsuan, a monk translator, showed his commentary to Lu Tsai, who was a medical attendant to the emperor. In exposition of his own views, Lu Tsai composed another commentary on the *Hetuvidyā Śāstra* to criticize the original work in a diagrammatic manner. . . . (His work caused controversies among scholars, but the dispute was finally settled, with Lu Tsai defeated, in the presence of the Master by order of the emperor.)

On the first day of the first month in the spring of the first year of Hsien Ching (A.D. 656), Crown Prince Chung, thinking that he was not born by the chief queen, did not wish to be the heir apparent and wanted to resign his position as the crown prince. The emperor consented to his appeal and made him the Prince of Liang, and he also gave his son ten thousand articles of gifts and a first-grade mansion. In the same month Chih, the Prince of Tai, was made the crown prince.

On the twenty-third day a feast entertaining five thousand monks was held in the Great Tzu En Monastery in honour of the new crown prince. Each of the monks was offered three pieces of cloth, and some of the court ministers were ordered to attend the religious ceremony conducted in the monastery. Thus Hsueh Yuan-chao, the Imperial Attendant, and Li Yi-fu, the Imperial Secretary, had an interview with the Master. They asked him: "The translation of Buddhist scriptures is indeed a great work of Buddhism, but we do not know if anything else could be done for its glorification. We also do not know how the translation work was done in the old times."

The Master answered: "As the Dharma-piṭaka is most profound, it is really hard to comprehend it thoroughly. It is the duty, however, of the monks to expound it, but it has to depend on the emperors for support. . . . As the times of Han and Wei have gone far, it is impossible for us to discuss them here in detail. But let me relate the royal supporters besides the monks for the translation of Buddhist scriptures since the times of Fu Chien and Yao Hsing (A.D. 351-417). At the time of Fu Chien when Dharmanandi translated Buddhist scriptures, Chao Cheng, the Imperial Attendant, acted as his assistant translator; at the time of Yao Hsing when Ku-

mârajiva translated Buddhist scriptures, the Lord of Yao and Yao Sung, who was the Marquis of Ancheng, acted as his assistant translators; and when Bodhiruci translated Buddhist scriptures during the Later Wei period (A.D. 386-534), Tsui Kuang, the Palace Attendant, acted as his assistant translator and composed a preface for the translated texts. And such has been the case during the Chi, Liang, Chou and Sui dynasties. Even during the early years of Cheng Kuan period when Prabhanala translated Buddhist scriptures, Fang Hsuan-ling, the Left Prime Minister, Li Hsiao-kung, the Prince of Chaochun, Tu Cheng-lun, the Chief Attendant to the Prince, and Hsiao Ching, the Imperial Treasurer, were ordered by the emperor to assist and supervise the translation work. But we do not have such a system now. Moreover this Tzu En Monastery, which was constructed by the emperor in memory of his queen mother, is so magnificently built that it has no parallel either in the past or in the present, yet we have not a slab with inscriptions about its construction to pass on its glory to posterity. If you would make a report to the emperor, these objects could certainly be achieved."

The two imperial officials consented and went away. On the following day when they attended the court, they made a report to the emperor on behalf of the Master. The emperor granted him all the requests.

On the twenty-seventh day Tsui Tun-li of Kuan County, Minister of Administration with the honorary title of Kuang-lu-tai-fu and concurrently Chief Attendant to the Crown Prince. Compiler of National History and the Duke of Founding the Nation with the honorary title of the Pillar of Nation, was ordered to announce an imperial decree, saying: "Since the scriptures and com-

mentaries translated by the Venerable Hsuan-tsang of the Great Tzu En Monastery are new works, the translations must be made as perfect as possible both in literary style and in doctrine. Yu Chih-ning, Tutor to the Crown Prince, Left Premier of the Imperial Secretariate and Duke of the State of Yen; Lai Chi of Nanyang County, Minister of Administration and concurrently Chief of the Board of Civil Office and Baron of Founding the Nation; Hsu Ching-tsung of Kaoyang County, Chief of the Board of Ceremonies and Baron of Founding the Nation; Hsueh Yuan-chao of Fenyin County, Acting Imperial Attendant and concurrently Left Attendant to the Crown Prince and Baron of Founding the Nation; Li Yi-fu of Kuang-ping County, Acting Secretary of the Board of Administration and concurrently Right Attendant to the Crown Prince and Baron of Founding the Nation; and Tu Cheng-lun, Secretary of the Board of Administration, should make revisions of the translations from time to time and make necessary polishes. If more scholars are needed, two or three persons may be added to the list.

When the court was over the emperor sent Wang Chun-teh, a palace attendant, to tell the Master, saying: "I have ordered Yu Chih-ning and the others to come to your Reverence to assist in the translation work as is required. As regards the slab inscription I hope to compose it myself. I do not know whether this arrangement is satisfactory to you or not."

On receiving this imperial decree the Master felt so contented in his heart that he shed tears of gratitude in the presence of the imperial messenger. On the following day he went to the court with his disciples to thank the emperor.

In the second month Pao-cheng, a Buddhist nun, was ordained. She had been a female official during the time of Emperor Kao-tsu, and was the daughter of Hsueh Tao-heng, the Duke of Lin Ho and Governor of Hsiangchow during the Sui dynasty. Being a lady of virtue and elegance she was well learned as her father who was renowned for his learning. She mastered the Classics and had literary talent. When the emperor was a youth, he used to study under her guidance, and after he had ascended the throne he respected her as his old teacher and conferred on her the title of the Lady of Hotung County. The lady had the desire to become a Buddhist nun and the emperor in fulfilment of her desire built the Ho Lin Nunnery in the palace for her use and made a slab inscription in praise of her virtues. Several scores of people were also ordained to be her attendants. On the tenth day of that month, when the ordination ceremony was to be performed, an imperial decree was issued to invite the Master and nine monks of great virtue, each attended by one novice-monk, to come to the Ho Lin Nunnery to ordain the Lady of Hotung County. Ten decorated carriages and ten carriages for musicians were arranged waiting inside the Ching Yao Gate of the palace. Horses had been sent previously to receive the monks in the monastery, and when they reached the palace gate, they were received by the carriages. The carriages for the monks went before and those for the musicians followed behind.

It was then springtime when the peach flowers blossomed among the green leaves of willow trees and the blue pines were shrouded in a purple fog. The monks went into the palace in such an elegant and stately man-

ner that they resembled the monks of the Jetavana Garden going to Rājagṛha.

When they reached the nunnery they were entertained in a separate house. An ordination altar was erected for the purpose of ordaining Pao-cheng and the others, a total number of more than fifty persons. The Master alone was the Ācārya, while the other monks acted as witnesses in the ceremony, which lasted for three days. When the ceremony was over, a skilful painter, Wu Chih-min, was asked to paint the likeness of the ten teachers, to be kept for worshipping.

Beside the Ho Lin Nunnery was another nunnery, the Teh Yeh Nunnery, in which lived several hundred Buddhist nuns. As they requested the Master to confer on them the Bodhisattva Rules, he thus went to the Teh Yeh Nunnery. After the ceremony he left the palace and returned to his monastery with rich gifts presented to him. The emperor ordered Wang Chun-teh, the palace attendant, to escort the Master with a decorated umbrella held in his hand. Those who saw the Master by the road were inspired with religious feeling. Later the Ho Lin Nunnery was changed to the Lung Kuo Nunnery.

Not long afterwards the emperor completed his composition for an inscription for the Tzu En Monastery, and he ordered Changsun Wu-chi, the Minister of War, to show it to all his ministers. . . .

Beginning from a Letter of Thanks for the Inscription of the Tzu En Monastery in the Third Month of the First Year of Hsien Ching and Ending with a Letter of Thanks to the Emperor for Inquiring After the Master's Illness

On the ninth day of the third month in the spring of the first year of Hsien Ching (A.D. 656), the emperor finished the composition for the slab inscription concerning the Great Tzu En Monastery. Hsu Ching-tsung, the Minister of the Board of Ceremonies, dispatched an envoy to send the imperial composition to the Master. . . .

On the eighth day of the fourth month in the summer the inscription was carved on a slab with the emperor's handwriting (at the request of the Master) and was about to be sent to the monastery. To show his gratitude to the emperor, the Master did not wish to receive the inscription without ceremony, and thus he led his disciples in the Tzu En Monastery together with the monks and nuns in the capital, holding banners and tapestries, and went to the Fang Lin Gate to receive it. The emperor ordered the nine bands of the Board of Ceremonies and the orchestras of Changan and Wennien Counties to accompany them. There were over three hundred pennants and banners, of which even the shortest touched the clouds, and more than one thousand carts carried the

musicians. In the evening of the seventh day they assembled at the An Fu Gate Street in the western part of the city, but it rained in the night and thus the road became too muddy for the procession on the eighth day. The emperor ordered the suspension of the ceremony and invited the Master to the palace. On the tenth day the weather became fine and the emperor ordered the procession to take place just as before.

In the morning of the fourteenth day, the procession started with banners and tapestries arranged in an orderly way and the distance of thirty *li* from the Fang Lin Gate to the Tzu En Monastery was crowded with people. The emperor went up to the tower of the An Fu Gate and witnessed the procession with great pleasure. More than a million people in the capital witnessed the procession.

On the fifteenth day a number of seven men were ordained to be monks and a feast for 2,000 monks was prepared, with the nine bands playing in front of the Buddha hall. It was not until late in the day that the people dispersed. . . .

After the arrival of the slab inscription the authorities specially built a separate house to install it at the southeast corner in front of the Buddha hall. This building had double arches and beautifully painted beams and eaves. At the lower part of the architecture were golden decorations, and precious bells hung on the upper part of it. It was built in the style of a stūpa with a "dew-basin" on its top.

The emperor could write different types of characters and was specially good at the "fei pai" style. The inscription was written in the running style of handwriting, and there were also the four characters "Hsien

Ching Yuan Nien" (the first year of Hsien Ching) written in the "fei pai" style in the most elegant manner. Several thousand people came every day to see his handwriting, and government officials above the third rank who requested to be allowed to make rubbings of the inscription, were permitted to do so. . . .

As the Master studied strenuously while he was young and owing to the hardships of travelling over icy mountains and snowy ranges to the west, he suffered a kind of "cold disease." During these paroxysms his heart would be affected. He was much troubled by his illness. For several years he depended on medicines for keeping himself in health. In the fifth month during the summer of this year in the cool place in which he lived to avoid the heat, he relapsed and his condition became grave. Both the monks and laymen worried about his health, and the imperial secretary reported it to the emperor, who ordered two court physicians, Chiang Hsiao-chang and Shangkuan Tsung who was an acupuncturist, to attend him. All medicines the Master needed were sent to him from the palace. The emperor sent messengers to inquire after his health several times a day, and even the Master's sleeping place was specially arranged by court attendants. . . . The court physicians attended him day and night without leaving him for five successive days, and he recovered, to the delight of the people both inside and outside the palace.

After recovering from his illness, the Master wrote a letter to thank the emperor. . . . Upon receiving the letter, the emperor sent Wang Chun-teh, the court attendant, to console the Master, saying: "Since your Reverence has just recovered from illness, you must be

very feeble. May the Master take good care of himself and not exert his mind immediately after recuperation."

For the emperor's kindness, the Master felt very grateful....

Earlier, in the eleventh year of Chen Kuan (A.D. 637) an imperial decree had been issued, saying that, since Lao-tse was an ancestor of the imperial lineage, his name and title should be placed before the Buddha. At that time Fa-chang, a virtuous monk of the Pu Kuang Monastery, and Pu-ying, a virtuous monk of the Tsung Chih Monastery, and several hundred other people debated over the question in court, but no rectification was granted.

After the return of Master to China he made repeated petitions to the emperor about the matter and reconsideration of the problem was promised. But before the realization of the promise Emperor Wen (i.e. Emperor Tai Tsung) died. In the sixth year of Yung Hui (A.D. 655), an imperial decree was issued to the effect that Taoist priests and Buddhist monks might be tried in the same way as lay people if they committed an offence against the law and if the cases were difficult to decide. But the frontier officials did not well understand the meaning of the decree and always imposed corporeal punishment on the priests and monks, whether in important cases or in trivial ones, to their great humiliation.

The Master often worried over this matter, and fearing that he might not be able to see the emperor again owing to his serious illness, he submitted another petition to the emperor to explain that the two points in question were inappropriate to the state, and he said: "As I might be dying at any moment, I fear I shall not have a chance to speak to Your Majesty again. I am sending

this petition to Your Majesty while I am leaning upon my pillow, with a feeling of awe and respect."

The emperor gave him a reply saying that, as the positions of the Buddha and Lao-tse were fixed by the former emperor, the question should be reconsidered, and as regards the problem of the punishment of priests and monks on the same basis as laymen, an imperial decree should be issued for its cancellation. The Master should be at ease and take necessary medicines for the recovery of his health.

On the twenty-third day, an imperial decree was issued, saying: "Taoism is a religion of purity and nobility, while the Buddhist teaching is sublime and wonderful. They are like a bridge for the common people to cross the sea of rebirth, and they are both highly respected in the Three Worlds. But as this is the terminative period of the Dharma, the people are mostly immoral and liable to commit offence against the law. Thus the priests and monks are also under the control of worldly laws as the lay people in order to punish the evil ones. The object of the punishment is but to advise the people not to do evil but perform good deeds, and it is not out of contempt of religion that monks are punished. Since monks have their own disciplinary rules, it would be too troublesome for them to abide by another system of law. The system that the Taoist priests and priestesses, the Buddhist monks and nuns are tried according to mundane laws when they have committed offences against the law, should be abolished, and in case of offence they should be dealt with according to their own disciplinary rules."

Thereafter the monks could engage themselves in meditation and recitation of sūtras with a sense of

security. The Master felt so delighted that he shed tears of gratitude and danced with happiness. He wrote a letter to the emperor to express his thanks....

Upon receiving the letter the emperor knew that the Master had recovered from his illness, and sent a messenger to invite him to the palace. He lodged him in the western pavilion in the court of the Ning Yin Palace. The Master continued in his translation work and came out of the palace only every twenty or thirty days.

In the tenth month during the winter the queen was near her confinement. She took refuge in the Triple-gem and prayed for spiritual protection. The Master informed the emperor that the queen would be safe without suffering in her childbirth, and suggested that should the child be a male he should be allowed to become a monk after he had safely been born into the world. The emperor consented.

On the first day of that month, the queen had presented the Master with one piece of religious robe and a few scores of miscellaneous articles, for which he had written a letter to express his thanks....

In the afternoon of the fifth day of the tenth month a red bird flew to the court and alighted on the throne. This was regarded as an auspicious omen and the Master wrote a letter of congratulation to the emperor.... Before long an imperial messenger arrived to inform the Master that the queen had given birth to a prince of a stately appearance who had a wonderful light which filled the courtyard and shone up to the sky. The emperor was greatly delighted and the people both inside and outside the palace danced with joy. He would not act contrary to his promise, begged the Master to protect the child with his spiritual influence and named the

prince as the King of Buddha-Light. . . . When the King of Buddha-Light had been born for three days . . . he was made to take refuge under the Triple-gem and was dressed in a religious robe. He was, however, under the care of nurses, but he always lived close to the Master.

On the fifth day of the twelfth month, when the King of Buddha-Light was one month old, seven persons were permitted by imperial order to become monks in honour of the king, and the Master was requested to do the first shaving for him. . . . And on the same day the Master presented one piece of religious robe and some other things to the King of Buddha-Light in celebration of his first month after birth. . . .

In the second month during the spring of the second year (of Hsien Ching) (A.D. 657), the emperor favoured the Loyang Palace with his presence. The master also accompanied him, and five monks for translating scriptures, each attended by one disciple, went along with him, and their daily requisites were supplied by the government. The King of Buddha-Light went there before the emperor, and the Master went together with the prince, while the other monks followed behind them. Upon arriving at Loyang, they were lodged in the Chi Tsui Palace.

In the fourth month during the summer, the emperor went to the Ming Teh Palace to avoid the heat and the Master accompanied him. He was lodged in the Fei Hua Palace, which, bordering on the Chien River in the south and the Lo River in the north, was the Hsien Jen Palace during the Sui dynasty.

In the fifth month the emperor ordered the Master to return and live in the Chi Tsui Palace to do his translation work, but he declined. . . .

While the Master was in the capital he had already translated the *Abhidharma-jñāna-prasthana* in 30 volumes and had not yet completed the translation of the *Mahā-vibhāṣā Śāstra*. Now the emperor instructed him that he should first translate those scriptures which were not translated into Chinese before, and as regards those books which had already been translated into Chinese, should be re-translated afterwards. But the Master replied, saying, ". . . The *Mahā-vibhāṣā Śāstra* has a total number of 200 volumes, of which only half has been translated into Chinese previously with many mistakes in them. A re-translation should be made, and since last autumn I have already finished translating more than 70 volumes, with 130 volumes untranslated. This work is an important treatise for the students and I hope Your Majesty will kindly allow me to complete the translation first. As regards the other scriptures and commentaries, some of them are complicated and some are brief, and I also hope to be able to translate them into Chinese one by one so as to comply with the need of Your Majesty."

The emperor consented.

The Master had left the capital and Loyang while he was still young, and now on this opportunity of attending the emperor, he had the chance to return to his native place and visit his old home. He inquired about his old relatives, but they were all dead, with the exception of one elder sister who was married to the family of Chang at Yingchow. He sent for her and they were delighted to see each other. He asked his elder sister about the location of their parents' tombs and went there personally to pay his respects to them. As the tombs had become dilapidated over the long years, he intended

to bury the remains of his parents again with new coffins at some other chosen spot. Thus he wrote a letter to the emperor asking for his permission: "Monk Hsuan-tsang begs to speak.· Unprotected by Heaven I lost my parents at an early age, and, as it was in a turbulent time during the Sui dynasty, I could bury them only in a hurried manner. As time passes it has been more than forty years, and the tombs have now become dilapidated. Remembering the kindness of my parents in past days, I feel uneasy in my mind. With only my elder sister I have removed the coffins from their original humble place and I intend to bury them again at the Western Plain so as to repay the kindness of my dead parents. I was favoured yesterday with a grant of leave of two or three days by Your Majesty for this purpose. But as I have no one except this one elder sister to help me in the funeral affairs, which will be carried out on the twenty-first day of this month, I fear that I may not be able to finish the burial business in two or three days. I beg that Your Majesty will kindly allow me to return as soon as I have done with it. Moreover, there is an Indian guest with me, and if the funeral ceremony is performed in a too simple way, he might be impressed unfavourably. . . ."

Upon receiving this letter, the emperor granted the request and ordered the authorities to supply the Master with whatever was required for the funeral service at government expense. . . .

The re-burial was carried out with imperial permission — and the ceremony was performed at government expense. A number of more than ten thousand people, both monks and laymen, at Loyang attended the funeral service.

When Emperor Hsiao-wen of the Later Wei dynasty (A.D. 386-534) removed his capital from Tai to Loyang, he built the Shao Lin Monastery on the northern side of the Shaoshih Mountain. It has twelve courts built along the slope of the mountain, and some of them are known as the Upper Courts, the rest the Lower Courts. The Shao Peak at the southern side of Mount Sung is at its east, while in the north is a high range from which three streams flow down. Precipitous rocks and steep peaks are reflected in the waterfalls. Dodders hang upon the giant bamboos, and cassia and cedar trees present a stately appearance. It is indeed a quiet and beautiful place.

The Western Terrace is the most beautiful spot. It is the place where Bodhiruci translated Buddhist scriptures into Chinese and it is also the place where the Chan Master Buddhaśānta engaged himself in meditation. A pagoda contains his remains. At the end of the Ta Yeh period, a group of thieves tried to set fire on the pagoda, but it could not be burned down. Thus the people far and near regarded it as a strange event.

At the foot of the mountain on the north-west side of the monastery is the Chen village, also known as Chen-puku, situated in the Phoenix Valley in the south-east part of Koushih County, which is the birthplace of the Master.

On the twentieth day of the ninth month in the autumn the Master asked to be allowed to live in the Shao Lin Monastery to do his translation work. . . . But the emperor did not consent. . . .

The fifth day of the eleventh month in the winter was the first anniversary of the birth of the King of Buddha-Light. The Master again presented a piece of religious robe to him. . . .

The Master was then working on the translation of Buddhist scriptures in the Chi Tsui Palace. Owing to overwork he fell ill. The emperor was distressed at this news and sent the imperial physician Lu Hung-che to tend him. . . . Three days afterwards he sent an envoy to invite the Master to the palace and entertained him with the four religious requisites for several days, after which he sent him back to the Chi Tsui Palace to continue his translation work.

In the twelfth month in the winter Loyang was made the Eastern Capital. As the area was too small for a capital, the Szeshui in Chengchow and Hoyang in Huaichow in the east were included in the boundary of the capital. Kuchow in the west was reorganized and the counties of Iyang, Yungning, Hsinan and Mienchih were put under the direct control of the municipality. Thus the position of the Master's home town was elevated, for which he wrote a letter to the emperor to express his delight. . . .

In the first month during the spring of the third year (of Hsien Ching) (A.D. 658), the emperor returned to the Western Capital, and the Master also returned with him.

BOOK X

Beginning from the Emperor's Return to the Western Capital in the First Month of the Third Year of Hsien Ching and Ending with the Death of the Master at the Yu Hua Palace in the Second Month of the First Year of Lin Teh

In the first month of the third year of Hsien Ching, the emperor returned to the Western Capital, and the Master also returned with him.

In the seventh month during the autumn, the Master moved to the Hsi Ming Monastery by imperial order. The monastery was built on the nineteenth day of the eighth month in the autumn of the first year (of Hsien Ching). At that time the emperor ordered to build for the crown prince one Taoist temple and one Buddhist monastery in the old residence of Prince Pu at Yen Kang Street and asked the Master to inspect the place. He reported that the place was too small to contain two religious establishments. Thus the whole place was used for building the Buddhist monastery, while the Taoist temple was built at Pu Ning Street. The Buddhist monastery was built first and it was completed in the sixth month during the summer of that year (i.e., the third year of Hsien Ching).

The monastery was 350 *pu*[1] in length at each side, with

[1] 1 *pu*=about 5 ft.

a circumference of several *li*. Thoroughfares ran on both the left and right sides and a market was situated at the back. Green pagoda trees were planted outside the buildings and a stream of clear water flowed through the compound. It was constructed in such a beautiful manner that it was the best Buddhist monastery in the capital. The corridors, halls, pavilions and terraces were so tall that they would frighten a flying bird, and the golden painted pillars were as dazzling as the sun. It had ten courtyards with more than 4,000 rooms. It was so magnificently constructed that even the Tung Tai Monastery of the Liang dynasty and the Yung Ning Monastery of the Wei dynasty were not as good as it.

The emperor had previously instructed the authorities to select fifty learned monks, each with an attendant, and later he also ordered to choose by examination 150 "Karmic-act boys" to be ordained into the Order. On the thirteenth day of that month a ceremony for the ordination of monks was held in the monastery and the Master was invited to supervise the ordination ceremony.

On the fourteenth day of the seventh month in the autumn the monks were welcomed into the monastery. The procession of people holding banners and umbrellas, and musicians was just as pompous as when the Master and the imperial inscription were welcomed into the Tzu En Monastery. The emperor ordered the Hsi Ming Monastery to furnish one of its best rooms for the use of the Master and appoint ten of the newly ordained śramaṇeras to be his attendants.

Because the Master had been respected by the former emperor, the reigning emperor respected him all the more. Imperial messengers and courtiers were sent to inquire after him constantly. A total amount of more

than ten thousand rolls of silk and brocade had been offered to him from time to time together with several hundred suits of religious robes. After receiving these gifts the Master spent them all for the construction of pagodas for the benefit of the country, or for copying Buddhist scriptures and making Buddha's images, or distributing them to the poor as alms and presenting them to his foreign Brahmanic guests. Whatever he got he gave to others immediately, without hoarding anything. He vowed to make a number of ten koṭi, i.e., one million, images of the Buddha, which had all been made.

The *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* was greatly esteemed in the Eastern Country (China). It had been translated into Chinese by people of previous generations, but it was incomplete. Therefore the people requested the Master to translate it again. But as the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* was a work of great length, the Master feared that since human life was impermanent, he might not be able to complete the work if he lived in the capital where there were many distractions. He requested to live in the Yu Hua Palace to translate this sūtra, and the emperor consented.

In the tenth month during the winter of the fourth year (A.D. 659) the Master left the capital for the Yu Hua Palace, and the learned monks who acted as his assistants and his disciples went with him. All their supplies were afforded to them as in the capital. After his arrival he settled in the Su Cheng Court.

On the first day of the first month in the spring of the fifth year (A.D. 660), he started the translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*. The original Sanskrit text had a total number of 200,000 verses. Since it was such an extensive work, his disciples suggested that he should

make an abridgement of it. The Master complied with their wishes and intended to translate it in the way as Kumārajiva translated the Buddhist texts, expunging the tedious and repetitionary parts. When he cherished this thought he dreamed in the night some very terrible things as a warning to him. He dreamed that he was climbing over a precipitous peak and some wild animal was trying to catch him. He trembled with perspiration and managed to escape from the dangerous position. After awakening he related his evil dream to the people and decided to translate the sūtra in full text. In that night then he dreamed to see the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas emitting a light from the middle of their eyebrows, shining over his body and making him feel comfortable and happy. He also dreamed that he offered flowers and lamps to the Buddhas; that he ascended a pulpit to preach the Law for the people, who surrounded him, praised and admired him; that some people offered him some delicious fruits. When he awoke he felt happy, and he thought no more of making any abridgement but made the translation in exact accordance with the original Sanskrit text.

The Buddha preached this sūtra at four different places, namely, the Vulture Peak in Rājagṛha, the Jetavana Garden, the palace of Paranirmita-vaśavartin and the Veṇūvana Vihāra in Rājagṛha. It consisted of a total number of sixteen parts. The Master had obtained three different texts of this sūtra in the West Regions, and on the day of translating it into Chinese he compared and collated the three editions to clear the dubious and mistaken points in the sūtra. He made careful and repeated studies before he translated it into Chinese. His scrupulousness was incomparable since ancient times.

Whenever he hesitated about some difficult point or ambiguous meaning in his translation, he always felt a sort of strange mental state, in which someone would solve his doubts and he would become as clear in his mind as the sun coming out from behind the clouds. He said that his apprehension was not due to his shallow knowledge, but it was due to the spiritual assistance of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The first part of the sūtra was concerned with the adornment and purification of the Buddha's Land, in which it was stated that all the Bodhisattva-Mahāsattvas, by their supernatural powers and for the sake of Prajñāpāramitā, carried the best gems and jewels, different kinds of fragrant flowers and delicious food and drink, garments and music and all the wonderful offerings that were pleasant to the five organs, to adorn the place where the sūtra was preached.

One night Hui-teh, the abbot of the Yu Hua Palace, and Chia-shang, a monk translator, had a similar dream in which they saw that the whole monastery was fully decorated with banners and pennants and flowers, and there were precious carts and musicians playing music everywhere in the monastery. They also saw that a great number of monks, holding decorative umbrellas and such offerings as described above, came to offer them to the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*. All the lanes and walls in the monastery were beautifully adorned, and flowers were scattered over the ground on which the monks walked. The Translation Court was much better decorated, just as the Buddha's Land described in the sūtra. They also heard in the dream preachers preaching in the three halls of the court, with the Master giving a

lecture in the middle hall. Upon this they felt delighted and awoke.

They went to see the Master and told him about their dream. He said: "As we are now translating this part of the sūtra, the Bodhisattvas must have offerings for it."

By the side of the main hall were two apple trees, which suddenly blossomed several times not in the proper season, and the flowers had six petals, being extremely lovely in brilliant red and white colours. People all said that it was a sign of the revival of the theory of Prajñā and the six petals represented the six pāramitās.

But when the Master was translating this sūtra he often worried about the impermanent nature of human life and told the monks, saying: "I am sixty-five years old this year and I am sure I shall end my life in this monastery. Since this sūtra is a voluminous one, I have always feared that I might not be able to complete the translation, and so everyone of us should spare no pains and work on it with more effort."

On the twenty-third day of the tenth month in the winter of the third year of Lung Shuo (A.D. 663), the translation was completed in 600 volumes with the title as the *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā Sūtra*. The Master was delighted and, joining his hands palm to palm, he addressed his disciples, saying: "This sūtra has some special relationship with this place and it is in connection with this sūtra that I have come to this Yu Hua Palace. I would not have been able to complete the translation if I had lived in the capital where there are many distractions. It is under the spiritual protection of the Buddhas and the patronage of the nāgas and devas that I have

now completed the work. You all should rejoice at the completion of this classical work which is a treasure of the country and a great gem of men and heavenly beings."

Chi-chao, the chief deacon of the Yu Hua Palace, prepared a feast to entertain the Master after the celebration ceremony was over. On that day the sūtra was taken from Su-cheng Hall to the Chia Shou Hall, where the feast was prepared, for recitation and exposition. When the sūtra was carried away it emitted a light which illuminated all places and there was also an unusual fragrance. The Master said to his disciples: "It is said in this sūtra that there will be kings, ministers and Buddhist followers of the four groups who take delight in the Mahāyāna teachings in this country. They will copy, recite and circulate this sūtra and will be reborn to the heavens and obtain final emancipation. Since there is such a paragraph in the text, we should not keep silent about it."

On the twenty-second day of the eleventh month he asked his disciple Kuei-chi to write a report to the emperor, requesting him to compose a preface for the sūtra. On the seventh day of the twelfth month Feng Yi, the Imperial Secretary, announced that the emperor consented.

After he translated the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, the Master felt physically exhausted, and knowing that death was near, he said to his disciples: "I came to this Yu Hua Palace on account of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*. Now since I have completed the translation of the sūtra, my career has also come to an end. After my death you should manage my funeral in a simple and frugal way. You may just wrap my body in a coarse bamboo mat and dispose it at some quiet corner in the

mountains. Do not put it near the palace or any monastery. The impure body should be kept off at some distant place."

Upon hearing these words his disciples wept piteously. They dried their tears and said: "Your health is still good and your countenance is as usual. Why do you say such things?"

The Master said: "I know it myself. How can you understand it?"

On the first day of the first month in the spring of the first year of Lin Teh (A.D. 664), the learned assistants and the other monks of the monastery earnestly requested the Master to translate the *Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra* into Chinese. Upon seeing the sincerity of the people, he tried with effort to translate the sūtra, but when he had done only a few lines he closed the Sanskrit text and stopped working and said to the people: "This sūtra is as voluminous as the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*. Considering my energy I know that I am unable to complete this work. I am not far from the time of my death. Now I intend to visit the Lanchih Valley and the other places to pay my last homage to the ten koṭi Buddha's images."

Then he went out with his disciples and the monks looked at one another with tearful eyes. After worshipping the images of the Buddha, he returned to the monastery, stopped his translation work and engaged himself exclusively in spiritual practices.

On the eighth day his disciple Hsuan-chio, a monk from Kaochang, told him that he had dreamed that a tall and magnificent pagoda suddenly collapsed. He was surprised and got up to inform the Master. The Master said to

him: "It has nothing to do with you. It is but a symbol of my death."

In the evening of the ninth day when the Master was crossing a ditch behind his bedroom, he tumbled and suffered a slight injury on the shin. He fell ill and his health began to break down gradually.

On the sixteenth day he said in a dreaming condition: "There is a white lotus flower as large as a dish before my eyes. It is very clean and lovable."

On the seventeenth day he dreamed he saw hundreds and thousands of men of tall stature all clad in silk. They decorated the Master's bedroom as well as the whole monastery with embroideries, beautiful flowers and valuable jewels. Even the hills and woods behind the monastery were adorned with banners and pennants in a colourful way and there was also music. He also saw many precious carriages outside the gate of the monastery. In the carriages hundreds and thousands of different kinds of fragrant food and delicious fruits were brought to be offered to him. He declined the offerings and said: "These kinds of delicious food can be enjoyed only by a man who has attained supernatural powers. I have not attained to such a spiritual stage, and how can I accept this offering?" Although he refused to accept the gifts, the food was offered to him without stop.

His attendant coughed and he opened his eyes. Thus he related the foregoing dream to Hui-teh, the abbot of the monastery. He also said: "It seems that all the good deeds I have done in my life have not been done in vain. I am sure that the Buddhist Law of Causality is not false."

Then he ordered the Venerable Chia-shang to make a list of the sūtras and śāstras he had translated into Chi-

nese, which amounted to a total number of 74 works in 1,335 volumes. It was also recorded that he had painted one thousand images of the Buddha and one thousand images of Maitreya, as well as a million statues of the Buddha. He had also copied the *Vajracchedikā prajñāpūramitā Sūtra*, the *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra*, the *Sanmukhadhāraṇi Sūtra* and some other sūtras each for one thousand copies. He had given alms to more than ten thousand Bhikṣus as well as to more than ten thousand poor people, lighted hundreds and thousands of sacrificial lamps and redeemed the lives of tens of thousands of living creatures. When the list had been made he ordered Chia-shang to read it aloud, and he felt glad. He put his hands palm to palm after hearing it.

He also told his disciples: "The time of my death is approaching and I wish to make a sacrifice of my personal properties. Let all the monks assemble here."

Then he gave up all his robes and money for making more images of the Buddha and invited the monks to perform a ceremony.

On the twenty-third day he prepared a feast for the monks and offered alms to them, and on the same day he also asked Sung Fa-chih, a sculptor, to make an image of the Buddha in the posture of attaining enlightenment in the Chia Shou Hall. When the structure of the image had been constructed, he bade his farewell with a happy mood of mind to the monks of the monastery and his associate translators as well as his disciples. He said: "This physical body of mine is loathsome. Since my work has been accomplished, it is unnecessary for me to live any longer. I wish to offer all the merits of my good deeds to all living beings so that we all may be reborn to the Tuṣita Heaven to serve Maitreya Bodhi-

sattva, and when the future Buddha comes down to the human world we may also descend with him to perform Buddhist tasks until we attain to supreme enlightenment."

After having said his farewell, he meditated in silence, and from time to time he recited the truth that the aggregate of matter is void, the aggregates of reception, conception, mental function and consciousness are also void; the element of sight is void and thought is also void; sight perception is void and the faculty of mind is also void; ignorance is void and old age and death are also void; and even enlightenment is void and voidness itself is also void. He also uttered a stanza and asked the people to repeat it: "Homage to Maitreya Tathāgata, the Fully Enlightened One! May I and all beings be speedily in your presence! Homage to all the inmates of Maitreya Tathagata's Abode! May I be reborn among them after I have forsaken my present life!"

At that time the abbot Hui-teh dreamed to see one thousand golden figures coming from the east and alighting in the monastery with many fragrant flowers in the air.

At midnight of the fourth day of the second month, Ming-tsang, a master of the Chan School, who attended the Master during his illness, saw two men about ten feet tall, holding a white lotus flower about the size of a small wheel with three layers of petals and a leaf of more than one foot in length. It was very clean and lovable. They brought it to the presence of the Master and said: "All your evil deeds of doing harms to others from time immemorial have been nullified on account of the slight illness you are suffering now. You should rejoice at it." The Master looked at them and put his hands palm to palm for a long time. Then he supported his cheek with his right hand and stretched his left hand

over his left thigh and lay down on his right side with his feet relaxed one on the other. He was about dying and did not move, nor did he drink or eat anything.

At midnight of the fifth day his disciples Pu-kuang and the others inquired of him: "Are you sure that you will be reborn to the Abode of Maitreya Bodhisattva?"

"Certainly," replied the Master. After saying so his breath gradually diminished, and in another moment he passed away without being perceived by his attendants.

When he had stopped breathing, his body began to cool down from the feet and his top was the last spot which remained warm. His countenance was pinkish white with an unusually pleasant expression. It did not change for seven days, nor did it have any offensive smell. If he did not attain to a high perfection in Śila, Samādhi and Prajñā, how could he have been so?

Monk Ming-hui of the Tzu En Monastery was a man who practised the dharma diligently. He always repeated sūtras or walked in meditation during the first, the middle and the last parts of the night without being idle. In the midnight when the Master passed away, he was walking around in the Buddha hall and saw four white rainbows stretching from the north towards the south, brilliantly and distinctly through the Gemini, right over the pagoda in the Tzu En Monastery. He wondered what they meant, and remembered that, when the Tathāgata entered Nirvāṇa, twelve white rainbows stretched from the west right through the Tai Wei constellation, and thus the Great Saint passed away. Now might this phenomenon mean that the Master in the Yu Hua Palace had passed away? At dawn he told the monks what he had seen, and they all thought it very strange. In the morning of the ninth day tidings of the Master's

death reached the capital, which occurred in the night when the rainbows appeared in the sky. Those who heard of it were amazed at this unusual phenomenon.

The Master was more than seven feet in stature and his complexion was pinkish white in colour with broad eyebrows and bright eyes. He deported himself gravely and he was as handsome as the figure in a painting. He had a fine and sonorous voice and always spoke distinctly and elegantly so that his listeners never felt tired in his presence. Whether among his disciples or entertaining his guests, he always sat erect for a long time without movement. He liked to wear a Gandhāra costume made of fine felt, which was neither too loose nor too tight. When he was walking he carried himself gracefully and looked straightforward without any side glance. His magnificent manners were like a great river flowing over the earth, and his brilliant wisdom was like a lotus flower growing in the water. Moreover, he observed the monastic rules strictly from when he became a monk till the end of his life. He took better care of the disciplinary rules than he would take care of a floating bag in crossing a river, and he was as persistent in the observation of the Vinaya as a strong cord. He loved solitude and simplicity and did not like social life. Once he entered a place for religious activities, he would not come out unless there was an order from the court. . . .

When the Master was ill, Hsu Hsuan-pei, the imperial superintendent for the translation of scriptures, made a report on the third day of the second month of that year to the emperor, saying that the Master had been ill owing to an injury on his foot. On the seventh day of that month the emperor ordered that the Imperial Service Department should send physicians to attend him with

medicine. The authorities then sent in a great hurry two imperial physicians, Chang Teh-chih and Cheng Tao, to see the Master. But when they arrived, the Master had already died and they came too late to give him any medical treatment.

Tou Shih-lun, Governor of Fangchow, reported to the emperor that the Master had died. On hearing this news the emperor felt so grieved that he suspended his court affairs and said repeatedly: "I have lost a national treasure!" The civil and military officials all wept with sorrow and the emperor also could not refrain himself from shedding tears.

On the following day the emperor said to his ministers: "It is a great pity that I have lost the Venerable Hsuan-tsang in my country. A great pillar of the monks has collapsed and all living beings have lost a good teacher! It is like a boat that has suddenly sunk in the sea of suffering or of a lamp extinguished in a room of darkness!" Having said so he sighed with regret.

On the twenty-sixth day of that month he issued a decree, saying: "Concerning the death of the Venerable Hsuan-tsang of the Yu Hua Palace, as reported by Tou Shih-lun, all the funeral requirements should be supplied by the government."

On the sixth day of the third month he issued another decree, saying: "Since the Venerable Hsuan-tsang of the Yu Hua Palace has died, his translation work should be suspended. Those scriptures which he has already translated into Chinese should be copied by the government as usual, and all the untranslated works should be kept in the Tzu En Monastery without any loss. Those disciples of the Master and those monks who helped him in his translation work should be allowed to

return to their original monasteries, if they did not live in the Yu Hua Palace before."

On the fifteenth day of the third month, another decree was issued, saying: "On the day of the funeral for the late Venerable Hsuan-tsang of the Yu Hua Palace, the monks and nuns in the capital may be allowed to make banners and canopies and escort the coffin to the cemetery."

Being a man of great learning and high virtue, the Master was highly respected and adored by the reigning monarch, who, therefore, issued repeated decrees in favour of him after his death. None of the ancient people was comparable with him in this matter.

And then his disciples, acting according to his last will, made a bier with a bamboo mat and carried the coffin back to the capital and placed it in the Translation Hall of the Tzu En Monastery. Several hundreds of his disciples wailed aloud, and the monks and lay Buddhists in the capital who went to pay their last respect to him each day amounted to thousands.

On the fourteenth day of the fourth month the burial ceremony was to be performed at the east of the Tsan River. The monks and nuns and the people in the capital arranged a funeral procession consisting of five hundred white canopies and religious pennants, Nirvāṇa curtains, a golden coffin kept in a silver case and the śāla trees. These things were arrayed in the streets one after the other, and the funeral music sounded mournfully in the air. A total number of more than a million people in the capital and in the various states within a radius of 500 *li* attended the funeral procession. Although the funeral affair was arranged in a gorgeous way nevertheless the Master's coffin was carried in the bamboo-mat hearse. The silk

dealers in the Eastern Market offered 3,000 rolls of thick coloured silk to make a Nirvāṇa bier decorated with flowers in an extremely beautiful manner for the purpose of carrying the Master's coffin. But his disciples, fearing that it might be contrary to their teacher's wishes, stopped them from doing so. They put only the Master's three robes, and the religious garment worth one hundred pieces of gold presented to him by the emperor, on the decorated bier which proceeded in the front, while the bamboo-mat hearse followed behind it. Those who witnessed the procession shed tears of sympathy. On that day a number of more than 30,000 people spent the night at the cemetery.

In the morning of the fifteenth day after the coffin had been interred, a religious assembly was held at the cemetery before the people dispersed. At that moment the sky darkened and the earth changed its colour, and the birds and beasts cried lamentably. Even animals felt sorrowful, it is needless to say how painful it was felt in the heart of human beings. They all remarked that a boat of compassion had suddenly sunk in the river of passion and a lamp of wisdom had gone out when the eternal night was still dark. They lamented over the death of the Master as if they had lost their own eyes. It was not merely comparable to the collapse of a mountain or the ruin of a big tree. How piteous it was!

On the eighth day of the fourth month in the second year of Tsung Chang (A.D. 669), the emperor ordered that the Master's tomb be shifted to the plain at the north of the Fan River, where a pagoda was specially erected for the purpose. It was because the original tomb was too near to the capital and the emperor often felt

sorrowful at the sight of it. Thus the tomb was moved to another place. As regards the ceremony for the re-burial it was just as solemn as the first time and his disciples and the monks all felt greatly moved at the memory of their teacher on that occasion. . . .