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INDIA AND CHINA

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FOREWORD

In concluding one of his thought-provoking essays of *L' Inde et le Monde*, Professor Sylvain Lévi says, "In the great movement of exchange, which constitutes from time immemorial, the organic life of the whole of mankind, India has largely given as she has largely received. We may, being carried away by our prejudice, exalt or deprecate her role ; but her role she has played like the rest of the world with the rest of the world. If nature and laws have tried their best to isolate her, thereby her part has only become a specially important one ; each group, race or nation in its acts as in its thoughts, in its conscience as in its instincts, is related to the whole of humanity."

But we Indians, ignore too much that India has played her role *like* the rest of the world *with* the rest of the world. The isolation in which India is living to-day, shut up from the rest of Asia and her general movements, is a forced isolation of her evil days. She has got to break once more the colossal barriers around her and to come in close touch with the outside world on a basis of equality. It is necessary to resuscitate that glorious period of her history, when the missionaries of her civilisation went from one end of Asia to the other to lay the foundation of a cultural unity amongst diverse peoples, very different from each other ethnically and linguistically. If religious faith fails to appeal to them any more, reason will more advantageously take its place.

"Greater India" was an achievement of the glorious days of India's history and forms one of its most beautiful chapters. Unlike the rest of the world, India extended her spiritual dominion and founded her cultural colonies through peaceful methods. She had given largely to others without imposing herself on them; she had also received largely from others without having recourse to violence.

If it be necessary at all to go back to the past for inspiration or for determining the course which one must choose with due regard to all that is best in one's civilisation, if we agree that the past is of no small importance in the formation of a wider outlook of the youth of the country, and if, after all, a true interpretation of the past history of a nation is necessary for vindicating its *amour-propre*, the "Greater India Society" will have a justification for its coming into existence.

I take this opportunity of thanking my friend and colleague Dr. Kalidas Nag, at whose invitation, I delivered the following popular lectures on "India and China." The subject is a vast one and requires the life-long study of devotion. The work which I have begun by starting a series of publication entitled "*Sino-Indica*," under the auspices of the University of Calcutta, can be realised only by the earnest collaboration of many. Even then we can propose to do only a part of the vast work before us.

If the following lectures, which only give a general survey of a part of the subject, interest our readers, I will avail of the earliest opportunity to undertake a more comprehensive work in English.

For bibliography we refer to the following works : P. C. Bagchi—*Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine*, (Sino-Indica) ; *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois* (Sino-Indica) :

Sylvain Lévi—*L'Itineraire d' Ou-K'ong ; Les Missions de Wang Hiuan-ts'e ; Tokharien B la langue de Koutcha.*

Paul Pelliot—*Deux Itineraires de Chine en Inde* : *Le Fou-nan.*

E. Chavannes—*Les Voyageurs Chinois ; Voyage de Song-yun* ; *Les Religieux Eminents* (Yi-tsing); *Les cinq cents contes et apologues.*

E. Huber—*Le Voyage de Ki-ye*, (Supplementary note by E. Chavannes) ; *Une ambassade Chinoise en Birmanie en 1406.*

I should note that in transcribing chinese names. I have followed the system adopted by the French School of Hanoi—"Ecole Francaise d' Extreme-Orient"—with two alterations necessary in an English composition ; thus for *ch* I have written *sh* and for *tch*, simply *ch.*

INDIA AND CHINA

I.

THE BEGINNING OF THE HISTORICAL RELATION CHINA AND INDIA

The history of India is inseparable from the history of the whole of Asia. From the most ancient times, the migration of races and the cultural movements of one country have affected the other. India has never been an exception to the law and her apparently insurmountable natural barriers have never succeeded in shutting her up from the rest of Asia. The problem of India therefore is an Asiatic one and she has got to look up to her neighbours with greater interest than ever. China with her vast population of 438 millions, with the great resources at her command and with the increasing promises she is making everyday, draws our attention more than any other country.

It is not a mere accident that China is still known to the outside world by a name by which India was the first to know her (*China* = skt. *Cina*) and that the chinese nobility is called by a name derived from Sanskrit (*Mandarin* = *Mantrin*). Though these two great countries of Asia have lost since last few hundred years, all consciousness of their former relations, the archives of the historian still cherish the reminiscences of a glorious collaboration in the past; still in the solitary corners of the far eastern countries the monasteries zealously guard the sacred memories of India; still the pious monks bow towards the Western land of *Tien ch'ou* (India), the land of Sakyamuni, the paradise of Fa-hien and Hiuan-tsang.

Science, of late, has come to the help of a rising national consciousness and the patient labour of scholars is being utilised to lay the foundation of international amity. It is high time for us Indians, not to remain contented with our lot but to try to understand what our forefathers achieved towards the diffusion of Indian culture abroad. This study will no doubt contribute a good deal to the establishment of a better understanding between ourselves and our neighbours, the Chinese. We will therefore try to trace the history of this ancient cultural movement in its briefest outline.

In the middle of the 3rd century before Christ, China was still divided amongst nine feudal chiefs. A Central Government, that of the Cheou existed but it was more or less

ephemeral. Chong Siang, the chief of the principality of Ts'in, destroyed successively a number of other feudal states and grew up sufficiently powerful to attack and defeat the central authority. During three years of his reign he constantly fought against the princes which disputed his supreme authority. This fight was successfully continued by his son Cheng, a man of uncontestable genius. He pursued energetically the destruction of feudalism and became the true founder of the Chinese empire and its national unity. He assumed the title of She Houangti i. e. the first sovereign emperor. But the work of unification and organisation which he had commenced was not completed during his life-time. It was continued by the Han dynasty which succeeded the Ts'in. They founded the Chinese nation on a definite basis by giving to the intelligentsia the "*droit de cite*" in the government. "She Houangti demolished the feudal citadels and suppressed the nobility, but the Hans founded on the devastated soil a new civilisation where the power did not belong to the noblest but to the wisest."

FOREIGN POLICY OF CHINA

Of the Han dynasty, the epoch of the Emperor Wou (140-80 B. C.) was the most remarkable on account of its external policy which opened up routes to the foreign countries and laid the foundation of international relations. And it was in this period that China came into touch with India. In the year 138 B. C. in order to fortify better his position against the *Hiong-nou* (the Huns), the hereditary enemies of China, Han Wou-ti entrusted a certain Chang Kien with a mission to search for an ally amongst the Great Yue-che (*Ta Yue che*) people, who occupied at that time the north-western valley of the Oxus. Chang Kien returned to China in 126 B. C. after an absence of 12 years. Although his mission was not successful, his expedition had a considerable effect in opening up to China an entirely new world. The report which he submitted to Han Wou-ti contained precise information about different occidental states : *Ta yuan* (Ferganah), *Ngan-si* (Parthia), *Ta-hia* (Bactria) etc. He made another important discovery ; while he was in the country of *Ta-hia* (Bactria), he found to his great surprise the bamboos, and cotton stuff of the southern provinces of China, Yun-nan and Sse-chouan. He came to know from the natives of the country that there was a rich and powerful kingdom called *Shen-tou* (Sindhu, India) and the caravans which brought the product of south China passed across that country up to Afganistan (*Kao-fou*).

Henceforth Han Wou-ti turned his attention to two directions. He wanted on the one hand to take away from the *Hiong-nou* the small states which they occupied to the west of the province of Kan-sou and in the eastern part of Turkestan and on the other hand, to open in the south the route of India. In 115 B. C. Han Wou-ti succeeded in annexing the Western territories now known as Leang cheou Kan cheou, Sou cheou and Touen hoang, and driving the Huns towards the north.

Henceforth embassies were frequently sent by the Chinese Court to the foreign countries. Intimate relation was established with the country of *Ta Yuan* (Ferganah), which possessed the most beautiful horses. Friendly relation continued till 102 B.C. when a rupture took place and a Chinese army was sent to besiege the capital of Ferganah (Ouratape) which was soon reduced. The people of Ferganah submitted and promised to send tribute to the Chinese Court.

In order to command well the routes of Eastern Turkestan which had estabiished commerce with the West, the Chinese resolved to annex the Western territory to China, in the first century A. D. In 73 A. D., the general Pan chao was entrusted with this mission ; after 16 years of continual war he succeeded in submitting most of the states of the Tarim region, either by diplomacy or by force. He fixed the seat of his administration, at Kucha in 91 A. D. Military posts were founded along the great routes and henceforth safe and regular communication with India and the Western countries was established.

UNOFFICIAL RELATION

But even before the beginning of this official communication we have historical data to prove that unofficial relation existed between India and China. We will leave aside the pious legends about the arrival of 18 Indian missionaries of Asoka to the Chinese capital in 218 B. C.—a legend certainly forged at a later date. We will leave aside also the much disputed question of Indian influence on the philosophy of Lao tseu, the founder of Taoism.

It is at present an established fact that the name China (Cina) given to the country has been current amongst foreigners through its Indian form. The form *Sinae* (*Thinae*) which Ptolemy mentions is no doubt based on the Sanskrit form *Cina*, which was derived from the name of the Ts'in dynasty which rose to prominence under She Houang-ti. From the middle of the XVIIth century Father Martini proposed to derive the name of *China* from the name of the Ts'in dynasty (249—207 B. C.) The opinion was accepted for a long time till Von Richtofen and Terrien de Lacouperie

started new theories based on imperfect knowledge of Chinese philology. All these theories were at last definitely discussed by Professor Paul Pelliot who established that the explanation of Father Martini satisfies all exigencies of philology. The report of Chang Kien proves without doubt that commercial relation was already existing between India and China in the 2nd century before Christ by some land route which connected South-Western China and India. So there is nothing impossible if a century earlier the name of the conquering dynasty of Ts'in had penetrated the South-Western provinces of China (Sse chuan, and Yun-nan) and reached the ears of the Indians through these countries. It was certainly at this time that the name *China* appeared in India. During the advance of the Indo-Scyths towards Bactria in the 2nd and 1st centuries B. C., the Indians heard about the Chinese from the north-west. Later on in the first century A. D., when regular commercial relation had been established between India on one side and Indo-China and Insulindia on the other, Indian sailors followed the coast line and reached Tonkin, where they met the Chinese. Already used to call the Chinese *Cina*, the Indian navigators continued to call them by the same name. The Chinese also had no difficulty to recognise themselves under that historical name.

The Roman orient was called Ta Ts'in on account of the fact that men of those countries were similar to the people of China. In the Chinese version of the *Lalitavistara* prepared during the latter Han period (25-220 A. D.), the language of China is translated, as the language of Ts'in. Even in later translations of Buddhist texts, China is mentioned as the land of the *Ts'in*, the Chinese character is the same as in the name of the Ts'in dynasty.

It will be therefore idle to dispute all these evidences and try to take back the name *Cina* to an earlier date than the 3rd century B. C. For us it is sufficient to point out that the mention of *Cina* in Indian literature already presupposes an intercourse between India and China long before the introduction of Buddhism into China.

Besides, it has been shown now that Indian stories migrated to China at an early date ; we find traces of them in the writings of some Chinese authors of the second century B. C. The prince Lieou ngan, otherwise known as Houai nan tseu (died in 122 B. C) is an well known author of the 2nd cen. B. C. His writing contains reminiscences of an Indian story. Houai nan tseu speaks of the great Yu who "while going to the country of the naked people left his clothes before entering and put them on when coming out thus showing that wisdom can adapt itself to circumstances.' The story is the reminiscence of the *avadana* of a Bodhisattva

who did the same thing when he went to the country of the naked people for doing commerce. "From this indication" concludes Professor Chavannes, "it can be ascertained that long before the introduction of Buddhism in China the Indian stories must have penetrated the country and the Far East. It is still to be known however, if these stories really came from India or were derived from some common source".

INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM

The introduction of Buddhism in China took place before the beginning of the Christian era. There is however a class of traditions which would have us believe that the missionaries of Asoka went to China in 218 B. C. to preach Buddhism. They were imprisoned at the order of the Emperor, but were soon released when they worked some miracles. In the end of the second century B. C. (121 B. C.) the Chinese general Ho Kiu-ping, after his war with the Huns, returned to the capital with a golden man. This was, the tradition says, an image of Buddha. There is, however, another set of traditions which would place the first arrival of Buddhism in the year 68 A. D. when Ming-ti of the Han dynasty dreamt of *the golden man*, and came to know from his courtiers that it was Buddha. He sent two ambassadors in search of the followers of Buddha. The two ambassadors, says the tradition, soon returned to the capital with two Indian monks, Kasyapa Matanga and Dharmaratna, who translated the first Buddhist texts into Chinese.

None of these traditions, however, is trustworthy. The political condition of Central Asia in the time of Ts'in She Houang-ti, when the 18 missionaries are supposed to have come to the Chinese Court, do not permit us to dream of any relation of China with the west. The dream of Ming-ti is also false. It was towards the close of the 1st century B.C. (2 B.C.) that the first Buddhist text was brought by a Chinese ambassador (Tsiang King) from the Indo-Scythian court. Besides, in the middle of the first century A.D. we hear of the existence of monks and laymen in the court of a prince of the imperial family ruling in the valley of the Yang-tse-kiang. The story of the dream of Ming-ti, only shows that the courtiers of Ming-ti were already familiar with Buddhism. But there is no reason to disbelieve the arrival of the two monks Kasyapa Matanga and Dharmaratna as some of their translations, are still preserved in the Chinese Tripitaka and bears a very ancient stamp. The first Buddhist monastery which was built for them in the capital of China (Si-ngan fu). viz, Po-ma-sse, "the white horse monastery" played a great role for long centuries in the history of the Buddhist church in China.

II

ANCIENT ROUTES OF COMMUNICATION

To understand exactly the role of India in the history of her relation with China it is necessary to say a few words on the means of communication between these two vast countries of Asia. Though India, at present, touches the south- western limits of China it did not do so in ancient times. The trans-Gangetic regions of India, Assam and Upper Burma, were not so much Indianised as they may appear to-day. The Chinese control on the different barbarian tribes on the south-western borderland of the Empire was not an established fact for a long time. Besides, the earlier centres of cultural and political activities were confined to the north of the Yang-tse-kiang, the cradle- land of the Chinese civilisation.

How could these two countries, wide apart from one another, come to meet each other on a common platform and work together for a common cause ? The problem is not a simple one. If India became known to the Chinese people and if Indian Buddhism influenced and gave a new turn to the Chinese life, the whole credit does not thereby go to India. Many other countries of Asia worked for the cause of India and India owes a deep debt of gratitude to them. The question of these countries, many of which do not exist any longer, is involved with that of the routes of communication between India and China. We will therefore begin with a description of these routes.

(1) *The Routes of Eastern Turkestan*

The Tarim basin is surrounded on the north and the south by lofty mountains (Altai and Kouen-louen). In the middle, the Tarim river traverses the plain. Rising on the east near the Chinese posts of Yu-men and Yang-koan, the Tarim river extends towards the west up to Pamir-Bolor. It receives the waters of two principal rivers, that of the Yarkand and of the Khotan. This region was divided into 36 small kingdoms in the time of the Han dynasty and was situated along the two great routes of communication between China and the West. The two principal routes parted from Touen-hoang, in the province of Kan-sou ; the one passed by the gate of Yu-men-koan towards North-West, and the other by that of Yang-koan directly westward.

Touen-hoang, we know, played a great part in the history of China's relation with the West. Like Purushapura, situated on the highway leading to the undefined west, Touen-hoang came to be a meeting centre of foreigners,

from the beginning of the Christian era. Already in the middle of the second century, the Buddhist pilgrims found a place of shelter there on their way towards the capital of China. In the third century A.D. we hear of Indian families settled down in Touen-hoang. It had already become a great centre of Buddhist missionaries at that time. During the centuries following, the dynasty of Wei the great patron of Buddhism and Buddhist art, determined to bring about a transformation of the place, so important for the diffusion of Buddhistic culture. It was at this time that the construction of Buddhist temples began and grottos were cooped out in the surrounding hills. The number of grottos were multiplied and a thousand of them in number, contained many works of art and statues of Buddha. It is these grottos of *Ts'ien fo t'ong*, long fallen in oblivion, that cherished silently for about a thousand years a wonderful library of the middle ages. The vast number of manuscripts it contained, discovered mostly by the French archaeological mission of Pelliot and preserved partly in Peking partly in Paris, show amply what a great centre of learning Touen-hoang was in the glorious time of the T'ang dynasty. The diversity of the languages, in which these Manuscripts exist, Kuchean, Khotanese, Syriac, Tibetan, Sanskrit, etc. show that Touen-hoang was really a great meeting place of China and the West.

The southern route starting from Touen-hoang passed by the gate of Yang-koan and proceeding westward reached the country of Shan-shan (to the south of Lob-nor). From Shan-shan it went along the course of the river Tarim up to Sou-kiue (Yarkand) and crossing the Pamir (Kizil rabat) reached the country of the Yue-che (Balkh) and Parthia (Ngan-si). The route of the north, passed by Kiue-she (Tourfan), the ancient capital of the kingdom of Leou-lan; it followed the Tarim right up to the west to Shou-lei (Kashgar) and continued across the Pamir (Kizil art) up to the country of Ta-wan (Sogdia), K'ang kiu (Samarkand) and other countries in the valley of Oxus.

But the route to India followed a little different course. Fa-hien, the first Chinese pilgrim to India, notices in detail the way he followed from China to India. Starting from Si-ngan-fou in 399 A. D. with other monks he passed by the principal localities of the province of Kan-sou viz. *Lan cheou*, *Leang cheou*, *Kan cheou*, *Sou cheou* and *Touen hoang* and arrived at *Shan-shan* to the south of Lob-nor. They visited the countries of *Yen-ki* (Karashar), *Yu tien* (Khotan), *Tseu ho* (Karghalik), *Kiuan yu-mo* (Tash-kourghan) and *Kie ch'a* (Kasghar). They passed by *To-li* (Darel, in Dardistan) and then crossing the mountains, they reached the valley of Gilgit which leads to the region of the Indus.

A century later Song Yun visited India. He has left us a fairly detailed account of the route he followed on his way to India. It is also the southern route which he followed. But from Tash-kourghan (*Tsiu-mo*) he went to *Pa-ho* (Wakhan) and passed by *Po-che* (the mountainous region to the north of Chitral) to *She-mi* (Chitral). But instead of following the route of Gilgit to Kashmir he directed his course southwards to Udyana, in the valley of the Swat and then to Gandhara (Peshawar).

Hiuan tsang in 629 followed the northern route. From Kan-sou he went to Kao-chang (Yarkhoto, near Tourfan), then he visited the countries of *A-ki-ni* (Karashar). *Kiue che* (Kucha), *Pa-lou-kia* (Yaka-aryk), to the south of the T'ien shan; he crossed the Tien shan by the Bedal pass, passed by the north bank of *Issyk-kul* where he met the Tokmak Turks. Shortly before the arrival of Hiuan tsang, the country had been visited by an Indian monk of Nalanda, Prabhakaramitra who went to China later on to receive the highest honour from the Emperor of China. Hiuan tsang then passed by Sogdia ; crossed "the Iron Gates" to the south of *Kesch* (Sahahr i-sabz) and reached the country of Tokharestan. The capital of the country was at that time *Houo* (Kunduz) to the south of the Oxus. Hiuan tsang descended by the pass of Bamian to the valley of Kapisa. Twenty years later, on his way back to China he followed the southern route: From Kapisa he crossed the Hindukush by the valley of Panjshir, and reached Kunduz. He then passed by Badakshan (*Pa-to-ch'ouang-na*), *Ying-po-kien* (Yamgan the valley of the Koksha), and *Houen-t'o-lo* (Kandut). Then crossing the Pamir, he visited the countries of Tash-kourghan (*Kie-pan-t'o*) *Kia-she* (Kasghar). *Che-kiu kia* (Karghalik), *Kiu-sa-tan-na* (Khotan). From Khotan, he followed the usual route by the south of Lob-nor to *Si ngan fou*, the capital.

The last Chinese pilgrim who has left a somewhat detailed notice of the route he followed for going to India by Eastern Turkestan, is Wou-k'ong. He left China in 751 A. D. at the head of an official embassy sent to the kingdom of Kapisa in order to bring a Chinese ambassador. Wou k'ong passed by Kucha, which was at that time the seat of the protectorate of Ngan-si, Sou-lei (Kashgar), the five Ch'e-ni (Shighnan) of the Po-mi (Pamir) and the Hou-mi (Wakhan) and reached the Indus region by the valley of Yasin and Gilgit, known as Po-lu-lo (Bolor), the most frequented route for entering India. Wou-k'ong visited Udyana (Valley of the Swat) and Kapisa. He followed a little different route on his way back to China. He passed by Kou-tou (Khottal), *Kiu-mi-che* (Kumedh, now Karategin), Ch'e-ni (Shighnan), and reached Sou-lei (Kashgar), and then Yu t'ien (Khotan). He passed by Wei-jong (Yaka-aryak), Kiue tseu (Kucha), Yen-k'i (Karashar) and

Pei t'ing (Tsi-mou-sa, near Ku-ch'eng) and returned to Ch'ang-ngan in 790 A.D.

It is unnecessary to mention other unimportant details on these routes, which were frequented for a few centuries more. The intineraries which we have just mentioned are sufficient to give a rough idea of the routes of Eastern Turkestan followed by the Chinese travellers, who came to India and the Indian monks who visited China. On account of the growing difficulties in the political situation of Central Asia, the land routes were gradually given up and with the progress in the technic of navigation, the sea route began to be more and more frequented till they were left to be the only way of communication with China.

(2) *The Route of Assam*

Another route of communication existed from very early times by Assam, and Upper Burma. The difficulty of the route did not encourage very much this connection and it was thus frequented only by the barbarians of the south-western provinces of China, viz, Sse-chouan and Yun-nan and by the hill tribes of Assam and Upper Burma. In the middle of the 7th cen. (642 A.D.) when Hiuan-tsang was invited by Bhaskaravarman, the king of Kamarupa, he started from Magadha, passed by Champa (Bhagalpur); Kajangala (Kankjol—Rajmahal) and Pundravardhana (Rangpur) and going eastward reached Kamarupa. This was the most usual route from the capital of Magadha to Kamarupa at that time. But though Hiuan-tsang did not visit any country on the other side of the kingdom of Kamarupa he heard from the natives of the place about the existence of a route leading to south-west China. "To the east of Kamarupa," he says, "the country is a series of hills and hillocks without any principal city, and one can reach the south-west barbarians (of China) ; hence the inhabitants were akin to the Man and the Lao". The pilgrim learnt from the people of Kamarupa that the south-west borders of Sse-chouan were distant by about two months journey, "but the mountains were hard to pass, there were pestilential vapours and poisonous snakes and herbs." When Bhaskaravarman came to know from the pilgrim that the latter's country was Maha-Cina he enquired about a song which came from China but was very popular in Assam at that time. "At present in various states of India a song has been heard from some time called the music of the conquests of *Ts'in wang* of Maha Cina." He then related how he had heard of the Devaputra, prince of Ts'in of Maha-Cina who had brought that country out of anarchy and ruin into prosperity, and made it supreme over distant regions to which his good influences extended. All his subjects, the king continued, having their moral

and material wants cared for by this ruler, sing the song of *Ts'in wang's* conquest and this fine song has long been known there (i.e. Kamarupa) The song referred to was the song of the victory of the second son of the T'ang Emperor Kao-tsou, Prince of Ts'in, over the rebel general *Liu Wou-cheou* in 619 A. D. This points out to the intimate intercourse that existed between China and the eastern countries of India and it is, even more surprising when we take into consideration the fact that a Chinese musical piece composed after 619 A.D., had penetrated the region of Kamarupa in 638 A. D. when Hiuan-tsang visited the country. But the existence of this route is attested even at an early date. The Chinese of Sse-chouan knew since long that India was accessible from the south west of Yun-nan. The evidence of Chang k'ien that he found in the markets of Bactria merchandises of Sse-chouan and Yun-nan brought by caravans that passed along the country of Shen-tou (India) points out without doubt to the existence of this route. Coming to later times in 97 A.D., Yong Yeou ti'ao, king of the Shan state (situated in upper valley of the Salouen, accepted the suzerainty of the Chinese Emperor, received a sort of imperial investiture and sent in 120 A.D. as present to the Chinese court, musicians and jugglers, all natives of *Ta-ts'in*. A tradition current in the province of Yun-nan would have us believe that the first Indian missionaries, Kasyapa-matanga and Dharmaratna went to the capital of China by this route. The history of the Wei dynasty (*Wei lio*) speaks of a route from *Ta ts'in* (Roman orient) to China by way of *Yong tch'ang* and Yunnan. Yi-tsing in his biography of eminent monks who visited India in the middle of the 7th century records a tradition which would have us believe that Sri Gupta the king of the Gupta dynasty, built a "temple of China," near the Mahabodhi, in the end of the 3rd Century A.D. for twenty Chinese monks who came to India by Yun-nan and Burma, during his reign. But when the route of Central Asia and the sea route were well established, commerce received a new impetus and the comparatively difficult way of Upper Burma was given up. It was only in the 7th century under the great T'ang dynasty, that there were proposals of reopening the eastern route. In 627—649 Lien Po-ying the governor of the upper valley of Kien -chang proposed that the barbarians should be put down and route of the *Si-eul-ho* (Tali) and India should be opened. The constant fight with the Tibetans, the danger of the Southern route of Central Asia, compelled the governor of Cheng-tou to make the same proposal in 698. But nothing important was done towards it. It was at this time that the kingdom of Nan-chao, came to be founded and it kept the route in its control for a long time.

An itinerary preserved in Kia-tan of the end of the 8th century A.D. describes in detail the route in question. Starting from Tonkin, the southern centre of all commercial activities of China, the route passed by Yunnansen, Yunnan-fou and Ta-li-fou. Going westwards it crossed the Salouen at Yong chang (Yong chang fou) on the west of the river. Going westward it reached the town of Chou-ko-leang (to the east of Momein, between the Shweli and the Salouen). The route bifurcated there, the principal one descending by the valley of the Shweli to join the Irawaddy on the south west, and the other continuing directly to the west. Starting from Chou-ko leang, the principal route crossed the frontier of *P'iao* (Burma) near Lo, the frontier town of Nan-chao, and passing through the country of mountain tribes it reached *Si-li* midway between Ta-gaung and Mandalay. Si-li (or Si-li-yi), though it cannot be exactly identified now, was an important town at that time as in 802. *Su-nan-to* (Sunanda) the brother of the Burmese king, sent to the Chinese Court with musicians, was the Prince of Si-li-yi. The route then passed by Tou-min (Pagan ?) and reached the Capital of Burma, Srikhetra (Prome). Starting from Prome and crossing on the west a range of black mountains (the modern Arakan range) the route crossed Kamarupa (Assam). Here it rejoined the second route.

Starting from Chou-ko-leang, the second route went right westwards to *Teng ch'ong* (Momein); then crossing at *Mi* the mountains, it reached *Li-shouei*, on the Irawaddy (Bhamo or near about to the north). Then crossing the river *Long-tsiuan* (Mo hnyin or Mogaung) it passed the town of Ngan-si near which lived the small Brahmins of Ta-ts'in and going westwards crossing the river Min-no (Chindwin) reached the country of the great Brahmin of Ta-ts'in. Then crossing the mountains it reached Kamarupa. Going northwest from Kamarupa and crossing the river Karatoya it reached the country of (*Pen-na-fa-t'an-no*) Pundravardhana (modern Rangpur). Proceeding south-west, it reached Kajangala (Kie-chou-wou-lo ?) on the right bank of the river Ganges and further to the west it reached Magadha. This is exactly the route which Hiuan tsang followed when going from Magadha to Kamarupa.

This is the route which the Chinese knew even in XII century, although the kingdom of Ta-li had cut off all communications of China accross Yun-nan. Even in the time of the Mongols, Rashid-edd-in studied the two routes from India to China one by the straits, Canton, Zaitoun, Hang cheou, and the other by Burma and the country of Zardandan and Karajang.

In 1406 we hear of a Chinese political mission sent to Burma by this route. When in 1406 the King Anuruddha (*Na-lo-t'a*) conquered the small state of Mong yang (modern Mo-hnyin to the north west of Bhamo and to the south of

the lake Indo- gyi), dependant on China, the Emperor of the Ming dynasty despatched a misson guided by Chang hong to the Burmese king asking him to evacuate Mong yang. The route followed by the mission is the same as that described by the intinerary of Kia tan.

Last of all, when in 1652 Mir Jumla conqured Assam he boasted of opening that way, the route to China.

Almost all the accounts mention particularly the dangers and difficulties of this route. Thus the report of the political mission of 1406 says, "The climate of this country (the region of Upper Burma) is extremely bad. When a mission arrives there, even in the first night, half of the people falls ill; on the morrow almost every body is ill and from the third day onwards the cases of death increase without interruption." Inspite of all these difficulties the way was frequented now and then as it was the only short route connecting south-western China with Upper Burma and Assam. Indian influences were exerted in early times, in Upper Burma, Yun-nan and Sse-chouan and some factors in the Indian colonization of Indo-China, can only be explained by this eastern way of communication, the sole connecting link between eastern India and this unexplored region.

(3) *The Route of Tibet.*

Lastly, a third land route of communication between China and India was opened in the beginning of the 7th. century A. D. when the Tibetan Empire was founded and its Charlemagne, the famous Srong-tsan sgam-po contracted marriage alliance with China and Nepal. Though the occasional hostile attitude of Tibet towards China did not permit the Chinese travellers to follow this route for a long time, yet during the 7th. century, when Tibet remained a faithful ally of China, Chinese ambassadors and pilgrims found this road an easy one. The first Buddhist pilgrim who seems to have gone to China by this way is a famous monk of Nalanda—named Prabhakaramitra. The date of his departure from India is not known but his presence in Tibet and in the country of the Western Turks is attested in the year 625 A.D. He was taken to China in 627 A. D. by a Chinese embassy, was greatly honoured there and was asked to organise the work of the translation of sacred texts. At about the same time in 627 A. D., Hiuan chao a pious Sramana followed this route to India. Leaving the frontiers of China he crossed the desert, passed by *the Iron Gates* (Derbend, modern Buzgola-khana), traversed the country of *Tou-ho-lo* (Tokharestan) passed by the country of the barbarians (*Hou*) and at last reached *Tou-fan* (Tibet). Here he met the Chinese Princess Wen-ch'eng the queen of Srong tsan Sgam po and according to her orders, Hiuan- chao was safely conducted to India and reached Jalandhara (*She-lan-t'ouo*).

A few years later on his way back, in the company of Wang Hiuan-ts'o he passed by Nepal (*Ni-po-lo*), payed another visit to the queen Wen ch'eng and followed the direct route to the capital of China.

The mission of Wang Hiuan-ts'o in 647-648 to the court of Emperor Harsha, followed the route of Tibet and Nepal. It is now a well-known fact of Indian history that the Chinese ambassador at the head of Tibetan and Nepalese army, won a decisive victory over the successor of king Harshavardhan. It shows what an intimate relation, China was entertaining with Tibet in this period. In 657 A.D. he was sent again to India with an official mission and this time too he passed by Tibet and Nepal. So in this period of friendly relation between Tibet and China this route of Tibet was much more frequented than the northern routes, which were in the hands of alien peoples.

But after the death of Srong tsan Sgam po (650 A. D.), there was again a rupture and continual war was carried on between the two countries. Tibet found an ally in the Turks who occupied at that time a great part of the eastern Turkestan region. The most convenient route from China to India, therefore, was the sea-route.

Towards the end of the 10th century a Chinese monk seems to have followed this route on his way back to China, but his itinerary is not very clear. Ki ye came to India in 966 by the route of eastern Turkestan but a few years later on his way back to China, he passed by Nepal, and a place which he names *Mo-yu-li* (probably Mayurato near Tibet ?) and visited the temple of *San-yue* (Samye in Lhassa ?)

Lastly with the foundation of the great Mongol empire of Khubilai Khan, in the 13th century, regular relation was re-established between Tibet and China. We will speak later on of the great role played by India in this period in the history of Sino-Tibetan Buddhism, just before the advent of a dark age which witnessed the cessation of all relation between India and China.

(*4*) *The Sea-Route.*

It is possible that a sea-route was already traced out long before the Christian era by the hardy Polynesian people who occupied and still occupy the countries of Further India and Insulindia and it is possible also that this was the route which was later on followed by the Indian colonisers. But we have historical evidence of the existence of this route only from the 1st century A.D. when the Hindu settlers reached the countries of Indo-China. Chinese records would have us believe that the Kingdom of Fou-nan (Bhnom preserved in the name, Phnom Penh), on which was built up later on the Cambodian empire, was Hinduised by a Brahman named Houen-tien (Kaundinya) as early as the 1st century A. D. "The original ruler of

Founan" says the tradition, "was a woman named *Ye-lieou*. There was a foreigner named Houen tien (Kaundinya) who practised a mystic cult. He was given in dream a bow and an arrow and received the order of embarking on a junk of commerce and to take to sea. He discovered the bow in the temple and decided to follow the merchants across the sea. He reached Fou nan, and subjugated and married the ruling queen. The earlier kings of Fou-nan were descendants of this Hindu." The genealogy of the dynasty, as given by these Chinese records would place this first Hinduisation of Fou-nan—Kamboja in the first century A.D.

Towards the end of the first century A.D. the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* mentions the existence of a sea-route to China. "Beyond the country of Chryse (Indo-China) the ocean (navigation ?) extends up to the country of Thin. In this country, in the north, there is a great inland city called Thinae. From that city, by the land-route, the silk passes by Bactria towards Barygaza (Broach) and by the Ganges up to Limuria. (Damirica = Tamilaka). But the land is not easy of access, because there are very few men who come back from there." Ptolemy, when mentioning Kattigara (indentified by some with Tonkin), the port of Sinai, speaks of the existence of navigation between Kattigara and the West. In 166 A.D. the king of *Ta-ts'in* Ngan-touan (Marcus Aurelius Antonius) sent an embassy to the Chinese Court. It landed in Je-nan (Tonkin) which was the port of China at that time.

The foundation of the Indian colony of Champa, which occupied almost the whole of modern Annam, is placed unanimously in the 2nd century A. D. The Sanskrit inscription of Vocan (near Khan hoa), the oldest Sanskrit inscription discovred in Further India, cannot be dated later than the end of the 2nd century A.D. It presupposes an already well established settlement of Indians on the coast of Annam.

In the Wou period (222-280), the *Fan chan* king of Fou-nan sent one of his relatives, Sou-wou as ambassador to India. He left Fou-nan and embarked at the port of *T'cou-kiu-li* (Takkola, Talai-takkola of the Tirumalai inscription of Rajendra Cola I, 1030 A.D., which was situated near the Isthmus of Kra). The vessel followed the course of a big bay of the vast Ocean and reached the mouth of the river of India, the Ganges, after a long sailing. They went up the river for over 7000 *li* and reached the capital of the Murundas. The Murunda king was very pleased to receive the envoy of the king of Fou-nan, and sent in return one Che song, as ambassador to the court of Fou-nan with the horses of the Yue-che country as presents. At this time the Chinese emperor sent two envoys, Kang-t'ai and Chou-ying to Founan.

They met the Indian envoy Che Song there and collected detailed information from them on India.

All these point to the existence of a sea-route in the 2nd. and 3rd. century A. D. which connected India with the Far East. It is not improbable that the port of Takkola which is mentioned by Ptolemy too, was at first the port beyond which the vessels from the West did not go.

The Indian colonisers of Fou-nan and Champa probably proceeded to the inland region by the land-routes from Takkola. But the vessels soon proceeded farther and, following the coast line, reached Tonkin.

At the time when the sea route was opened, Tonkin became the distributing centre. Tonkin (Kiao-che) was annexed to the Chinese empire in the second century B.C. during the rule of the former Han dynasty but became a real Chinese province in the end of the 2nd century A.D. The embassy of Marcus Aurelius disembarked at Kiao-che in 166 A.D. Shortly after the trouble of the "Yellow Bonnets" which desolated China towards end of 2nd century A.D., compelled many peace-loving Chinese to take refuge in Tonkin which was comparatively calm. Amongst them we find Meou-tseu, author of a famous text, called "The Dissipation of Doubts." Meou-tseu belonged to the nobility and once filled up some high rank in the state, and as such was a devout Confucianist. But Buddhism fascinated him more and during his stay in Tonkin he wrote his treatise in defence of Buddhism. In the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. the parents of a famous monk Seng-houei came to Tonkin. They were of Sogdian family, long settled in India. The father of Seng-houei came to Tonkin for his commerce and was established there with his family. Seng houei was born there. The official mission of K'ang-tai and Chou-ying to Fou-nan started from Tonkin. When in 226 a merchant coming from the confines of the Mediterranean Orient, Ts'in-louen, arrived in Tonkin, the governor of Tonkin sent him to Nanking. The Chinese governor Lu tai sent some officials to propagate Chinese civilisation to the south, to Lin-yi (Champa) and Fou-nan (Kamboja) ; the mission started from Tonkin.

Thus from the time of the latter Han dynasty, all the kingdoms of the south-sea followed the way of Tonkin and did not go up to Canton.

However the navigators began to take little by little to the more direct route for China and Canton prevailed on Tonkin. It is at Canton that Yi-tsing disembarked in the 7th century. But the displacement was not without a fight.

Canton really was a Chinese province whereas Tonkin was a sort of protectorate ; and the people of Canton pretended to monopolise to their profit the benefits of the foreign trade. In 792 the governor of Ling-ngan (ie. of the two Kouang, Kouang-tong and Kouang-si) sent a report to the Emperor complaining that the foreign vessel had begun to go to Ngan-nam (Tonkin) and requested him to issue orders forbidding commerce in Tonkin. The demand was rejected. But the geographical situation of Canton did what the administration failed to do. From the 8th century Canton became the principal port of disembarcation of the Arab merchants of the 9th century. Independence of Annam in 968 spoiled all possibilities of the external commerce of Tonkin. Canton went on prospering till the arrival of the Europeans, during the last century.

In the beginning of the 5th Century A. D. (413-414) when Fa-hien was returning to China, the sea route was an well-established one. At this time the port of Tamralipti, which was already a port of considerable importance in the time of Ptolemy (Tamalitis), appears as a great emporium of import and export trade. Starting from Pataliputra Fa-hien followed the course of the Ganges and descending eastwards he found on the southern bank, the great Kingdom of Champa (Bhagalpur). Continuing his journey eastwards, he came to the country of Tamralipti (*Ta-mo-li-ti*), the capital of which was a great sea-port. He embarked there in a large merchant vessel and went floating over the sea to the south-west. It was the beginning of winter and the wind was favourable. After fourteen days' sailing day and night, he reached the country of Simhala (She-tseu = Ceylon). Sailing from Ceylon he reached in 90 days Javadvipa (Java) where Brahmanical religion was flourishing. The ship took a course to the north-east from Java, intending to reach Kouang-tcheou. The wind of a stormy sea drifted them far away. More than seventy days passed and the provisions and water were nearly exhausted. They used the salt water for cooking and carefully divided the fresh water. The merchants took counsel and found out that they had taken a wrong course. After twelve days' sailing they reached Shan Tong.

Such was an itenerary of the sailors of the 5th Century A. D.—full of adventure and of great courage. Soon after Fa-hien, an Indian Prince of Kashmir, Gunavarman, sailed from Ceylon and reached Canton (Kouang-tcheou) in 433 A. D. via Java. The famous Paramartha of Ujjayini went to Nanking in 548 A. D. by the sea route via Fou-nan where, he passed sometime. Numerous monks came from China to

India and returned home by the sea-route in the 7th and 8th centuries. The intensive Buddhist activities in the great centres of the "South-sea islands", (Srivijaya, Java, Champa etc.') are perceptible in this period.

'As it is not the place to speak about the sea routes connecting India and China in detail, I shall content myself with pointing out that since the time of the great T'ang dynasty (618-907 A. D.), the commercial relation of China with the foreign countries was greatly intensified and the sea-route proved to be more convenient than the routes of Central Asia, which were not always under Chinese control. The Arab sailors began to play a very important part in the sea-borne trade of this period.

SER-INDIAN INTERMEDIARIES

(1) The Indo-Scythians (the *Yue-tche*).

The Indo-Scythians probably contributed the most to the foundation of Sino-Indian relation. We have already seen that the first Chinese political mission under Chang Kien was sent to the Scythian court, established at that time in the valley of the Oxus. The continual Hiung-nu (Hun) menace to the Chinese Empire compelled the Emperor to search for an ally amongst the western peoples and the powerful *Yue-tche*, the old enemies of the Huns, became the first objective of political negotiation. Though the political mission did not at once succeed, a trade relation and a cultural exchange was soon established. It was towards the end of the 1st century before Christ (2 B. C.) that the Chinese ambassador Tsing Kiang received the first Buddhist text from the *Yue-tche* prince and brought it to the Chinese court and it was probably the first direct knowledge of Buddhism which the Chinese ever had.

The Scythian conquest of north-western India at about the same time brought them into direct contact with India and lead to the foundation of a great empire which soon extended from the Punjub to the valley of the Oxus ; it included Kasghar and Khotan and came into conflict with the Chinese supremacy in Central Asia in the middle of the first century after Christ. It had far-reaching consequences. Apart from the political and commercial consideration it greatly helped the infiltration of Indian religion and literature in Khotan in the south and Kucha and other kingdoms in the north.

The Scythians began to play a very important role in the history of middle Asia. Their centre of activity was

transferred to the region of Gandhara and the new capital was founded at Purushapura (Peshawar) which was already international from the times of the Greek conquest. The Scythians soon embraced Buddhism and brought a new contribution to the development of Buddhism and to its expansion outside India. Kanishka who adopted the Chinese imperial title of *Devaputra* (*Tien-tseu*) became the patron of a new form of Buddhism, the Mahayana which was soon destined to be an universal religion and to have a prosperous career in the greater part of Asia. Kanishka sat at the feet of Indian teachers like Asvaghosha who promulgated this new faith. It is not impossible that this new faith, first propagated on the border lands of India, the meeting place of different civilisations and patronised by the Indo-Scythian kings, was inspired to some extent by the Indo-Scythian and other foreign peoples living side by side with the Indians.

It seems that during her first relation with China, India was represented by the Indo-Scythians. The tradition would have us believe that the first Indian missionaries, Kashyapa Matanga and Dharmaratna, who went to China in 68 A.D., were found in the country of the Indo-Scythians when the Chinese ambassadors came to meet them. The texts which these missionaries transmitted to China were not translations of the original works of the Canon, but brief *exposition* of the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism meant for pure propaganda in foreign countries.

From this time onwards we hear of continual arrivals of Buddhist missionaries and it is not without importance that many of them were Indo-Scythian by nationality. Thus Lokakshema (or more ucurately *Lokachema*), a monk of rare learning came to Lo-yang (Ho-nan-fu) in 147 A.D. and translated there some of the most important texts of the Buddhist canon into Chinese. May it be noted that most of these texts formed a part of the Mahayana literature. Lokakshema worked there till 188 A.D., a very long period of work indeed, and some of his translations which are still extant testify to the amount of work which he did for the propagation of Buddhism in China. Towards the end of the same century (190-220 A.D.), one of his young disciples, named Tche K'ien who was also an Indo-Scythian by nationality, was compelled to leave North-China on account of political troubles and to migrate to the south of Yang-tse-kiang. He worked in Nanking till the middle of the 3rd century A.D. (252-253 A.D.) and translated over a hundred Buddhist texts, 49 of which are still extant. It is again to be noted that he emphasised on the new form of the religion, I mean, the Mahayana. Though he translated texts from the Buddhist Agamas he did not fail to translate

Mahayana texts like *Vimalakirti-nirdesa*, a scripture of capital interest to the new Church.

Tche K'ien was the first translator in South-China and was thus the first to have imparted a first-hand knowledge of Buddhism in that region

Without confining our attention to other Indo-Scythian monks of less importance who followed them, I pass over to a great name, that of Dharmaraksa, known to the Chinese as Tchou Fa-hou. Dharmaraksa was born toward the middle of the 3rd century A. D. of an Indo-Scythian family settled in Touen-hoang. He received his education from an Indian teacher, travelled with him in different parts of Central Asia, and undoubtedly visited some countries on the border-land of India. He then learnt 36 different languages and came into touch with different peoples and possessed a direct knowledge of Buddhism. A monk of rare genius, he was not contented with his lot at Touen-hoang. So he left for China in 284 A. D. and worked there for the cause of Buddhism till 313 A. D. As a man of Touen-hoang he possessed a thorough knowledge of the Chinese language and translated more than two hundred Sanskrit texts into Chinese of which 90 works still exist. Besides he organised a regular school of translators where, Chinese, Indo-Scythian, Indians and others worked side by side for a common cause, *viz.*, the propagation of Buddhism in China.

With the disappearance of the Indo-Scythian people from the face of history, or rather their assimilation into the vast population that spread from India to the border-lands of China, the Indo-Scythian monks ceased to play any part in the history of Buddhism. But their work was commemorated by China and we can still trace their stamp on the early evangelical activities of India. We can say without exaggeration that they were the first bearers of the torch of Indian Buddhism to China.

(2) The Parthians.

Mithradates I, a very able monarch who reigned between 171-136 B. C. succeeded in so extending his dominions that his power was felt as far as the Indus and probably even to the east of that river. He annexed to his dominions the territory of all the nations between the Indus and the Hydaspes or the Jhelum. The chiefs of Taxila and Mathura assumed Persian titles of satrap and a close relation between Parthian monarchy and the Indian border-land is demonstrated by the appearance of a long line of princes of Parthian origin who now enter on the scene, and continue to play some role in the history of India till the

2nd century A. D. So we have no reason to be surprised, if Parthia had already possessed a direct knowledge of Buddhism in the beginning of the Christian era.

It was in the year 148 A. D. at the commencement of the war that ultimately caused the downfall of the Arsacidan dynasty that a Parthian prince appears in the western frontier country of China with a burden of Buddhist texts. He is known to the Chinese historian as Ngan-Che-Kao or Lokottama (?) the Parthian. He was a true prince of royal descent but abdicated the throne in favour of his uncle, left the family and turned out a Buddhist monk at an early age. He was a scholar of profound intelligence and gave himself up to Buddhist studies. He left for China and reached Lo-yang (Ho-nan-fu) in 144 A. D. He settled down there in the monastery of *Po-ma-sse* "the White Horse monastery" built for the first two Indian monks Dharmaratna and Kasyapamatanga. He soon succeeded in founding a school of translators which came to be known as 'Unrivalled". Really it was such. Ngan-Che-Kao himself translated into Chinese more than a hundred Buddhist texts of which 55 are still extant. Most of these texts are extracts from the Buddhist Agams, generally illustrating the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism. Another Parthian named Ngan Hiuan who belonged to this school came to Lo-yang as a merchant. He received the imperial favour for rendering some valuable service to the public and obtained the title of the "Chief Officer of the Cavalry." But he soon gave up all official distinctions and embraced the Buddhist religion. As a scholar, he collaborated with the monks of the White Horse monastery and translated some important Buddhist texts: The *Ugraparipricha*, *Dvadasanidana sutra*. etc.

Amongst the workers of the school of Ngan-che-Kao, we find some Sogdian monks and, what is more interesting, a Chinese priest of the end of the 2nd century A.D., the first we have ever heard, named Yen-Fo-T'iao (Buddhadeva). He was a patient collaborator of Ngan Hiuan, learnt Sanskrit (? the original language of the sacred texts brought from Central Asia) and was able to recite the whole of the *Pratimoksha*. He was given the title of *Acharya* and a sanskrit name, *Buddhadeva* (*Fo-T'iao*). To the same school of Ngan-che-Kao belonged also the famous Indo-Scythian monk Lokakshema.

It is not without significance that the first organised effort made to translate the Buddhist Canon into Chinese was made by Ngan-Che-Kao a Parthian by nationality. Buddhism was introduced into China by the Indo-Scythians and it was through them that China first came to know of

India. It was also left to this great Parthian to lay the foundation of a school for a systematic interpretation of Buddhism to the Chinese and it was in that school that the first *Chinese Acharya* and Sanskrit scholar received his training.

We should not mention here other Parthian monks of minor importance who went to China during the 3rd and the 4th centuries A. D. But they contributed not only to the spread of Buddhism in China but also to the work of translation of the Buddhist texts, which was only possible for those who possessed an intimate knowledge of the Indian language in which they were written down.

(3) The Sogdians.

Next comes Sogdia,—another Iranian country. The Sogdians like their brethren of Parthia contributed a good deal to the spread of Buddhism towards the Far East. In the period which we have just mentioned, we find a number of Sogdian monks and amongst them some famous scholars who undertook the work of translation of the Buddhist texts into Chinese.

The Sogdians were a very ancient people. Their existence as nomads is known during the Achaemenian period of the history of Persia. The Avesta mentions the country and the people as *Sughda*. The Sogdians were tenacious agriculturists and clever merchants. Civilised and audacious, they had occupied all the cultivable zone between the lofty mountains and the steppes to the north of the *Tien-Shan*. They advanced gradually towards the eastern Turkestan and had numerous settlements in different parts of Central Asia towards the beginning of the Christian era. There was almost a Sogdian route at this time from the great wall of China up to Samarkand. The Sogdian, a purely Iranian language played the role of a sort of *Lingua franca* in Central Asia for some centuries.

Without speaking of the numerous traces of Sogdian translations of Buddhist texts discovered in Central Asia, I pass over to the great Sogdian personalities who have left their stamp on the Chinese Buddhist Canon. The school of Ngan-Che-Kao in the end of 2nd century, had already some Sogdian translators. But the most important of the Sogdian monks who worked in China is perhaps K'ang Seng-houei.

Seng-houei was born of a Sogdian family. His ancestors at first settled down in India. His father was a merchant and had to stay in Tonkin (*Kiao tche*). Seng-houei was born there in the first quarter of the 3rd century A.D. On the death of his father he left the world and became

a monk. He soon proceeded to Nanking where he built a monastery and founded a Buddhist school. He was the first to introduce Buddhism in Southern China. There is some truth in it. Tche Kien, the Indo-Scythian who was translating Buddhist texts in Nanking at about the same time was only an *Upasaka*, a layman. So he had no right to give ordination to the novice. Seng-houei was a perfect monk and had exercised his full rights by converting many Chinese to the new faith which he had brought to them. Seng-houei translated about a dozen Buddhist texts into Chinese and some of them have come down to us.

It is sufficient to show the great efforts which the Sogdian monks made for the spread of the Buddhist culture in China. It is not necessary here to take notice of numerous other Sogdian monks living in the Buddhist monastaries of China for several hundred years, though their contribution to the common cause should not be underestimated.

(4) The Kucheans.

Kucha lying on the great northern route that penetrated far into the west, served for long centuries as an intermediary through which the infiltration of the Western Civilisations took place. The Kuchean were an Indo-European people, as is evident from their language, more akin to the European branch of the Aryan stock than to its Indo-Iranian one. They settled down in the northern part of the Tarim basin, in the region of modern Karasahar at an unknown date, several centuries before the Christian era. Kucha appears in the dynastic history of China in the second century before Christ, as a powerful and independent kingdom, not ready to submit to the suzerainty of China. When other states of Central Asia did not venture to resist the attack of the Chinese general, Kucha almost every time would remain obstinate and accept the vassalage of the Chinese Emperor only after a long war. It was after the military campaign of General Pan-chao in the first century of the Christian era that Kucha submitted to be an ally of China.

Already before this time Kucha had become a great centre of commerce through which the caravans from the west passed over to China. This economic movement of exchange between China and the West, favoured by the "Pax Sinica", received a special impetus at Kucha. The two routes which lead to the west, under the former Hans, the northern route bifurcated at Yu-men Koan (Touen hoang), reached Turfan (Kiu-she) and turned from there towards the west to attain Kucha, from where it extended towards Sou-le

(Kashghar) and the Pamir. In the year 2 B.C., still another new route was opened, leading to the countries further to the north. It joined the main route at Kucha. Kucha thus became doubly important for the trade of China.

But the Indian missionaries soon followed the caravans by these trade-routes and reached Kucha, where they found a people of the same family, friendly in attitude and ready to welcome them. During the Western Tsin dynasty (265-316) we find mention of Buddhism as an established religion of Kucha. At that time the city of Kucha "was enclosed by a triple wall and contained a thousand stupas and numerous Buddhist temples." [Po Yen (256-268) Fa-tsou (290-316).]

From the end of the fourth century A.D., Kucha takes a leading part in the interpretation of Indian Buddhism to the Chinese. It began with the great Kumarajiva who was brought to China by General Lee Koang who led an expedition against China, and conquered it. Kumarajiva starts a new era in the history of Chinese Buddhism.

His father Kumarayana was an Indian and his family fulfilled by hereditary rights, the ministerial function of an Indian State. He abdicated his rights to his relatives and embraced Buddhism and left for the foreign countries. After crossing the Pamir he reached Kucha and was warmly received by the King who soon made him the *rajaguru*. The Kuchean princess fell in love with Kamarayana and consequently they were married. The issue of this union is our famous Kumarajiva. After the birth of Kumarajiva, the mother embraced Buddhism and became a nun. She left for India with Kumarajiva, reached Kashmir and remained there three years for the education of the boy and she subsequently returned to Kucha, after having passed one year in this way at Kashghar, which was also a great centre of learning.

Kumarajiva, though born in Kucha thus received his education in Kashmir and was as much an Indian as Kuchean. Kumarajiva came to Ch'ang-ngan in 401 and worked there for full thirteen years till his death in 413 A. D. He learnt Chinese very well and, to believe the words of the Chinese historian, the translation of Kumarajiva marks a new epoch in the history of the Chinese Buddhist Canon. He made a remarkable improvement on previous translations.

Kumarajiva was a scholar of rare genius. In 12 years he achieved a colossal work. He was the first to introduce Mahayana in China and that is why he translated some of

the most important philosophical treatises of Mahayana. He made a very judicious selection. *Sutralamkara Sastra* of Asvaghosha, *Dasabhumivibhasa Sastra* of Nagarjuna, *Satasastra* of Vasubandhu and *Satyasiddhi Sastra* of Harivarman. In order to interpret these philosophical systems well, he translated also the biographies of these Indian philosophers. Amongst the 98 works which are attributed to him there is a text of special importance. It is the *Brahmajala Sutra*, a text of Mahayana Vinaya destined to the use of those who wanted to follow the way of Bodhisattva. The text had a considerable fortune in China for long centuries. Thus Kumarajiva was the first to bring to China a profound knowledge of Indian Buddhism.

The human side of his character is not wholly unknown to us. On his death-bed he asked his disciples not to make him their ideal. He said: "Accept my work, but do not take my life to be a model. The lotus originates from the mud. The lotus is to be loved and not the mud." Buddhabhadra the Kashmirian, asked him once why he was so much respected by all people. Kumarajiva replied, "Because my hairs have grown grey." But Kumarajiva, an Indian as much as a Kuchean, was not the only interpreter of the Buddhist culture to China. We hear of a number of Kuchean monks who contributed much to the work of translation. We have texts in the Chinese Tripitaka translated from the Kuchean. Numerous fragments of Buddhist literature translated from Sanskrit into Kuchean have been discovered from Central Asia. A number of Chinese transcriptions of Buddhist terms in early translations show definitely that they were based not on Sanskrit original forms but on Kuchean ones. There is no doubt that the Kuchean dialect served for some time as a vehicle of the Buddhist doctrine when it penetrated into China.

(5) Khotan (*Yu T'ien*), Kustana in Sanskrit.

Khotan, situated on the southern route generally followed by the Chinese pilgrims on their way back from India, played the same role as Kucha in the north in the diffusion of the Buddhist religion. The Buddhist texts discovered from Khotan show that the ancient Khotanese was an eastern Iranian language and was a highly developed vehicle of Buddhism. Being situated in the vicinity of India and accessible both from Kashmir and Afghanistan, the Khotanese population contained a large element of Indian population and the language consequently underwent a great Sanskritic influence.

According to tradition we are lead to believe that Khotan was colonised by the Indians at the time of Asoka. Whatever the value of the tradition may be, the numismatic evidences prove without doubt that Khotan received two streams of colonisation, one from India and the other from China, already before the middle of the 1st century A. D. The connection with India is confirmed by the discovery of numerous documents written in Kharosthi characters and in a Prakrit dialect, which was certainly the language of common life. Side by side we have Chinese documents of the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Christian era.

Khotan came into direct contact with China from the time of Tchang Kien's mission. As a consequence of this mission Khotan sent an embassy to China during the reign of Wou-ti of the Han dynasty in (140 B.C.) After a temporary silence Khotan was compelled by the invasion of Pan-tchao in the beginning of 2nd century to accept the suzerainty of China and to remain a faithful ally for a long time.

Buddhism was introduced into Khotan from Kashmir. But Khotan received Buddhism through other channels too—from Khasghar and Yarkand. Though we do not know definitely the time when it was introduced, we have some record of its later history in Khotan. Already in the year 259 A. D. a Chinese monk named Tchou-She-hing comes to Khotan for the study of Buddhism. Tchou She hing is a fairly well-known figure in the early history of Chinese Buddhism. It was he who compiled a catalogue of the Buddhist texts, translated into Chinese. On account of the difficulties in the interpretation of Buddhist texts, he wanted to study with good teachers who, he heard, were to be found in Khotan. He died there at the age of eighty but succeeded in sending a collection of sacred texts to China through his disciple Punyadhana (*Fou Jin Tan*), most probably a monk of Khotanese origin. Shortly after in 291 A. D., another Khotanese monk named Moksala (*Wou-lo-tch'a*) went over to China and translated a Mahayana text, the famous *Panchavimsati Sahasrika Prajna paramita.* In the beginning of the 5th century. (401-433 A. D.) a Chinese prince of Leang-tcheu, named Ngan Yang came to Khotan for the study of Mahayana. He settled down there in the *Gomati-mahavihara* and studied the Mahayana Buddhism with an Indian teacher named Buddhasena (*Fo-to-se-na*) who was a zealous adept of Mahayana and "in all the countries of the West was known as *She-tseu* (Simha) for all his attainments." Ngan Yang, on his return to China, translated some of the most

important Mahayana texts. At about the same time Dharmakshema an Indian monk proceeded from Kashmir to Khotan as he heard that it was the best place for the study of Mahayana. Subsequently when in China he undertook the work of translating the *Mahaparinirvana Sutra* into Chinese, he came to Khotan several times in search of a complete manuscript of this important text of Mahayana.

A few years later in 439 A. D. eight Chinese monks started from Lean-tcheou in search of Buddhist texts. They came to Khotan where the Quinquennial assembly (*Panchavarshika*) was being held at that time. They wrote down some texts from the mouth of Khotanese monks and returned to China.

Evidences can be multiplied for proving the great role of Khotan in the history of the transmission of Buddhism to China. Analysis of several texts translated into Chinese have shown beyond the shadow of a doubt that Khotanese monks were actually fabricating scriptures in the 4th and 5th centuries A. D. They show indirectly what power the Khotanese Buddhist Church was commanding for several centuries.

THE TIBETO-MONGOL INTERMEDIARIES

Tibet

We have already seen that Chinese and Indian monks passed for some centuries through Tibet across which lay the third land route of communication between India and China. Tibet was not merely hospitable towards these monks but also gave them every facility in their missions. Her contribution towards the expansion of Indian culture to China by that way was not an insignificant one.

Towards the end of 6th century and the beginning of the 7th (581-600 A. D.), a chief named *Srong tsan* (*Lountsan-so-loung-tsan*), who occupied the Western part of Sse-tchouan and Kouci-tcheon, unified the dispersed Tibetan clans, laid the foundation of a stable kingdom and gave his subjects the name *T'ou-p'o* (*T'ou-fan* of later times). The country was called in the native language *Bod* which gave rise to the Sanskrit form *Bhota* (Bhotta). In the beginning of the 7th century (620 A. D.) the country extended up to the borderland of India. During the reign of his son and successor, *Srong-btsan-Sgam-po* Tibet entered into direct relation with India. Towards the beginning of his reign *Srong-btsan* sent a mission of 16 persons, under the leadership of one Thon-mi Sambhota to India for study. They

went to Kashmir and studied there with a Brahmin and returned to Tibet with a complete alphabet, based on Indian script which could be suitably adopted for the Tibetan language. Thon-mi Sambhota also composed a grammar for the Tibetan language counting in 30 Slokas, based on the principles of the Sanskrit Grammar. Later Tibetan grammarians also follow the work of Thon-mi. Sanskrit grammars, like that of Panini and Chandragomin were translated later on into Tibetan, evidently for a better knowledge of the principles of grammar.

These epoch-making changes in the outlook of the Tibetan people were soon followed by great political achievements. Countries after countries were annexed to Tibet and the empire of Srong btsan included not only the whole of Tibet but also the basin of Koukou-nor, the western districts of China and parts of Assam and Nepal. In 641 A. D. *Srong-btsan-Sgam-po* married a Chinese and a Nepalese princess who introduced Buddhism into Tibet. The influence which they exercised on the emperor facilitated the spread of the new faith in Tibet. The two princesses, after their death, occupied important places in the Buddhist Pantheon of Tibet as Taras.

Though the Chinese influence was exerted to a great extent specially on her politics, Tibet looked more up to India for her cultural development. Good relations ceased to exist with China after the death of *Srong-btsan* (650) when his successor *Ki-li-pa-pa* (656-679) conquered Khotan and Kashghar, the tribes of the region of Issyk-koul and Kou-kou-nor, pillaged Kan sou and allied himself with the Western Turks. To the south his dominion extended up to Central India (Po-lo-men) "Since the time of the Han and the Wei", says the Chinese historian, "no people amongst the western nations had been so powerful." The activities of the Buddhists continued as vigorously as before in this period. King *Khri gtsng lde btsan* took a leading part in the propagation of the new faith. The Edict of 783 preserved in Lhassa mentions his zeal for religion. He invited monks from Khotan, built monasteries and encouraged scholars to translate texts into Tibetan. He prepared the way for his successor *Khri Srong lde btsan* who turned the course of the new faith by inviting Padmasambhava of Uddiyana, the real founder of Lamaism in Tibet. The King brought the famous Buddhist scholar Santarakshita to Tibet and appointed him his personal teacher in 747 A. D. It was on his advice that the King sent for the celebrated Padmasambhava, the great exponent of Tantric Buddhism. The monastery of Sam-ye (*Bsam yas*) was built after the model of Odantapuri

of Bengal and Santarakshita was appointed its abbot. The foundation of the order of Lamas dates from this period. Sam-ye soon became a famous centre of literary activities where monks from different parts of India assembled and worked at translation of Sanskrit texts into Tibetan. Buddhism was in royal disfavour during the 9th and the 10th centuries and there was prosecution. But the work of the monastery of Sam-ye continued slowly on and many translations of this period have been preserved. The revival which took place in the 11th century marks a new era in the history of Tibetan Buddhism. Tibetan monks were sent to different parts of India, to Kashmir and Nepal, Vikramasila and Odantapuri for their religious education. The famous Dipamkara Srijnana appeared in Tibet in this period (1038 A. D.) He was a great exponent of the *Kalachakrayana* and introduced a new calender in Tibet. It is with him that the second period of Tibetan Buddhism opens. It is more glorious than ever and is full of intense creative activities. The Mahomedan conquest brought about the disintegration of Buddhism in India. Monasteries after monasteries were burnt down and the only safe refuges left for the Buddhist monks and their sacred literature were Nepal and Tibet. From this period onwards, Nepal and Tibet joined hands in their meritorious work for the cause of Indian Buddhism. Tibetan monks filled the monasteries of Nepal and translated there numerous texts into Tibetan with the help of the Nepalese and Indian scholars. Nepalese artists were invited to Lhassa for helping in the work of constructing monasteries and moulding statues. Henceforth Nepal and Tibet, the shelter of Indian Buddhist scholars in the period of disaster, became the sole repositories of Indian Buddhism and worked for the diffusion of that faith in some parts of Central Asia and in China till the advent of the Mongolian power (in 1227 A. D.) which brought a new force and infused a new enthusiasm.

MONGOLIAN POWER

The military campaigns of Chinghiz Khan towards the end of the 12th century A.D., brought a new force into action and the Mongols began to play an important role in the history of Asia. The different Mongolian tribes, the Merkites, the Keraites and the Naimans were united in 1206 under the leadership of Chinghiz who then carried his victorious army almost to every part of Asia. The empire which he soon succeeded in founding, extended in the west up to Bulgaria, Servia, Hungary and Russia, in the east up to the coasts of the Pacific, and in the south it

touched the borderland of China, Tibet and India. The capital of this great empire was Karakorum (Chinese *Ho-lin*) in the neighbourhood of Orkhôn. On the death of Chinghiz in 1227 A.D., his son and successor Ogotai succeeded in conquering northern China. Ogotai died in 1241 and Mankou Khân was elected the Great Khan ; and it was during his reign that his younger brother Kublai extended the Mongol supremacy over Southern China as far as Yun-nan (1253 A.D.) The ascendancy of the great Kublai to power in 1259 marks a new era in the history of Buddhism,—a short period of glorious activities just before the commencement of the declining days.

From the beginning of his reign, Mankou Khan tried to be tolerant. In 1251 he conferred on Li Tche-tchiang, the title of the head of Taoism and on Hai-Yun, that of Buddhism. The following year, in 1252, he honoured a certain Na-mo, called *Rajaguru* of some western country and entrusted to him the work of general administration of Buddhism in the empire.

But the Chinese Buddhism was already on its decline. The Taoists were growing to be dangerous adverseries of the Buddhist monks ; they were misappropriating the properties of monastic organisations and were turning their temples into sanctuaries of Taoist sages. The Buddhist at first did not succeed in sending a good representation of their grievances to Chinghiz Khan who was mostly moving from place to place on his campaigns. The Taoists took advantage of this helpless state of the Buddhists for sometime. But the situation was changed during the reign of Mankou Khan. On the 30th May, 1254 a great religious discussion was organised at Karakorum, under the presidency of three representatives of Mankou Khan ; one a Christian, the other a Mahomedan and the third a Buddhist. The famous Friar William of Rubruck took part in this discussion and took the side of the Nestorians and the Mahomedans who succeeded in *establishing the existence of One God.* The Buddhist were silenced for the time being but they did not give up their hopes at once. In 1255 a new discussion was held at Karakorum, inside the walls of the Khan's palace. Mankou Khan himself, along with some high officials, attended the discussion. The abbot of the temple of *Shaolin* (near Shang-tou, to the north-west of Dolon-nor), named Fou-you represented the Buddhists. The Taoists were defeated and were ordered, by an imperial decree, to return the Buddhist establishments occupied by them. But the Taoists did not surrender.

Therefore the very next year (1256) another assembly had to be called by Mankou Khan at Sira Ordo to the south of Karakorum. The most famous Buddhist monks came there in numbers to take part in the discussion. But the Taoists did not turn up. Monkou Khan took it to be a sign of their incapability and recognised the superiority of Buddhism in these terms:—"Just as the fingers come out of the palm of the hand, the Buddhist doctrine is likewise the palm, the other religions are like the fingers". Mankou Khan, however, did not take any serious steps against the sinister activities of the Taoists.

Tired of these theological discussions, Mankou Khan in 1258 entrusted his younger brother Kublai with the right of a final decision in the matter. Kublai was staying then at *Shang-ton* (to the N. W. of Dolon-nor). He called there a great religious assembly in 1258 which was attended by about 300 Buddhist monks and about 200 Taoists; 200 confucian scholars served as arbiters. Amongst the Buddhists there was the abbot of the temple of *Shao-lin*, there was Na-mo, the *Raja-Guru* of western countries, and the fomous Tibetan monk Phags-pa (1239-1280), the nephew of Saskya Pandit, who was summoned to the Mongol court in 1246-48, and cured the illness of the Emperor. Phags-pa, though he was only of 19 years of age played a decisive role in the discussion. A Buddhist monk came even from the far-off Ta-li (in Yun-nan) to attend this great Congress of Religions. In the discussion which took place, the Buddhists came out victorious through the eloquent exposition of Phags-pa. The Taoists were defeated and 17 of their leaders had to shave their heads and become Buddhist monks according to the engagement entered into. The Buddhists got back 237 religious establishments which they had lost. Kublai recognised the superiority of Buddhism and ordered the Taoists texts disparaging Buddhism to be burnt.

Phags-pa was appointed the *Kous che* (rajaguru) by Kubilai in 1260 and as such became the recognised head of the Buddhist Church; Kubilai established a special relation between Tibet and his dynasty through the Lamaist hierarchy and from this time Tibetan monks began to take lead in the Buddhist activities in China and Mongolia. Phags-pa devised an alphabetic system for the Mongol language on purely phonetic basis and destined for official purposes all through the empire of Kubilai Khan. Though it did not become popular and had to give way to the Turki Uigur alphabet yet it was used for sometime in bilingual documents. Phagspa attempted the work of organising the work of translating Buddhist texts into Chinese and translated himself the

Mula Sarvastivada Karmavacha. He died young at the age of 42 in 1280 A. D. having been greatly honoured by the Mongol Emperor who gave him the title of *Ta-pao-fa-wang* "Prince of the great and precious Law."

It was in this period (128-10282) that under the order of Khublai a comparative catalogue of the Chinese and the Tibetan Buddhist Canon was compiled by a committee composed of Tibetan, Chinese, and Indian monks. Several editions of the Chinese Tripitaka were prepared in this period and some popular Buddhist texts in Chinese were translated into Tibetan. Other Tibetan monks undertook the work of translations. Sha-lo-pa, disciple of Phags-pa, translated shortly before 1314, a Buddhist text into Chinese most probably from Tibetan.

INDO-CHINA AND INSULINDIA

While the countries of Central Asia or to give a more general and significant designation, *Ser-India*, had played a very important role in the history of the diffusion of Indian culture in China, the countries of Further India now known under an equally significant name, *Indo-China*, had also a considerable share as a torch-bearer of Indian civilisation. *Ser-India* has been a name of the past, made known only by patient labours of the historian and the painstaking explorations of the archaeologists; but *Indo-China* is a living factor, though greatly transformed, in the cultural expansion of India. Indo-China, as its name aptly shows, has been an intermediate step between China and India. Her civilisation is also a mixed one ; the more ancient element was Indian ; China exercised a great influence in its development in later times, the substratum always being *Malayo-polynesian*, a race which are spread from Eastern India and occupied the whole of Further India and the islands of the Indian Archipelago as far as Australia. The sea-route was the easiest way of communication between the different branches of this people and in every probability they were the first to open the route of maritime communication between India and Indo-China and Insulindia. It was through them that the Indian settlers and merchants were initiated to this route. They seem to have proceeded by this route towards the Eastern countries at the beginning of the Christian era, when they appear in these countries as colonisers. They formed the nucleuses of later Hindu colonies, which soon grew up to be mighty empires and kingdom. Amongst these, Champa, Kambuja, Srivijaya and afterwards Java, the latter two being in Insulindia, took the lead in the history of the Far East for over one millenium and a half.

(1) Kambuja (Cambodia)

We have already seen that Cambodia received the first stream of Hindu colonisation at the dawn of the Christian era. The second Indian immigration took place towards the end of the 4th century A. D. The Hindu kingdom of Cambodia was then definitely constituted. The supremacy was snatched away by a dynasty of rulers from the hands of the existing kings, in the beginning of the 7th century A. D. The old name of the country, most probably indigenous, Fu-nan (Bhnom-Pnom) was overshadowed by the new one i. e. Kambuja (Kamboja). The dynasty reigned in all prosperity till the beginning of the 13th century when the Thai peoples came down from the north and upset the old order yielding place to new. Those six centuries are the glories of the history of the Hindu kingdom of Kambuja. The most famous Hindu edifices of Kambuja, which have struck the whole world with surprise, were built in this period. The Indian alphabet was adapted to the Cambodian (Khmer) language and the sacred language of India—Sanskrit, was highly cultivated. Though we have no permanent records except the epigraphic ones, the early inscriptions shew, what a degree of refinement was attained by the Sanskrit culture in Kambuja. Mahayana Buddhism flourished peacefully by the side of Brahmanism which was preeminently the state religion of Kambuja in this period.

Cambodia was in constant relation with the Chinese Court since the mission of K'ang t'ai to Fu-nan (245-250 A. D.) Embassies were exchanged between Fu-nan and China regularly. Fu-nan accepted formally the vassalage of China and occassionally sent tributes to the Emperor. The Chinese history has recorded a detailed account of one of the missions of Fu-nan which went to China towards the end of the 5th century A. D. In this period Kaundinya Jayavarman, the king of Fu-nan, sent an Indian monk, Nagasena with a memorial to the Chinese Emperor along with the merchants of Fu-nan. The merchant vessel was sacked by the pirates of Champa, off the coast of Annam, and only Nagasena escaped and returned to Fu-nan by the land route. Sakya Nagasena was again sent in 484 A. D. He succeeded in reaching the capital of China and fulfilled his mission. Nagasena knew Chinese well and served as interpreter to the frontier peoples for a long time. Shortly after, two monks of Fu-nan went to China and translated some Sanskrit texts into Chinese. The first is Mandrasena (*Mantо-lo-sien*) who reached Nanking in 503 A.D. and translated three Buddhist texts into Chinese in collaboration with another monk of Fu-nan, named Sanghabhara. Sanghabhara was a polyglot and knew many languages of the countries of the South-

sea. He left his family at an early age and gave himself up to Buddhist studies. He specialised in the *Abhidharma* and made himself soon famous in the neighbouring countries. He also studied the Vinaya. When he heard that Buddhism was honoured in China he embarked on a merchant vessel and reached Nanking. He had to wait till the advent of the new dynasty in 502 A.D., which took keener interest in Buddhism than the previous one. Sanghabhara was invited by the Chinese emperor in 506 A.D., to begin the work of translation, which he did with great success till his dealth in 524 A.D. From the biography of Sanghabhara, incorporated in the Chinese texts, we come to know that there was a special pavilion assigned to Fu-nan in the capital of China in this period. This shows that Fu-nan was one of the most important allies of China at this time. The disappearance of Fu-nan from history towards the beginning of the 7th century and the rise of Kambuja (Chen-la) marks a new epoch in the history of Cambodia. The exact role of the great empire of Kambuja as a torch-bearer of Indian civilisation till her downfall towards the end of the 13th century is still to be determined. We will content ourselves with the scanty but weighty indications which we have just given to point out the contribution which Fu-nan—Kambuja made to the spread of Indian Culture in China.

(2) CHAMPA

We now pass over to another Hindu Colony, viz., Champa which was founded on the Annamite coast at about the same time as Fu-nan. In its most prosperous days, the boundary of the kingdom of Champa reached the confines of the great Chinese Empire of which Tonkin (Kiao-che) was a province for a long time and the two powers communicated with each other directly. The Chinese records mention 192 A.D. as the date of the foundation of the kingdom of Champa (*Lin-yi*). The Sanskrit inscription of king Sri Mara, discovered at Vo-can near Khan-hoa on the Annamite coast, is placed in the same period. But the Hindu colonisers were settled in that region at least a century ago. The inscriptions of Champa—the early ones written in Sanskrit and the later ones in Cham, the indigenous language—covering a period of over 1200 years, record the political events that passed in this region. A series of reliable Chinese documents throw considerable light on the history of Champa. Champa was divided into several administrative divisions—Panduranga (region of modern Phan-rang), Vijaya (the region of modern Bin-dinh), Kauthara (the region of Nha-trang) etc. It seems that each of these divisions was a kingdom by itself and submitted to a central power from time to

time. As the Chinese empire was contiguous to Champa, the latter had to send occasional tributes to the Emperor in order to entertain peaceful relations.

Though we have no means of forming an exact idea of the role of Champa in interpreting India to China, we know to what degree Champa was impregnated with Indian civilisation. The Sanskrit culture was in high estime. Besides the sanskrit inscriptions, we have reference to a series of texts studied in Champa. During the reign of king Harivarman (803-817) a chronicle entitled *Puranartha* or *Arthapurana-shastra* was composed in Sanskrit sloka. The grammar of Panini, the *Kashikavritti*, *Horashastra* (astronomy), the six systems of Hindu philosophy, beginning with the *Mimansa*, the Buddhist literature, the *Dharma-shastra*, specially the *Naradiya* and the *Bhargaviya*, the Shaiva literature—the *Uttarakalpa*, and the sixty-four fine arts,—*Catuh-shasthi-Kala-vidya*, were all studied in Champa. Though these words of the inscriptions are not to be taken too literally yet it is evident that the most important part of the Sanskrit literature including the Great Epics, was known to the hinduised people of Champa. About the Buddhist literature of Champa we know even more. When Champa was invaded by the Chinese general Lieou Fang in the beginning of the 7th century (605 A.D.), the King Sambhu-varman was thoroughly defeated and the Chinese returned with a rich booty amongst which there were 1350 Buddhist works in 564 bands, all written in Cham alphabet (of Indian origin). A Chinese priest, Yen-tsong (557—610) was entrusted with the work of translating these works into Chinese ; but we do not know what happened to them. A series of Hindu temples, mostly Shaivite, constructed at different times are to be found all over Annam. They still commemorate the indelible stamp of the Hindu civilisation in Champa.

The constant war with the Annamites resulted in the downfall of Champa towards the beginning of the 14th century. The power of Champa was already weakened and now she easily succumbed to the attack of the Annamites who came down from the north. The old order was again changed and a new one was established, a very agressive one indeed ! Even the ancient name of the country, Champa, was effaced from history,—only the past records, the dead temples and inscriptions, and a handful of descendants of the ancient people, the Chams, stricken by poverty and misery, pushed back to a humble corner of their motherland, destined to die out in course of a few decades, were left to perpetuate the sad end of the glories of Champa. But analyse the history of the conquerors, the Annamites, and you will find how much they have taken from the culture of this conquered race.

(3) Srivijaya and Yavadvipa

These two names emerge as the most important of the Hindu colonies in Insulindia. Srivijaya has been identified with Palembang and Yavadvipa with Java. In the first period of their history it is difficult to separate them, as all literary references to them may be applied to one or the other. Thus it has been argued that the kingdom of Yavadvipa, mentioned in the Ramayana as *Suvarnarupyakadvipam—Suvarnakara-manditam*, can only refer to Sumatra (Srivijaya), as there are no mines of gold in Java. It has been pointed out by M. Gabriel Ferrand (*L'empire Sumatranais de Srivijaya*) that *Ye tiao* (Yap-div = Yavadvipa)which sent tribute to the Chinese Court in 132 A. D., *Ibadiu* of Ptolemy and *Yavadvipa* of the Ramayana of about the same period, and *Chou-po (Cu-bak* for *So-bak* Javaka) of the Chinese ambassador K'ang t'ai who visited Fu-nan in 245-250 A.D., all refer to the same region i.e. to the kingdom of Srivijaya which lay on the high way from India to China by the sea. So the same scholar thinks that *Ye-p'o-ti* (Yavadvipa) which Fa-hien touched in the beginning of the fifth century A. D. and *Sho-p'o* (Java) which was converted to Buddhism a century later (519 A.D.),by Gunavarman, the Kashmirian prince, both on their way from Ceylon to Canton, should be taken to mean Srivijaya, which was the most natural step between China and India. Though it is difficult to follow M. Ferrand literally in all these identifications, it seems quite probable that the earliest colonial activities of the Hindus began in different parts of Sumatra, easily accessible to the Hindu merchants from India, and then spread to Java. The colonisation began most probably in the same period as in Indo-China i.e. towards the beginning of the Christian era.

However inseparable the two kingdoms Java-Srivijaya may be in the first period, they appear as two mighty powers independent of each other towards the end of the 7th century A.D. The kingdom of *She-li-fo-shi* (Srivijaya, wrongly considered to be *Sribhoja* for a longtime) sent several embassies to the Chinese court between 640-741 A. D. and we know definitely from the sanskrit inscription of Kota Kapur in the island of Banka (on the South-east cost of Sumatra) that in 686 A.D. Srivijaya sent an expedition to Java (Central Java) which no longer submitted to the suzerainty of Srivijaya at that period. At about this time (671-672 A. D. Yi-tsing halted at Srivijaya for six months on his way to India. When returning from India, he stopped again at Srivijaya and stayed there for four years (685-689) A. D. He returned to Canton in 689 but soon came back to Srivijaya to make there another long sojourn. Two of his

famous works the *Nan hai ki kouei nei fa chouan*, "A record of the practices of the Law in the countries of the Southern sea" (translated into English by Takakusu—A record of the Buddist religion as practised in India and Malay archipelago) and the *Ta t'ang si yu k'ieou fa Kao seng chouan*, the biography of eminent monks who went in search of the Law in the western countries (translated into French by Edward Chavannes "Les Religieu eminents qui allerent chercher la loi etc.) were composed at Srivijaya. From the accounts of Yi-tsing we come to know that Srivijaya was in this period not only a great centre of Buddhist studies but also of Sanskrit learning. "In the fortified city of Srivijaya," says he, "Buddhist priests number more than 1,000 whose minds are bent on learning and good practices. They investigate and study all the subjects that exist just as in the Middle Kingdom (Madhyadesa, India) ; the rules and ceremonies are not at all different. If a Chinese priest wants to go to the west in order to hear (lectures) and read (the original) he had better stay here one or two years and practise the proper rules and then proceed to central India." The Indian monk Vajrabodhi visited Srivijaya on his way to China in 717 A.D. Srivijaya continued to be a great centre till the 13th century. The mention of *Srivijayapura* in the colophon of a Nepalese manuscript of the 10the-11th century A. D., shows that the fame of this Hindu Kingdom had even reached the north of India. Suvarnadvipa, where Dipamkara Srijnana (Atisha), the famous Buddhist teacher of Bengal, went to meet Acharya Chanrdrakirti, has been identified with Srivijaya. Atisha visited the country towards the beginning of the 11th century and mentions the place as the head quarter of Buddhism in the East and the high priest was considered as the greatest scholar of his age. In the beginning of the 13th century Srivijaya was still powerful. In 1225 Chao Ju kua mentions fifteen dependencies of San-fo-tsi, (Srivijaya) of which eight were situated in the Malay peninsula. The conquest of the lower valley of the Menam by the Thai peoples, and the foundation of the kingdom of Siam, towards the middle of the 13th century destroyed the power of Srivijaya in the peninsula. The constant war with Java towards the end of the same century weakened the power of Srivijaya and she was annexed to the empire of Majapahit, founded in 1294 A. D. by Sri Kertarajasa. This event marks a new epoch in the history of Java. Java had already been playing an important role in the history of Insulindia since the 9th century A.D. The colossal monuments of art like the temples of Borobudur and the Prambanam had been executed in this period and the indigenous literature had grown up, enriched by Sanscrit culture. The new conquests laid the foundation

of a political hegemony which Java held in the whole of Insulindia till the end of the 15th century when the advent of the Islamic power not only destroyed the Majapahit kingdom but dealt a death-blow to the decadent Indian culture.

But though India was ousted by Islam, her work could not be undone. The colossal works of art which she had left behind, defied all attacks of the agressors and still stands proudly to astound the pilgrims of arts from different parts of the world. The indelible mark which she had left on the language of the country, the alphabet which she had given to it, the contributions which she had made to the creation of a rich literature, and, in short, all that she had given to the people of Java to enrich their civilisation could not be effaced by the stroke of a sword. Java still bears testimony to that deep debt she owed to India.

SINO-INDIAN COLLABORATION

In the last few pages I have given the outlines of the problems that arise in connection with the Sino-Indian relation. I have shown the ancient routes of communication and pointed out to the active agents and go-betweens in the history of this relation. The whole of Asia marches with China and India in the great movement of exchange that begins in the 2nd century before Christ and continues till the end of the 13th century after Christ. It is impossible to leave aside the intermediaries and deal with the history of Sino-Indian relation as an isolated event. I hope I have made it clear that during the early period of communication between India and China, India was represented not by her own people but by her neighbours and her cultural colonies. These people, while interpreting India to China had surely given something of their own. If we analyse all that pass as *Indian* in China, we will find that at least a part of it is extra-Indian in origin.

I have not as yet dealt with the main problem in view, namely the nature of Sino-Indian collaboration. As the limited scope of this bulletin does not permit me to indicate here even the most important features of this problem I will reserve it for a future bulletin, while mentioning here a few of the outstanding events of the history of this relation.

The Chinese mind is neither speculative nor sentimental but seems to be thoroughly calculative. It is after a long deliberation that they arrived at a right appreciation of the Indian Buddhism. Till then the Chinese intelligentsia remained almost indifferent to this foreign faith. Though it was treated with toleration from the first, yet it took a long time to have enthusiastic votaries in the capital of China. Buddhism was introduced in the end of the first century

before Christ, but we do not hear of the initiation of a Chinese to real monastic life till the middle of the 3rd century. A treatise was written, towards the end of the same century, by a Chinese, whose pseudonym was Meou-tseu and it stands as a model of the minute discussion and controversies which took place in that period to establish the superiority of Buddhism over other Chinese religions. It seems that the attempt did not succeed very much in the official circles till the advent of foreign dynasties of rulers viz., the Pseudo-Ts'in (350-394 A.D.) and the Northern Wei-Toba, both of foreign origin (386-534 A.D.). Buddhism became firmly established on the Chinese soil in this period. Great teachers like Tao-ngan, a Chinese scholar of great fame (313-385 A.D.), Kumarajiva, the Indo-Kuchean (401-413 A.D.), and Bodhiruci, the Indian (505-535 A.D.), who received ample encouragement from the Emperors, gave a new turn to the course of Buddhism which was till then at the mercy of one or the other emperor. Great interest in India, from purely cultural standpoint, was created amongst the Chinese Buddhist scholars and there was a real hankering for knowing India directly. The achievements of the pilgrims like Fa-hien, Pao-yun and others who travelled all through India in the beginning of the 5th century are not isolated from the general movement in China. We know, that India was visited systematically by the Chinese pilgrims from this time onwards till the 11th century A. D.

The period of the great T'ang dynasty (618-907 A.D.) is the most glorious period in the history of Chinese Buddhism. This may be called the period of assimilation. A number of Indian scholars, Prabhakara-mitra, Sikshananda, Subhakara Sinha, Amoghavajra and others went to China and worked in collaboration with the Chinese. But the Chinese scholars also took the lead. To name only two, Hiuan tsang and Yi-tsing—are not only glories of China but also of Buddhism as a whole. The enormous number of translations which they made from the Buddhist literature into Chinese was a service not only to the cause of Buddhism but also to India. It was in this period that Buddhist schools were founded by Chinese teachers who were inspired by the different systems of Buddhist philosophy. Buddhism also had a great influence on the secular life of the Chinese, and it was through Buddhism that India brought new models to the Chinese artists, *litterateurs* and philologists. In short Buddhism affected almost every domain of Chinese life.

But these glorious days of Buddhism were only limited and after the intense works of the school of Yi-tsing there was a decline. The pure form of Buddhism became almost extinct and Tantrikism introduced by Amoghavajra began to prevail. During the reign of the *Song* dynasty (960-1127)

there was a short-lived revival, but other forces were working for its downfall. Islam had already overthrown Buddhism in different parts of Central Asia and she was now on her way to India. Though Islam could not do much in China, but the transformation brought about by Lamaism, introduced during the Mongol rule (1280-1368 A.D.), was no less cataclysmic to the cause of Buddhism in China and Mongolia.

"Before her entire eclipse by the doctrines of the Chinese *literati* and her total extinction in India, Buddhism once again inspired the two greatest agglomerations of people on earth with the same pious zeal. Inspite of the latent germs which were already working for her dissolution, Buddhism had once again illuminated the banks of the *Hoang-ho* and the *Ganges* and made the sacred flower of enthusiasm blossom. Although at her decline, she seemed to have regained life for a moment, but it is with this supreme moment of glory that there began the *sunset of her gods.*" The Buddhist inscriptions of Bodh-Gaya (engraved by the last Chinese pilgrims to India in 1022 and 1033 A.D.) are the vestiges of this final splendour ; erected for celebrating the glory and majesty of Buddhism, they really became her tomb-stones under which was buried the religion, once believed to be eternal." (*Chavannes—Inscriptions de Bodh-Gaya.*) These inscription marked also the end of Sino-Indian relation.

I stop here for want of space with the hope of soon coming back to these questions of vital importance to the history of India. We have no right to neglect them. If we want to reconstruct the history of Buddhism in its right perspective, we have got to go to the richest source of information —I mean, the Chinese Tripitaka. Whereas the Pali literature represents the canon of only one school—the Theravada (the Sthaviravada), the Chinese Tripitaka preserves that of *eight different schools of Buddhism.* The vast Chinese Tripitaka is not only the work of China, but that of India also. It contains not only all the texts of the *Agamas* (corresponding to the five Nikayas in Pali, the discourses attributed to Buddha himself), and the texts of discipline (the *Vinaya*), but also that of all the schools of Buddhist philosophy, very few of which exist in their Sanskrit originals. The Chinese Tripitaka contains, besides, some Brahmanical texts like the *Suvarnasaptati* of the Sankhya system and the *Dasapadartha-sutra* of the *Vaishesika.* These two, Chinese texts have been thoroughly studied by the Japanese Buddhist scholars, Takakusu and Ui, and they show that the Brahmanical philosophical texts were not dead letters to the Chinese students of Buddhist philosophy; on the contrary they were studied by them for a better comprehension of some connected Buddhist schools of thought. The Chinese Tripitaka

contains besides, works of *lexicography*, some of the originals of which are lost in India. Two of these works taken to Japan in the 8th century have now been brought to light. The edition which has been published by me in France, will show that these two works are of great interest to us. One is attributed to a monk of Kucha named Li-yen and was composed towards the end of the 6th century or the beginning of the 7th century A. D., and the other was composed by Yi-tsing towards the end of the 7th century. They are perfect models of manuals used by the Indians in China or Central Asia or by the Chinese in India.

The famous catalogue of Buddhist Tripitaka, compiled by Buniya Nanjio more than thirty years ago, still of capital interest to the students of Buddhism, enumerates texts which came to light at that time through one edition only (the Ming edition), and there are about 1500 of them. But the explorations of the last quarter of a century have brought to light many more Chinese texts bearing on Buddhism. The work which I have undertaken (the first volume is already published) will give, I hope, a more comprehensive survey of the activities of the Buddhist scholars in China. It enumerates all texts either lost or extant and texts which have come to light from Japan and Central Asia, since Nanjio's publication. The supplementary edition of the Chinese Tripitaka published from Kyoto mentions many new texts and numerous works of Chinese scholars representing the different schools of Buddhism which evolved during the T'ang period. I hope to publish some day a catalogue of these works (which is almost ready). But by this I only want to point out to the enormous amount of work we have before us. We are only at the beginning and our survey is only a preliminary one. But we have got to proceed further if we want to make an exact idea of the vast wealth of India preserved in the Buddhist collections of the Far East. Last of all, if we want to throw more light on what India did in China, we have got to take into account all places in China of archæological interest. The ancient cities like Si-ngan-fu, Ho-nan-fu, Long-men, Ta-tong-fu, Lu-shan, Nanking, Canton and others, where scholars from different parts of India and Central Asia flocked and worked in harmonious collaboration with the Chinese monks for a thousand years for the growth of Buddhism, are to be again visited by the Indians, if they want to be faithful pilgrims to the sacred memories of their selfless forefathers. They have got to take into account the traces which these worthy sons of India might have left on the soil of China, because their memories will occupy an unique place in the history of India.

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