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INDIA AND CHINA: THE BEYOND AND THE WITHIN

THE last twenty-three centuries have seen a continuing cultural interflow between the Western Paradise that is India and the Celestial Kingdom that is China. The rustling breeze of Buddhist fragrance has awakened the mindscape of both countries, endowing them with the web of thought, the harmony of art, the magnificent colour of murals and sculptures, incarnating a new life and sinking into the sensitivities of our people's deep-reaching muscles of mystery, draped in the intimacy of the mind. The first contacts were made by Buddhist scholars from India who appeared in the Chinese capital in 217 B. C. under the Tsin dynasty. Contacts during the Tsin dynasty are a fair possibility as the Sanskrit word for Cathay is *Cīna*, as such was the dynastic name Tsin heard by the Indians.

Voltaire (1694-1778), the unrivalled French writer and philosopher, was impressed by the 'sublime ideas' of the Indians about the Supreme Being. His enthusiasm for Asian civilization and Eastern wisdom was shared by Sir William Jones. Jones followed the standards set up by the French philosopher, and he read him assiduously. Voltaire admired the political organization of China and her ethics based on Reason. He found in China a great civilization which owed nothing to the Greco-Roman or Christian tradition. The Chinese managed their affairs of state more rationally and without Christianity. The German philosopher Leibnitz too had established the Berlin Academy to open up interchange of civilization between Europe and China. The more the Europeans investigated China the more they found India to be its roots, in fact the Greece of Asia, the birthplace of philosophical ideas and the overwhelming influence in art and poetry.

The *chinoiserie* of the 18th century led to revealing the fabulous bonds of China with India. In their study of China, French scholars started to unravel Central Asia and India. Jean Pierre Abel-Rémusat published a history of Khotan in 1820 and his French translation of the travels of Fā Hsien through Central Asia, Afghanistan and India appeared posthumously in 1836. By his labours, it became evident that Chinese sources were fundamental to the understanding of

Indian history. In fact the Indian pronunciation of this first great Chinese pilgrim derives from Abel-Rémusat's transcription, like that of his illustrious successor Hsüān-Tsāng. The travels and biography of the latter were again translated by a French scholar, Stanislas Julien in 1853-58. The biography of Hsüān-Tsāng after his return to China as summarized by Julien 147 years ago is still our main guide. Indian scholars rarely have access to this French work and are thus deprived of detailed knowledge of the academic achievements of Hsüān-Tsāng after his return home. Julien was again the first to point out that Sanskrit literature had been translated into Chinese on a gigantic scale for a thousand years. In his Sinico-Sanskrit concordance of Buddhist works, published in 1849, he gave the Sanskrit titles of Chinese *sūtras* from a Chinese catalogue of 1306. Thus he injected a new dimension into Indic studies.

Names of Indian savants and sages, deities and divine beings, titles of works and toponyms abound in Chinese chronicles, hagiographies, canonical texts and other historical treatises. Complete Sanskrit texts of hymns are also extant in Chinese transcriptions. These hymns have sunk their roots deep into the lipping adoration of the Chinese. To decipher Sanskrit from them, Julien wrote *Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms sanscrits qui se rencontrent dans les livres chinois* in 1861. Even after the passing of 144 years it remains our only guide, though in dire need of updating and enlarging.

Silk across the sands: Roman ladies of rank, draped in see-through muslin cottons of India and in shining silks and brocades of China, were the eyeful rage of Imperial Rome. Silk was imported from China, where its production began as early as the New Stone Age. The oracle bone inscriptions of the Yin dynasty contain Chinese characters for mulberry, silkworm, thread and woven fabric. The consort of Emperor Huang Ti (2640 B. C.) made sericulture fashionable by herself cultivating mulberry trees, raising worms and reeling silk. The Nihongi states that this fabulous fabric was introduced in Japan around A.D. 300. The Roman empire at Rome and later at Constantinople realized the potentialities of silk. Emperor Justinian had two Iranian monks, who were living in China, smuggle silkworms to Constantinople in the hollows of their bamboo canes in about A. D. 550. In the 19th century steeped in classical antiquity, it was but natural that a German geographer called the ancient way from Hsian to Rome: Seidenstrassen or the Silk Route. This Eurocentric nomenclature emphasized the commercial aspects of the route. After all, the Greek word *serikos* for 'silk' is derived from *seres* 'Chinese', that is the Chinese fabric. As children, we saw the Chinese cycling around the streets of Lahore and peddling silk. China and silk were interlinked in our minds. To my father, Prof. Raghu Vira, however, the

Chinese were a symbol of the Confucian Classics, great artists and architects, painters and sculptors of exquisite Buddhist icons in the flat and in the round, bearers of the profound thought of Buddhism, a vast segment of the world's cultural heritage, and a people who had preserved thousands of Buddhist *sūtras* whose Sanskrit originals had been lost in India, the land of their origin. The Chinese paintings in our home and the Shanghai and Taisho editions of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* covering a whole wall of the residence left a deep impression on my growing mind. In later years when I took up the study of Central Asia, silk and *sūtras* came to mind again as two characteristics of the Chinese and of the *Sūtra* Route.

To the Chinese, it was the way to the Western World of India. Across the vast stretches of desert, in the void of the self, they heard the echoing of 'I am the Truth.' Travelling and traveller became one, one with the eternal. The waterless deserts were the void of the self. The traveller trod not with his feet, but with his heart on wings. Courage tore the terror of the terrain, and despair turned to hope in the supreme quest of a beyond without shores. The drop departed from its native home found a shell and became a pearl. The desert and oasis became an embodiment of Buddhist teaching, according to Takayasu Higuchi. The desert symbolizes hell and the oasis paradise, or in the broader perimeters of Buddhist philosophy 'everything flows and nothing is permanent'. I-ching speaks of the hardships and perils that had to be braved to reach India: 'No doubt, it is great merit and fortune to visit the Western Country (India) in search of the Dharma but at the same time it is an extremely difficult and perilous undertaking. . . . Many days have I passed without food, even without a drop of water. I was always worried and no spirit was left in me. . . . If, however, a monk happened to reach India after such perilous journey, he would find no Chinese monastery there. There was no fixed place to settle down. We had to move from place to place like a blade of grass swept by the wind.' The monk Hsüan-k'uei, who could not come to India as he suffered from illness, wrote: 'My heart goes to the sacred land of Buddhist temples. I dream to move in the land of the Buddha. Will that auspicious day ever come, when with the help of a cup or bowl only, I shall be able to cross and reach India? Shall I be able to witness the magnificent flow of Dharma in India?' (Guhokosoden, T 2066, Lahiri 1986:74).

Heavenly horses: Though the route has been named by the Europeans, it was not opened by them as a communication system for silk. At the end of the second century B. C. the Han emperor Wu-ti sent Chang Ch'ien to Hsi-yu, the Western World. His return to Ch'ang-an in 126 B. C. was the opening of a

regular road, as the Chinese realized the importance of other cultures. Xenophobia and the concept of Barbarians underwent change. Nomadic tribes traded silk with Central and Western Asia. The main purpose of the journey of Chang Ch'ien was defence: to find the whereabouts of the Hu barbarians who had been a major menace to Han-period China. The thorough-bred 'heavenly horse' (*tien ma* 天馬) was imported from Dawuan to improve breed of horses during the Han dynasty. Chang Ch'ien was amazed to see in Bactria staves or walking sticks made of bamboo of Kiung and cloth of Shu, both from Sechuan. The Bactrians had purchased them in India. This subsequently led the Chinese to the discovery of Yün-nan. An ancient trade route ran from Sechuan through Yün-nan into north-east India, thence to north-west India and then to Iranian lands. Silk-horse barter was a feature of Western Han times. The Han Emperor Wu-ti twice despatched troops under the command of General Li Guangli to obtain fine horses across the Tienshan mountains from the West. The new breed reinforced the military capability of China to such an extent as to eliminate the Huns and to expand their power as far as Korea. The Imperial Mausoleum of Western Han in Yangjinwan has thousands of clay figures of war horses. Kāśyapa Mātaṅga, the first Indian teacher in China in the first century A. D., stayed at the Po-ma ssu or White Horse Monastery. The word 'white' can refer here to the colour of the horse or the horse of the 'white' people. The ethnicon of Kucha was 白 'white' and *śvetadvīpa* 'white land' refers to an area beyond north-west India. The white horse is at the base of the modern economic miracle of Japan. At the end of the Second World War, General MacArthur rode the sacred white horse of the Emperor of Japan to seal the newly won victory, and offered the equivalent of Marshall Aid to Japan. The Japanese responded: 'No aid, only trade. We will work hard and grow rich.' The white horse became the heavenly horse that led Japan to unprecedented economic heights.

Music, milk, paper, rice, fruits: In 138 B. C. Chang Ch'ien, the envoy of the Chinese Emperor, took back musical instruments and Mahātukhāra melodies from India to the Chinese capital Ch'ang-an. The son-in-law of the Emperor Wu-ti wrote twenty-eight new tunes based on this melody which were played as military music. Along with Buddhism, the Tokharians of the route introduced milk to China. The Chinese ideograph *lo* 酪, pronounced *lak* in ancient times, which meant various kinds of fermented milk products, was a loan from Indo-European (Latin *lactic*). The peach and pear reached India in the reign of Kaṇiṣka and hence they were known as *cīnāni* 'Chinese Princess'

and *cīnā-rājaputra* 'Chinese Prince'. Paper had been manufactured out of silk in Han times, but with the introduction of Buddhism cotton also became a component of paper, as is evident from the old lexicon entitled *Ku-chin tzu-ku* where the silk radical 糸 of the character *chih* 紙 for silk is replaced by 㡭 with the cotton radical 巾, after the invention by Ts'ai Lun. Cotton cultivation had been introduced from India to China in the second century B. C. The Japanese word *uruchi* is derived from the Sanskrit *vrīhi*. It seems to have arrived via north-west India where Greek and Roman influences were dominant. Rice is *oruza* in Greek and Latin (*oryza*), both derivatives of *vrīhi*. The knowledge of rice came to Greece from the expedition of Alexander and the mention of *oruza* by Theophrastus (*c.* 320-300 B. C.) dates almost from the lifetime of Alexander who died in 323 B. C. The Japanese is so close to the Greek form that its origin can be connected with a variant of *vrīhi* that was prevalent in north-west India, from which the Greek and Japanese forms are derived. The golden peach was introduced into China in the reign of Emperor T'ai Tsung of the T'ang (A. D. 629-49) from Sogdiana. The peach and the apricot were introduced to Rome in the first century A. D. through Iran, via Armenia, Greece and Rome. In A. D. 647 the king of Gandhāra in north-west India sent the 'Buddha-land vegetable' to the Chinese court (T'ang shu 221b7).

Greco-Roman elements: The three Tathāgatas of the past, present and future, in China and Japan are: Dīpaṅkara, Śākyamuni, and Maitreya. Hsüān-Tsāng localizes the cult of Dīpaṅkara the Tathāgata of the past at Nagarahāra (modern Jalalabad in Afghanistan). His names, translated into Chinese by various pairs of characters meaning 'Constant Light', 'Universal Light', 'Blazing Torch', show proximity to the Iranian light cult. The sitting posture of Maitreya, with his feet hanging down the seat in European fashion, are a feature of north-west India, where Iranians, Greeks, Romans, Scythians, Kuṣāṇas, and Tokharians jostled with the Indians.

The continued political presence of the Achaemenians, Parthians, Seleucids, Indo-Greeks, and Kuṣāṇas had a far-reaching impact on the cultural hegemony of north-west India. It saw the osmosis of Iranian and Hellenistic ideas into Buddhism. The king-cult or emperor-worship was prevalent in Iran, Greece and Rome. The deification of kings was a solemn act of legislation in Greece even before Alexander crossed over into Asia. It was transplanted into Rome. Images of deified kings were installed in temples in live physical dimensions or in heights of multiples thereof to express greater loyalty. The loyalty of the provinces to Rome was gauged by the veneration which they felt for the person of the Emperor, whom they were prepared to treat as a god. The practice of

offering divine honours to Augustus began in the East soon after Actium and in the course of his reign penetrated to all parts of the Empire.

The 人中像 have been a puzzle to Japanese, Chinese and European scholars (for instance, Yoshimura Rei, Roshana Hokai Ninchūzo no kenkyū, *Bijutsu Kenkyū* 203. 125-39). They were personalities (人) in (中) statues (像). These were life-size sculptures, made to the breadth of the donor's finger (*aṅgula*). There are several instances in the Buddhist world. The proportions of a Tibetan Buddha are those of the Prince of Shalu (Zhva.lu) or the image of an Avalokiteśvara has the same size as Sontsengampo, the first emperor of Tibet. These portrait-statues of the royalty were an expression of sanctified power. The Sanskrit word *pratimā* means a portrait-statue done to (*prati*) the measures (*mā*) of the donor. The Daibutsu, larger than life-size, were an extension of this principle: the colossal Maitreya statue at Darel seen by Fā Hsien, the two images at Bamiyan, the 27 metre high standing Maitreya at the Binglingsi caves are royal enterprises. They remind of the colossi in the Greco-Roman world. The colossus of Apollo astride the entrance of the harbour of Rhodes was the most celebrated in Greek antiquity, 120 feet high, made by Chares in 250 B. C. Colossal statues of deities and emperors were erected all over the Roman empire to impress the might of Rome on the people. Zenodorus was summoned by Nero to Rome and there he made a statue 106 feet high to represent the emperor but dedicated to the Sun. In the eighth century, Rocana of Nara symbolized imperium. Emperor Shomu ordered, in A. D. 743, the construction of the gigantic statue (Daibutsu) of Rocana, 16 metres in height, at the Todaiji monastery, in his attempt to unify the nation in an awareness of its power, to consolidate the sovereignty of the nation in a harmony of the emperor and his people on the deeper spiritual levels of a shared awareness: it was a 'Grand National Temple'. Portrait-statues or colossi in China and Japan go back to north-west Indian prototypes which were cognate to Roman concepts of imperial power expressed as cult images.

The portents of sweating, weeping, shaking, light-emitting images from the Chin (A. D. 265-420) to the northern Ch'i and northern Chou (A. D. 550-81) dynasties are sensitive not to individual worshippers but to the body politic. Their forerunners were the state cults of Greece and Rome. The Roman historian Livy records sympathetic sweating while Hannibal was in Italy at a critical stage of the Second Punic War. Livy and St. Augustine cite that Apollo of Cumae lamented publicly when the Greeks were worsted by the Romans in three successive wars of the second century B. C. Just as the safety of ancient Troy depended on the statue of Pallas, the Buddhist images in China

were also Palladian. It is an indication that the Greco-Romanized people of north-west India were active intermediaries not only in the trading of silk, but also in the transmission of the *sūtras*. The role of the Greco-Roman world in the conditioning and in the transferring of Buddhism across the *Sūtra* Route, deserves a close study.

Jade beauties to flying devīs: The Chinese were fascinated by jade beauties and by the music and dances of the Central Asian peoples. The Chou (1027-256 B. C.) got music of the western Barbarians and played it on special occasions to vaunt their political might. The first three masters of Buddhist psalmody (*bombai*) in China were Kuchean, Scythian and Sogdian. In A. D. 384 Lü Kuang brought music from Kucha as triumphal booty.

The Mogao Caves at Tun-huang and the Yulin Caves have extensive representation of flying goddesses, some of whom hold musical instruments. Beginning with Northern Wei (386-534 A. D.) they come down to the Yüan dynasty (1271-1368 A. D.). They emerge from the Pool of Seven Jewels in the Pure Land of Sukhāvatī. They dwell in heaven and refrain from taking meat and wine, but collect the sweet nectar of different flowers and scatter blossoms from the sky to make the world fragrant. With no robes above the waist, they fly in the air in their flowing scarves. The flying celestials at Tun-huang with long silk scarves trailing out gave rise to the 'Scarf Dance'. Their hand and body postures are strongly reminiscent of the Indian style of dancing.

In 568 Emperor Wu-ti of the Northern Wei married a Turk princess of the A-shena family. The princess brought in her train the musicians of Kucha. Since then we find the music of Kucha, Kashgar, Bukhara and Samarkand in Northern Chou.

The concupiscent statues of goddesses at Nav Bahar in Bactria established the equation 'ideal beauty= Buddhist image' in the east Iranian world. Even when Buddhism had faded away, early Persian poetry continued to cultivate abstract mental forms poignantly recalling ideas of the grace of Buddhist statues. Ayyūqi writes of his beautiful heroine that 'she was . . . a Buddhist statue in a temple full of offerings.' Further on, we find the crescendo in stanzas 2138-42 where she is addressed as *Bot* (Buddhist statue), then *lo'bat* (statuette), and finally as *nowbahar*, the Buddhist monastery which was well-known for its graceful statues in Iranian literature up to the time of Yaqub in the 13th century. No wonder that the metaphor of the *Bot* 'Buddhist statue' is constant in early Persian poetry.

The Annals of the Sui and T'ang dynasties record Iranian dances and musical instruments. Prosperity flowed into the T'ang capital Ch'ang-an, an

international centre of politics, trade and culture, as it was the easternmost terminus of the trans-national Silk Route. Chinese poets speak of citizens of Ch'ang-an enjoying wine served by Barbarian women in the taverns. Some of the finest murals at Tun-huang are of dancing goddesses in the joyous tenderness of their vibrant movements. These dancing angels are Indian for they wear no raiments above the waist. Tun-huang Caves show three types of female dresses: the flowing drapery of Chinese ladies, the tight wear of Central Asian beauties and the sensuous elegance of the bare bodies of Indian belles who bid the onlooker to accompany them into worlds of luminous beauty.

In the reign of Kaṇiṣka, bilateral relations entered a new phase in economic, political and cultural domains. Kaṇiṣka as the greatest of Kuṣāṇa emperors symbolized his international status by the adoption of four titles: Devaputra or Son of Heaven from China, Shaonana Shao or King of Kings from Persia, Kaisara or Caesar from Rome, and Mahārāja of India, signifying the imperial dignity of the four superpowers of the time: China, Persia, Rome, and India. He played a major role in the dissemination of Buddhism to China. The policy of cultural internationalism enunciated by Aśoka found its prime efflorescence in the reign of Kaṇiṣka. Hsüān-Tsāng relates that Kaṇiṣka defeated the Chinese in Central Asia and Chinese princes were sent as hostages. Territories were allotted to them in Punjab which were known as *Cīna-bhukti*, an area that Hsüān-Tsāng visited in the seventh century. Now it is a village Chiniyari near Amritsar, and Chiniot from *Cīnakoṭa*. The Chinese princes introduced two new fruits to India: the peach and the pear. They came to be known respectively as *cīnāni* and *cīnarājaputra* which means 'Peach the Chinese Princess' and 'Pear the Chinese Prince'.

Paper had been manufactured out of cotton in India, and out of silk in Han China. With the introduction of Buddhism cotton also became a component of paper, as is evident from the old lexicon entitled Ku-chin tzu-ku where the silk radical of the character for paper is replaced by the radical for cotton. Cotton cultivation had been introduced from Kashmir and Bengal to China as early as the second century B. C.

The Yüeh-chih rulers presented Sanskrit texts to the Chinese court in 2 B. C. The first historically owned Buddhist masters arrived in China in A. D. 67. The Han Emperor Ming-ti dreamt of a golden person. On enquiry from his courtiers he learnt that He was the Buddha. He sent ambassadors to the West (i.e. India) to invite Buddhist teachers. They returned with Dharmarakṣa and Kāśyapa Mātaṅga. They arrived on white horses laden with scriptures and sacred relics. The first Buddhist monastery was built for them on

Imperial orders and it came to be known as 'The White Horse Monastery' (Poma-ssu). They wrote 'The *Sūtra* of 42 Sections' to provide a guide to the ideas of Buddhism and to the conduct of monks. This monastery exists to this day and the cenotaphs of the two Indian teachers can be seen in its precincts.

The early translations of Sanskrit *sūtras* into Chinese is by An Shih-kao in the middle of the second century. He was a Parthian prince turned Buddhist monk. He had abdicated the throne in favour of his uncle to take up the robes. A number of his translations survive. He founded a school of translation of Sanskrit texts into Chinese, which was hailed by the Chinese literati as 'unrivalled'. Among his successors were *bhikṣus* from Sogdiana (corresponding to modern Samarkand and Bokhara) known as Uttarāpatha or 'Northern India' in Chinese historical works. The name of K'ang Seng-hui from Sogdiana stands out as a master of Sino-Indian literature and as one who preached in South China in a systematic manner. He translated even a short *Rāmāyaṇa* into Chinese.

Kumārajīva, born of an Indian father and a Kuchean princess, educated in Kashmir and Kashgar, was a scholar of great reputation. He reached Ch'ang-an in 401 and worked till A. D. 412. He translated 106 works into Chinese. Most outstanding is his Chinese translation of the Sanskrit text entitled *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, known for short as the '*Lotus Sūtra*'. He is one of the most outstanding stylists of Chinese prose. He is the only Indian whose Chinese diction has been hailed over the centuries by Chinese men of letters.

The *Lotus Sūtra* is at once a great work of literature and a profound religious classic, containing the core and culmination of Buddha's ageless teaching of compassion and the way to achieve liberation from suffering. For more than fourteen hundred years, it has been a rich source of themes for art. Generations of monks, nuns, and lay believers confident in the *sūtra*'s promise of spiritual reward for those who revere it and pay it homage have made opulent transcriptions of it, fashioned lavishly ornamented caskets for its preservation, and commissioned votive art depicting its narratives and religious teachings. The range of artistic expression inspired by the *Lotus Sūtra* is astonishing.

The path of sūtras: This route is first and foremost the pathway of texts and translators, of *sūtras* and schools of thought, of the triumphs of Buddhism as the mental and material culture of East Asia. The development of Buddhist temple architecture, new stylistic features in Chinese that arose from translations of Buddhist texts, the Buddhist plurality of inhabited worlds as opposed to the Chinese earth-centred world-view, and various elements of cultural transmission, opened up Sinocentrism to wider horizons. The several people

inhabiting the route participated in the cultural exchange for a millennium. The earliest and most celebrated of the masters was the Parthian An Shih-kao 安世高 who organized the first translation team, after his arrival at Loyang in A. D. 148. An Hsuan 安玄 (A. D. 181), Than-ti 曇諦 (A. D. 254), An Fa-hsien 安法賢, An Fa-chin 安法欽 (A. D. 281-306) are other Parthians who translated Sanskrit works. From Gandhāra came Jñānagupta 闍那崛多 who translated the Avalokiteśvara chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra* (A. D. 561-78).

Kubha or Kabul, the capital of modern Afghanistan, sent the largest number of scholars whose Chinese translations are found in the *Tripiṭaka*. In A. D. 383 Gautama Saṅghadeva 瞿曇僧伽提婆 arrived at Loyang. Vimalākṣa 卑摩羅叉 was another teacher of Kabul who was a great master of *Vinaya*. He was a teacher of Kumārajīva at Kucha and he came to China in A. D. 406. Saṅghabhūti 僧伽跋澄 (or 提) from Kabul translated three works in A. D. 381-85. In A.D. 404 Puṇyatara 弗若多羅 of Kabul translated the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya,* together with Kumārajīva. Buddhayaśas 佛陀耶舍 (A. D. 403-13), Dharmayaśas 曇摩耶舍 (A. D. 407-15), Buddhajīva 佛陀什 (A. D. 423), Dharmamitra 曇摩蜜多 (A. D. 424), Guṇavarman 求那跋摩 (A.D. 431), Buddhatrāta 佛陀多羅, Buddhapāla 佛陀波利 (A. D. 676), Prājña 般若 (A. D. 785-810) were from Kabul who took part in the translation of *Vinaya*, *Vaipulya* and other texts. The Chinese monk Chih-yen went to Kabul to obtain Sanskrit texts. He was a companion of Fā Hsien on his journey to India. The brāhmaṇa Wu-t'ao of Lampāka (Lamghan in Afghanistan) translated a *dhāraṇī* of Amoghapāśa in A. D. 700.

From Udyāna or Swat, Vimokṣasena 毗目智仙 came to China in A. D. 541. He was a descendant of the Śākya family of Kapilavastu. Narendrayaśas 那連提黎耶舍 (A. D. 557-68), Vinītaruci 毗尼多流支 (A. D. 582), Meghaśikha 彌伽釋迦 (A. D. 705), Dānapāla 施護 (A. D. 980) were from Udyāna. Dānapāla translated 111 works, which are found in the *Tripiṭaka.*

Dharmanandin 曇摩難提 (A.D. 384) and Mitraśānta 彌陀山 (A. D. 705) were monks from Tukhara. I-tsing saw a Tukhara monastery in Eastern India, which had 'been built long before by the people of that country for the accommodation of the Buddhist monks from Tukhara. The monastery was very rich and had an abundant supply of all necessities and comforts of life. No other monastery could surpass it in this respect.'

The Yüeh-chih 月支 were the earliest non-Indian translators of Sanskrit texts into Chinese. Lokakṣema 支婁迦讖 came to Loyang in

A. D. 164 and worked till A. D. 186, and has left 12 translations including the longer *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* (Nj 25) and *Akṣobhya-vyūha* (Nj 28). He is the third translator of *sūtras* after Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and Dharmarakṣa. He was followed by a Yüeh-chih householder Ch'ien 支謙 in A. D. 220 who taught the heir apparent of the Wu dynasty. The *Tripiṭaka* has 49 works by him, which include the Prajñāpāramitā of 10,000 verses, the longer *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* and *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*. The greatest of Yüeh-chih masters is Dharmarakṣa 竺曇摩羅刹 (or 剎) whose family had lived at Tun-huang. He was born around A. D. 230 at Tun-huang. He came to Loyang in A. D. 266. He translated several *sūtras* of the *Vaipulya* 方等 class for the first time. Ninety of his works survive in the *Tripiṭaka*. He was called the 'Bodhisattva from Tun-huang', and he contributed the most in the conversion of China to Buddhism, and made Ch'ang-an the foremost Buddhist centre in China. A tireless itinerant preacher and ingenious translator, he integrated Buddhism in the intellectual and spiritual life and gave China its classics of Mahāyāna. He translated the *Lotus Sūtra* for the first time, which later became the most venerated and fundamental scripture. He got Sanskrit manuscripts from Kashmir, Kucha, Khotan. His collaborators included two Kucheans, a Yüeh-chih, a Khotanese, a Sogdian, and Indians. Various nationalities on the *Sūtra* Route climaxed in his person. In A. D. 373 a Yüeh-chih householder Shih-lun 支施崙 translated four works.

The first Kuchean 白 monk who translated *sūtras* at the White Horse Monastery in A. D. 257 was Yen 白延. In A. D. 307-12 came Śrīmitra 帛尸梨蜜多羅 who translated the *Mahāmāyūrī*. Towering over all is Kumārajīva whose translation of the *Lotus Sūtra* is a marvel of transcreation. He translated a number of *Prajñāpāramitās*. Sanskrit manuscripts used to come to China from Kucha, for instance, the *Avaivartika-cakra-sūtra* was brought to Dharmarakṣa by a Kuchean envoy. Sujīva, a member of the royal house of Kucha, came to China in A. D. 568 and introduced the seven keys of Indian music: sādhārita, kaiśika, ṣaḍja-grāma, ṣaḍja, ṣāḍava, pañcama, and vṛṣabha.

The Sogdian K'ang Chü 康巨 translated a *sūtra* at Loyang in A. D. 187. In the next decade, came another compatriot K'ang Meng-hsiang 康孟詳 who translated at Loyang six works, including a life of the Buddha, in A. D. 194-99. Half-a-century later K'ang Sang-k'ai 康僧鎧 /Saṅghavarman translated some works at the White Horse Monastery in Loyang in A. D. 252. K'ang Seng-hui 康僧會, the eldest son of the prime minister of Sogdiana, came to the capital of the Wu kingdom in A. D. 241. In 251 he began his work of translation. In A. D. 396 K'ang Tao-ho 康道和 translated a *sūtra*, which is

lost. I-tsing gives a bio-sketch of Saṅghavarman of Sogdiana who came to China around A. D. 656. He was ordered by Emperor Kao-tsung to go on a pilgrimage to India. In Chinese texts Sogdiana is a part of Northern India, Uttarāpatha in Sanskrit, or its Chinese translation 'Northern Route' which extended from north-west India up to Sogdiana. This usage was common in India and China. Northern India in Chinese texts refers to north-west India and regions beyond, in fact to the dominions of the erstwhile Kuṣāṇa empire or Kuśanśahr.

While the Sogdians and their language have disappeared, European expeditions have discovered fragments of Sogdian texts near Tun-huang and in the Turfan depression. They reflect Chinese Buddhist literature from which they are predominantly translated. Majority of the translations date from the T'ang dynasty's domination in Central Asia (about A. D. 650-750).

I-tsing speaks of the nobility and purity of the monk Ch'ang-min in the following words: 'He sacrificed his life for the good of others. He was pure like a mirror, he was priceless like the jade of Khotan.' Khotan was famed in China for its jade and *sūtras*. In the eloquent panegyric of Visa Saṁgrāma (P 2787) Khotan is called *Ratna-janapada*, 'the Land of Jade'. Chu Shih-hsing, the first Chinese to leave his country in quest of *sūtras*, chose to journey to Khotan, famous for Sanskrit originals. He undertook this arduous journey in A. D. 260 and succeeded to locate the Sanskrit text of the *Prajñāpāramitā* in 25,000 verses. He had a copy made at Khotan. In A. D. 282 he sent his Khotanese disciple Puṇyadhana together with the Sanskrit manuscript to China. Written on birch bark leaves 皮葉 it was preserved in a Chinese monastery till the sixth century. In 291 the Khotanese Mokṣala 無叉羅 and the Indian layman Chu Shu-lan 竺叔蘭, started its translation. It was given the title Fang Kuang Ching 放光經 'the *sūtra* of the emission of light'. True to its name, it was to play a dominant role in the formation of Buddhist thought in East Asia. In A. D. 296 the Khotanese Gītamitra arrived at Ch'ang-an with a copy of the same scripture. In A. D. 401 the Chinese pilgrim Fā Hsien spent three months at Khotan and speaks of the flourishing community of Mahāyāna. In the beginning of the fifth century Chih Fa-ling found the text of a shorter recension of the *Avataṁsaka-sūtras* at Khotan. It was translated by Buddhabhadra 佛陀跋陀羅 in A. D. 422. In A. D. 689-91, the Khotanese monk Devaprajñā 提雲般若 translated six works. Śikṣānanda of Khotan rendered several works, of which 16 are found in the *Tripiṭaka*. Empress Wu Tsö-t'ien (A. D. 684-705) sent a special envoy to Khotan for the Sanskrit text of the *Avataṁsaka* and took part in its translation along with Śikṣānanda for five

years (A. D. 695-99). In A. D. 721 Chih-yen, a son of the king of Khotan, translated four works. Khotan was in the forefront of the transmission of Sanskrit *sūtras* to China. A bilingual Sanskrit-Khotanese conversation roll, the only one of its kind, was discovered at Tun-huang. The conversation has the following sentences:

Have you equipment for the road or not?
I do not like equipment for the road. A horse or two and I shall go.
Have you books or not?
I have some.
What is the book?
Sūtra, Abhidharma, Vinaya, Vajrayāna.
Among these what book (i.e. title) is there?

This conversational piece is a clear indication of the frequent transmission of Sanskrit *sūtras* from Khotan to China.

The standard Chinese expression for travelling monks means that they went primarily 'to obtain the doctrine' 求法. The oldest Sanskrit manuscript of the *Lotus Sūtra* in existence today, the so-called Kashgar manuscript, is a manuscript from Khotan and it has a colophon in the Khotanese language giving the names of donors and benefactor relations. We also know that Hyecho, a famous Korean monk of Silla returned from India via Ansi near Tun-huang in A. D. 723.

Khotan established its hegemony over the Southern Central Asian states in the first century A. D. by breaking the power of Yarkand (So-chü 莎車) and extended its authority up to Kashgar. Yarkand is mentioned in the Kāśikā commentary on the Sanskrit grammar of Pāṇini. It had brilliant academic traditions. Kumārajīva was initiated into Mahāyāna by Sūryasoma, the royal prince of Yarkand. Kumārajīva confessed that when he studied the Hīnayāna texts he considered stone to be wonderful and had not recognized gold.

Tao-an, the great master of 'Fundamental Non-being' (pen-wu 本無), was fully conversant with the concepts of emptiness versus phenomenal existence, or the relation between 'Absolute Truth' and 'Worldly Truth' as expounded in the *Prajñāpāramitā.* It reminds us of the convergence of the spiritual and the secular, or better their symbiosis, in the ideas of President Ikeda-san. They are the live hues of sensibility of the dawning century of an open society. Tao-an used to explain the entire text of Mokṣala's *Fang-kuang ching* twice a year at Ch'ang-an. To enable him to complete and correct his understanding on many points, he obtained a Sanskrit original of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā from Turfan in A. D. 382. Turfan introduced systematization of

Abhidharma, till then unknown in China. The king of Turfan sent his royal priest and *Abhidharma*-expert Kumārabodhi to Ch'ang-an in A. D. 382, as a member of a tribute mission to the Chinese court. The pilgrim I-tsing mentions two monks of Turfan, Pi-an 彼岸 and Chih-an 智岸, who boarded a ship to India. They fell sick on board and died.

China has many grottos that rival Ajantā in their synthesis of Indian suppleness, Hellenic elegance and Chinese grace. The Yun-kang caves were excavated between 414 and 520 A. D. under Wei rulers. Fifty-three caves remain till this day and contain over fifty-one thousand statues. It is one of the largest groups of stone cave temples in China. After the first Wei capital Tatung was transferred to Loyang in 494 work commenced on Lung-men. Sculpting went on for 400 years till the T'ang dynasty. It has around 1,000,000 statues; the highest is 55 feet high. It is a treasure-house of China's heritage of sculpture.

On the ancient Han frontiers, in the vast deserts of Inner Asia lies the sandy city of Tung-huang, the 'Blazing Beacon'. In this tiny oasis are the sacred grottos of Ch'ien Fo Tung or 'Caves of the Thousand Buddhas', carved into a rocky cliff rising aside a meandering rivulet. The walls of these Caves are covered by murals of surpassing beauty, with the largest array of authentic paintings extending over several dynasties: a task of sixteen centuries. It has ever been the sacred oasis, one of the glories of Buddhism. A stone tablet of the T'ang dynasty states that the first 'Cave of Unequalled Height' was constructed by an Indian monk in 366 A. D., increasing up to 460 caves as faith continued to inspire radiant visions.

Mogao Caves: The *Sūtra* Route is an age-old witness to the mingling of many ancient cultures of the Chinese, Iranians, Tokharians, Greco-Romans, and Indians. The outstanding achievements of mankind are strewn along this path which culminates at Tun-huang, with its golden sands and blue skies. The first town was established here as a midway stop of the travel route in the first century B. C. at the time of the Han dynasty. It has seen Chang Ch'ien the Han ambassador to befriend the tribes of the West, Hsüān-Tsāng the prince of pilgrims to procure *sūtras*, Marco Polo on his return to Europe, and others too many to specify. Ancient ballads tell the sad and lonesome life of Chinese soldiers on these remote borders of the west. The prosperity and stability of the country under Emperor Wu (A. D. 265-90) favoured the development of international trade and cultural exchange with improved agricultural techniques and irrigation. In the middle of the third century it became a main commercial centre with a mixed Chinese and Barbarian population.

At the grottos of Tun-huang Pelliot went through 16,000 manuscripts crouched in a tiny space, working by the light of a candle or in his own words: 'A philologist travelling at the speed of a racing car.' He selected all the rolls that were of any importance for their contents or for their antiquity authenticated by dated colophons. The Pelliot Collection at Paris is a repository of historical data that will be under investigation for another century. Local legends in Central Asia claim that three hundred towns lie buried beneath the desert with great treasures protected by demons. The number 300 reminds of the Triratna of Buddhism. The Buddhist past of Serindia obliterated by the onslaught of Islam and abandoned to the all-devouring sand is being brought to light by a devoted band of scholars over the globe. The hand-written notes of Pelliot have been translated into Chinese at the Tun-huang Institute: such is their importance. The photographs of the chapel interiors taken by the Pelliot Mission have formed the principal basis for the international study of Tun-huang art. Tun-huang was the occidental bastion of China, the gateway to the Indo-Iranian and Roman worlds. It was the sentinel of a trail whence China gave the pear and peach to India, orange, rose, peony and chrysanthemum to the West. The first ever movable printing types were found by Pelliot at Tun-huang and are dated by him to about 1300. This discovery is so momentous that even *Webster's New International Dictionary* records it under the entry 'Type'. Paul Pelliot's *Notes on Marco Polo* are a mine of information on historical geography and on the etymologies of place-names which reveal lost dimensions. For instance Bokhara, with its modern Turkmen form Buhara, is derived from Sanskrit *vihāra* through its Sogdian, Uighur and Mongolian form *buqar*, a city whose skyline was dominated by the spires of Buddhist monasteries and hence this name. The city retained its sanctity and importance even after Islamization. It was here that the first of the seven Sunni Imams, known as Imam Bukhari (A. D. 810-70), was born in the 9th century. His collection of 7,000 hadith constitute the *Sahih* or true compilation which is regarded as the most authentic book of traditions by the Sunnis, held sacred only next to the *Qur'ān*. What a coincidence that the Imam of Delhi is Imam Bukhari.

Divine musical instruments are played to which heavenly angels or *apsarās* dance in Sukhāvatī the resplendent Western Paradise of Amitābha. The flying goddesses from cave 321, which belongs to the golden age of Early T'ang (618-741 A. D.) are unique. The sensuous tenderness of the body, the delicate flowing lines of drapery, the joyous colours, garments vibrating with the rhythm of space mirror the vigorous culture of Serindia. Bearing in their hands trays of fruits and flowers, arrested as it were in their stately flight for a moment, they seem to bid the onlooker to accompany them into worlds of luminous beauty.

Ch'an was carried to China by Bodhidharma, the youngest son of a king of Kāñcī and a follower of Prajñātāra's eminent line. Palmleaves inscribed by Prajñātāra have survived in Japan. Bodhidharma reached China early in the sixth century after long peregrinations. He had an audience with the noted patron of Buddhism, Emperor Liang Wu-ti (502-550 A. D.) of South China. He pointed out to the Emperor the futility of establishing monasteries, copying *sūtras* and supporting monks. The historicity of Bodhidharma has been controversial. The first mention of Kāñcī is in 'The Record of the Transmission of the Lamp' compiled in 1002 A. D. The Ch'an tradition says that their doctrine was transmitted by an uninterrupted succession of twenty-eight Indian patriarchs: from Mahākāśyapa, the disciple of the Buddha, to Bodhidharma who brought it to China. Bodhidharma handed down the doctrine to Hui-k'o (traditional dates: A. D. 487-593), and from him through four other Chinese patriarchs to Hui-neng (A. D. 639-716). Bodhidharma finally transmitted the 'Seal of Mind' to Hui-k'o, who had cut off his arm to express the deep sincerity of his resolve. In the Kozanji ink scroll of the Six Patriarchs of the Bodhidharma lineage, Hui-k'o kneels down in front of him. Blood gushes forth from the stump of his left arm, and the knife and the cut-off arm lie next to him on the ground. According to late accounts Bodhidharma crossed the Yangtze on a reed, and spent nine years in meditation in front of a rock wall at the Shao-lin monastery.

Bodhidharma had said that Tao-fu had acquired the skin, the nun Tsung-ch'ih the flesh, and Tao-yu the bone, and that Hui-k'o had penetrated into the marrow (the essence) of the doctrine. Like this statement, mist surrounds the evolution of the legend of Bodhidharma, which is as controversial as he himself must have been in life. The tradition is consistent in pointing out that he was a prince of Kāñcī. His association with Tamil-speaking Kāñcī is confirmed by the Japanese form of his name: Bodai-daruma, shortened to Daruma. The Tamil form is Bodi-daruma: a modern painting at the Kāñcī Seminar on Dhyāna and Tāntric Buddhism held on 10-15 March 1986, had the caption *Bodi-daruma*. The Japanese name *Daruma* goes back to an ancient popular name of the master. Moreover, the tradition that the doctrine was transmitted from Mahākāśyapa to Bodhidharma appears to have a basis. It seems that the modern Kacchapeśvara Temple at Kāñcī was a Buddhist sanctum in ancient times dedicated to Mahākāśyapa the first patriarch of Dhyāna Buddhism. To this day there are some Buddhist sculptures in this temple. The tradition of twenty-eight patriarchs of Dhyāna Buddhism can be of Indian origin.

There are three basic scriptures of Ch'an: (i) *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, (ii) *Vajracchedikā Prajñā-pāramitā* and (iii) the *Hymn to Nīlakaṇṭha*

Lokeśvara. Bodhidharma took Guṇabhadra's translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* as its scripture, as it was the only available Chinese version at the time.

The '*Record of the Succession of the Dharma-treasure*', a history of Ch'an Buddhism discovered from the Tun-huang Caves, says that the first patriarch of the *Laṅkāvatāra* as representing the Dharma-treasure was Bodhidharma who revealed the inner meaning of the *Sūtra*. The connection of Bodhidharma and *Laṅkāvatāra* is thus intimate. *Laṅkāvatāra* can refer to Kāñcī. It is stated in the life of Hsüān-Tsāng by Huili: 'Kanchipura is the sea-port of South India for Ceylon, the voyage to which takes three days.' Further, subtle nuances point to Kāñcī as the native place of Bodhidharma and as the home of Ch'an. The tea ceremony ends with the banging of the lid on to the teapot. When I enquired of my Japanese host, Prof. Chikyo Yamamoto, he said: 'Master Bodhidharma used to slam the lid in times of yore.' How Indian! I was sure once again: It must go back to Bodhidharma.

The Ch'an adepts reject the written word and claim an unwritten doctrine, transmitted from mind to mind, where the heart of man directly sees into its own nature. Yet, when Hui-neng was invested as the Sixth Patriarch, the corridor was painted with scenes from the *Laṅkāvatāra*, besides the paintings of the Five Patriarchs Transmitting the Robe of Bodhidharma and the Dharma as a testimony for future generations. Bodhidharma had sanctioned the lineage of five Chinese Patriarchs of Ch'an in a *gāthā* that ran: 'One flower with five petals is unfolded.' In its earlier phases Ch'an Buddhists were mainly a kind of *Laṅkāvatāra* sect. The teachings of *pratyātma-gati-gocara* 自到境界 of the *Laṅkāvatāra* provide a philosophical basis for the transcendental intuition of Ch'an. In the *Laṅkāvatāra* Buddha tells Mahāmati to attain a state of inner realization (*pratyātma-gocara* 自證境界) and when one has *pratyātma-jñāna* 自證(覺)聖智 one is enlightened. The *Laṅkāvatāra* is unique in emphasizing that life is experiencing truth: seeing must be living and living, seeing. The *Laṅkāvatāra* certifies the existence of the Buddha-mind in each of us and provides Ch'an its doctrinal base. The *Laṅkāvatāra* forbids meat-eating and recounts eight reasons for abstaining from meat. To take the lives of animals and eat their flesh is like eating our own. Eating meat is spiritual pollution. To this day, food in Ch'an monasteries is vegetarian. While Ch'an stands on its own, the *Laṅkāvatāra* confirms it and is also its philosophical essence.

The *Laṅkāvatāra* was highly philosophical and abstruse to the Chinese. During the time of the Sixth Patriarch Hui-neng the emphasis shifted to the *Vajracchedikā* which was more understandable than the recondite *Laṅkāvatāra*. Besides meditation, painting was the other forte of Ch'an. Prajñāpāramitā lent itself admirably to the tenor of Ch'an painting. The Ch'an

masters of Mid T'ang were distinguished by their non-conformist techniques of painting. Wang Mo 'Ink Wang' painted landscapes starting from configurations of ink splashes, the manner of Ch'an painters who delighted in expressing their sincerity in trans-logical forms like a 'one stroke' Bodhidharma (Jap. Ippitsu Daruma by Shokai Reiken 1315-1396). The dictum *rūpaṁ śūnyatā śūnyatā eva rūpam* of the *Vajracchedikā* inspired Ch'an art which vanished into nowhere, with its diaphanous water colours and empty spaces interfering with the coherence of thought and form. A painting shimmered in meditation. Ch'an was deeply steeped in the Prajñāpāramitā philosophy of *śūnyatā*.

Protection of the state is 鎮護國家. The *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* is called 'the king of *sūtras* which protect the state'. *Sūtras* have been copied, chanted and expounded with the belief that the merit of these acts would stop calamities in the state and secure peace and security.

The fifth chapter of the Jen wang ching is entitled Gokoku 'protecting the country'. Tathāgata says: 'You, sixteen Great Kings, must practise the Rite of Protecting the Country, and you must keep, read and explain this *sūtra*. If in future ages the kings of countries wish to protect their kingdoms and to protect their own bodies, they too must act in the same way' (Visser 1935: 134-135).

The T'ang dynasty established an extensive empire and under it Buddhism reached its apogee by the induction of Vajrayāna texts. The grandeur of their ritual ensured unprecedented popularity in the Imperial household, in the great families of the realm as well as among common people. *Sūtras* were used for 'the benefit and advantage of the state' (Ch'en 1964:218). The logistic problems involved in distant military campaigns in Central Asia were resolved with success through Vajrayāna rituals. It would suffice to cite the strategic military role of Vajrayāna rituals of Vaiśravaṇa who was venerated in China and Japan as a god of war. T 1248 by Amoghavajra gives a *dhāraṇī* entitled '*Dhāraṇī* of Devarāja of the north, Vaiśramaṇa, who watches over armies for protecting the Dharma': if one pronounces this *dhāraṇī* before an image of Vaiśravaṇa— which represents the Devarāja under his terrible aspect—he sends his third son Naḍa to the side of those who direct their troops for the protection of their country; or still, if one covers the armour plate of his image with the powder of gold and offers him perfumes, flowers and other offerings while pronouncing the *dhāraṇī* a hundred thousand times, he himself takes the command of his celestial troops and goes to support his devotee, to whom he assures victory; or furthermore, if one recites non-stop day and night he delegates his heir-prince Dokken at the head of celestial troops; or still one can suspend his image on a staff and carry it as a banner fifteen paces in front of the

army which will render the enemy ineffectual. The *Vaiśravaṇa-kalpa* (T 1247) by Amoghavajra, specifically consecrated to Naḍa, adds in the colophon that during the 'grand troubles of the Five Kingdoms', one tried in vain during eight months all sorts of other ceremonies. Only the rite prescribed in this text proved efficacious for stabilizing the country. It refers to the troubles which burst forth in Central Asia at the end of the reign of Hsüān-Tsāng during the T'ang dynasty and by the 'Five Kingdoms' are intended the five foreign people who besieged the city of Anhsi. The incident is reported in details in the '*Ritual of Vaiśravaṇa*' by Amoghavajra (T 1249). In A. D. 742, the Five Kingdoms of Seiban=Tibet, Daiseki=Arabs, Koko=Sogdians, and others besieged the city of Anhsi. On the second day of the second moon, a report was presented to the Emperor demanding relief troops. The Emperor said to master I-hsing: 'Master! the city of Anhsi is besieged by Arabs and others and it requires troops. But as it is situated at a distance of 12,000 leagues, it will take eight months for my troops to arrive there, and I do not know what to do'. I-hsing replied: 'Why does Your Majesty not invoke to your aid the Devarāja of the North, Vaiśravaṇa, with his celestial troops.'—'How can I invoke him?'—'By the intervention of the Serindian monk Amoghavajra.'—The Emperor sent word to this monk who invited him to provide an incense-burner and follow him to the monastery. The monk pronounced a *dhāraṇī* from the Jen wang ching (tr. by Amoghavajra) 27 times. The Emperor then saw hundreds of soldiers in arms and the monk explained to him that they were the troops of Dokken the second son of Vaiśravaṇa, who had come to take charge before departure for Anhsi. In the fourth month he received a report from Anhsi, declaring that, on the very day of the ceremony they saw appearing in the north-east of the city, the envelopings of an obscure haze, of giants dressed in armour plates of gold. They heard an uproar of drums and of horns, and experienced a violent trembling of the earth. The troops of the Five Kingdoms, frightened, retired to their camps, where rats of gold gnawed the strings of their bows and of their traps. A voice in the sky enjoined to spare the old and the feeble, who could not flee away. Then Vaiśravaṇa manifested himself in person on the northern gate of the city. They drew his image which was appended to the report addressed to the Emperor.

The first T'ang Emperor Kao-tsu (A. D. 618-627) received from Fu Yi his seventh memorial in A. D. 626 requesting a ban on Buddhism. His Councillor P'ei Chi reminded him: 'O Your Majesty! formerly when you raised the righteous armies, you promised before the Three Jewels that you would open the doors of the profound school (Buddhism) if you were enthroned. Now, the

world has come under your benevolent administration and you possess the wealth of the four seas (i.e. world). If you want to accept the words of [Fu] Yi, it will affect your past virtues and foster what is evil in you (Jan 1966:22).' Thus, profundity of Buddhism lay embedded into the very foundations of the T'ang state. A natural consequence was the quest for Tāntric texts in India and elsewhere, their translation into Chinese and the efficacious utilization of their ritual. It led to the progressive development and continuous spread of Tantras in China, spurred on by periodic Chinese reverses in Central Asia.

In A. D. 629, or the first month of the third regnal year of Emperor T'ai Tsung (A. D. 627-649), an Imperial edict ordered Buddhist monks to recite the Jen wang ching in the national capital on the 27th of every month to pray for the welfare of the nation. The government undertook to supply all the materials for the ceremonies (Jan 1966:25).

Armies, manuscripts and scholars are allies in China. In the beginning of the seventh century after a military expedition to Campā, the Chinese army returned with a rich booty of 1350 Buddhist manuscripts among other things. They were all of Indian origin.

During the T'ang dynasty Indian astronomers served on the Imperial Bureau for the purpose. Three Indian astronomical schools of Gautama, Kāśyapa and Kumāra were known at Ch'ang-an in the seventh century. More accurate calendars were prepared anew by Indian astronomers. Sanskrit mathematical works were translated into Chinese which are lost.

In the seventh and eighth centuries, scientific works were known as '*brāhmaṇa* books' in China. Books with the prefix '*brāhmaṇa*' dealt with astronomy, calendrical science and mathematics. Unfortunately, since all were subsequently lost, one cannot now estimate what they contributed. It is certain, however, that during these two centuries *brāhmaṇa* scholars were employed in the Astronomical Bureau at the Chinese capital. Kāśyapa Hsiao-Wei, who was there shortly after A. D. 650, was occupied with the improvement of the calendar, as were most of his later Indian successors. The greatest of them was Gautama Siddha who became President of the Bureau. It seems that these *brāhmaṇas* brought an early form of trigonometry, a technique which was then developing in their country.

Though most of their writings failed to survive, something more should be said here of these Indian astronomers and calendar-experts of the Sui and T'ang. The story begins with the books of *brāhmaṇa* astronomy such as the P'o-lo-men Tien Wen Ching, mentioned in the Sui Shu bibliography, but long lost. These must have been circulating about A. D. 600. During the following two

centuries we meet with the names of a number of *brāhmaṇa* astronomers resident at the Chinese capital.

The first was Gautama Lo, who produced two calendar systems in A. D. 697 and A. D. 698, but the greatest was Gautama Siddha who compiled the Khai-Yuan Chan Ching about A. D. 729, in which a zero symbol and other innovations appeared. It is a work of great importance often mentioned. In any case the paradox remains that we owe to the *brāhmaṇa* Gautama Siddha the greatest collection of ancient and medieval Chinese astronomical fragments.

Vajrayāna masters, Śubhākara, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, arrived in China and translated the major texts of their school into Chinese during the reign of Emperor Hsüān-Tsāng. Hence it is important to evaluate the varied dimensions of his glorious rule.

Himself a poet, the Emperor welcomed poets like Li Po (701-762), and Tu Fu (712-770). Existing forms of poetry were brought to the highest perfection in the period. The T'ang dynasty was to be most famous for its poetry. 'Poets and painters contributed to the elegance of his magnificent court ceremonial' (Eberhard 1955: 198). The T'ang lyric poetry was inspired by the cosmic reverie of Taoism and the universal impermanence of earthly things, evoked by Buddhism. It is very apparent in the poems of Li Po. A clear prose style of the essayists developed. 'New forms of sentences make their appearance in prose writing, with new pictures and similes brought from India through the medium of Buddhist translations (*ibid.*, 196).'

In the domain of painting lay the principal achievement of T'ang. The six fundamental laws of painting laid down by painter Hsieh Ho were drawn from the Indian *ṣaḍaṅga* canons. Central Asian monks were continually pouring into China as decorators of Buddhist temples. The famous T'ang painter Wu Tao-tzu was strongly influenced by Central Asian techniques. As a pious Buddhist he painted pictures for temples (Eberhard 1955:197). In such an environment the *maṇḍalas* must have been welcome as new visual types of a complex and hence advanced idiom in Buddhist painting. Sculptures in stone and bronze, excellent fabrics, finest lacquer, high quality porcelain had the active encouragement of the Emperor.

The administration was strong, and schools were established in every village (Giles 1898:451). Fond of music the Emperor founded a Music School in 714 A. D. to train musicians in the fashionable foreign-influenced music. The Emperor selected an elite of 300 best musicians and trained them personally in the Agreeable Spring Court of the Imperial Pear Garden. The Emperor is honoured as the patron saint of the theatre (MacNair 1951:378). The members of the Left

Chiao Fang school were dancers, those of the Right were singers. The Buddhist scenes of song and dance at Tun-huang evoke memories of foreign dancers who are bare on the upper portion of the body: 'Women ceased to veil themselves as of old' (Giles 1898:451).

A few hundred Indian teachers went to China from the first to the twelfth century. They have bequeathed a legacy of about 3,000 works translated from Sanskrit into Chinese. We may mention a couple of them: Guṇavarman, a prince of Kashmir, who reached Nanking in A. D. 431; Buddhabhadra, born at Nagarahāra, claimed direct descent from Amṛtodana, the uncle of Lord Buddha. Nagarahāra is modern Jalalabad. He died in China in 429. Bodhiruci was from south India. A Chinese envoy came to the Cālukya court in A. D. 692 to invite Bodhiruci. He reached China in 693 by sea and translated Sanskrit works. One of the last outstanding Indian teachers in China was Dharmadeva of Nālandā. He was received by the Chinese Emperor in 973.

The Chinese pilgrims to India like Fā Hsien, Hsüān-Tsāng, Wang Hsüān-tso, I-tsing, and others have bequeathed historic records which are invaluable for the understanding of the cultural and political history of India. I-tsing has left short bio-sketches of 60 eminent Chinese monks who visited India. In 964, three hundred Chinese monks started for India, to pay Imperial homage to the holy places. They set up five Chinese inscriptions at Bodhagaya. One of the inscriptions ends: 'I now make use of the eulogy of the marvellous excellence of the three bodies and the sculptures that I have executed of the extraordinary acts of the Thousand Buddhas, in order to secure the prosperity of the glorious sovereign of my country and to offer to him for many years a holy longevity.' Edouard Chavannes brought to light these five Chinese inscriptions at Bodhagaya, the only ones in India. They were erected in the 10th and 11th centuries to pay Imperial homage of China to the holy places of India in moving language. Unswallowed by devastating centuries, they are with us still: alas! cenotaphs to the splendid creativity of a millennium smothered by fundamentalism. Chavannes translated into French the lives and voyages of over sixty Chinese pilgrims to India written by I-tsing. His translation of the voyage of Song-yun to Udyāna and Gandhāra (518-22) and of the itinerary of Wu-k'ong (751-90) are primary sources for Indian history. For wider dissemination they deserve to be translated into English. The four volumes of his *Cinq cents contes et apologues*, running to over 1600 pages, are a treasury of Indian story literature, extracted from the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*. It is a *sine qua non* for the history of our literature and for our folklore. Like several other French classics on Indology and allied disciplines, it needs to be done into English.

Indian scholars were honoured guests as late as the Ming. Paṇḍita Sahajaśrī led a twelve-member Indian Buddhist delegation to China. He was received by the Yüān and Ming emperors in 1364 and 1371. He was from a *kṣatriya* family of Kapilavastu. His status and privilege placed him in a position to soften the autocratic temper of the emperor. Recently a blue and white jar of the Xuande period (1426-1435) has been discovered with Sanskrit *mantras* all around: *divā svasti svasti madhyandine*. . . . It seeks good fortune by day, by midday, by night: at all times.

The long and time-honoured contacts have been matured, reverberating in a subtle interweave of thought, ritual, legend and art. They are symbolic of the deeps of hearts that have never been too subtle for habitation. India and China were linked by a route of thought, the way of cultural exchange, the *Sūtra* Route and not only the Silk Route. Ideas, impirium and emporia; intellectuals, generals and traders; monks, marshals and merchants; cassocks, armour and silk were all pilgrims on this route bringing together many races in companionship. Fabrics, fruits, vegetables, and technologies enriched life. This spirit of an 'open society' was the bridge of dreams floating under an open sky.

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