SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA
II

L. PETECH

NORTHERN INDIA
ACCORDING TO THE
SHUI-CHING-CHU

ROMA
ITALIANO PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE
1950
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SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA

SOTTO LA DIREZIONE DI
GIUSEPPE TUCCI

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PREFACE

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Giuseppe Tucci for the loan of books, for discussing with me several doubtful points and for some valuable suggestions; to Professor J. J. L. Duyvendak for help in two difficult passages; to Professor Paul Demiéville for having procured for me the microfilm reproductions of some Chinese texts and articles not available in Rome; and to Professor H. W. Bailey for advice on Central Asian data relevant to my subject.

Rome, June 1950.

L. Pетеch
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASIAR = Archaeological Survey of India Annual Reports.
BEFEO = Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient.
BSOS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.
HJAS = Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.
IHQ = Indian Historical Quarterly.
J. As. = Journal Asiatique.
JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
MASI = Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
MDAFA = Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan.
SS = Shui-ching-chu, edition of Shên Ping-hsün
ST = Shui-ching-chu, edition of Tai Chên
SW = Shui-ching-chu, edition of Wang Hsien-ch’ien
SY = Shui-ching-chu, edition of Yang Hsi-min
Taishô = Taishô Issaiyô edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon.
TP = T’oung Pao.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

[ VIII ]
INTRODUCTION*

The travels of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims to India have always drawn a great deal of attention from Western scholars; so have also the accounts of India and its kingdoms found scattered in the twenty-four dynastic histories of China. But, strange to say, there is one Chinese text which has not yet received its due consideration, at least as far as India is concerned.\(^1\)

This text is the Water Classic and its commentary.

The *Shui-ching* (Water Classic) is a small text traditionally attributed to the Han dynasty, but probably written during the Three Kingdoms period (220-265). It was commented upon by Li Tao-yüan 麗道元 (d. 527), an official of the Southern Chinese Ch‘i and Liang dynasties. His work, the *Shui-ching-chu* (Commentary on the Water Classic) has much suffered in the long run of time. The Classic and the commentary got confounded with each other, and not till the 18th century was the work fully restored, thanks to the unremitting labour of three Chinese scholars, who worked


\(^1\) Even a painstaking and industrious compilator like CHANG HSING-LANG 張星烺 has wholly omitted the *Shui-ching-chu* from his digest of Chinese materials on India (*Chung-hsi-chiao-t'ung-shih-liao-hui-p’ien* 中西交通史料匯篇, vol. VI, Peking, 1930).

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1 - L. PETECH, *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*
independently of each other but arrived at practically the same results.  

For my translation I have used the edition prepared by Tai Chên 戴震 and printed in 1774 in the official collectanea Wu-yin-tien-chü-chên-pu-t'ung-shu 武英殿聚珍版叢書; photographic reprint in the Ssü-pu-t'ung-k'an 西部叢刊, series of 1936. In textual notes it is quoted as ST. I have checked it throughout with the following three editions:

The Shui-ching-chü hui-chiao 水經注匯校, published at Foochow in 1881 and reproducing the collation made by Yang Hsi-min 楊希閔 in 1865; its text is that of Tai Chên, but some of the notes are interesting. Quoted by the initials SY.

The Ho-chiao shui-ching-chü 合校水經注 of Wang Hsien-ch'ien 王先謙 (1842-1918), published in 1892. According to Chêng Tê-k'ûn 鄭德坤, this is the best edition existing. It follows the text of Tai Chên, but gives a large number of variants and some interesting notes. Quoted by the initials SW.

The Shui-ching-chü chi-shih ting-tâi 水經注集釋訂訛 prepared in 1724-1731 by Shên Ping-hsün 沈炳巽 and republished in the Ssû-k'û-ch'iian-shu-chên-pên 四庫全書珍本 (1935). This old, pre-Tai Chên edition, among several mistakes, has preserved some good readings, which Tai Chên was wrong in rejecting. Quoted by the initials SS.

1) See Hu SHIH, Note on Ch'üan Tsu-wang, Chao I-ch'ing and Tai Chên, in HUMMEL, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, Washington, 1943-4, pp. 970-982.

2) Index to the Water Classic (Harvard-Yenching Sinological Index Series, vol. XII), Peiping, 1934.
INTRODUCTION

I have also consulted the contributions of Chung Fêng-nien 鍾鳴年;¹ they give, however, no important variants to the section of the text which interests us.

The *Shui-ching-chu* began to attract the attention of Western scholars about half a century ago, and some good work has already been done on it.² It is a fine piece of Chinese scholarship. Li Tao-yüan was no traveller, but as a desk geographer he ranks high, chiefly because he used very good sources, some of which are now lost. In the words of R. Stein, Li Tao-yüan wrote animated above all by an interest "for the miraculous, religious, folkloristic and sociological facts". Besides his purely hydrographical researches, he busied himself mainly "with localizing facts which we would call historical, but which deserve rather the appellation of heroical: holy places, rare and extraordinary produce, strange customs, apparitions, legends, in short the *mirabilia*".³

In the case of India, Li Tao-yüan, although a Confucianist with some Taoist leanings, avails himself almost exclusively of the Buddhistic tradition, without paying much attention to the materials elaborated up to his time in the various dynastic histories. He employs the traditional Buddhist cosmography, which derives directly from the Hindu. The various localities of Northern India are described only from the point of view of Buddhist lore. The author, however, does not base himself on the canonical texts, but on the travel accounts and the geographical


compilations of the Chinese pilgrims who went to visit the sacred places of Buddhism. His materials are not elaborated, but merely juxtaposed; Li Tao-yüan intervenes only with some occasional remarks, and these are seldom illuminating and sometimes directly misleading. It is therefore imperative to extricate the *disiecta membra* of his sources.¹)

The paragraphs concerning India form the greater part of ch. 1 (which we shall call section A) and a small portion at the beginning of ch. 2 (which we shall call section B). The whole of section A represents Li Tao-yüan's commentary upon the following words of the Water Classic: “It (the Ho river 河水) turns to the south-east of it (the K'un-lun) and flows into the P'o-hai 渤海 (Gulf of Chih-li)” (f. 4 a). Section B comments upon these words of the Classic: “The Ho river again enters the Ts'ung-ling to the south; again it comes out of the Ts'ung-ling and flows to the north-east” (f. 1 a).

Considering the two sections as a whole, the sources cited in them are the following:

1) The *Fa-hsien-chuan* 法顯傳 (Account of Fa-hsien). It is Li Tao-yüan’s main source. As it is well known and fairly well studied, the longer quotations from it are summarized in the present study, not translated in full. For the text I have followed the edition in *Taishō*, vol. LI, n. 2085; ²) but I have

¹) Some spade work in this direction has already been done by Herrmann, *Die Westländer in der chinesischen Kartographie*, in Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, vol. VIII, Stockholm, 1922, pp. 89-406.

²) The textual problems in the text of Fa-hsien, arising out of its long quotations in the *Shui-ching-chu*, have been studied by Shikazo Mori 森鹿三, *Suikyōchū inyō no hokkenden 水經注引用之法顯傳 (The Fa-hsien-chuan in the quotations of the Shui-ching-chu)*, in the *Tōhō Gakubō*, I (1931), pp. 183-212; they do not concern us here.
accepted Remusat's very convenient division of the text in forty small chapters. For the translation, I refer to LEGGE's Record of Buddhistic kingdoms, Oxford, 1886, which is still preferable to the last translation published, H. A. GILES's Travels of Fa-hsien, Cambridge, 1923.

2) The Shib-shih Hsi-yü-chi 釋氏西域記 (Records of the Western Countries included in the Shui-ching-chu and for some quotations in the Pien-li-tien.) It is unknown from any other source, and this naturally invites the suspicion that it is here quoted under a title different from the original. Thus in 1905 the Chinese scholar Yang Shou-ching 楊守敬 (1839-1914) identified the Shib-shih Hsi-yü-chi with the Hsi-yü-chih 西域志, a lost work in one chuăn by Tao-an 道安 (d. 385). But there are several difficulties in the way of this theory, and there is one element which goes straight against it: the description of Rājagṛha by Tao-an, preserved in the Yüan-chien-lei-ban 淵鑑類函, is quite different from the description by the Shib-shih Hsi-yü-chi in § 39 of the present work. From the fragments of the Shib-shih Hsi-yü-chi included in the Shui-ching-chu we can infer the main outlines of the lost work. It was a compilation and not a travel account; it is also certain that it owes nothing to Fa-hsien, and seems rather to be earlier than the great pilgrim. It included some account of cosmography, a description (perhaps short) of the Indus valley, a detailed account of the Buddhistic holy places in the Ganges valley, and a description of Central Asia.

1) S. Lévi, Le Tokharian B, langue de Koutcha, in J. As., 1913, p. 447.
2) On the question see PELLIOT, Tokharian et Koutchéen, in J. As., 1934, pp. 76-77. On Tao-an's work see CHAVANNES, Voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyāna et le Candhāra, in BEFEO, III (1903), p. 436.
3) The Ch'ing encyclopaedia of 1710. Ch. 316, f. 2 a.

[5]
3) The work of the Indian (Chu) Fa-wei 異法維, of whom very little is known. From a quotation in the T'ung-tien 通典 we learn that the name of the work was Fo-kuo-chi 佛國記 (Record of the Buddhistic kingdoms).

4) The Wai-kuo-shih 外國事 (Matters concerning the foreign kingdoms) by the [Yüeh]-chih monk Sêng-ts'ai 支僧載, of the Chin dynasty (265-420). Beyond the fragments included in the Shui-ching-chu, there are some (partly parallel) quotations in the Yii-an-chien-lei-han, ch. 316, f. 2 a.

5) The Fu-nan-chuan 扶南傳 (Account of Fu-nan) by K'ang T'ai 康泰. It is the travel account of a Chinese ambassador who was sent to Fu-nan (the Khmer empire of later times, now Cambodia) by the emperors of the Wu dynasty in Southern China (222-280). In the hinduized kingdom of Fu-nan, K'ang T'ai obtained much information on India, which he embodied in his report. It is now lost, but we have several passages quoted in the Shui-ching-chu, the Liang-shù 梁書, the T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan 太平衙瞭 and the T'ung-tien.

6) The Kuang-chih 廣志 (Expanded treatise) by Kuo I-kung 郭義恭, who wrote under the Chin dynasty (265-420). It is now lost, but the fragments have been collected in two chüan by Ma Kuo-han 馬國翰 (1794-1857) and included in his Yü-han-shan-fang-chi-i-shu 玉函山房輯佚書.

1) See the short notice in the Kao-sing-chuan 高僧傳 translated by CHAVANNES, Voyage de Song Yun, p. 437.


3) These have been collected in the Hai-kuo-t'ung-chih 海國圖志 of 1844. JULIEN, Reinseignements bibliographiques etc., in J. As., 1847 11, p. 274.

4) They have been studied by PELLiot, Le Four-nan, in BEFEO, III (1903), pp. 271 and 275-276.

5) For some quotations see also LAUFFER, Sino-Iranica, Chicago, 1919, Index; and Malabathron, in J. As., 1918 11, pp. 28 and 34-35 n.
7) The *Fu-nan-chi* 抚南記 (Account of *Fu-nan*) by Chu Chih 竹枝 a man of Indian origin who wrote in the second half of the 5th century.¹

8) The *Fo-t'u-t'iao-chuan* 佛圖調傳 (Narrative of *Fo-t'u-t'iao*). Its author is otherwise unknown.² The name seems to be a transcription of Buddhadeva.

The following table shows the number of the quotations and the approximate number of words concerning India from the above eight works; I have also included some passages which have no expressed attribution, but which are palpably derived from the *Fa-hsien-chuan* or the *Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chi*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUOTATIONS</th>
<th>WORDS</th>
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<tr>
<td><em>Fa-hsien</em></td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>The <em>Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chi</em></td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>Chu Fa-wei</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>Chih Seng-tsaï</td>
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<td>K'ang T'ai</td>
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<td>Kuo I-kung</td>
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<td>Chu Chih</td>
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<td><em>Fo-t'u-t'iao</em></td>
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<td>The <em>Han-shu</em></td>
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According to Shin Ta-ch'eng 沈大成 (1700-1771), quoted in SY, ch. I, f. 12 a, Fo-t'u-t'iao is but another name for Fo-t'u-t'eng 佛圖澄, the famous Indian monk who played such an important part at the court of the first emperor of the Later Chao dynasty, Shih Lo (319-333); see his biography translated by A. F. Wright, *Fo-t'u-t'eng*, in HJAS, XI (1948), pp. 321-371. But this identification lacks support, nor is Fo-t'u-t'iao found among the recorded variants of the name Fo-t'u-t'eng. I would rather think of Chu Fo-t'iao 竹佛調, who was a disciple of Fo-t'u-t'eng and was probably of Indian origin. But his biography in ch. 9 of the *Kao-seng-chuan* (Taišō, L, pp. 387 c-388 a) does not mention his having written a geographical work.
From this table it follows that the account of India is a mosaic, of which about the half is drawn from Fa-hsien.

There is one peculiarity which strikes the reader at once: although the *Shui-ching-chu* was compiled at the beginning of the 6th century, all of these materials are much older. Fa-hsien is probably the latest, and the rest go back to the 4th and even 3rd century. Political conditions at the time of compilation are wholly ignored. When Li Tao-yüan was writing, modern Afghanistan belonged to the Chionites or Hephthalites, wrongly also called White Huns. They were divided into two branches; the one ruled a mighty state north of the Hindukush and for a time imposed tribute even on the Sassanid empire; the other held sway south of the mountains, with their centre round Ghazni (Zabulistan) and extending their rule also over Kāpiśi and Gandhāra.1) But when the *Shui-ching-chu* comes to describe the lands north of the Hindukush, it merely repeats the old tales of the Yüeh-chih and the Sai-wang, going back to the times of the Han.2) For the lands south of the Hindukush, it brings nothing except religious matters; Fa-hsien reigns nearly undisputed. In India proper the kingdom of the Imperial and the Later Guptas is wholly ignored (as indeed it is by Fa-hsien), and political information is practically lacking. We may conclude these remarks by saying that the material of the *Shui-ching-chu* on India is nearly exclusively Buddhist and of religious character, and is older than the *Shui-ching-chu* by at least a century.

The hydrography of Northern India is largely fictitious. The Ganges of the *Shui-ching-chu* is not so much a real river, as

2) Ch. 2, f. 1 a-b; left untranslated in the present study.
a thread in the narrative, by which the places and regions described are somehow brought into relation with each other. Li Tao-yüan or his sources have not much regard for geographical facts, and sometimes the bearings are interchanged, as when the Ganges is made to flow north of Vaiśālī, Sāketa and Kapilavastu, or when in Magadha it flows from east of west simply because Fa-hsien happened to travel in that direction. The fictitiousness of the hydrographical sequence is the main reason why I have preferred to study the text quotation by quotation and not as a whole, even if this may appear to hinder a proper appreciation of Li Tao-yüan’s work. But in this chapter it is the quotations alone which offer some interest; the slender contribution of Li Tao-yüan in the way of connecting text can safely be left out of consideration.
SECTION A
(from ch. 1)

4 b  I. The Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chi says that A-nou-ta (Anavatapta) is a great mountain. Upon it there is a large and deep water pool and a kingly palace, the towers of which are very large. This mountain now is the K’un-lun mountain.

The form A-nou-ta (ancient ‘ānu-a’d’āt) is common to all the older translations in the Chinese Tripitaka. According to WATTERS, it transcribes the Pali Anotatta. But PELLIOT has pointed out that -ta implies a sonant dental and that the original must rather have been *Anodatta. This goes to show that the name was known to the Chinese under a form current in the Prakrit of Central Asia.

On the K’un-lun of Central Asia, a subject which lies outside the limits of the present work, there are older studies by De Saussure, Ferrand etc.; but the best investigations are due to SVEN HEDIN and HERRMANN in vol. VIII of Southern Tibet; and to EBERHARD, Lokalkulturen im alten China, vol. I, Leiden, 1942, pp. 245-248, where much material is conveniently gathered. For K’un-lun as the source of the Huangho according to the Han-shu, and its later divorce from that river and

identification with Anavatapta, see HEDIN, op. cit., pp. 10-13. In any case it remains certain that in the age of the Shui-ching-chu the name K’un-lun applied to Western and Central Himalaya.

2. The Mu-t’ien-tzu-chuan says that the Son of Heaven ascended the K’un-lun in order to see the palace of Huang-ti 黄帝 and to raise the mound on the tomb of Feng-lung 豐隆. Feng-lung is the god of thunder. The palace of Huang-ti is thus the palace on the Anou-ta.

This paragraph is a kind of explanatory note inserted by Li Tao-yüan in the middle of a quotation from the Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chi. If according to the Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chi the K’un-lun is identical with the Anavatapta, then all the particulars attributed to the two mountains must coincide. As the oldest extant account of the K’un-lun is that of the Mu-t’ien-tzu-chuan, the comparison with this old book imposes itself.

The Mu-t’ien-tzu-chuan is an account of the travels and sports of king Mu in the western borderlands of old China, which took place in the 10th century B. C. The work was found in an old tomb which was opened in 280 or 281 A. D. As we have it, it is certainly heavily interpolated, but its nucleus seems to be authentic. The passage in question1) is comprised in that section of the text which describes the voyage to the fabulous Hsi-wang-mu 西王母, a queen or a population in the extreme West; this section has been conclusively shown to be an interpolation posterior to the finding of the work in 280-1 A. D.2)

The K’un-lun of the Mu-t’ien-tzü-chuan has nothing to do with the Himalaya; even if it is not, as maintained by Herrmann and others, the name of an ancient people of Central Asia, it cannot but be sought for in the ranges on the western border of the original Chinese homeland in the Huangho basin. But this does not disturb Li Tao-yüan in the least.

Huang-ti is the mythical founder of Chinese culture, who according to tradition lived in the third millennium B.C.

Fêng-lung is a personage of not very common occurrence in Chinese mythology; he is mentioned, however, as the god of thunder in the Li-sao, str. 57, and in Huai-nan-tzû 淮南子 ("Hundred philosophers" edition of the Sao-yeh shan-fang fâ-hsing 掃葉山房發行, Shanghai, 1922), ch. 3, f. 3 b.\(^3\)

3 a 3. From this mountain six great rivers issue. To the west of the mountain there is the great river called Hsin-t’ou 新頭 (Sindhu).

This paragraph is really the continuation of § 1, after the interruption caused by Li Tao-yüan’s discussion in § 2. It continues therefore the quotation from the Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chi.

The hydrography of this passage is fundamental; it lies at the basis of the whole first two chuans of the Shui-ching-chu. The hydrography of the Buddhist texts can be divided into two great traditions. According to the cosmology of the canonical and post-canonical texts, the great rivers of Jambudvipa are five: Gangâ, Yamunâ, Sarabhû (Sarda), Aciravâti (Raptî)

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\(^1\) The equation with Anavatapta belongs to a much later period. On the whole question of the meaning of K’un-lun in the first millennium B.C., see the above quoted works of Hedin and Eberhard, and particularly Haloun, Seif wann kannten die Chinesen die Tocharer oder Indogermanen überhaupt, Leipzig, 1926, pp. 163-172.

\(^2\) See also the short note by H. Maspero, Legendes mythologiques dans le Chou-king, in J. As., 1924¹, p. 57 n.
and Mahi (near Gayā): it is a purely Indian list. The tradition of Northern Buddhism prefers another scheme: we have the Anavatapta (the unheated), a lake on the top of the Himalaya, with a Nāga king presiding over it; four rivers issue from the lake: the Gangā to the east, the Sindhu to the south, the Vakṣu (Oxus) to the west and the Sītā (Tarim) to the north; this list spreads over the whole of Middle Asia.1) The hydrography of the Shui-ching-chu shows a contamination of the two traditions. Li Tao-yüan has adopted the ideas of the Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chi, of which work the present para is almost certainly a quotation. The change of the Anavatapta into a mountain is due to the influence of the K’un-lun and perhaps also of the Meru. The six rivers are made up of the four of the northern traditions, but with names partly changed: Indus, Ganges, I-lo-ch’i-ti (for which see §§ 57-60 and 65; corresponding mainly to the Oxus) and the great A-nou-ta river (described in ch. 2, f. 6a; seems to correspond to the Cherchen-darya and Tarim). To these are added two of the rivers of the southern tradition: Yao-nu and Sa-han (Yamunā and Sarayū; for both see § 12).

This hydrography, and chiefly the change of the Anavatapta into a mountain, left few traces in the later geographical tradition, which soon came to be deeply influenced by Hsüan-tsang and generally by the enormous widening of geographical knowledge which took place in the times of the T’ang dynasty. Still, it is echoed in the Kua-ti-chib 括地志, written in 642 by Hsiao Tê-yen 蕭德言 (558-654), which speaks of the A-nou-ta, identical with the K’un-lun, and of the Ganges issuing from it.2)

1) See the interesting note in Lamotte, Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra), Louvain, 1944-49, pp. 385-386 n.

2) The Kua-ti-chib is now lost; its fragments were collected and published in 1797 by Sun Hsing-yen 孫星衍 in his great collection Tai-nan-kao-t’ung-shu 徐南閣叢書.
4. The *Kuang-chih* of Kuo I-kung says that the Sweet River (甘水) is in the eastern part of the Western Countries (西域); its name is river Hsin-t'ao 新陶. The mountain [from which it issues] is to the west of the T'ien-chu 天竺 region (India). Its water is sweet, therefore it is called Sweet River.

The surname “sweet” given to the Indus is difficult to account for; there seems to be no parallel for this in Indian sources. The passage is perhaps corrupted, as we cannot otherwise explain the situation of the Indus in the eastern part of the Western Countries.

5. There is rock-salt as white as rock crystal in large pieces; it is quarried and employed. K'ang T'ai says that An-hsi 安息 (Persia), the Yüeh-chih 月氏, T'ien-chu (India), as far as Ch'ia-na-t'iao-yü 伽那調御, all of them have the highest opinion of this salt.

The mention of rock-salt refers of course to the Salt Range in the Panjab between the Indus and the Jhelam.

The interesting name Chia-na-t'iao (the addition of the last character ˗yü is due to some clerical error) will be discussed under § 55.

6. The monk Fa-hsien says that after he had passed the Tsung-ling 蔥嶺, he entered the territory of Northern India. From this place he followed the range to the south-west for 15 days etc. [omitted].

Follows a verbatim reproduction of the first half of ch. 7 of the *Fa-hsien-chuan*, describing the pilgrim’s journey through the Hanging Passages; cfr. LEGGE, pp. 26-27.

Towards the end of this passage, the text of Fa-hsien has the words 九譯所紀, and then goes on to say that neither Chang Ch’ien nor Kan Ying (the famous explorers of the 2nd-1st

As this is not available to me, I quote from the *Shih-chi cheng-i 史記正義*, i.e. the commentary on the *Shih-chi* by Szü-ma Ch'eng 司馬貞 (8th century), ap. *Shih-chi*, ch. 123, f. 7 b. Cfr. CHAVANNES, Review of MARQUART’s *Eransbahr*, in J. As. 1901, p. 555; and FRANKE, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Türkvolker und Skythen Zentralasiens*, Berlin, 1904, p. 36.
centuries B. C.) reached this spot.¹ Legge translates the four characters as “[the places and the arrangements] are to be found in the Records of the Nine Interpreters”.² No such records ever existed, and the translation is wrong: 九譯 is a not uncommon idiom in the dynastic histories, and means in every case “through nine translations”, i.e. “through many linguistic borders”.³ But the question is complicated by the fact that the Shui-ching-chu (ST, SW and SY) has for the last character the variant 絕, “to interrupt”. If we accept the reading 絶, which seems to me preferable, then the meaning is: “[This is] the account [which has come to us] through ninefold translations (i.e. through many intermediaries), since neither Chang Ch’ien nor Kan Ying reached this spot.” The reading 絕 which is still well attested, gives a less satisfactory meaning: “[Access to the place] is precluded by ninefold translations (i.e. by the enormous distance), so that neither Chang Ch’ien nor Kan Ying reached this spot.”

7. I have examined all the accounts in the chronicles, and this is what they say. The country of Chi-pin 崑賓 has a mountain trail made of stone slabs. The path is about one foot wide. The travellers walk step by step clasping each other. Rope bridges are following each other for more than 20 li, till one arrives to the Hanging Passages (懸度). The difficulties and dangers are indescribable.

³ See e.g. Shib-chi, ch. 123, f. 8 b (= Hanshu, ch. 61, f. 3 a): 重九譯, “countries which are reached through many, ninefold translations”. Chiu T’ang-shu, ch. 130, f. 4 b: 萬里昆夷九譯而通, “from 10,000 li the barbarians through nine translations come to visit us”. A similar idiom 重譯, with the same meaning of numerous linguistic borders, occurs in Huai-nan-tzu, ch. 20, f. 2 a, in Hou Hanshu, ch. 118 (88 in the Po-na-pên), f. 3 a, etc.; it has remained fairly common in the documentary style.
This paragraph and part of § 8 have been translated by FRANKE. The words from “The travellers walk...” till “... to the Hanging Passages” are a quotation from Han-shu, ch. 96 a, f. 12 b. Our text brings even a good textual emendation; the current editions of the Han-shu have 二千里 “2000 li”, while the reading of the Shui-ching-chu, 二十里 “20 li” is undoubtedly the original one.

On Chi-pin see the Appendix. There seems to be no agreement about the exact position of the Hanging Passages, a name which often occur in the earlier Chinese accounts of the Pamir till the time of Hsüan-tsang. Fa-hsien’s description certainly refers to the difficult passage along the Indus below Darel, west of Gilgit. It is a controversial point whether these Hanging Passages are the same as those of the Han-shu. According to STEN KONOW they are the same. According to HEDIN and HERRMANN they are not, and the Hanging Passages of the Han-shu must be sought for in Hunza (Kanjut), east of Gilgit; the latter opinion suits better the geographical conditions (see the following paragraph).

Our text, as it stands, seems to include the Hanging Passages in Chi-pin. But what we have here is simply a patched-up quotation from the Han-shu, and the latter work makes it clear that the Hanging Passages are on the route to Chi-pin, but not in Chi-pin.

The meaning of Chi-pin is here uncertain, but as the ultimate source is the Han-shu, the probability is more in favour of Gandhāra-Kāpiṣī than of Kashmir.

1) Beiträge etc., p. 58.
2) See the discussion in Sir Aurel STEIN, Serindia, Oxford, 1921, p. 8.
3) KONOW, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vols. II-I (Kharoshthi Inscriptions), Calcutta, 1929, p. xxiii.
4) Southern Tibet, vol. VIII, pp. 67, 32.
For the value of the *li* in the *Shui-ching-chu*, I cannot do better than refer to the study of R. Stein. I think we can accept for practical purposes his average of 400 metres.

8. Kuo L-kung says that west of Wu-ch'a there is the country of the Hanging Passages. It is a mountain gorge which is impassable; only by drawing out ropes one may cross it; hence the country has received its name. The natives dwell in the mountains. They cultivate their fields between stone walls. Heaped rocks are employed for building houses. The people join their hands for drinking; it is what we call monkey drinking. They have white goats and short-stepping horses. They have donkeys, but no oxen.

Another quotation from Kuo L-kung is given by Ma Kuo-han: “In the Hanging Passages the tombs are in the dwelling huts. [The traveller] enters a stretch of about ten *li*, and [this] difficult crossing is the Hanging Passages. Once they are crossed, [the traveller] eventually reaches a plain of about 100 *li*. Its population is not different [from that on the other side of the Passages?]. The plain of 100 *li* below the Hanging Passages must be the valley of Gilgit. It cannot well be defined as a plain, but it is the greatest widening in the Indus valley between Baltistan and the Panjab.

Wu-ch'a, ancient *uo-d'a*, corresponds to an original *Udā*.

According to Herrmann, it is to be situated in Sarikol, south of Yarkand.

1) *Le Lin-yi*, pp. 11-12.
2) *ST, SW and SY* have 白草 “white grass” which seems out of place here. I have followed *SS* (白羊).
The "short-stepping" of the text refers, according to Franke, to the ambling gait of the Central Asian and Pamir ponies.

9. These are those Hanging Passages, of which the monk Fa-hsien also says that after having crossed the river he arrived to the country of Wu-ch'ang 烏長 (Uddiyāna). The kingdom of Wu-ch'ang is [a part of] northernmost India. It is a kingdom where the Buddha arrived. The Buddha left the mark of his foot in it. The mark is long or short according to the faith of the man who beholds it. Up to now it still exists. Also the stone, where [the Buddha] dried his robe, is still in existence.

This is an abstract of the first two paragraphs in Fa-hsien's ch. 8 (LEGGE, pp. 28-29).

The stone showing the footprint of the Buddha, with the Kharoṣṭhī inscription Bodhāsa Śakamuniṣa padāni (footprints of the Buddha Śākyamuni), was seen and photographed by Sir Aurel Stein near the village of Tirat in Upper Swat, about long. 72°30', lat. 35°7'30". Also the boulder on which the Buddha dried his robe, is still extant on the right bank of the Swat river, four miles south of Tirat.¹)

10. a) The river Indus further flows towards the south-west; then it bends and flows to the south-east. It passes through Central India.
   b) On both banks there is level country. There is a kingdom called P'i-ch'a 毗荼, ²) where the law of the Buddha is flourishing.
   c) [The pilgrim] continued following the P'u-na-pan 蒲那般 ³) river. On the banks of the river to the right and left there are twenty saṅghārāma.
   d) This river flows through the kingdom of Mo-t'ou-lo 摩頭羅 (Mathurā) and joins below it the river Indus. From this river to Western India there are many kingdoms.

1) Sir Aurel Stein, Archaeological tour in Upper Swat and adjunct hill tracts (MASI, n. 42), Calcutta, 1930, pp. 55-56, 59-61. For the inscription there see Sten Konow, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, II-I, pp. 8-9.
2) Or P'i-t'u; the second character has both pronounciations.
3) SS has Man 滿. Fa-hsien (Taishō, LI, 859 a) has P'ua 蒲那.
e) From here to the south all [the country] is Madhyadeśa (中 國). Its people are rich.

f) The inhabitants of Madhyadeśa dress and eat like the Middle Kingdom (中 國); therefore they are called Madhyadeśa.

g) Since the parinirvāṇa [of the Buddha], the forms of ceremony, laws and rules practised by the holy communities, have been handed down from one generation to the other without interruption. From the river Indus to the regions of Southern India and on to the Southern Sea, there are 40,000 li.

This paragraph is the worst confused in our text. It consists of some isolated passages from Fa-hsien; the connecting text seems to be due to Li Tao-yüan and is mostly a string of mistakes and misunderstandings.

The chapters of Fa-hsien, from which this text is culled, describe with sufficient clearness the pilgrim’s departure from Bannu, his crossing of the Indus, his journey to P’i-ch’a and along the P’u-na-pan river; then they give an account of the principal features and customs of Northern India.

The following passages in our text are from Fa-hsien:

b) = last sentence of ch. 14 and first of ch. 15 (LEGGE, p. 41);

c) = beginning of ch. 16 (LEGGE, p. 42);

e) = beginning of second paragraph of ch. 16 (LEGGE, p. 42);

g) = end of ch. 16 (LEGGE, p. 47).

The connecting text begins (a) with twisting the Indus towards the south-east and sending it to Central India, i. e., in the language of the Buddhist pilgrims, the Ganges valley. Then (d) it consequently goes on calling the Ganges by the name Sindhu, and makes the P’u-na-pan, which cannot but be the Jumna, join it below Mo-t’ou-lo; this last is of course Mathura, and its mention here is due to a reminiscence from Fa-hsien.
The mistake probably goes back to texts employing the word *sindhu* in its widest acception, that of “great river”. It is, however, peculiar that just below (§ 9) a quotation from the *Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chi* describes the exact course of the Indus. In (f) Li Ta-yüan gives a rather unhappy explanation of the word Chung-kuo, which is the translation of the Sanskrit Madhyadeśa and at the same time a name for China; it is partly based on a statement of Fa-hsien.

The geographical names in this paragraph are all taken from Fa-hsien. *P'ü-ch’a* (ancient *b’ji-d’ia*) transcribes regularly *Bhid’a*. According to CUNNINGHAM, it is Bhira or Bhera, on the bank of the Jhelam in the Shahpur district of West Panjab. The modern town, built by Sher Shah about 1540, is on the left bank of the river, but “Old Bhera, as it is still locally known, is represented by a large debris-covered mound situated to the north of the village of Ahmadabad close to the hamlet of Sardarkot and about 3½ miles across the river from Bhera.” The identification can hardly be doubted; it is, however, strange that the name Bhera or Bhid’a does not occur in inscriptions and that there is no trace of a kingdom of Bhid’a in Indian tradition.

*P’u-na-pan* (ancient *b’uo-nā-pan*) is evidently the Yamunā, but the phonetic equivalence is obscure. Discussing the *P’u-na* of Fa-hsien, Weller suggested an alternance *b’m* in the first syllable similar to Bombay-Mumbay; he quoted some (highly suspect) reconstructions by De Groot and Schlegel in support to his contention. According to him, *b’uo-nā* transcribes (Ya)

1) Beginning of ch. 8 (LEGGE, p. 28).
2) *Ancient Geography of India*, Calcutta, 1924, pp. 177-178.
munā. ¹) But our P'una-pan, of which P'una is evidently only a shortened form, precludes this reconstruction. The name remains as unexplained today as it was in Legge's time.

11. The Shib-shib Hsi-yü-cbi says that the river Indus flows through Chi-pin, Chien-yüeh 健 越, Mo-ho-la 摩 詔 刺,² all these kingdoms, and enters the Southern Sea; so it is.

The Shib-shib Hsi-yü-cbi is a Buddhist work, so Chi-pin probably means here Kashmir. This is of course wrong, as the Indus does not flow through Kashmir proper, but the Shib-shib Hsi-yü-cbi is accustomed to take liberties with hydrography.

Concerning Chien-yüeh, its second character (ancient ji"vot) is found fairly often at the end of Indian geographical names in the Chinese texts. As rightly pointed out by S. Lévi, yüeh is a sort of vague geographical exponent; it originally represented the final suffix "vati, quite frequent in Indian geographical names, and was later extended even to names of which "vati was no part.³ Chien is the first character (with a small modification) of Fa-hsien's Chien-t'o-wei 建陀 衛. Chien-yüeh is therefore Gandhāra.

The ancient pronunciation of Mo-ho-la was muá-xá-lát, which regularly corresponds to a form *Mahārāṭ. I know of no ethinical name in this area (middle Indus) that can be brought into relation with this, unless it be the highly doubtful Mahārāja Janapada, a tribal state the existence of which was inferred by K. P. Jayaswal from a mention in the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini (4, 3, 97) and from some coins of the 2nd century A. D. found

²) SS: | 河 | .
³) Lévi, Le catalogue des Yakṣa dans la Mahāmāyūrī, in J. As., 1915¹, p. 60.
in the Panjab. 1) But the reading Mahārājājanapadasa on these coins is definitely wrong, 2) and the data of Pāṇini may be interpreted otherwise. Unless no other evidence is forthcoming, we cannot identify this phantom tribe with our *Mahārā. But no other suggestion can be made at the moment.

6 b 12. To the south-west of the A-nou-ta mountain there is the river called Yao-nu 遠奴. To the south-west of the mountain, somewhat to the east, there is the river called Sa-han 薩罕. A little more to the east there is the river called Heng-chia 恒伽 (Ganges). These three rivers issue together from the same mountain. All of them enter the river Heng 恒 (Ganges).

After having described the Indus, the Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chi takes up again the list of rivers issuing from the Anavatapta.

HERRMANN has equated Yao-nu with the Karnali and Sahān with the Sarda, wisely accompanying this tentative identification with a query. 3) I think he was only half right.

We have here three rivers, all of them issuing from the Anavatapta at a small distance from each other, and later uniting to form, or at least flowing into, the Ganges. The first great river which one comes across while travelling from the basin of the Indus to that of the Ganges, is the Jumna. The ancient pronunciation of Yao-nu is jānu-no, and the transcription value of these two characters in the 6th century was yau and nā/no. 4) I take this to be the transcription of some Prakrit form of Yamunā with attenuated nasal, e. g. something like the Ardhamagadhī तन्त्र or the form transcribed by al-Berūnī as Jaun.

3) HERRMANN, Die Westländer etc., p. 241.
4) LÉVI, Le catalogue des Yakṣa dans la Mahāmāyūrī, pp. 133 and 128.
Sa-han must have exchanged places, by an error of the text or otherwise, with the Ganges; no large river exists between Jumna and Ganges, and the Sa-han must be looked for to the east of the Ganges. The second character han 唯 is an obvious error for yū 予. The ancient pronunciation of the name is sāt-jiu, which transcribes Sar(a)yū; it is the modern Sarda and its prolongation, the lower Gogra.

13. The Fu-nan-chuan of K'ang T'ai says that the source of the river Ganges (Heng) issues, on the farthest north-west, from the K'un-lun. In the middle of the mountain there are five great sources; all the rivers flow separated, but all of them issue from these five great sources. The great river Chih-hu-li 枝呂黎 issues from the north-west of the mountain, flows towards the southeast and empties itself in the ocean. The Chih-hu-li is therefore the Ganges itself.

K'ang T'ai's five rivers are those of the Buddhist canonical tradition: Gangā, Yamunā, Sarabhū, Aciravati, Mahi.¹

Chih (枝)·hu-li is a wrong spelling of Pa (扶)·hu-li, which is found in the already quoted passage of the Kuatri-chih,² as another name for the Ganges. The first two syllables of Pa-hu-li (ancient b'at-yuolie) seem to transcribe a Sanskrit valgu, while the last cannot be explained at present. Valgu often occurs in Sanskrit for phalgu, and the river here meant is the Phalgumati, Vaggumudā of the Pali texts, alias Aciravati or Revati, the modern Rapti. The identification of the Phalgumati with the Ganges is of course a mistake by K'ang T'ai, who misunderstood his Indian informants; his account forms the basis of both the texts of the Shui-ching-chu and the Kuatri-chih.

¹) See back pp. 13-14.
²) The equation Pa-hu-li = Valgu was first tentatively suggested by Pelliot, Autour d'une traduction sanskrite du Tao-tō-king, in TP, XIII (1912), p. 355 n.
14. Accordingly, the Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chi has a list of the bends of the Ganges. To the north of the Ganges there are four kingdoms. Westernmost is the one between the bends of the Indus and of the Ganges. It is the kingdom of Chü-i-na-ho 拘夷那褐 (Kuśināgara).

The distortion of the geographic picture of India in the Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chi is particularly evident here. The four kingdoms are Kuśināgara, Vaiśāli (see § 19), Saṅkāśya (see § 23) and Kapilavastu (see § 29). They are not described in any order, nor is Kuśināgara the westernmost of the four. All of them are hundreds of miles away from the Satlej-Jumna doab in the Panjab.

15. The Fa-hsien-chuan says that the river Ganges flows towards the south-east, to the south of the kingdom of Kuśināgara. [There is a place] to the north of the city, between two trees, on the river Hsi-lien-ch' an 希連穢 (Hiranyavati). Here, on the banks of the river, is the place where the Bhagavan, with his head to the north, performed his parinirvāṇa, and where his relics were divided.

Except for the first sentence, this para is a quotation from Fa-hsien’s ch. 24 (LEGGE, pp. 70-71). In Hsi-lien-ch’an, the last character should be disregarded, as it is due to the attraction of Ni-lien-ch’an (the Nairaṇjanā river near Bodh Gaya); the confusion between the two rivers was very common.¹)

16. The Wai-kuo-shih of Chih Sêng-tsai says that after the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha the Devas wrapped the Buddha into new white pieces of cloth and made offerings to him with scented flowers. When seven days were completed, they took him out of the royal palace in a golden coffin and brought him beyond a small river. The name of the river was Hsi-lan-na 酔蘭那 (Hiranya). At about three li from the royal palace and to the north of it, they built a funeral pile employing sandal wood as fuel. The Devas tried severally to ignite the pile, but it did not burn. Maha-Kaśyapa (大迦葉) came back from Lius-ha 沙流, sobbed most vehemently and moved heaven and earth to compassion.


[25]
Then after this, other fuel, though unkindled, took fire by itself. The kings wanted relics. They measured [the ashes] with gold bushels, and obtained eight droma and four pecks. All the kings, and the lords of the gods, of the Nāga and of the spirits, each of them took a little [of the ashes]. They carried it back to their own kingdoms, in order to build a temple of the Buddha over it. King Aśoka erected a stūpa on the place of the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha. The two trees too received a stūpa, but this is no longer extant. The name of these trees was So-lo 姒羅 tree (śāla). The flowers of these trees are called So-lo-ch’ia 姒羅佳 (śālaka). The colour of these flowers is white like hoarfrost or snow, and its perfume is matchless.


There is nothing distinctive about Chih Sêng-tsai’s account; it follows the standard version of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra; in some particulars, such as the starting of the funeral procession from inside the town and not from the place of death, it follows the version of Po Fa-tsu.¹)

Hsi-lan-na (ancient xie-lán-nā) transcribes more exactly a Prakrit form Hiraṇṇa.

For the location of the cremation ground, the Wai-kuo-shih agrees with Hsüan-tsang, who also places the cremation stūpa to the north of the city, about 300 paces on the other side of the river.²)

The name Liu-sha, meaning shifting sands and usually applied in Chinese texts to the Central Asian desert, remains

¹) WALDSCHMIDT, Die Überlieferung vom Lebensende des Buddha, pp. 275, 283.
unexplained. According to most of the texts, Mahā-Kaśyapa was coming from Pāpā (Pāvā) to Kuśināagara, when he heard of the decease of the Buddha; according to Fa-hsien’s version of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, he was at Dakṣiṇagiri, south of Rāja-grha; according to the Vinaya of the Mahāsaṅghika, followed by the Mahāvastu, he was on the Grīhārakūṭa. In no canonical text anything is found which may recall our Liū-sha.

The first three sentences of this passage have been translated by Pelliot; he also collected several other texts concerning Chin-ch’ēn and Lin-yang. Lin-yang is still unexplained. On Chin-ch’ēn the best study is that of S. Lévi. Chin-ch’ēn is identical with Chin-lin of other texts. They correspond to the Suvaññabhūmi of the Niddesa and to the Suvarṇakuḍyaka of the Harivaṃśa and of Kṣemendra; chin, gold, translates

2) Thus I translate the characters 天. Under their heading the Pei-wén-yün-fu registers only the present quotation of the Shui-chhiang-chiu and nothing more.
Suvarṇa, and ch'ēn or lin (ancient d'ēn and lēn) transcribes the syllable dya. The location of this semi-legendary name cannot be ascertained with precision, because it was a floating geographical expression referring to countries to the east of the Gulf of Bengal. We may look for it in Lower Burma or in the Malayan Peninsula.

Li Tao-yüan apparently inserted here this paragraph because of some vague resemblance with the funerals of the Buddha. But Chu Chih's account refers to some other personage; it is perhaps the echo of a local legend concerning some famous monk, which he heard from the Indian traders.

18. This river flowing with many vagaries runs into the Ganges. The Ganges again flows eastward, to the north of the city of P’i-shē-li (Vāsālī).

"This river" is again the Hiranyavatī (Gandak).

19. The Shih-shih Hsi-yū-chi says that P’i-shē-li is the kingdom of Wei-hsieh-li (Vaisālī).

20. The Wai-kuo-shih of Chih Sêng-tsai says that from the kingdom of Wei-hsieh-li there are 50 yojana to the city of Wang-shê (Rājagṛha). The city has a perimeter of three yojana. The house of Wei-ch’iēh 維 諸 (Vimalakirti) is to the south of the palace inside the great enceinte, at a distance of 7 li from the palace. The building is destroyed and one can see only the place where it stood.

This passage has been translated by PELLIO T, Autour d’une traduction sanskrite du Tao-tö-king, in TP, XIII (1912), p. 382 n.

1) LÉVI, op. cit., p. 36.
2) See also LUCE, Countries neighbouring Burma, in Journal of the Burma Research Society, XIV (1924), pp. 151-158. Suvarnakudya of the Kauṭaliya Arthasāstra seems to be rather located in Assam. See N. N. DAS GUPTA, Karnasa varṇa and Suvarnakudya, in Indian Culture, V (1938-9), pp. 339-341.
The yojana is not used as a measure of length in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims, with the exception of Fa-hsien’s, where it alternates with the li. This fact has been studied by Weller; he concluded that short distances in li mean travel on the state trunk roads, where distances were officially marked. It is of course difficult to say whether this interesting result applies also to the present passage of the Wai-kuo-shih; many more quotations than this single one would be required for reaching a reliable conclusion.

The value of the yojana is of 4 kroša or 40 li. Starting from a li of 400 metres, we may attribute to the yojana of Fa-hsien and of the Wai-kuo-shih an average of 16 km.

A perimeter of three yojana, i.e. 120 li seems much exaggerated for a place like Vaiśāli. According to Hsüan-tsang the city measured 60 or 70 li in circuit, and the citadel only 4 or 5 li.

In this text we have the first mention of that famous building, the house of Vimalakīrti, which was the scene of the “explanation of Vimalakīrti”. The house is not yet mentioned by Fa-hsien. A century later Hsüan-tsang was to give an account of it and the Chinese envoy Wang Hsüan-ts’ē was to measure its dimensions. The precise indication of the Wai-kuo-shih may perhaps help to find the site of the building. But there are

2) S. Lévi, Pour l’histoire du Râmâyana, in J. As., 1918, pp. 153-160. In a passage of the Wai-kuo-shih quoted in the Yüan-chien-lei-han, ch. 316, f. 2 a, we have the clear statement “the yojana, that is in Chinese 40 li”.
4) The Vimalakirttimirdrīsūtra is preserved in three Chinese, a Tibetan and a fragmentary Soghdian version. See the bibliography in Lamotte, Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse, pp. 516-517 n.
6) S. Lévi, La mission de Wang Hsien-ts’e dans l’Inde, pp. 315-316.
conflicting statements on the subject. Another quotation from the Wai-kuo-shih says that the house of Vimalakirtti was inside the town and that its foundations were still to be seen.\(^1\) The Fo-tsung-t'ung-chi places it to the north-east of Vaiśāli.\(^2\)

21. The monk Fa-hsien says that to the north of the city there is a large grove and [a shrine in] two sections where the Buddha once dwelt. Originally the woman Yen-p'olo 女婆羅 (Amrapāli) and her family had presented it to the Buddha and built a vihāra in it.

This para is a quotation from the beginning of Fa-hsien's ch. 25 (LEGGE, p. 72).

22. Three li to the north-west of the city there is a stūpa called “bows and weapons discarded”, etc. [omitted].

Then follows the legend of the thousand princes, as related in Fa-hsien's ch. 25 (LEGGE, pp. 73-74).

23. The Shib-shih Hisi-yüehi says that inside the bend of the Ganges next to the east there is the city of Sêng-chia-shan-nai-chieh 倫迦扇奈揭 (Sān-kāśyanāgara). The Buddha descended to this kingdom by the three flights of precious steps.

Contents parallel to the following. Saṅkāśya is now Sankisa in the Farrukhabad district. For the archaeological remains there see Hiranand Shastri, Excavations at Sankisa, in Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, III (1927), pp. 99-118.

24. The Fa-hsien-chuan says that the river Ganges flows south-eastward, to the south of the kingdom of Sêng-chia-shih 娑伽施 (Saṅkāśya). It is the place where the Buddha descended from the Trayastriṃśa heaven towards the

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1) Yuan-chien-lei-han, ch. 316, f. 2 a.
2) Chavannes, Les inscriptions chinoises de Bodh-Gaya, in Revue d'histoire des religions, 1896, p. 28.
east by three flights of precious steps, after having preached the Law to his mother. The precious steps then disappeared in the ground. King Aśoka built a stūpa on the place of the precious steps. Then he erected a stone pillar; upon the pillar he placed the image of a lion. When some heterodox teachers showed little faith, the lion roared; as an effect of the fright their hearts grew sincere.

This is an abridgement of the account in Fa-hsien's ch. 17 (LEGGE, pp. 47-50).

25. The river Ganges again flows eastward to the city of Chi-pi̇n-jao-i 前 棲 凜 而 (Kanauj). The city touches on the south the river Ganges. Six or seven li to the north-west of the city, on the northern bank of the river Ganges, is the place where the Buddha preached the Law to all his disciples.

Except for the words "the river Ganges again flows eastward to", the whole paragraph is an abridged quotation of the first half of Fa-hsien's ch. 18 (LEGGE, p. 54). Chi-pi̇n-jao-i is an error for Fa-hsien's Chi-jao-i (ancient 㤭êñêĩ(z)i, transcribing a Prakrit *Kanjauj); it is due to the attraction of the name Chi-pin, much better known in China at that time.

The Shui-ching-chu has also the addition of the word "south"; it is missing in Fa-hsien, who simply says that the city "lies along the Ganges". Thus according to the text of the Shui-ching-chu Kanauj is to the north of the Ganges; according to Hsüan-tsang it is to the west of the river.¹) Both are wrong, as the town is, and has always been, to the south by west of the Ganges. Fa-hsien is also very clear on this subject, as he tells us that he crossed the Ganges to go from Kanauj to Sāketa; and in the 10th century the pilgrim Chi-yeh gives us the correct bearings.²)

26. The river Ganges again flows south-eastward, to the north of the kingdom of Sha-chih 沙祇 (Sāketa). If one goes out of the city of Sāketa by the southern gate, on the east of the road is where the Buddha, after having chewed his willow branch, stuck it in the ground; it grew seven feet, without increasing nor diminishing. And now it is still there.

Quoted from the first part of Fa-hsien's ch. 19 (LEGGE, pp. 54-55).

27. The river Ganges again flows south-eastward, to the north of the city of Chia-wei-lo-wei 迦維羅衛 (Kapilavastu). Formerly it was the capital of king Suddhodana. Fifty li east of the city there was a royal park. The park had ponds and streams. The queen entered a pond and bathed. When she came out on its northern bank, after walking twenty paces, she put out her hand towards the east and grasped a tree; there she gave birth to the prince. When the prince fell to the ground, he walked seven paces. Two Nāgas squirted water to wash the prince. Then a well appeared there, and this is where all the monks draw their drinking water from.

Except for the first two sentences, the whole paragraph is a quotation from Fa-hsien's ch. 22 (LEGGE, p. 67).

Chia-wei-lo-wei (ancient ka"w'i-lâ"jî"wî) is more exactly the transcription of a Prakrit form *Kavilavāḥ, from an earlier *Kapilavādī, corresponding to Sanskrit Kapilavatī.¹)

28. The prince, in company of Nan-ť'o 難陀 (Nanda) and others, tossed away an elephant. Trying his hand at a contest, he shot an arrow which entered the ground; now a spring is there, which serves as drinking-well for travellers.

This paragraph is a quotation from Fa-hsien's ch. 22 (LEGGE, pp. 65-66).

¹) See e. g. PELLiot, Les noms propres du Milindapañha, in J. As., 1914¹¹, p. 401 n. BAILEY, Gandhari, in BSOS, XI (1946), p. 786, derives it from a Gandhari Prakrit form *Kavilavas; but PELLiot's theory seems to account better for the phonetic facts.
29. The Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chi says that three 里 to the north of the city, by the river Ganges, there is the spot where the father king accepted the Buddha [as his son]. They have built a temple and placed in it an image of the father clasping the Buddha to his bosom.

This piece of information is quite new; neither Fa-hsien nor Hsüan-tsang mention this temple and statue. It is one item more which should be kept in mind by the future excavator of Kapilavastu.

Ganges is of course a mistake for Hiranyavatī.

30. The Wai-kuo-shih says that

The following long quotation is a most interesting description of Kapilavastu and of the journey of prince Siddhārtha to Rājagṛha and Bodh-Gaya. Its great importance may be realized if one thinks that it is completely independent of Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang, hitherto our only sources on the topography of the birthplace of the Buddha.

a) the kingdom of Chia-wei-yüeh 迦維羅越 (Kapilavastu) has not got a king now. The city and the ponds are desert and dirty, and there is only the empty space. There are some upāsaka, about twenty households of the Śākya family; they are the posterity of king Śuddhodana. Once they formed four families who dwelt inside the old city and acted as upāsaka; formerly they highly cultivated religious energy (virya) and still maintained the old spirit. In those days, when the stūpas were dilapidated, they completely repaired them. The king [of Kapilavastu], over and above this, took care of one stūpa, and the king of Ssū-ho-t’iao 私訶條 sent gifts as an aid to finish it. But now there are [only] twelve monks who dwell inside that [city].

Of this section there is a parallel text in the Yüan-chien-lei-han, ch. 316, f. 2 a, which runs thus: "It (the Wai-kuo-shih) also

1) All the editions have 畢條; but the correction 畢修, which was kindly suggested to me by Professor Duyvendak, seems necessary.

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says that the kingdom of Chia-wei-lo-yüeh is now subject to the kingdom of Po-li-yüeh 播黎越. There are also some upāsaka of the Śākya clan, about 20 families. They are the posterity of king Śuddhodana”.

In the 4th century A.D. Kapilavastu was subject to Magadha, so it is practically certain that Po-li-yüeh (ancient pu-li-ıe-i-yüeh) corresponds to Magadha. Phonetically, if we disregard the usual geographical exponent yüeh (yüeh), it may be explained as a shortened transcription of Pātaliputra. We are reminded of the Palibothra or Palimbothra of the Greek sources and of Fa-hsien’s Pa-lien-fu, the original of which was also characterised by the loss of the dental in the second syllable. The phonetic similarity with Po-li of § 52 is apparently merely casual, as the characters are quite different.

Concerning the Śākya upāsakas in the ruins of Kapilavastu, who are mentioned in our text only, ST has a note quoting the Mātaṅgisūtra. There are four versions of this text in the Canon (Taishō, XIV, nn. 551, 552; XXI, nn. 1300, 1301; Nanjio, nn. 643-646), but none of them seems to contain anything bearing on this tale.

Ssu-ho-t’iao (ancient si-xà-d’ju) is a regular transcription of Sihadiu, a Prakrit (not Pāli) form of the Sanskrit Simhadvipa, i.e. Ceylon. The passage of the Wai-kuo-shih quoted in the Yüan-chien-lei-han gives a short description of Ssu-ho-t’iao; it is mostly limited to the Buddhistic relics there, foremost among them the four footmarks of the Buddha, which are also mentioned by Fa-hsien in his description of Ceylon. Ssu-ho-t’iao is therefore to be kept strictly apart from Ssu-t’iao 斯調 of the I-wu-shih 異物志1) and of the T’ai-p’ing-yü-lan and Lo-yang-

1) Quotations in LAUFER, Asbestos and Salamander, in TP, XVI (1915), pp. 351, 373.
It has been convincingly shown by FERRAND that Ssū-t’iao is simply a wrong spelling for Ye-t’iao, Java, as shown by its connection with the Mountains of Fire (volcanoes) and with the typically Javanese fruit mājā. 2)

We know of Singhalese foundations in Bodh-Gaya, but this mention of a Singhalese pious gift in Kapilavastu stands isolated.

b) The marvelous tree, which the excellent queen grasped when the Buddha came to life, is called hsū-ko 須訶 (aśoka). King Aśoka made, out of lapislazuli, a statue of the queen in the act of grasping [the tree] and giving birth to the prince. When the old tree had no more offshoots, all the framana took the old trunk and planted it; and over and over again it continued itself till the present time. The branches of the tree are as of old, and they still shelter the stone statue.

The tree grew in the Lumbinī garden, now Rummindei in the Nepalese Terai. It is known that Aśoka erected a pillar there, which is still standing, although broken. Aśoka’s original statue (of which this is the only mention) is no longer extant, but the local temple still preserves an ancient sculpture representing the nativity of the Buddha,3) which may be a copy of that of Aśoka.

e) Also the outlines of the marks of where the prince walked seven steps, are still preserved today. King Aśoka enclosed the marks with lapislazuli on both sides, and again had them covered over with one long slab of lapislazuli. The people of the country continuously make offerings to them with sweet smelling flowers. One still sees clearly the outlines of seven footprints; although

1) Quotations in PELLiot, Deux itinéraires etc., in BEFEO, IV (1904), p. 357 n and CHAVANNES, in J. As., 1903¹, p. 531.
2) FERRAND, Ye-t’iao, Sseu-t’iao et Java, in J. As., 1916¹², pp. 521-532. I could not consult the study of TOYOHACHI FUJITA on Ye-t’iao, Ssū-t’iao and Ssū-ho-t’iao, in Memoirs of the Faculty of Literature and Politics, Taiboku Imperial University, I, 1 (1929).
there is now a slab covering them, it makes no difference. And again, people may cover them thickly with several layers of heavy cotton (karpasa) and fasten these on the chiseled stone; and yet,[the marks] shine through them and are even brighter than before.

According to the Asokavadana, king Asoka came to the place and prostrated himself before the seven footmarks.1 But his encasing of them is mentioned nowhere else but here.

d) When the prince was born, the kings of the Nagas came to the prince and, the one to the left and the other to the right, squirted water and bathed the prince. The one Naga was seen to squirt cold water and the other warm water; [this water] produced two pools. Even nowadays the one is cold and the other is warm.


e) The prince had not yet come out of the house. Then on the tenth day he came out, went to the royal field and sat under a jambu tree. The god of the tree honoured the prince with seven kinds of jewels, but the prince did not accept them. Then he meditated on his desire of leaving his home. The royal field is at one krosha (據) from the palace; a krosha means in Chinese (替) ten li.

Cfr. the Asokavadana (Przyluski, pp. 253-254); the Lalitavistara, ed. Lefmann (Halle, 1902-08), vol. I, pp. 128-129; Fa-hsien, ch. 22 (Legge, p. 67); Hsuan-tsang (Watters, vol. II, pp. 7-8). According to Hsuan-tsang, the royal field was 40 li to the north-east of Kapilavastu.

f) The prince went out of his house on the fifteenth day of the third month. The four kings of the Devas came to meet him, and each of them grasped one foot of the horse. At the same time all the spirits and Devas from all sides

filled the sky and showered heavenly scented flowers. Then he arrived to the Ho-nan-mo-ch’iang 河南摩強 river and became a śramaṇa on the banks of this river. The river Ho-nan-mo-ch’iang is ten yojana to the north of Kapilavastu. This river is at thirty yojana from Lo-yüeh-chih 羅闐祇 (Rājagṛha), i.e. the kingdom of P’ing-sha 瓶沙 (Bimbisāra). Then the Bodhisattva passed quickly through [Rājagṛha], and king Bimbisāra came out to see the Bodhisattva. The Bodhisattva stayed one day inside the Sui-lou-na 隨樓那 (Veluvana) grove of Bimbisāra. At sunset he then went to pass the night on the Pan-ta-po-ch’ou 半達鉢愁 (Pāṇḍara-Parvata). Pan-ta means white in Chinese (晉); Po-ch’ou means mountain in Chinese. The White Mountain is to the north, at a distance of ten li from the kingdom of Bimbisāra. At sunrise he started at once; at evening he took his night rest on the hill T’an-lan 曼蘭 which is at six yojana from the White Mountain. Then he arrived straight to the pei-to 貝多 tree. The pei-to tree is to the north of Yüeh-chih 阮祇, at a distance of twenty li from the T’an-lan hill.

The journey from Kapilavastu to Rājagṛha shows a few particularities in respect of the canonical accounts.

The Ho-nan-mo-ch’iang river is the Anomā of the Pali text, the river where the Buddha took up the condition of a religious mendiant. Ho 河 is of course an error for A 阿. The old pronunciation was ‘ā-nām-muā-g’iang, which seems rather to transcribe a Prakrit *Anamma-gaṅ(ga). According to the Māhāvastu, ed. Senart, Paris, 1882-1897, vol. II, p. 164, and to other texts, Anomiya is a city 12 yojana to the south of Kapilavastu. In any case the “north” of our text cannot be correct, because the Buddha went south-east on his route to Magadha.

According to the traditional account, the Buddha, after having passed through the city of Rājagṛha, went straight to the Pāṇḍava hill, where he was visited by king Bimbisāra and entreated in vain to accept one half of his kingdom. The Veluvana grove, instead, was presented by king Bimbisāra to the Buddha, when the latter came to Rājagṛha after having obtained

1) SS: Ch’üeh-chih 阮祇.
the bodhi. The Wai-kuo-shih seems to have confused two events. Sui-lou-na (ancient z"ieg-lou-nâ) is an interesting transcription, probably derived through a Central Asian dialectal medium.¹

Geographically speaking, Pan-ta-po-ch’ou corresponds to the Pândava-parvata of Buddhist tradition. But in our case the ancient pronounciation puând’at-puât-dz’iu ² and its meaning (White Hill) show that the Chinese translator had before him an original Pândara-parvata; this is a form used in the Mahâbhârata, but very rare in Buddhist texts. Our text is important for settling the location of this famous hill. B. C. Law has discussed the question basing himself on the Pali sources and on Fa-hsien and Hsuan-tsang; he identifies the Pândavaparvata with modern Vipulagiri, north-north-east of Râjagrâha.³ The Wai-kuo-shih perfectly supports this result, which may be accepted as established.

T’an-lan (ancient d‘âm-lân) transcribes a Prakrit form Dhammâraṇña. A Dharmâraṇya is known from Brahmanical lore; it is mentioned in the Vâyu-Purâna and in the Mahâbhârata, not as a hill, but as a tract of land; “it is, at least in part, no other sacred site than the precincts of the Bodh-Gaya temple representing the jungle of Uruvelâ of Buddhist literature”.⁴ In the Buddhist tradition Dharmâraṇya is an hermitage where the Buddha betook himself after the Sermon of the Wild-deer Park; he was coming from the place of Uruvilvâ-Kaśyapa and was

¹) Pelliot, Pâpiyân > Posium, in TP, XXX (1933), pp. 95-99. Our Sui-lou-na must be added to the several examples there quoted of sui transcribing a Prakrit vi or ve.

²) The last character is apparently corrupted, but I am unable to restore the correct one.
³) B. C. Law, Râjagrâha in ancient literature (MASI, n. 58), Delhi, 1938, pp. 3-6, 28-30.
⁴) B. M. Barua, Gayâ and Buddha-Gayâ, vol. I (Calcutta, 1934), pp. 16-17, 72.
going to the Ajapāanyakroḍha.¹ But the name is not usually connected with the Buddha’s journey to the tree of the six-years meditation, and nowhere in the texts is Dharmāranya represented as a hill. On the other side, there really was a hill, which according to tradition was the first place reached by the Buddha on his arrival to Bodh-Gaya: it was the Gayāśīra or Gayāśīrṣa, which is “the rugged hill to the south of Gaya town, which rises some 400 feet above this town and is now known as the Brahmayoni hill”.² Position and distance from Rāja-grha seem to fit quite well our T’an-lan. We may conclude that the Wai-kuo-shih has by mistake applied the name of the Dharmāranya hermitage to the Gayāśīrṣa hill.

*Pei-to* (ancient puai-tā) is the palmyra tree (*Borassus flabellifera*), the leaves of which (Sanskrit *pattra*) were employed as writing material; the name *pattra* was erroneously applied by the Chinese to the tree.³ In Chinese tradition the palmyra tree usually takes the place of the *aśvattha* (*Ficus religiosa*) of the Indian tradition as the tree under which the Buddha obtained the *bodhi*; this is the case, e.g., in Fa-hsien’s ch. 31 (LEGGE, p. 88). But here it apparently stands for that *aśvattha* (*pippala*) tree under which the Buddha practised penance for six years; cfr. § 43.

Yüeh-chih seems an abbreviation of Lo-yüeh-chih, employed some lines above (as well as in Fa-hsien) for transliterating Rājagṛha. But this cannot possibly be correct, because the Bodhi

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2) B. M. Barua, *Gaya and Buddha Gaya*, vol. I, p. 11.
3) This at least is the usual explanation; it takes *pei-to* as an abbreviation of *peito-lo* of later texts, which means undoubtedly *pattra*; see e.g. *Giles, Chinese-English Dictionary*, p. 1078. But I entertain a strong suspicion that in the case of early texts such as Fa-hsien and the Wai-kuo-shih the word *pei-to* may be independent of *peito-lo* and may simply transcribe the Sanskrit *vata*, another name of the nyagrodha or *Ficus indica*. 

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tree is at Bodh Gaya, south of Gaya town. "North" must be corrected into "south", and Yüeh-chih stands for Bodh-Gaya; the text of the whole passage is much corrupted.

It may be noted that Chih Sêng-tsai employs the character chin 景 for Chinese; this means that he lived in the times of the Chin dynasty (265-420).

g) The prince went out of his home at twenty-nine and obtained the bodhi at the age of thirty-five. This statement is different from the sūtras, and the records therefore do not agree.

This sentence is difficult to understand, as according to the universally accepted tradition the Buddha left his home at twenty-nine and obtained the bodhi at 35, just as stated by our text. Chu Mou-wei 朱謀㙔, a commentator of the Ming dynasty, who wrote in 1615, states that our text aims against the P'u-yao-ching 普曜經, i.e. the Lalitavistara, which (according to him) lets the Buddha depart from home at nineteen and obtain the bodhi at thirty.1) But neither the Sanskrit text nor the Chinese translation 2) of the Lalitavistara make any mention of the age of the Buddha on these two occasions.

31. Chu Fa-wei says that the kingdom of Chia-wei-wei 迦維衛 (Kapi-lavastu) is the kingdom of India where the Buddha was born. It is the centre of 3000 suns and moons and of 12000 heavens and earths.

32. The Fu-nan-chuan of K'ang T'ai says that formerly, in the times of Fan Chan 范旃 there was a man from the kingdom of T'an-yang 宋楊 called Chia-hsiang-li 家翔梨. He went from his country to India, and stage by stage trading all the way he arrived in Fu-nan. He told [Fan] Chan of the Indian customs, the expansion of the [Buddhist] religion, the accumulation

1) SS, f. 13 a.

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of wealth, the great fertility of the country, [so great that everybody could] follow his own desires; the great kingdoms on every side had honoured it for a long time. [Fan] Chan asked what was its distance and how far one must travel to reach it. [Chia-hsiang]-Li said: “India may be at more than 30,000 li from here; to go and return, three years and more are required, and one may take even four years to return thence. It is considered the centre of heaven and earth”.

This paragraph was translated and commented upon by PELLIO T, Le Fou-nan, pp. 277-278, to whom I beg to refer.

Fan Chan was a king of Fu-nan, who reigned ca. 225-205 A. D.

33. The river Ganges again flows eastward to the Lan-mo 蓝莫 (Rāma) stūpa. To the side of the stūpa there is a pond. Inside the pond a Nāga is keeping the watch. King Aśoka wished to destroy the stūpa and to build 84,000 new stūpas. But he became aware of what the king of the Nāgas used to offer, and recognized that such things could not be had anywhere; therefore he desisted. This place became empty and deserted, without inhabitants; but herds of elephants came to fetch water with their trunks and to squirt it on the earth. When green Sterculia grew together in quantity, the elephants ploughed and the crows weeded the soil.

Except for the last sentence, which is an embellishment of Li Tao-yüan, this paragraph is an abridged quotation from Fa-hsien’s ch. 23 (LEGGE, pp. 68-69). Fa-hsien’s and Hsüan-tsang’s 1) Rāmagrāma was at 200 li (km. 80) to the east of Kapilavastu. It is however to be noted that this Rāma is the product of a late legend, and the original Rāmagrāma of the oldest texts (Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra etc.) was somewhere on the banks of the Ganges between Magadha and the country of the Vṛjsi. 2)

34. The river Ganges again flows eastward to the confluence of five rivers. But the five rivers which meet here are not detailed. When Ananda was going etc. [omitted].

There follows the account of the *parinirvāṇa* of Ananda, copied with some slight abridgement from Fa-hsien’s ch. 27 (LEGGE, pp. 75-77). The scene of the miraculous decease of the favorite disciple of the Buddha is on the Ganges, on the route between New Rājagṛha and Vaiśālī; the legend is related at length in the *Āsokāvadāna.*

The five rivers are clearly real ones, and thus they cannot be put in relation with the five rivers of Buddhist cosmology. I am inclined to think that the “confluence of five rivers” does not indicate a single point (even if the text of the *Fa-hsien-chuan* gives the definite distance of four *yojana* from Vaiśālī), but that short stretch between Arrah and Patna where the Gogra, the Gandak, the Son and some smaller streams flow into the Ganges.

35. One *yojana* to the southern side of the river-crossing one arrives at the city of Pa-lien-fu (Pātaliputra) in the kingdom of Mo-chieh-t’i (Magadha). The city is the capital which was ruled by king Aśoka, etc. [omitted].

There follows the description of Pātaliputra, which is an abridgement of Fa-hsien’s ch. 27 (LEGGE, pp. 77-80). I may point out that Pa-lien-fu (ancient pa-liṣṭan-piuṭ) transcribes the same Prakrit form *Pāliṃput(ra) 2) which appears in Megasthenes as Palimbothra.

2) This is more exact that the *Pāliṃput(ra)* suggested by BAILEY, *Gandhari*, p. 784.
36. The river Ganges again flows to the south-east, past a small isolated rocky hill. On the top of the hill there is a hut of stone. This hut of stone faces south, and in olden times the Buddha stayed in it. Śakra, king of the gods, questioned the Buddha on forty-two subjects, and the Buddha one by one traced the replies on the rock. The marks of his tracing are still extant.

This paragraph corresponds, with some abbreviations, to the first paragraph of Fa-hsien's ch. 28 (LEGGE, pp. 80-81).

The small hill is that near the modern city of Bihar. ¹

LEGGE (but not GILES) was in doubt whether the tracing was done by Śakra or by the Buddha; our text allows us to decide the question in favour of the Buddha.

This legend refers to the famous Sūtra of the Forty-Two Sections, which is traditionally considered as the earliest Buddhist text translated, or rather adapted, into Chinese by Kaśyapa Mātaṅga in 67 A.D. ² The tradition here related by Fa-hsien is not drawn from the text itself of the sūtra, which merely states that the Buddha, questioned (apparently at Benares) by some bhikṣus on matters of doctrine and discipline, gave his reply in 42 points.

37. The river Ganges again flows westward to the New City of Rāja-grha; it is the one built by king Aśhe-shih 阿闍也 (Ajataśatru); etc. [omitted].

There follows an abridgement of the second half of Fa-hsien's ch. 28 (LEGGE, pp. 81-82), describing Old Rāja-grha. In

¹) B. C. LAW, Rāja-grha in ancient literature, p. 19.
connection with the last §§ it must be remembered that the Ganges here is no real river and has nothing to do with the places described; it is simply a tread in the narrative.

38. [Omitted]. On this hill the peak is beautifully green and is picturesque and imposing; it is the highest of all the five hills.

This paragraph is the legend of the Gṛdhrakūṭa hill, which forms the first part (as far as "hence comes the name of the hill of the Vulture Cavern") of Fa-hsien's ch. 29 (LEGGE, pp. 82-83).

39. The Shib-shib Hsi-yü-chi says that the Gṛdhrakūṭa peak is to the northeast of the city of Rājagṛha of Anou-ta. Looking westward towards this hill, there are two summits which rise at a distance of about 2-3 li from each other. On the path between the two, vultures always dwell on this range. The inhabitants give to it the name of Ch'i-shê peak. In the Hu (Indian) language Ch'i-shê means vulture.

This paragraph and the following are welcome additions to our knowledge of the famous hill Gṛdhrakūṭa.

The "Rājagṛha of Anou-ta" is of course Old Rājagṛha. But the name of the Anavatapta is absolutely unexpected here. Still, there are faint traces extant of a connection of Anou-ta with Rājagṛha in the Chinese Buddhist tradition. The lost Hsi-yü-chib of Tao-an (4th century A.D.), perhaps the oldest account of the West by a Chinese monk, said: "In the kingdom of Mo-ho-lai there is the mountain Anou-ta; the city of Wang-shê (Rājagṛha) is on the south-eastern side of the mountain".1) Mo-ho-lai, ancient muâ-χâ-lâi, seems to be Magadha, although the transcription is very anomalous. Two and a half centuries later, Hsüan-tsang mentions on the north

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1) Yüan-chien-lei-han, ch. 316, f. 2 a.
side of the south-west declivity of the Vipulagiri "500 hot springs, of which there remained at his time several scores, some cold and some tepid; the source of these springs was the Anavatapta Lake to the south of the Snowy Mountains, and the streams ran underground to this place". Our text is much more definite than Tao-an and Hsüan-tsang, as it seems to employ the name Anavatapta to distinguish the Rājagṛha of Magadha from other cities of the same name. The exact value of this Anavatapta remains, however, uncertain.

The position of the Grdhraukūta is not yet settled. Rājagṛha is surrounded by a girth of hills, which now bear Jaina names; but the Pali texts mention a traditional list of five hills. CUNNINGHAM identified Grdhraukūta with modern Sailagiri; 2) MARSHALL identified it with Chhathagiri, east of Rājagṛha, 3) and his view has been followed in the Archaeological Survey's guide of Rajgir; 4) B. C. LAW after a long discussion concludes in favour of Udayagiri, south-east of Old Rājagṛha. 5)

The Pali texts may favour B. C. LAW'S contention, but not so the Chinese sources. The Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chi (4th-5th century) places the Grdhraukūta to the north-east of the town. Fa-hsien (5th century) merely states that he entered the valley of Rājagṛha from the northern gap and bore round the mountains to the south-west on a rising gradient of fifteen 𝑙𝑖 till he arrived on the Grdhraukūta. 6) Hsüan-tsang (7th century) says that

2) Ancient Geography of India, pp. 534-535.
3) Rājagṛha and its remains, in ASIAR, 1905-6, pp. 90-93.
4) M. H. KURAISHI & A. GHOSH, Guide to Rajgir, Delhi, 1939. The map at the end of that booklet is most convenient for following the present discussion.
5) Rājagṛha in ancient literature, pp. 6, 8-9, 30-32.
6) LEGGE, pp. 82-83. Also the Chinese text (p. 862 c) has south-east. GILLES'S south-west (p. 50) is a mistake.
he went north-east 14 or 15 li to the Grdhhrakūṭa, which is continuous with the south side of the north mountain.\(^1\) Chi-yeh, who left for India in 966,\(^2\) says: "To the north-east (of Rājagṛha) he ascended a great mountain. Following a winding path he arrived to the stūpa of Sāriputra. Near a stream is found the stūpa called "Descent from horse and march against the wind". Thence he traversed a gullet and arrived at the summit of a great hill where are a great stūpa and a temple. It is said that here the seven Buddhas (of past ages) preached the Law. To the north of this hill there is a plain where the stūpa of the birth of Sāriputra is found. One half of the northern mountain is called the Peak of Vultures. The city of Rājagṛha is at the foot of the hill."\(^3\) Fa-hsien is too vague to be of any use, but the other three are in complete agreement. Hsüan-tsang's Northern Mountain is not the whole spur Vipulagiri-Ratnagiri-Chhathagiri, but only its northernmost part, Vipulagiri; only in this way it is possible to conciliate his statements that the Vulture Hill is to the north-east of the town and that it is contiguous with the south side of the Northern Mountain. From the unanimous agreement of the Chinese pilgrims, I conclude that Grdhhrakūṭa must be sought for somewhere on Ratnagiri. On the maps the hill looks as terminating with two larger peaks and a smaller one; two of these must correspond to the two summits of the Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chih. Of course the question can only be determined on the spot and I must leave the archeologists to settle it finally.

2) On this date see CHAVANNES, Notes sinologiques, I, in BEFEO, IV (1904), pp. 75-77.

The very short account of Chi-yeh is as precise and accurate in its topography as that of Hsüan-tsang. It is a pity that it is usually overlooked in discussing moot points of ancient Indian geography.

[46]
"Looking westward towards this hill" means looking at Grdhrrakūṭa from the plains on its eastern side.

Ch'i-shê, ancient gi̇jzi̇a, transcribes gi̇jja, the Pali and Prakrit form for the Sanskrit grdhra, vulture.

40. Also Chu Fa-wei says that the kingdom of Lo-yüeh-chih (Rājagrha) has a mountain of divine vultures, which in the Indian language is called the Ch'i-shê peak. The mountain is of green rock, and the summit resembles a vulture. King Aśoka sent people to chisel out the rock, to insert artificially two feet at the two sides and to carve out and adjust its body. It can still be seen now; if one looks at it from a distance, it resembles the shape of a vulture. Therefore they call it hill of the divine vulture.

Chu Fa-wei's account implies that when the hill was already famous on account of its traditional connection with the Buddha, Aśoka caused it to be adjusted by stone-cutters in order to give it an aspect corresponding in some degree to its name. The two feet were probably hewn out of boulders and fastened to the rock by iron or stone spikes. No such artificially corrected hill-top has yet been noticed, nor it is likely that it shall ever be, as it must have been deeply corroded by the exposure to wind and rain during twenty-two centuries. Still, an investigation of the hill-tops to the east of Rājagrha may bring yet some surprise.

41. Several accounts are in disagreement and the distances are different too. But here we adhere to Fa-hsien, who personally went to pass the night on this hill, recited the Shou-leng-yen 首楞厳 (Śrāṅgama) and made offerings of scented flowers, as to an authority for what he has seen and heard.

From the first sentence one may infer that already in the 5th century A. D. the location of the Grdhrrakūṭa was no longer wholly certain.

The quotation is summarized from the last sentences of Fa-hsien's ch. 29 (LEGGE, pp. 83-84). It is not quite sure
whether this Śurāṅgama is the same as the Śurāṅgamasamādhi included in the Chinese Buddhist Canon, as the former was revealed on the Grīdhakūṭa and the latter at Vaiśāli.

42. It flows again westward, to the south of the river of Chia-yeh (Gaya). [Going] thirty li, one arrives to the wooded place where the Buddha practised penance for six years; etc. [omitted].

There follows the description of the holy places of Bodh-Gaya, copied with some slight abbreviations from Fa-hsien’s ch. 31 (LEGGE, pp. 87-89) (till “at all these places topes were reared”).

15a 43. The Wai-kuo-shih speaks of the P‘i-p‘o-li (pippala) tree. The Buddha stayed under that single tree for six years. The woman of a village headman (辰者女) offered to the Buddha plentiful milk-gruel in a golden bowl. The Buddha accepted the milk-gruel. He stood on the Nīlīn-ch‘an (Nairanjanā) river, took a bath, then on the river-bank he ate the milk gruel; then he threw the bowl into the water. It floated against the current for 100 paces, then the bowl sank in the river. The king of the Nāgas, Chia-li-chiao (Kālika) took it into his palace and made offerings to it. Previously there were three Buddha bowls to see.

The Buddha sat near the river under the Mahābodhi tree. The Mahābodhi tree is at a distance of two li from the pei-to tree. Under this tree for seven days he meditated on the Bodhi, and the hosts of Māra tempted the Buddha.

This paragraph is clearly the continuation of § 30. The pippala tree (Ficus religiosa) is the same as the pei-to tree of § 30 (f).

For the legend of Sujātā, the daughter of the village headman (grhapati), and of the Nāga king Kālika, see e.g. Mahāvastu, vol. I, pp. 263-265.

1) Taishō, n. 642. An abridged translation has been given by BEAL, A catena of Buddhist scriptures from the Chinese, pp. 284-369.
2) ST, SW and SY have Chia-na. I have followed SS.
With the distances given by our text and with Hsüan-tsang’s description of the holy places at and near Bodh-Gaya, it should not be difficult to identify the emplacement of the tree under which the Buddha practised the six-years penance.\(^1\)

44. The *Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chi* says that the *Ni-lien* 尼連 (Nairājana) river flows to the south into the river Ganges. To the west of the river there is the tree of the Buddha. The Buddha in this place practised penance, and one day he ate the milk-gruel. To the west [of the tree] of the six years, there is a distance of five *li* from the city. To the east of the tree upon the stream is the place where the Buddha went to bathe. He ascended the bank to the east, and sat under the *Ni-chü-lü* 尼拘律 (*nyagrodha*) tree. The woman *Hsiulsh2* 希臘 (Sujātā) offered him the gruel there. Then crossing the stream westwards, to the south of the tree of the six years, he sat under the *peito* tree. He defeated Māra and reached Buddhahood.

Also the distances and directions of the *Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chi* are new. It is interesting to note that it agrees with the *Lalita-vistara* in placing the bathing spot of the Buddha to the east of the theatre of his penances in Uruvela, while Fa-hsien places it to the west.

45. Fo-t’u-t’iao says that the Buddha tree was rotten at the core; put when [the Buddha] arrived there, it pushed out branches and leaves.

46. Chu Fa-wei says that the tree of the six years is at five *li* from the Buddha tree. We have written this differently.

In contrast with the two *li* of the *Wai-kuo-shih* (see § 43).

16 a

47. After this, Fa-hsien went to the south-east back to Pātaliputra, followed the river Ganges descending towards the west, till he reached a *vihāra* called

\(^1\) The discussion by B. M. Barua, *Gaya and Buddha-Gaya*, vol. I, pp. 99-118 is not very illuminating.
"Wilderness" (曠野), where the Buddha had resided. Again following the river Ganges and descending towards the west, he reached the city of Po-lo-nai 波羅奈 (Benares) in the kingdom of Chia-shih 迦尸 (Kāśi).

This is a quotation from the first sentences of Fa-hsien’s ch. 34 (LEGGE, pp. 93-94).

48. Chu Fa-wei says that the kingdom of Benares is 1200 li to the south of the kingdom of Chia-wei-lo-wei (Kapilavastu). Between them there is the river Ganges, which flows to the south-east. The place where the Buddha turned the Wheel of the Law is twenty li to the north of the kingdom. There is the tree called Ch’un-fou 春浮; it is the place of Wei-mo 維摩.

The Ganges does not flow between Benares and Kapilavastu, and there is probably a confusion with the Gogra.

The distance and direction of the Wild-Deer Park, where the Buddha first preached his law, is more exact than in Fa-hsien (see § 49). Sarnath is about 6 1/2 kilometers due north of Benares.

In Ch’un-fou, the first character 春 is apparently a mistake for yen 垣. Yen-fou (ancient ‘jum-jiou) is the normal transcription of jambu (Eugenia Jambolana); but I do not think that the world-tree (jambuvṛkṣa) has anything to do here.

Wei-mo (ancient "i-muā) transcribes *Vima. It is difficult to tell who is the personage meant here, but we may suppose that Chu Fa-wei refers to that man Vimala who, along with other three friend of Yaśas, was converted by the Buddha at Benares.¹ It is noteworthy that in the legend of Yaśas a nyagrodha tree plays a great part.²

²) BEAL, op. cit., pp. 258-266.
49. Fa-hsien says that ten li to the north-east of the city there is the wild-deer park. Formerly a Pratyekabuddha resided there, and there were always some wild deers who stopped with him for the night; hence the name.

A quotation from Fa-hsien's ch. 34 (Legge, p. 94).

50. After this, Fa-hsien again stayed in Pataliputra. Following again the river Ganges eastward, on its southern bank there is the great kingdom of Chan-p'o 瞻婆 (Campā).

These are the first words of Fa-hsien's ch. 37 (Legge, p. 100). Campā was the capital of the kingdom of Ān̄ga, corresponding to the modern districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr. Campā has been rightly identified by Cunningham with the modern hamlet of Champanagar, four miles to the west of Bhagalpur.

51. The Shib-shib Hsi-yüehi says that on the bend of the Ganges next to the east there is the kingdom of Campā. To the south of the town there is the pond Pu-ch'ia-lan 卜 法 蘭. The river Ganges is to the north. In this place the Buddha expounded the prohibitions.

The pond near which the Buddha expounded the ten sīla or moral prohibitions for the monks, is called in the Pali texts Gaggarā or Gaggarā-pokkharanī (Skr. puṣkarinī, lotus pond), Pu-ch'ia-lan, ancient puk-k'ia-lân, is the transcription of a Prakrit pukkharanî, nearly identical with the Pali form.

The Gaggarā-pokkharanî "may be identified with the large silted-up lake now called Sarovar, situated on the skirts of Champanagar, from the depth of which Buddhist and Jaina statues were recovered, when partially re-excavated from time to time".

1) On the role played by Campā in the life of the Buddha see B. C. Law, Ān̄ga and Campā in the Pali literature, in JASB, 1925, pp. 137-142.
2) Ancient Geography of India, pp. 546-547.
3) N. L. Dey, Notes on ancient Ān̄ga or the district of Bhagalpur, in JASB, 1914, p. 335.
52. The river Ganges again flows through the kingdom of Po-li 波麗; it is the kingdom of the maternal grandfather of the Buddha.

We have here a case of confusion due to similarity of sounds. Mahāmāyā, the mother of the Buddha, was the daughter of a lord of the Koliya, whose dwellings were at a short distance to the east of Kapilavastu, somewhere in what is now Nepalese Terai. But the Po-li of the texts is on the lower Ganges, below Campā. The ancient pronunciation was puā-lieī, and this reminds us of the Buli of the Pali texts, whose capital was Allakappa; they dwelt in the modern Muzzaffarpur and Shahabad districts, on both banks of the Ganges. If we accept the identification, then we must assume that this paragraph has been misplaced by Li Tao-yüan, and should be placed before § 50.

53. Fa-hsien says that the river Ganges continues to the east and reaches the kingdom of To-mo-lî-ch'ien 多摩梨鍾,1) [the capital of] which is a sea port.

This is a quotation from Fa-hsien's ch. 37 (LEGGE, p. 100). To-mo-lî-ch'ien is Tāmralipti, the great sea port at the mouth of the Hughli, where Fa-hsien took ship for Ceylon. Ch'ien is of course an error for ti, which is the correct reading in SS and Fa-hsien. But the error goes certainly back to Li Tao-yüan himself, or even to his source, otherwise there would be no point in the remark which represents § 54.

54. The Shib-shib Hsi-yü-chi says that Ta-ch'in 大秦 is called by another name Li-ch'ien 梨鍾.

This quotation is of course wholly out of place here. Li Tao-yüan was tempted by the wrong reading [To-mo]li-ch'ien

1) SS reads the last character ti 帝.
into an identification with the name Li-ch‘ien or Li-kan, occurring in the Han-shu. Li-kan, which is probably derived from Alexandria, is geographically synonimous with Ta-ch‘in and Fu-lin and indicates the Hellenistic and Roman Orient.

55. The Fu-nan-chuan of K‘ang T’ai says that from south-west of the island of Chia-na-t‘iao one enters a great bay of about 7,800 li and arrives at the mouth of the great river Chih-hu-li. Crossing the river and continuing westward, one reaches eventually Ta-ch‘in.

He also says that coming out of the port of Chü-li 持利 one enters the great bay. Travelling straight to the north-west for more than a year, one reaches the mouth of the river of India, which is called the river Ganges. At the mouth of the river there is a kingdom called Tan-mei 捲袂 1) (Tāmalipīti), which belongs to India. [Its ruler] sent letters to the Yellow Gate (the Chinese court), and was appointed [by China] king of Tan-mei.

We have met already with Chia-na-t‘iao in § 5. There are two possibilities. Either we take it as it stands, and then the reconstruction would be Kaṇadvīpa, 2) or rather Gaṇadvīpa; the latter name is known from the Rāmāyaṇa, 3) which lists it together with Suvarṇarūpyaka (the Suvarṇakudya of Kṣemendra); Gaṇadvīpa therefore may be located in the Malayan peninsula or in Indonesia, which seems to suit the indications of our text. Or else we may admit an inversion of the first two characters (we find for this a parallel in a text of the Pei-hu-lu), and we restore it as Nāgadvīpa. 4) It would then be related to the Naga-dipa of the Valahassa Jataka and Nagadiba of Ptolemy; but these

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1) ST, SW and SY have Tan-chih 持袂. I have followed SS.
4) R. STEIN Le Lini-yi, p. 293.
are localized on the coast of Ceylon,\(^1\) which goes against the indications of our text. The first alternative is certainly more credible.

For Chih-hu-li, a name of the Rapti, mistaken by K'ang T'ai for the Ganges, see § 13.

Chü-li is identical with T'ou-chü-li 役拘利 of the Liang shu and Ptolemy's Takkola; it is modern Takuapa, on the Siamese west coast of the Malayan peninsula.\(^2\)

K'ang T'ai's account of the lower Ganges, read together with Fa-hsien, sheds an interesting sidelight on the hydrography of 5th century Bengal. The Bhagirathī, which leaves the Ganges a little distance below Gaur, is one of the water courses contributing to the formation of theHughli. It is a dying river now, but it is well-known that in former times its channel was as important as, and even more important than, the Padma, which now conveys by far the greater part of the Ganges waters to the Meghna estuary.\(^3\) For K'ang T'ai the Bhagirathī is apparently the main channel of the Ganges, since Tamralipti is the port where the Ganges enters the sea. This means that the relative importance of the Bhagirathī and the Padma has been reversed in the last 1500 years. In view of the antiquity of our text (3rd century A. D.), its importance for the history of the Bengal rivers cannot be underestimated.

\(^1\) The wording of Ptolemy and of the Jataka are quite clear about it; it is a coastal islet. To identify Nāgadvipa with the Nicobars, as proposed by Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's geography of Eastern Asia*, London, 1909, pp. 379-383 and supported by V. S. Agraval, *Identification of Nāgadvipa*, in *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXIII (1937), pp. 133-137, is doing violence to the texts.


\(^3\) R. C. Majumdar, *Physical features of ancient Bengal*, in *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, Calcutta, 1940, pp. 344-346; see also *History of Bengal*, vol. I, Dacca, 1943, pp. 34.
If we could determine the precise date of the embassy of Tamralipti to China, it would be an important result from many points of view. The embassy is mentioned by K'ang-T'ai, who was a subject of the southern Wu dynasty (222-280); thus the embassy would be expected to be addressed to the court of that dynasty in Nanking. But no such embassy is registered in the annals (pēn-chi) of the Wu in the San-kuo-chih.

56. The Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chi says that the river Ganges flows to the east and enters the Eastern Sea. Thus it is that the two rivers which flow, and the two seas which receive them, are one each to the east and west.

The Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chi means simply that the Indus and the Ganges run into the sea respectively to the west and east of the Indian peninsula.

The rest of ch. 1 concerns mainly the K'un-lun.
The beginning of the chapter describes the unnamed river which issues from the Ts‘ung-ling mountains and empties itself into the Lei-chu sea, i.e. the Aral. Then it goes on to say:

2a 57. The Shibshib Hsien-yü-chi says that the I-lo-ch‘i-ti 蜣羅肢緫 river issues from the north-western side of the A-nou-ta and flows in the kingdom of Yü-tien 千闕 (Khotan).

This I-lo-ch‘i-ti presents a serious problem. Its ancient pronunciation was *ngiei-là-gjiei*; there is no Sanskrit or Prakrit name of river which may be recalled by this. It flows from Central Himalaya to Khotan (§ 57), north of Kāpiśi and Gandhāra (§§ 59, 60, 65) and empties itself into the Lei-chu or Aral sea (§ 65). This river seems to have been pieced together with bits of information concerning at least two river systems: the Khotan-darya and the Amu-darya. Besides, Li Tao-yüan seems to connect it somehow with the Ghorband-Panjshir-Kabul system. No similar piece of hydrography has yet been pointed out from Buddhistic sources; it stands wholly isolated.

58. The chapter on the Western Countries in the Han-shu says that to the west of Khotan all the rivers flow westward and go to the western sea.

The passage referred to is Han-shu, ch. 96 a, f. 8 a.
Then it flows westward to the north of the four great stūpas. What Fa-hsien calls the kingdom of Chiu-shih-lo (Takṣaśila), means in Chinese (漢) "severed head" (截頭). When the Buddha was a Bodhisattva, he gave away his head to a man, and this fact gave the name to the kingdom. To the east of the kingdom [of Gandhāra] is the place where he offered himself as food for a hungry tiger. In all these places stūpas have been built.

Except for the first sentence, the whole paragraph is a quotation of the first part of Fa-hsien's ch. II (LEGGE, p. 32).

On the "gift of the head" see the bibliography quoted in LAMOTTE, Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse, p. 144 n.

The place where the Buddha offered himself to the tiger is on mount Banj, not far from the Mahaban spur in south-eastern Buner. On the legend see the bibliography in LAMOTTE, op. cit., p. 143 n.

It flows further westward, to the north of the kingdom of Chien-t’o-wei (Gandhāra). This is the city which was governed by Fa-hsien (Dharmavivardhana), the son of king Aśoka. When the Buddha was a Bodhisattva, in this kingdom he also gave his eyes away to a man. In this place too a great stūpa has been built.

Except for the first sentence, the whole paragraph is a quotation of Fa-hsien's ch. 10 (LEGGE, pp. 31-32).

Chien-t’o-wei is Fa-hsien's usual name for Gandhāra. We may recall that Chien-t’o-wei, ancient g’ipn-d’ārjī “āi”, transcribes a Prakrit form *Gandhavāī, derived from an earlier *Gandhavādi, corresponding to Sanskrit Gandhavati. 2)

In the times of Fa-hsien the capital of Gandhāra was still Puṣkalavati (modern Charsadda), although it was fast being


2) See e. g. PELLiot, Les noms propres du Milindapanha, p. 393 n.
superseded by its younger rival Puruṣapura (Peshawar). The pilgrim was wrong in localizing there the legend of Aśoka’s son Dharmavivardhana or Kunāla, the scene of which was in Taxila, as related at length in the Aśokavadāna.\footnote{1}{PRZYLUSKI, \textit{La legende de l’empeur Aśoka}, pp. 281-294. Hsüan-tsang did not make the same mistake and localizes the legend in Taxila; WATTERS, vol. I, pp. 245-246.}

The stūpa of the “gift of the eyes” near Puṣkaravati was visited also by Hsüan-tsang.\footnote{2}{WATTERS, vol. I, p. 215.} On the legend see the bibliography cited by LAMOTTE, op. cit., p. 144 n.

61. Again there is the kingdom of Fu-lou-sha 弗樓沙 (Puruṣapura). Śakra, king of the gods, took the shape of a little herd-boy and scraped together some earth in the shape of a stūpa of the Buddha. The Dharmarāja [saw it and] therefore [built] a great stūpa. [These are] what are called the Four Great Stūpas.

This paragraph is an abridgement of Fa-hsien’s ch. 12 (LEGGE, pp. 33-34).

62. The \textit{Fa-hsien-chuan} says etc. [omitted].

There follows a quotation from Fa-hsien’s ch. 12 (LEGGE, pp. 34-35), giving the legend of the alms-bowl of the Buddha and its miraculous powers.

3a 63. Fo-t’u-t’iao says that the bowl of the Buddha is made of green jade. It contains more than three bushels (斗). This kingdom holds it as sacred. At the time of the offerings, if they desire that [the bowl] may not become full with the scented flowers of a whole day’s [offering, it happens] as they have said; and if they desire that it may be filled with a handful, it also [happens] at once as they have said.

A similar legend in Fa-hsien’s ch. 12 (LEGGE, p. 36).
64. Also according to what the monk Chu Fa-wei says, the bowl of the Buddha is in the kingdom of the Great Yüeh-chih. They have built a stūpa 30 chang high, with seven storeys. The place of the bowl is in the second storey; there is a golden net, and the net covers all around the bowl. The bowl is of green stone. He also says that the bowl floats in the space, to wait till [the Buddha] will place the bowl on a golden tablet. A mark of one foot of the Buddha is together with the bowl in the same place. The king, the nobles and the people, all of them holding Brahma-perfume, the seven kinds of jewels and jade, make offerings to the stūpa and the footprint. The tooth of the Buddha, the robe, the usnīsa, all these relics are certainly in the kingdom of Fu-lou-sha.

On this paragraph, and generally on the alms-bowl of the Buddha (for which cf. also § 9), see CHAVANNES, Voyage de Song Yun, p. 433, and S. LÉVI, Notes chinoises sur l’Inde, V, in BEFEO, V (1905), pp. 294–299.

According to Hsüan-tsang the ruined stupa of the bowl was inside Peshawar, in the north-eastern part of the town; the place has never been identified, much less excavated.

The relics mentioned in the last sentence of our text were all of them preserved at Nagarahāra (modern Jalalabad) and in its neighbourhood. Fa-wei seems to imply that in his time Nagarahāra was a part of the kingdom of Puruṣapura. The kingdom of the Ta Yüeh-chih is the state of the Kidāras, the last epigons of the Kushan, who lasted till the middle of the 4th century.

65. The Shih-shih Hsi-yüeh says that to the north-west of the royal capital of Chien-t’o-yüeh (Gandhara) there is the city of Po-t’u-lo-yüeh 鉈 吐 羅 越, [which is] the royal city of the robe of the Buddha. To the east there is a monastery. Following again and again the stream [as it winds its way], ten li to the north-west, there is the whirlpool of the Nāga Ho-pu-lo 河 步 羅; it is the place where the Buddha went to a whirlpool to wash his robe. The washing stone is still preserved.

2) See Fakhir’s ch. 13 and CHAVANNES, Voyage de Song Yun, pp. 428–429.
Po-teu/yueh, ancient puát-tʻuo/lâjìwǎi, is the name of the royal city of the robe (Nagarahâra); for the moment it seems impossible to reconstruct the Indian original.¹

The following text is not very clear and is perhaps fragmentary. It is impossible to identify the unnamed monastery, and it is not even clear whether it is east of Nagarâhara or of Peshawar (or Pu-škalavatī). Then again some words are certainly missing, because we are suddenly transported in Upper Swat, and there is no trace of the locality from which the ten li north-westward are calculated.

Ho(河)-pu-lo is an error for A(阿)-pu-lo, ancient a-bʻuolâ, which is the same as the A-po-lo-lo 阿波羅羅 of other texts. It is the Nāga Apalāla, dwelling in the Swat river, converted by the Buddha during his legendary journey in North-Western India.² The legend was once localized in Magadha, and only later it was shifted to Uḍḍiyāna, where Hsüan-tsang heard of it.³ Sir Harold Deane localized the pool at Kalam in Swat Kohistan, where the streams from the valleys of Utrot and Ushu meet to form the head of the Swat valley.⁴ This has been accepted by Sir Aurel Stein.⁵ But it seems we must draw a distinction. The above identification suits perfectly well the description of Hsüan-tsang, and there is no doubt that the great pilgrim saw the pool of Apalāla at the head of the Swat river. But Fa-hsien mentions in the same

¹) Following in a mechanical way the more usual transcription values, one would obtain such nonsense as *Patthuravati. I can only say that the first three syllables remind me of pādra of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, corresponding to Skr. pṛthivi, earth.

²) See Przyluski, Le Nord-Ouest de l’Inde dans le Vinaya des Mulasarvāstivādins, in J. As., 1914, pp. 510-512; La legende de l’emperœur Aşoka, pp. 6-7; and the further bibliography cited in Lamotte, Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse, pp. 188 n and 548-550 n.

³) Watters, vol. I, p. 229; cfr. also Fa-hsien’s ch. 8 (Legge, p. 29).

⁴) Deane, Notes on Udyana and Gandhara in JRAS, 1896, p. 656.

⁵) Serindia, p. 8; An archaeological tour in Upper Swat, p. 58.
breath the pool and the rock on which the Buddha dried his robe (for which see back § 9); and the *Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chi*, which is perhaps even earlier, definitely says that rock and pool are in one and the same place. We must conclude therefore that in the 4th and 5th centuries the pond was localized, like the rock, about four miles below Tirat. In the two centuries intervening till the journey of Hsüan-tsang the legend shifted up river as far as the confluence of the Utrot and Ushu streams.

66. This river runs towards An-hsi 安息 (Persia) to the Leichu 雷素 (Aral) sea. It is also said that to the west of Chien-t'oe-yüeh (Gandhāra) in the middle of the Western Sea there is the kingdom of An-hsi.

This too is a quotation from the *Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chi*. The rest of the course of the I-lo-ch'i-ti refers clearly to the Oxus. The unknown monk who compiled the *Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chi* seems to have very hazy idea about the Farthest West. He connects the Caspian Sea with the Persian Gulf and perhaps even with the Mediterranean and Black Sea, to form one great ocean surrounding Iran.

67. The *Funnan-chi* of Chu Chih says that from the kingdom of An-hsi to the kingdom of Ssu-ho-t'iao there are 20,000 li; the land of this kingdom borders with the sea. They are therefore the T'ien-chu (India) and An-hsi kingdoms of the Han-shu.

For Ssu-ho-t'iao see the note to § 30 (a). The *Funnan-chi* refers here to information gathered in Fu-nan. It seems that we have here an echo of that sea route from the mouth of the Euphrates-Tigris to Hormuz and along the coast of Western India to Ceylon, which was so active and so frequented during the palmy days of the Roman trade to the east in the first two or three centuries of our era.

The utterly wrong conclusion that Ssu-ho-t'iao was the T'ien-chu of the Han-shu seems to be due to Li Tao-yüan.
APPENDIX

CHI-PIN

Chi-pin is one of the most famous but also most puzzling terms of the Chinese geography of north-western India. For a long time its most current interpretation has been that propounded by Chavannes and S. Lévi about half a century ago. Chavannes expressed it in the following words: "From the period of the Han to that of the Northern Wei, the name Chi-pin applies only and always to Kashmir, as proved in several ways by the travels of the Buddhist pilgrims. It is only in the T'ang period that the name Chi-pin is rather unhappily connected with the name Kāpiśi, and serves henceforward to indicate this last country". 1) This theory was soon challenged for the period of the Former Han, but many scholars still accept it with more or less conviction. 2)

Chi-pin appears for the first time in the Chinese texts in the notice dedicated to it by the Han-shu, ch. 96 a, ff. 10 a - 13 a, 3) which refers to conditions prevailing in the first century B. C.

1) Chavannes, Les pays d'occident d'après le Wei-lieh, in TP, VI (1905), p. 538 n.
2) A good résumé of the views of Chavannes, S. Lévi and Pelliot on this subject has been given by P. C. Bagchi, Ki-pin and Kashmir, in Sino-Indian Studies, II (1946-7), pp. 42-53.
and beginning of the first century A.D. Its geographical position is determined by the following data: Nan-tou (Dardistan) is 9 days or 330 li to the north-east; the Great Yüeh-chih (at that time having their seats in Bactriana) are to the north-west (north according to ch. 96 a, f. 14 b); Wu-shan-li (Arachosia) is to the south-west. Then follows an interesting historical account, which has not yet been interpreted with certainty.\(^1\) I think it is now pretty well agreed that the Chi-pin of the Han-shu was a large but ill-defined area in the north-west, corresponding at first to the realm of the Sakas in India (founded probably at the end of the 2nd century B.C.), and comprising Gandhāra, Kāpiši, parts of Western Panjab, but probably excluding Kashmir; it was thus practically co-extensive with the ancient Gandhāra satrapy of Achaemenid administration. The demonstration has been made several times, by sinologists, iranists and indologists, and I am not going to repeat it here.\(^2\) In any case Chi-pin, already at its first appearance on the stage of history, seems to be more a political than a geographical term.

The origin of the name Chi-pin has not been much discussed. It is usually assumed that Chi-pin, ancient kiāi-piēn, archaic kiad-piēn, transcribes a form *Kaspira, not occurring in Indian texts, but known from such transcriptions as Ptolemy’s Kaspeiraioi and

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APPENDIX

Kaspēra. *Kaspīra would be another form for a Prakrit *Kāśvīra, which now survives in the Kashmiri vernacular form Kaśīr.1)

There are several objections that may be advanced against this theory. First of all, chi was normally used for transcribing a sound ka; 2) we miss any trace of a representation of the sibilant, which plays such an important part in the series *Kaspīra- *Kāśvīra-Kaśīr. Another element must also be taken in account. The Candragarbha-sūtra is a text originated in Central Asia (Khotan), where some fragments of the original have come to light.3) Its Chinese translation by Narendraśaśa (d. 596) supplies us with the form Chi-pin-na 凇賓那.4) Now, Narendraśaśa was born in Uḍḍīyāna and the text he translated was of Khotanese origin. It is most probable that his Chi-pin-na reproduces a pronunciation current on both sides of the Pamir; or else he wished to restore the final vowel -a, led by the same tendency towards Sanskritic purism which later led Hsüan-tsang and I-ching to employ e.g. such a form as Wu-ch'ang-na in the place of Wu-ch'ang hitherto used for Uḍḍīyāna. In both cases, the form Chi-pin-na means that Narendraśaśa was conscious that the final nasal of Chi-pin did not transcribe an r, as required if the original were Kaśmīra,

1) A. STEIN, Kalhana’s Rājatarāṅgini, Westminster, 1900, vol. II, p. 386. The demonstration of the phonetical identity Chi-pin = Kashmir was first attempted by S. LÉVI and CHAVANNES in their study on Chi-pin in J. As., 189511, pp. 371-384. It is only fair to point out that such an authority as the late Professor PELLIOT was also convinced of the identity; Tokharien et Koutchev, in J. As., 1934', p. 39 n.

2) Fa-hsien uses it for the first syllable of the name Kanauj; see back § 25. Kumārajiva (d. 409-13) in his translation of the Sūtra-laṅkāra uses it for transcribing the first syllable of Kaniṣka; LÉVI, Notes sur les Indo-Scythes, in J. As., 189611, p. 452.


[65]

5 - L. PETECH, Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu
but an *n*; the underlying original was therefore something like *Kapīṇa.* As a geographical term, such a word is not to be found in Indian literature; it is, instead, well known as a personal name. I refer to king Mahā-Kapphiṇa or Mahā-Kappīṇa, the hero of a whole cycle of legends in Pāli and Sanskrit. He is represented as ruling in Kukkuṭavati, a frontier region, and this legend is definitely localized in the extreme north-west of India, as he is stated to have met the Buddha on the banks of the Candrabhāgā (Chenab) river. The Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins gives a variant of the same legend; Kapphiṇa is a Brahman, who meets the Buddha during the latter’s journey to the north-west. King Kappiṇa and Chi-pin are both remains of a piece of ancient lore concerning some region in Upper India. It may be that further research in this direction will yield more definite results, but already now I think that a

1) By his Chi-pin-na, Narendrāyaṇas meant undoubtedly Kashmir. This is rendered certain by the name of the Nāga Hou-lo-ch’a 瞻 羅 茶, which appears in the text as one of the protecting deities of Chi-pin-na. Hou-lo-ch’a, ancient Servi dal’a, transcribes *Hulada, and this is clearly identical with Holadā, which occurs in the Rājatarangini as the name of the district around the Wular lake in Kashmir; STEIN, Kalhana’s Rājatarangini, vol. II, p. 460. It is true that in the Nilamata (ed. De Vreese, Leiden, 1936, Index) and in the Rājatarangini the Nāga of the lake is never called Holada or anything like, but always Mahāpadma. However, the phonetic equivalence Hou-lo-ch’a - Holadā - Wular, which was first tentatively suggested by F. W. THOMAS (Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan, vol. I, London, 1935, p. 107 n), is beyond doubt. But here I am concerned only with the origin of the word Chi-pin, not with its meaning for a Buddhist translator of the 6th century.

2) MALALASEKERA, Dictionary of Pāli proper names, London, 1937-8, vol. II, pp. 473-475. A possible connection with Chi-pin was already suggested by GAURIŚANKAR, Kapphiṇābhuyadaya of Kasmirabhatta Śivasvamin (Penjeb University Publications n. 26), Lahore, 1937, pp. xl-xlili. BAILEY, Irano-Indica III, in BSOAS XIII (1950), p. 395, proposes to connect Kapphina with Kalpin (Kapphina’s father), since in many cases a Prakrit *pp(b)* corresponds to Sanskrit *lp*. But there is always the possibility, perhaps probability, that Kalpin may be a savant Sanskritized reconstruction from Kapphiṇa.

case has been made out for entirely dissociating the group Chi-
- pin - Chi-pin-na - Kappaña from *Kaspîra.

Though this is not strictly relevant to my subject, I shall
briefly discuss the opinion of FOUCHER on the data of the Greek
authors that are usually put in relation with Chi-pin and
Kashmir. He maintains that Kaspapyros of Hecataeus (fr. 178),
Kaspatyros of Herodotus (IV, 44) and the Kaspeiraioi of Pto-
lemey (VII, 1, 47) have nothing to do with Kashmir, but refer
to Multan; one of the ancient names of this town was Kašyapa-
pûra, and Kaspapyros (for which Kaspatyros is evidently
an error) transcribes *Kasapûra, while Kaspeiraioi is *Kas-
pûra(p)ūriya. But how about the geographical facts? Kaspa-
pyros is the place where Skylax of Karyanda, sent by king
Darius I to explore India, took ship to descend the river to the
sea; and since it was in the land Paktyike (according to
Herodotus) or in Gandhîra (according to Hecataeus), it is far
more obvious to look for it in the neighbourhood of Attock,
or perhaps at Peshawar itself. With Kaspeiraioi and cognate
forms, things are still less satisfactory. First, I do not see any
cogent reason why we should identify them with Kaspatyros.

1) Utpala’s commentary to the Brhatasamîita of Varâhamihira is usually quoted as
authority for this. But the passage in question is not found in the extant text of Utpala;
it is known only through a quotation in al-Berûnî; SACHAU, Alberuni’s India, London,
1910, vol. I, p. 298. Other traditions connecting the famous sage and solar deity
Kašyapa with Multan have been collected by CUNNINGHAM, Ancient Geography of
India, p. 267; but it is highly suspicious that up to now nobody has been able to cite
a single original text as evidence.

2) FOUCHER, Les satrapies orientales de l’empire achéménide, in Comptes Rendus, Académie

3) See e. g. HERZFELD, Contacts between the Old Iranian Empire and India, in India
XV (for 1940-1947), pp. xviii and xxi. R. C. MAJUMDAR, Achaemenian Rule in India,
in IHQ, XXV (1949), pp. 159-160, wants to locate Kaspatyros at Schwan in Sind,
which is certainly too far down the river.
In the second place, Foucher himself remarked that perhaps we must avoid confusing Kasperia, Kaspiria or Kaspireia of Ptolemy's § 42 with Kaspeira of § 49, which is placed at a much lower latitude. The first would be Kashmir, the second Multan. This is possibly correct; but in any case we have positive evidence of the phonetical equivalence of Kasperia-Kaspiria with Kashmir. It comes from Central Asia. We have the early Khotanese form Kaspär~, reproduced as Kas-par in the Tibetan translation of the Vimalaprabhā-paripṛccha. Then there is the Parthian form Qšpyr, found in a sort of catalogue of the Yakṣa on an amulet of the 4th-6th centuries. Both forms, referring with certainty to Kashmir, are unmistakably identical with Kasperia and Kaspiria; Multan is here out of question.

The conclusion of the above discussion is that we have on the one side Chi-pin(ṇa) and Kapp(h)īṇa, unconnected with Kaśmīra; and on the other side Kasperia, Kaspär-, Qšpyr, *Kaspīra, *Kaśvira, Kaśir.

Coming again to our Chinese texts, the next mention of Chi-pin is found in the Hou Han-shu and refers to conditions in the second half of the first and first half of the second centuries A. D. The text is very meagre: "Starting from Pi-shan, when one travels towards the south-west, he passes through Wu-hao 鳥耗, crosses the Hanging Passages, passes through Chi-pin, and at the end of more than sixty days' march arrives

1) Foucher, La vieille route de l'Inde, p. 252 n.
4) Henning, Two Manichaean magical texts, in BSOAS, XII (1947), pp. 55-56.
in the kingdom of Wu-i-shan-li". Wu-hao is identical with Wu-ch'a (*Uda) of the Shui-ching-chu, in the Pamirs. The route leads thence through the Hanging Passages on the Indus and through Chi-pin to Arachosia, i.e. roughly to the region of Kandahar. From Gilgit to Kandahar the logical route is along the Indus or (in order to avoid its impassable gorges) through Swat to the Peshawar plains (Gandhāra) and thence to Kandahar via Jalalabad-Kabul or via the Zhob. A detour through the Kashmir valley is much less probable. Chi-pin may correspond here to Gandhāra and may extend to cover Kāpiši as well, with which political relations were most close. Kashmir is out of the question.

Then we have the statement, interesting from the historical point of view, that Kuzula Kadphises "conquered An-hsi (Par-thia) and Kao-fu (Kabul). Then he subjugated Pu-ta and Chi-pin". Pu-ta, ancient b'uok-d'at, is perhaps the Paktyike of the Greek authors, somewhere in Central Afghanistan. Chi-pin, the first conquest of the Kushan in India proper, must here correspond roughly to Gandhāra and West Panjab; Taxila was certainly included in it, as we know that Kuzula Kadphises succeeded there the Parthian dynasty of Gondophares.

Another mention of Chi-pin in the Han-shu is in connection with Kao-fu. This country (modern Kabul) was then seldom independent and belonged in turn to Ti'en-chu (India),

1) Hou Han-shu, ch. 118, f. 11 a-b. CHAVANNES, Les pays d'occident d'après le Heou Han-chou, in TP, VIII (1907), p. 175.
3) FRANKE, Beiträge etc., p. 99.
4) It should be kept in mind that Kabul 2000 years ago had not by far the same importance as today, but was left far behind, both from the political and the commercial point of view, by its northern neighbour Kāpiši (Begram). See the interesting remarks by FOUCHE, La vieille route de l'Inde, pp. 29-34.
Chi-pin and An-hsi (Parthia), according to which of these kingdoms was stronger.\(^1\) Conditions here described refer to the time prior to the Kushan conquest, because only a few lines before it has been told how Kuzula Kadphises had conquered Kao-fu and Chi-pin.\(^2\) I take the enumeration to be in chronological order; T’ien-chu refers to the rule of Indian kings (the Mauryas, and then the line of Sophagasenos, during the whole of the 3rd century B.C.). Chi-pin may mean here Maues’s Śaka state in the Panjab, which, however, seems not to have extended (except perhaps as a suzerain power) to Kāpiśa-Kabul; or else, more probably, it refers to the rule of the Greek kings. An-hsi is probably not Parthia proper, but the Indo-Parthian kingdom of Gondophares, to whom Kāpiśi belonged in the first years of our era. Again, Kashmir has nothing to do with this.

On the whole, I would say that in the Hou Han-shu Chi-pin represents the region of the North-Western frontier dominated in turn by the Greek, the Śaka, the Parthians and the Kushan. Since Kaniśka, it included also Kashmir.

The texts discussed up to now belong to the official, Confucianist, historiography. But starting from the Later Han dynasty, i.e. the period covered by the Hou Han-shu, we have to turn our attention also to another tradition, in which Chi-pin has quite another meaning: that of the translations of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. They are wholly independent in style, origin and outlook from the official historiography, and the two traditions run for centuries parallel to each other, and to a great extent ignoring each other.

For practical purposes we can assume that the work of translating Indian Buddhist texts into Chinese started in the

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1) *Hou Han-shu*, ch. 118, ff. 15 b-16 a; CHAVANNES, op. cit., p. 192.
2) CHAVANNES, loc. cit.
2nd century A.D. The translators at first were, for the greater part, men from Greater India (Central Asia and Indochina); these foreigners had to struggle with the difficulty of adapting the stock of geographical names already possessed by the Chinese to the nomenclature of the Sanskrit original. Also the name Chi-pin was subjected to this adaptation, and the result was peculiar. In the 2nd century Chi-pin practically meant the Indian dominions of the Kushan. Its political centre was Gandhāra, but its religious centre was Kashmir; it is there that later accounts place the so-called council of Kanishka; it was in Kashmir that a good deal of the texts of Mahāyāna was elaborated. It was therefore quite natural if the rather vague term Chi-pin of the annals was applied by the translators to that country included in the realm of Chi-pin, which was most important for them: Kashmir. This was also helped by the resemblance of Chi-pin to the Prakrit form *Kaspir (Kashmir), although, as shown above, the two words were originally quite independent of each other. We may even suppose that in the 2nd century A.D. the name *Kaspir was popularly extended to the whole of the Indian dominions of the Kushan, as the Kaspeiraioi of Ptolemy seems to imply and as it has indeed been suggested by S. LÉVI.¹)

In any case, it is an established fact that the word Chi-pin in the early translations of the Chinese Tripitaka is normally employed for Sanskrit Kaśmīra;²) this can be checked wherever

1) Le catalogue des Yakṣa dans la Mahāmāyuri, p. 91.
2) There is one exception. Kumārajīva in his translations of the Sūtrālaṃkāra and of the Mahāprajñāparamitāśāstra (both made about 402-405) applies the name Chi-pin to Kāpiṣi; LÉVI, Aṣṭaghoṣa, le Sūtrālaṃkāra et ses versions, in J. As., 1908¹¹, pp. 81-83; LAMOTTE, Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse, pp. 542 and 550 n. The fact is now well established, notwithstanding the doubts expressed by PELLLOT in BEFEO, IX (1909), p. 168. It shows that even in the Buddhist tradition the equation Chi-pin = Kashmir was not absolutely without exceptions.
the Sanskrit original has been preserved. The Chinese pilgrims too followed at first the lead given by the sacred texts they had studied before leaving home; it is beyond doubt that in their accounts Chi-pin is, and cannot be anything else but, Kashmir. This lasted till Hsüan-tsang introduced the learned spelling Chia-ssü-mi-lo, based directly on the Sanskrit Kaśmīra.

I must, however, stress a point which is often lost sight of. Modern scholars are sometimes apt to think unconsciously of Kashmir in the shape as it appears on our maps. Modern Jammu and Kashmir state is a creation of the British, and its birth date is the treaty of Amritsar in 1846. Historical Kashmir has always included only and alone the valley of Kashmir and the inner slopes of the ring of mountains that surround it; we except of course the campaigns of conquest of Kashmiri kings towards the plains. The whole of the Indus valley, and mainly the commercially important Gilgit area, although occasionally invaded by the kings of Kashmir and although always open to the cultural influence of the valley, was never an integrant part of the kingdom. Moreover, if Kashmir lies on one of the easiest routes from Central Asia to Eastern Panjab and the Ganges valley, it emphatically does not represent a convenient or logical passage from Central Asia to the centres of Gandhāra culture in Eastern Afghanistan and the North-Western Frontier Province. The normal route in this case was not that through Kashmir, nor even the direct but terribly difficult track along the Indus, but the once very frequented trails through Gilgit and then Chitral (for Kāpiśi) or Swat (for Gandhāra). This simple geographical fact must be kept present if one is to avoid drawing wrong conclusions from historical data.


To give an example, it has been inferred from the inscription of Wima Kadphises at Khalatse in Ladakh that this ruler held sway over Kashmir. But the centre of the power of the early Kushan kings was in Gandhāra and Western Afghanistan, from which regions Khalatse would be reached by routes more direct if not easier than through Kashmir. It may be that Kashmir belonged to Wima Kadphises, but we cannot use the Khalatse inscription for proving it; beyond this, there is absolutely no other evidence to support the contention, and the arguments ex silentio are rather against it.

If, therefore, we accept the equivalence Chi-pin = Kashmir for the Chinese Buddhist literature from the 2nd to the early 7th century, it must be understood that we mean Kaśmīra in its strictest sense, i.e. the upper valley of the Jhelam.

As pointed out above, Buddhist tradition and Confucianist historiography for a long time ran on parallel lines without much reciprocal influence. After the Hou Han-shu, the next mention of Chi-pin in the dynastic histories is found in the Wei-lüeh (3rd century A.D.), which barely mentions the route leading from the regions subject to Khotan towards Chi-pin, Ta-hsia (Bactriana), Ka-fu (Kabul) and T'ien-chu (India), “which are all subject to the Yüeh-chih”. We have no particulars about it, and this short mention does not allow any conclusion.

1) Ghirshman, Bagram, Cairo, 1946, p. 142. I think Ghirshman has given to Kashmir undue political weight in Kushan history, even if he is perfectly right about its cultural and religious importance. We must not forget that a valley hidden away in the midst of the mountains may for a moment become, but cannot remain for any length of time the centre of an empire. To shut themselves away in the fair but secluded vale of Kashmir, meant for the Kushan rulers cutting themselves deliberately away from easy communications with the rest of their dominions, especially with Bactriana.


Then comes a gap of two centuries. China broke up in two halves, of which the southern had no direct access to Central Asia and the northern was torn by unending wars between ephemeral dynasties claiming the imperial title but ruling for short periods only and on small parts of the country. Political intercourse with the West ceased. For the whole of the Chin period (265-420) we have only a short passage of Kuo I-kung's *Kuang-chih*, found in the commentary of Yen Shih-ku 颜师古 (581-645) to *Han-shu*, ch. 96 a, f. 11 a, but omitted in Ma Ku-han's collection of the fragments of the *Kuang-chih*. It says: "The large dogs of Chizpin are as big as donkeys and of red colour. From a distance of various *li* [the natives] use to shake tamburins in order to call them".

It was not until Northern China had been unified by the Wei dynasty (386-534), that something like order returned and relations were resumed. But only in the last years of the dynasty, when the capital had been transferred from T'ai in northern Shansi to the classical Loyang (494), embassies from the states of northwestern India found their way again to the imperial court. From these embassies the Chinese heard new names for old countries, names which rendered obsolete their classical geography of the Han times. The following table shows these embassies, as they are listed in the annals (*pen-chi*) of the *Weizshu* (ch. 8 and 9):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chizpin</td>
<td>451, 502, 508, 517</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chia-pi-sha 伽比沙</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pu-liu-sha 不流沙</td>
<td>511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kan-ta 乾達</td>
<td>511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chia-shih-mi 伽使密</td>
<td>511</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chia-pi-sha, ancient g'ia-pji-sa, is Kāpiṣa; Pu-liu-sha, ancient pu-liu-sa, is Puruṣapura (Peshawar); Kan-ta, ancient kān-d'āt, is Gandhāra; Chia-shih-mi, ancient g'ia-simjēt, is Kashmir. The abundance of names is bewildering. Puruṣapura was the capital of Gandhāra, which was united with Kāpiṣi under the same ruler, the Chionite (Hephthalite) king Mihiragula. Chipin apparently refers here to this united kingdom, i. e. the Chionite state of Zabulistan, the Hūnas of the Indian inscriptions, which was the only strong power of north-western India in this period. Perhaps the local governors or tributary princes had sent embassies of their own. The name Chia-shih-mi is most interesting; it is the first mention of the name Kashmir in the Chinese texts.

But when the accounts of the Western Countries were compiled, the authors took little or no notice of this kind of material. The original chapter on the Western Countries in the Wei-shu is lost and has been replaced by copying the corresponding chapter of the Pei-shih (compiled in the first half of the 7th century). In this chapter the authors tried to follow as far as possible the old accounts of the Han times. What new information they give, is due to another source. The Wei were a pro-Buddhist dynasty, and thus it happened that in 518 the Buddhist monk Hui-shêng and the official Sung Yün were sent as imperial envoys to Afghanistan and north-western India. After his return home in 522, Sung Yün, in his official capacity, wrote a report to the emperor about his voyage; this report was used by the compilers of the Pei-shih. Sung Yün had been sent on an errand to the holy places of Buddhism, and thus it comes

1) See also PELLIOT, Tokharien et Koutchéen, pp. 43-44.
2) On this state see GHIRSHMAN, Les Chionites-Hephthalites, pp. 104-114. There was another Hephthalite kingdom, that of Bactriana, well known because of its long wars with Sassanid Persia.
that he wrote from the Buddhist point of view and that the
Buddhist tradition for the first time could exert a real and deep
influence on a text of the dynastic histories. We have in the
Pei-shih (ch. 97, f. 25 a–b) an account of Gandhāra which is
drawn from Sung Yün. Even the name is in the form given
by Sung Yün (Kan-t'o 乾陀) and not in that of the embassy
of 511.

There is also an account of Chi-pin (ch. 97, f. 22 a), which
says: “The capital of Chi-pin is the city of Shan-chien 善見.
It is to the south-west of P'o-lu 浪路 (Bolor). It is at 14,000
li from T'ai (the Wei capital in northern Shansi). It lies in
the midst of four mountains. This country measures 800 li from
west to east and 300 li from south to north”. The rest of the
text merely reproduces the corresponding passage of the Han-
shu. The sentences translated above, which are the only inde-
dependent part of the text, are too short to afford any useful in-
formation. About the name Shan-chien, we can hazard a guess. In
the texts of the Chinese Tripitaka, shan-chien ("good-looking")
is normally employed to translate the Sanskrit sudarśana.1) Sud-
arśana is one of the names of the celestial capital of Indra and
of the thirty-three gods.2) Now a town called Indrapura,
"city of Indra", is mentioned in the Mahāmāyūrī,3) between
such localities as Śivapura-āhāra (Sheva east of Shahbazgarhi)
and Varṇu (Buner).4) Although it must remain at present

1) Shan-chien is never used for Šrinagara, as maintained by BAGCHI, Kir-pin and
Kashmir, p. 46.
2) See e. g. the Divyāvadāna, ed. Cowell & Neill, Cambridge, 1886, pp. 217, 218,
220, 221.
4) On Śivapura see J. N. BANNERJEA, Identification of some Ancient Indian place
names, in IHQ, XIV (1938), pp. 750-753.
unidentified, it seems clear to me that Indrapura and Sudarśana are one and the same town. As rightly pointed out by J. N. Bannerjea, “numerous instances can be quoted in which the same locality is described under various names which are synonymous in character”: Hastināpura - Gajasāhvaja - Nāgasāhvaja; Pāṇṭaliputra - Kusumapura - Kusumadhvaja - Puṣpapura.

Turning to the other data in the passage of the Pei-shih under consideration, we may say that the position of Chi-pin south-west of Bolor points to Gandhāra, while the description of the mountain-locked valley seems to apply rather to Kashmir. We have here the mixture of two traditions. The description of Kashmir applied to Chi-pin is due to the influence of Sung

1) J. N. Bannerjea, Identification etc., pp. 749-750, wants to identify the Indrapura of the Mahāmyūrī with Hsi-p’i-to-fa-la-tzu 霍敵多伐刺虛, a city placed by Hsüan-tsang 40 li to the south of Kāpiśi; the name was reconstructed by Watters (vol. I, p. 126) as Śvetatālaya, Śvetat being a name of Indra. He seeks a corroboration of this in the fact that the Zeus Ombrios, appearing on some coins of Eucratides (re-striking Appollodotus) as the city-god of Kāpiśi (Kavisiye nagara devata), would be nothing but a Greek representation of Indra; J. N. Bannerjea, Indian elements on coin and devices of foreign rulers of India, in IHQ, XIV (1938), pp. 295-299; independently of him, the same result was arrived at also by Foucher, La vieille route de l'Inde, pp. 264-265. Both arguments of Bannerjea are however untenable. Hsi-p’i-to-fa-la-tzu cannot be Śvetatālaya; this was pointed out long ago by Pelliott, in BEFEO, V (1905), p. 451. The name is in any case to be explained through Iranian and not through Sanskrit; this is the common feature of the various attempts by Marquart (Das Reich Zaul und der Gott Zūn vom 6.9. Jahrhundert, in Festschrift Sachau, Berlin, 1915, p. 266), Pelliott (in J. As., 1923, p. 162) and Foucher (La vieille route de l'Inde, pp. 365 and 371). Foucher is probably right in explaining it as *spēt-warsz, "white palace", and in looking upon it as an old Achaemenid foundation. The numismatical argument too does not hold water. The figure on the coin of Eucratides is not Zeus Ombrios at all; it is "a female deity, wears a mural crown, carries a palm but not a sceptre; in fact she is a city goddess"; Whitehead, Notes on the Indo-Greeks, II, in Numismatic Chronicle, 1947, pp. 28-31.

Thus Indrapura is not Hsi-p’i-to-fa-la-tzu; judging from the names among which it appears in the list of the Mahāmyūrī, it seems to have been located somewhere in the north-east of the Peshawar plain. Nothing more can be said at present.

2) Bannerjea, Identification of some Ancient Indian place names, p. 750.
Yün, who in his account had adopted the Buddhist equation Chi-pin = Kashmir.

In Southern China, Chi-pin remained more or less ignored during the whole period of the separation from the North. We have only two passing references in the history of the Liang dynasty (502-557). In the account of the Hua 滑 (Hephthalites) it is said that “their subordinate kingdoms are Po-ssū 波斯 (Persia), P'an-p'an 盤盤 (a mistake for Ho-p'an-t'o 喝盤陀, Tashkurgan), Chi-pin, Yen-ch’i 焉耆 (Karashahr) and other city-states of Central Asia.”¹ In the account of Ho-p'an-t'o it is said that it is “a small kingdom to the west of Kho-tan; to the west it borders with the Hua (Hephthalites), to the south with Chi-pin and to the north with Kashghar.”² A Chi-pin south of Tashkurgan seems to refer rather to Kashmir; this is no wonder, since the knowledge of Central Asia in Southern China was mainly transmitted by the Central Asian Buddhist monks in the monasteries of Nanking. But the whole is very vague and allows of no definite conclusion.

But such hazy ideas about a relatively well-known region could not last for long. The new information brought by Sung Yün upset many old ideas; a century later, his work was completed by the flood of light that followed the resuming of regular relations with the West under the T’ang dynasty. After this, to what country the name Chi-pin was to apply? Neither to Kashmir nor to Gandhāra or Kāpiṣi, because each of these countries was now known under its own correct name. But geographical terminology is most long-lived with the Chinese;

²) Liang-shu, ch. 54, f. 43 a; reproduced in Nan-shih, ch. 79, f. 16 a.
they could not discard the famous name, and sought therefore to connect it with other countries. The *Sui-shu*, ch. 83, f. 15 b,\(^1\) identifies Chi-pin of the Han times with the kingdom of Ts'ao 漢，which is Zābul, the modern Ghazni region.\(^2\) The *T'ang-shu*, ch. 221 a, f. 13 b, applies the name to Kāpiši. Later geographers identified it with Hindustan. And thus the spook Chi-pin haunted traditional Chinese geography down to its end in the 19th century.

The two traditions about Chi-pin had run for a long time on parallel and independent lines. Then the turning point came. The embassies of the early 6th century and the voyage of Sung Yün ousted the Chi-pin of the classical texts and installed Gandhāra and Kāpiši in its place; this completely upset the historical tradition. After his return home in 645, Hsüan-tsang introduced the name Chi-a-ssü-mi-lo, while a generation earlier Jinagupta had brought the name Chia-pi-shih,\(^3\) and still earlier Fa-hsien had introduced Chien-t'o-wei; these new terms ejected Chi-pin from the Buddhist tradition too. And then Chi-pin started on its ghost career.

Summing up the results of our enquiry: the name Chi-pin is originally unconnected with Kashmir; in the dynastic histories from the 1st century B. C. to the end of the 5th century A. D. it indicates the Indian territories of the great political power of the North-West, whatever it was at the time of writing (Śaka, Kushan, Hephthalites); in the Buddhist tradition, from the beginning (2nd century A. D.) till the times of Hsüan-tsang, Chi-pin is Kashmir.

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1) This text is reproduced in *Pei-shih*, ch. 97, f. 29 b, in spite of the fact that the work already contained a separate account of Chi-pin.
2) *MARQUART, Das Reich Zābul und der Gott Žun*, pp. 249-252.
3) *CHAVANNES, Jinagupta*, in TP, VI (1905), p. 337.
This conclusion raises two problems. One is the origin of the name Chi-pin. After what I have said above, I can only add that a solution is more likely to come from outside the Indian linguistic area; I would not be surprised if in future the original of the name Chi-pin/*Kappīna will show up in some of the languages (dead or living) of the Indo-Iranian borderland. Nothing more can be said for the present.

The other problem is: if for the Confucianist historians Chi-pin is not Kashmir, then under what names was Kashmir known to them? The reply is simple. Till the beginning of the 6th century, it was not known at all. The dynastic histories were concerned only with political relations; and till that time Kashmir had lived its own life, secluded into the circle of its mountains, with little political contacts with the outside. ¹) Three times it was brought into touch with the outer world. First by the Maurya domination; Aśoka is mentioned in the Rāja-taṇṭaraṇī among the kings of Kashmir. Then by the Kushan conquest, and this seems to have been known in a hazy and confused way even to the Chinese annalists, when they fashioned their first description of Chi-pin; in the first five centuries A.D. Chi-pin more or less included Kashmir too. Lastly, there were the wars with the Hephthalites, which took place in the first quarter of the 6th century and ended with the conquest of the country by the foreign invaders. And this time Kashmir was noticed by the annalists, and slowly this knowledge expanded and grew to the detailed accounts of the T'ang period.

¹) On the isolation of ancient Kashmir see the good remarks of Foucher, La vieille route de l'Inde, p. 216, n. 13.
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