

# प्रमाणकीर्तिः



WIENER STUDIEN ZUR TIBETOLOGIE UND BUDDHISMUSKUNDE 70.1



WIENER STUDIEN  
ZUR TIBETOLOGIE UND BUDDHISMUSKUNDE

GEGRÜNDET VON  
ERNST STEINKELLNER

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON  
BIRGIT KELLNER, HELMUT KRASSER,  
HELMUT TAUSCHER

HEFT 70.1

WIEN 2007

ARBEITSKREIS FÜR TIBETISCHE UND BUDDHISTISCHE STUDIEN  
UNIVERSITÄT WIEN

# PRAMĀṄAKĪRṬIḤ

PAPERS DEDICATED TO ERNST STEINKELLNER  
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 70<sup>th</sup> BIRTHDAY

EDITED BY  
BIRGIT KELLNER, HELMUT KRASSER, HORST LASIC,  
MICHAEL TORSTEN MUCH and HELMUT TAUSCHER

PART 1

WIEN 2007

ARBEITSKREIS FÜR TIBETISCHE UND BUDDHISTISCHE STUDIEN  
UNIVERSITÄT WIEN

Cover painting "die bunte hoffnung" (detail) by Arik Brauer, © by Arik Brauer

Copyright © 2007 by  
Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien

**ISBN: 978-3-902501-09-7 (Part 1)**

#### IMPRESSUM

Verleger: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien  
Universitätscampus AAKH, Spitalgasse 2-4, Hof 2, 1090 Wien

Herausgeber und für den Inhalt verantwortlich:  
Birgit Kellner, Helmut Krasser, Helmut Tauscher  
alle: Spitalgasse 2-4, Hof 2, 1090 Wien

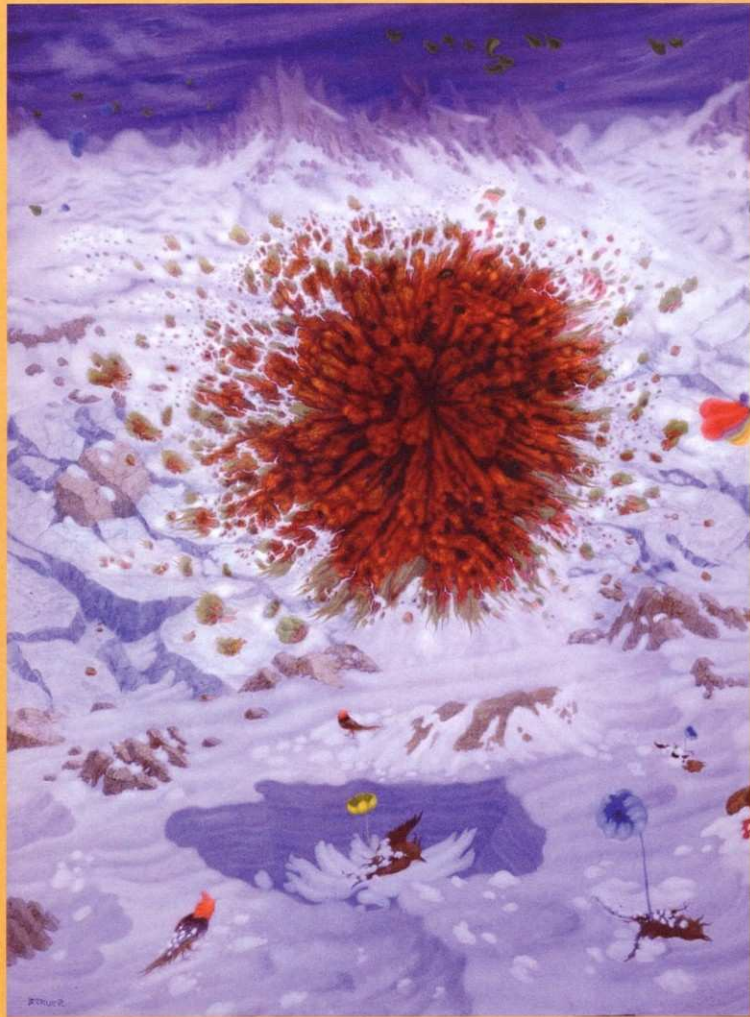
Druck: Ferdinand Berger und Söhne GmbH, Wiener Straße 80, 3580 Horn

# Contents

Ernst Steinkellner – Imprints and echoes . . . . .	xi
Publications of Ernst Steinkellner . . . . .	xxvii
Katia Buffetrille, “Pays caché” ou “Avenir radieux?” Le choix de Shes rab rgya mtsho. . . . .	1
Gudrun Bühnemann, <i>śivaliṅgas</i> and <i>caityas</i> in representations of the eight cremation grounds from Nepal. . . . .	23
Christoph Cüppers, Die Reise- und Zeltlagerordnung des Fünften Dalai Lama . . . . .	37
Elena De Rossi Filibeck, The fragmentary Tholing <i>bKa’ ’gyur</i> in the IsIAO Library . . . . .	53
Max Deeg, A little-noticed Buddhist travelogue – Senghui’s Xiyu-ji and its relation to the Luoyang-jjalan-ji. . . . .	63
Hildegard Diemberger, Padmasambhava’s unfinished job: the subjugation of local deities as described in the <i>dBa’ bzhed</i> in light of contemporary practices of spirit possession . . . . .	85
Georges Dreyfus, Is perception intentional? A preliminary exploration of intentionality in Dharmakīrti . . . . .	95
Franz-Karl Ehrhard, The biography of sMan-bsgom Chos-rje Kun-dga’ dpal- ldan (1735–1804) as a source for the Sino-Nepalese war. . . . .	115
Vincent Eltschinger, On 7 <sup>th</sup> and 8 <sup>th</sup> century Buddhist accounts of human action, practical rationality and soteriology . . . . .	135
Eli Franco, Prajñākaragupta on <i>pratītyasamutpāda</i> and reverse causation . . . . .	163
Toru Funayama, Kamalaśīla’s distinction between the two sub-schools of Yogācāra. A provisional survey. . . . .	187
Richard Gombrich, Popperian Vinaya: Conjecture and refutation in practice . . . . .	203
Michael Hahn, In defence of Haribhaṭṭa. . . . .	213
Paul Harrison, Notes on some West Tibetan manuscript folios in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art . . . . .	229
Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Der <i>Sattvārādhana</i> stava und das <i>Kṣāranadīsūtra</i> . . . . .	247
Guntram Hazod, The grave on the ‘cool plain’. On the identification of ‘Tibet’s first tomb’ in Nga-ra-thang of ’Phyong-po . . . . .	259

Harunaga Isaacson, First Yoga: A commentary on the <i>ādiyoga</i> section of Ratnākaraśānti's <i>Bhramahara</i> (Studies in Ratnākaraśānti's tantric works IV) . . . . .	285
Takashi Iwata, An analysis of examples for the interpretation of the word <i>iṣṭah</i> in Dharmakīrti's definition of the thesis. . . . .	315
David Jackson, Rong ston bKa' bcu pa – Notes on the title and travels of a great Tibetan scholastic . . . . .	345
Christian Jahoda, Archival exploration of Western Tibet or what has remained of Francke's and Shuttleworth's <i>Antiquities of Indian Tibet</i> , Vol. IV? . . . . .	361
Muni Śrī Jambūvijayaji, Dignāga's <i>Nyāyapraveśakaśūtra</i> . . . . .	395
Shoryu Katsura, Dharmakīrti's proof of the existence of other minds . . . . .	407
Deborah Klimburg-Salter, Tradition and innovation in Indo-Tibetan painting. Four preaching scenes from the life of the Buddha, Tabo mid 11 <sup>th</sup> century. . . . .	423
Taiken Kyuma, Marginalia on the subject of <i>sattvānumāna</i> . . . . .	469
Horst Lasic, Placing the Tabo <i>tshad ma</i> materials in the general development of <i>tshad ma</i> studies in Tibet. Part one: The study of the <i>Nyāyabindu</i> . . . . .	483
Christian Luczanits, Prior to Birth II – The Tuṣita episodes in Early Tibetan Buddhist literature and art . . . . .	497

# प्रमाणकीर्तिः



WIENER STUDIEN ZUR TIBETOLOGIE UND BUDDHISMUSKUNDE 70.2

WIENER STUDIEN  
ZUR TIBETOLOGIE UND BUDDHISMUSKUNDE

GEGRÜNDET VON  
ERNST STEINKELLNER

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON  
BIRGIT KELLNER, HELMUT KRASSER,  
HELMUT TAUSCHER

HEFT 70.2

WIEN 2007

ARBEITSKREIS FÜR TIBETISCHE UND BUDDHISTISCHE STUDIEN  
UNIVERSITÄT WIEN



# PRAMĀṄAKĪRṬIḤ

PAPERS DEDICATED TO ERNST STEINKELLNER  
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 70<sup>th</sup> BIRTHDAY

EDITED BY  
BIRGIT KELLNER, HELMUT KRASSER, HORST LASIC,  
MICHAEL TORSTEN MUCH and HELMUT TAUSCHER

PART 2

WIEN 2007

ARBEITSKREIS FÜR TIBETISCHE UND BUDDHISTISCHE STUDIEN  
UNIVERSITÄT WIEN

Cover painting "die bunte hoffnung" (detail) by Arik Brauer, © by Arik Brauer

Copyright © 2007 by  
Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien

**ISBN: 978-3-902501-09-7 (Part 2)**

#### IMPRESSUM

Verleger: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien  
Universitätscampus AAKH, Spitalgasse 2-4, Hof 2, 1090 Wien

Herausgeber und für den Inhalt verantwortlich:  
Birgit Kellner, Helmut Krasser, Helmut Tauscher  
alle: Spitalgasse 2-4, Hof 2, 1090 Wien

Druck: Ferdinand Berger und Söhne GmbH, Wiener Straße 80, 3580 Horn

## Contents

Klaus-Dieter Mathes, Can <i>sūtra mahāmudrā</i> be justified on the basis of Maitrīpa's Apratiṣṭhānavāda? . . . . .	545
Claus Oetke, About the assessment of views on a self in the Indian philosophical tradition . . . . .	567
Patrick Olivelle, The term <i>vikrama</i> in the vocabulary of Aśvaghoṣa . . . . .	587
Parimal G. Patil, Dharmakīrti's white lie – Philosophy, pedagogy, and truth in late Indian Buddhism . . . . .	597
Ole Holten Pind, Nāgārjunian Divertimento – A close reading of <i>Mūla-madhyamaka-kārikā</i> VII 30cd and VIII 7cd . . . . .	621
Karin Preisendanz, The initiation of the medical student in early classical Āyurveda: Caraka's treatment in context . . . . .	629
Ernst Prets, Implications, derivations and consequences: <i>prasaṅga</i> in the early Nyāya tradition . . . . .	669
Charles Ramble, The Aya: Fragments of an unknown Tibetan priesthood . . . . .	683
Ludo Rocher, Commentators at work: Inheritance by brothers in Hindu law . . . . .	721
Rosane Rocher, Henry Thomas Colebrooke and the marginalization of Indian pandits . . . . .	735
Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, Immortality extolled with reason: Philosophy and politics in Nāgārjuna . . . . .	757
Lambert Schmithausen, Problems with the Golden Rule in Buddhist texts . . . . .	795
Walter Slaje, Werke und Wissen: Die Quellensammlung (AD 1680) des Kaschmirers Ānanda zum Beweis der Superiorität der <i>karmajñāna-samuccaya</i> -Doktrin . . . . .	825
Per Sørensen, Restless relic – The Ārya Lokeśvara icon in Tibet: Symbol of power, legitimacy and pawn for patronage . . . . .	857
Tom J.F. Tillemans, On <i>bdag</i> , <i>gzhan</i> and the supposed active-passive neutrality of Tibetan verbs . . . . .	887
Toru Tomabechi, The extraction of <i>mantra</i> ( <i>mantroddhāra</i> ) in the <i>Sarva-buddhasamāyogatantra</i> . . . . .	903
Raffaele Torella, Studies on Utpaladeva's <i>Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vivṛti</i> . Part IV: Light of the subject, light of the object . . . . .	925
Kurt Tropper, The Buddha-vita in the <i>skor lam chen mo</i> at Zha lu monastery . . . . .	941

Helga Uebach and Jampa L. Panglung, A silver portrait of the 6 <sup>th</sup> Ṣwa-dmar Karma-pa (1584–1630) . . . . .	975
Käthe Uray-Kóhalmi, Geser/Kesar und seine Gefährtinnen . . . . .	989
Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp, *Nāgabodhi/Nāgabuddhi: Notes on the <i>Guhya-samāja</i> Literature . . . . .	1001
Roberto Vitali, The White dPyal: Early evidence (from the 7 <sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of <i>bstan pa phyi dar</i> ) . . . . .	1023
Chizuko Yoshimizu, Causal efficacy and spatiotemporal restriction: An analytical study of the Sautrāntika philosophy . . . . .	1049
Kiyotaka Yoshimizu, Reconsidering the fragment of the <i>Bṛhaṭṭīkā</i> on inseparable connection ( <i>avinābhāva</i> ) . . . . .	1079

# A little-noticed Buddhist travelogue – Senghui’s Xiyu-ji and its relation to the Luoyang-jialan-ji

Max Deeg, Cardiff

There is no doubt among scholars of Buddhism that the travelogues of Chinese monks are of high – although sometimes positivistically misjudged – value for the study of the history of Indian and Central Asian Buddhism. The earliest preserved record of such a “pilgrim” – I will not enter into a discussion on the question if this term is in place in this context – is the one written by Faxian 法顯 (Faxian-gaoseng-zhuan 法顯高僧傳 / Foguo-ji 佛國記), but the most known and widely read and used, be it only in old English translations, is the Xiyu-ji 西域記 by Xuanzang 玄奘.<sup>1</sup>

Chronologically standing between these two important accounts is the description of a journey to Northwest India by the imperial envoy Song Yun 宋雲 during the time of the reign of the dowager (*taihou* 太后) Hu 胡 of the Northern Wei-dynasty 北魏 (386–534).<sup>2</sup> This text, incorporated in Luoyang-jialan-ji (LJJ; or: Luoyang-qielan-ji) 洛陽伽藍記, the “Records of the (Buddhist) monasteries (*saṅghārāma*) in Luoyang” written and compiled by Yang Xuanzhi 楊銜之,<sup>3</sup> has attracted the attention of Western scholars from the nineteenth century onwards.<sup>4</sup> The first translation into a Western language was already made in the year 1833 by one of the first German sinologists, Karl-Eugen Neu-

---

<sup>1</sup> On the Faxian-gaoseng-zhuan and the Buddhist pilgrim records in general see Deeg (2005).

<sup>2</sup> On Hu see for example Jenner (1981), 66ff.

<sup>3</sup> In the Guang-hongming-ji his surname is first given as 楊 (T.2103.124c.7) but also as 陽 (T.2103.128b.15); on the various forms of the name see Jenner (1981), 12f., and Wang (1984), xvi.f.

<sup>4</sup> See the overview in Wang (1984), xv.f.; Wang’s introductory phrase – “the travel account of the pilgrims Sung Yün and Hui-sheng” –, although he is aware of the fact that the sources speak of two accounts: see 246, note 212 – is completely misleading as it implies that both individuals were the authors of one and the same report.

mann,<sup>5</sup> and it was followed by the meticulous work of Édouard Chavannes.<sup>6</sup> In the eighties of the last century two translations into English by Jenner<sup>7</sup> and Wang<sup>8</sup> were published. Another directly connected text has fallen into almost complete obliviance through the “popularity” of what is said to be Song Yun’s text – or what is, undoubtedly at least a defty quantity of quotations from it – in the LJJ, and one reason for the small notice which was taken certainly consists of its own shortness and – again compared with the LJJ – and its redundancy. This text is the *Beiwei-seng-Huisheng-shi-Xiyu-ji* 北魏僧惠生使西域記, the “Record on the Western Regions by the envoy and monk Huisheng of the Northern Wei(-capital)” (T.2086), assumingly composed by of one of Song Yun’s monastic companions, Huisheng 惠生.<sup>9</sup>

The text has been incorporated into the modern Taishō-edition of the Chinese canon, but its origin and the text history are not quite clear.<sup>10</sup> The title implies that the author was Huisheng himself, although the length of the text has it rather look like an excerpt<sup>11</sup> from an originally longer account, which then indeed could have been or at least have been based on Huisheng’s own report. The text shows some kind of hybridity insofar as it contains some information which is not found in other travelogues, including the compilation in the LJJ; on the other hand it clearly shares pieces of information and name forms with these other texts. Japanese scholars have expressed the view that this text is of no value being just an excerpt from the LJJ,<sup>12</sup> but the differences and some other points discussed here – combined with the fact that we do not know which parts of the LJJ-report and which pieces of information go back to Song Yun – raise some doubts about the correctness of this view. An entry in the section *Jingji-zhi* 經籍志 of the *Suishu* 隋書<sup>13</sup> leaves us without any doubt that

---

<sup>5</sup> Neumann (1833).

<sup>6</sup> Chavannes (1903).

<sup>7</sup> Jenner (1981). I was, unfortunately, not able to consult Jenner’s more detailed work on Song Yun which he mentions in his Preface (p.v).

<sup>8</sup> Wang (1984).

<sup>9</sup> In some sources also given in the variant Huisheng 慧生.

<sup>10</sup> I did not find an entry in the comprehensive Japanese encyclopedia on Chinese Buddhist literature edited by Ōno (1965–1978).

<sup>11</sup> It may well be that the text which has survived is recurring to an abridged version as mentioned in the *Beishi* (see below, note 22).

<sup>12</sup> See Iriya (1994), 113b., note 89, who refers to Nagasawa (1971) and Uchida (1961).

<sup>13</sup> (Electronic edition ASCC, 985) 慧生行傳, 一卷。 “Travel record by Huisheng in one fascicle.” For a completely different interpretation of this entry see Iriya, *ibid.*

such a work by Huisheng still existed in the time when this dynastic history was compiled but also shows that it had disappeared afterwards as there is, beside the text discussed here, no more on the historical record about it.

From the final passage in the LJJ (see below) it becomes obvious that the text which is commonly ascribed to Song Yun was a compilation from at least three sources he had at hand: Huisheng's, Song Yun's and another monastic traveller's, Daorong's 道榮<sup>14</sup> reports.<sup>15</sup> We only have one other reference to Daorong's text giving us the information that he traveled later than Song Yun and Huisheng,<sup>16</sup> but is reasonable to assume that there had been a text written by Song Yun: the Jiu-tangshu 舊唐書 in its section Jingji-zhi 經籍志 (Dili-lei 地理類)<sup>17</sup> and the Xin-tangshu 新唐書 in the section Yiwen-zhi 藝文志<sup>18</sup> report on such an account. For a critical evaluation of the historical evidence of both texts, Huisheng's and Song Yun's, one should, however, be aware of the later date and a certain categorical uncertainty of the historiographers of the Tang-

---

<sup>14</sup> Chavannes (1903) has adopted the reading Daoyao 道藥. This position was supported by Pelliot (ibid., 441, *Note additionelle*), who, however, at the same time called the textual situation an “inextricable confusion,” and the editions of the LJJ are indeed completely inconsistent on this point. Nagasawa (1971) is completely confusing when he uses Daoyao in his translations (193 passim), does not decide on one version in the relevant note (202, note 48), but uses Daorong in his general discussion of the LJJ (261 passim). Iriya, 110b., note 60, makes a point for the alternative reading Daoyao of the name, but this name is only attested in the relatively late sources Shijia-fangzhi 釋迦方志 (see note 16) and Xu-gaoseng-zhuan 續高僧傳. Furthermore, it is difficult to imagine, in a period where most Chinese monks' names (*faming* 法名) were modeled after an underlying Indian form, an Indic name for Daoyao (\*Bodhibhaiṣajya?), while Daorong could, after all, be an equivalent to Bodhivṛddhi (?).

<sup>15</sup> See also the discussion of this passage by Nagasawa (1971), 261f. and 265f.

<sup>16</sup> T.2088.969c.4f. 後魏太武末年。沙門道藥從疎勒道入經懸度到僧伽施國。及返還尋故道。著傳一卷。 (“In the last years of (the reign of) Taiwu (424–451) the *śramaṇa* Daoyao [read: Daorong, M.D.] entered the hanging passages [i.e.: passages in the Indus valley] (coming) from Sule (Kašgar) and (finally) arrived at Sāṃkāśya and returned (to China) by following his former way to the other direction; he composed a (travel) account of one fascicle.”)

<sup>17</sup> (Electronic edition ASCC, 2016) 魏國已西十一國事，一卷，宋雲撰。 (“‘Affairs of forty-one kingdoms to the west of the kingdom of the Wei,’ one fascicle, compiled by Song Yun.”)

<sup>18</sup> (1505) 宋雲魏國以西十一國事，一卷。 (“Song Yun's ‘Affairs of eleven kingdoms to the west of the kingdom of the Wei, one fascicle.’”) Iriya (1994), 113b., note 90., is very misleading when he talks of a Song-Yun-jiaji 宋雲家記 (Jap. Sōun-kaki), “Personal Report by Song Yun.”

histories in the case of Song Yun: a. did it belong to the Geographical Works or to the category Literature? b. the Old History only speaks of a work compiled by Song Yun, while the New History takes it already for granted that Song Yun was the author of the work; c. the Old History speaks of forty-one kingdoms while the New History only gives eleven.

But what, one could and should ask, was the exact relation between the travel reports by Song Yun, Huisheng and Daorong and to what extent were these individually used for and incorporated in the LJJ?<sup>19</sup>

As we do not have any fragments of Song Yun's and Daorong's travel reports outside of the LJJ and only the Record of Huisheng in the certainly abridged form as it is presented in the Taishō-canon (see the text below) it seems difficult to decide to what extent Yang really used which source. The quotations from Daorong's text are easily traceable as Yang introduces them by a formula. How far Yang's compilation is based on Song Yun's report is a difficult matter, even if most modern scholars directly call this portion of the LJJ Song Yun's travelogue.<sup>20</sup>

At the very end of his compiled description of the Western Regions Yang Xuanzhi makes an interesting statement which, in my opinion, gives a clue to the question addressed here. He says:

Huisheng stayed in Udyāna for two years – the customs of the Western barbarians are generally the same and have small differences, and it is impossible to record them all<sup>21</sup> – until the beginning of the second year of the (era) Zhengyuan (when) he returned to the imperial capital. There are a lot of matters exposed in the travelogue of Huisheng which are not sufficiently recorded; therefore (Yang) Xuanzhi has

---

<sup>19</sup> Already Chavannes (1903), 383f., has very well formulated the underlying problem: “... Comme on le voit, la relation telle que nous l’avons maintenant est formée de la réunion de trois éléments; l’apport de Tao-yo, religieux qui voyage avers le milieu du V<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère, se laisse assez aisément distinguer, car les citations tirées de son livres sont toujours mises expressément sous son nom; mais on ne saurait faire un départ aussi net entre les pages qui sont de Houei-cheng et celles qui sont dues à Song Yun; la juxtaposition parfois maladroite de ces deux textes explique les incohérences que nous aurons l’occasion de signaler dans certains passages.”

<sup>20</sup> An exception is, e.g., Zhou (1976), who refers to both travelers without distinguishing their individual input into the LJJ.

<sup>21</sup> Jenner (1981), 271, translates this insertion as follows: “... but a detailed account of the various customs of the Western Hu cannot be given here.”



written (this) down, based on the record of Daorong and the personal report of Song Yun, in order to complete the shortcomings of the text (of Huisheng).<sup>22</sup>

Here Yang himself clearly states that he “completed” his own compilation by using Song Yun’s and Daorong’s reports. The implication – and this is the main hypothesis of this contribution – is that Yang’s main source was Huisheng’s travelogue and that the text preserved and translated here is an abridged version of the main bulk of what has been labeled Song Yun’s record in the LJJ since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The fact that Yang does not distinguish the parts taken from Song Yun’s report – as he does in the case of Daorong – may suggest that it was mainly running parallel with Huisheng’s.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> 惠生在烏場國二年西胡風俗大同小異，不能具錄至正元二年二月始還天闕。銜之按惠生行記，事多不盡錄。今依道榮傳，宋雲家記，故並載之，以備缺文。 This passage has been clearly put into context by Chavannes (1903), 383, and Nagasawa (1971), 261f., but its significance has slipped the attention of most scholars dealing with the LJJ. A passage from the Beishi 北史 (composed 644), which is taken from the Weishu, completed 554, (Electronic edition ASCC, 2279), quoted by Chavannes (1903), 380, is probably to be interpreted in this way (Electronic edition ASCC, 3231f., see also 2279): 初，熙平中，明宗 [2279: 肅宗] 遣騰伏子 [2279: 王伏子] 統宋雲，沙門法力等使西域，訪求佛經，時有沙門慧生者，亦與俱行，正光中，還。慧生所經諸國，不能知其本末及山川里數，蓋舉其略云。 (“Earlier in the (era) Xiping (516–517) (emperor) Mingzong (Suzong) dispatched Teng Fuzi (Wang Fuzi) who supervised the envoys Song Yun, the *śramaṇa* Fali and others to the Western Regions to look for Buddhist sūtras. At that time there was the *śramaṇa* Huisheng who also went with them (and they) returned (during the era) Zhengguang (520–524). Huisheng could not get hold of the order, the geographical and the number of li (in terms of distance) of the kingdoms through which he had traveled; therefore one only quotes his report in an abridged (version).”) If Weishu and Beishi reflect authentic information then Song Yun was not the leading envoy but the otherwise unknown Teng Fuzi or rather Wang Fuzi (see Weishu), although no source seems to assume that this person did take part of the actual journey. As far as I can see in the more recent scholarly literature only Nagasawa (1971), after an emendation of Wang Fuzi (tong) 王伏子(統) to *zhuyi-zitong* 主衣子統, took this to be a title (mentioned in the Suishu) of Song Yun himself. Beside the facts that this is a heavy emendation does not take into account the repetition and variation of Wang Fuzi / Teng Fuzi in the Weishu and the Beishi the existing title *zhuyi* 主衣 belongs to the Sui-period and, as an imperial title – see Hucker (1985), 181a., 1388, s.v. *chū-ī* – is too high for Song Yun at the time of his embassy.

<sup>23</sup> Nagasawa (1971), 265ff., by means of historical-geographical reconstruction of the travel route tries to show that the Song Yun and Huisheng followed different routes from Bohe 鉢和 (Wakhan) to Wuchang 烏菴 / Udyāna and met there again in order to continue their travel together. Based on such a reconstruction he argues that the part of the LJJ record between Bohe and Wuchang is in fact Huisheng’s. This is, however, not very convincing as Yang Xuanzhi clearly states (see above) that he based his text on

But a look at the beginning of the Song Yun passage in the LJJ and a comparison with Huisheng's first phrases also raises doubts on claiming Song Yun as the main contributor to Yang's compilation. The crucial part by which what followed has been identified as Song Yun's text is the introductory sentence through which Yang Xuanzhi enters the main part of his fifth chapter, the travelogue; he does this somewhat awkwardly by mentioning Song Yun's house in the capital and by thus insisting on Song Yun's predominant role as the imperial envoy, although later on he puts Huisheng in the first place:

In the village of Wenyi there was the house of Song Yun, a (man) from Dunhuang. (Song) Yun and Huisheng both were sent to the Western Regions. In the winter, the eleventh month of the first year of the (era) Shengui (518) of the Wei(-dynasty) the Grand Dowager dispatched the bhikṣu Huisheng from the Chongli-monastery, together with the Song Yun from Dunhuang to the Western Regions in order to collect sūtras, ...<sup>24</sup>

If we compare the beginning of both texts there are striking differences. While Huisheng's account starts quite smoothly and naturally, Yang's explicitly and a little bit artificially states that both Song Yun and Huisheng were envoys, a statement which is superfluous in the light of the almost literally repeated sentence from Huisheng's report.<sup>25</sup> One gets the impression that Yang wanted to introduce the story of the embassy by establishing Song Yun as the main actor and by playing down the role of Huisheng's report as a source for his own text.<sup>26</sup> The same tendency may be at work in the Weishu 魏書 (compiled 551–

---

Huisheng's record and used Song Yun's and Daorong's as sources to fill up shortcomings and gaps in Huisheng's travelogue.

<sup>24</sup> LJJ, 1018b.21ff. 於是京邑翕然傳之聞義里。有燉煌人宋雲宅。雲與惠生俱使西域也。神龜元年十一月冬。太后遣崇立寺比丘惠生。向西域取經。

<sup>25</sup> 魏神龜元年十一月冬，太后遣崇立寺比丘惠生與敦煌人宋雲向西域取經。

<sup>26</sup> This obviously became the standard viewpoint after the LJJ had been written. Daoxuan, in his *Shijia-fangzhi* 釋迦方志, "Memories of the regions of (the Buddha) Śākya(muni)," T.2088.969c.10ff. 後魏神龜元年。燉煌人宋雲及沙門道生等。從赤嶺山傍鐵橋。至乾陀衛國雀離浮圖所。及返尋於本路。 ("In the first year of the (era) Shengui of the Later Wei(-dynasty) Song Yun from Dunhuang, the *śramaṇa* Daosheng and others from the Red Mountain range, passed along the 'Iron Bridge' and arrived in Gandhāvātī [i.e.: Gandhāra] where the Queli stūpa was; and they / he returned the same way.") Despite the fact that Song Yun is mentioned first here I would argue from the occurrence of the 'Iron Bridge' / Tieqiao 鐵橋 – referring to the suspension bridges, Huisheng's "iron chains," used in the North-Indian mountain areas of the Pamir and Karakorum (see T.2087.886a.7ff., T.2053.231a.7, T.2060.448c.26ff., T.2088.969a.22) – and the name Gandhāvātī / Gantuowei 乾陀衛 for the region of Gandhāra, which both are not found in the LJJ, that Daoxuan still had a version of Huisheng's record in his

554) in the textual “contradiction” of two entries, giving different dates and functions of Song Yun’s and of Huisheng’s travel activities as imperial envoys (Shengui 神龜 1).<sup>27</sup> It is worth noting that in both cases it is not the dowager Hu / Ling Taihou 靈太后 who sent them but her predecessor.

In general there seems to be a main difference between the LJJ and Huisheng’s report: while the former gives pure distances in time or in space, Huisheng with his indication of concrete dates is much more a travel diary. This is in complete accord with the remark in the Beishi (see above, note 18) where it is emphasized that Huisheng did not record specific details which were important for a classical historiographer. This very fact may also suggest some assumptions on the original form of Song Yun’s record which Yang Xuanzhi adopted; Song Yun, as an official of the Wei-court, probably followed the way of ethno-geographical description of the “Western Regions” which can be found in standard Chinese historiography since its first blueprint, Sima Qian’s 司馬遷 Shiji 史記: it gives distances and directions and avoids a concrete time-

---

hand. The wrong writing of Huisheng’s name as Daosheng 道生 has probably slipped into the text through a mistake: even the late historiography Shishi-jigu-lue 釋氏稽古略 by Juegan 覺岸 (1266–1355) gives the name correctly (T.2037.798a.6), while in the Fofa-jintang-bian 佛法金湯編, Z.1628.391c.8, the form Huisheng 慧生 is given.

<sup>27</sup> Weishu 102, Xiyu-yeda-zhuan 西域獻嘩傳: 熙平中, 肅宗遣王伏子宋雲沙門法力等使西域, 謗求佛經。時有沙門慧生者, 亦與俱行求法, 正光中還。 (“(In the era) Xiping (516–518) (emperor) Suzong sent the Song Yun (and) the *śramaṇa* Fali and others to the Western Regions in order to search for Buddhist texts. At that time the *śramaṇa* Huisheng also went with (them) to search for the dharma and came back during the era Zhengguang (520–525).”); Weishu 114, Shilao-zhi 釋老志: 熙平元年, 詔遣沙門惠生使西域採諸經律, 正光三年冬還京師。 (“In the first year (of the era) Xiping (516) the *śramaṇa* Huisheng was sent to the Western Regions to collect sūtras and vinaya(-texts), and in the winter of the third year (of the era) Zhengguang (523/24) he returned to the capital.”); see Zhou (1976), 182f. The chronology seems to be completely confused in the Fozu-tongji 佛祖統記, T.2035.355c.15ff.: 正光二年: 勅宋雲沙門法力等往西天求經。四年: 宋雲等使西竺諸國還, 得佛經一百七十部。 (“In the second year (of the era) Zhengguang (521) Song Yun, the *śramaṇa* Fali and others were dispatched to Western India to search Buddhist texts. In the fourth year (524) Song Yun and the other envoys came back from the kingdoms of Western India and had obtained 170 Buddhist texts.”) See also 464c.8f. 北魏孝明遣使者宋雲沙門法力往西天, 得梵經百七十部還。 (“Xiao Ming of the Northern Wei sent the envoy Song Yun and the *śramaṇa* Fali to Western India; they obtained 170 Buddhist Sanskrit (*fan*) texts and returned.”) I am, of course, aware that my translation of *fanjing* 梵經 as “Sanskrit texts” is at best hypothetical. On a list of different dates for departure and return of the embassy see Wang (1984), 215 and 217, note 42.

setting,<sup>28</sup> and it is interested in describing the direct encounter of the envoy with the rulers of the regions visited.

Daorong's report, on the other hand, judged from the quotations in the LJJ, seemed to have been more elaborate in giving accounts of the legends connected with the sacred places in the Indian Northwest, in Gandhāra and Swāt (Udyāna).

In order to validate Song Yun's contributions to Yang's compilation it seems worthwhile to remember that Song Yun had been a Wei-official. Unfortunately we do not have any official piece of information about him except from what we learn from the LJJ.<sup>29</sup> In later Buddhist historiographic literature Song Yun is known as the "envoy of the Wei" (*Wei-shi* 魏使) and an episode concerning the notorious Indian Chan-patriarch Bodhidharma / Putidamo 菩提達摩 has become connected with him:<sup>30</sup> in the Congling-moutains Song Yun met the patriarch who held a pair of shoes in his hands; after Song Yun had returned to the capital and reported his encounter Bodhidharma's grave was opened and only a pair of shoes were found inside.<sup>31</sup> The motivation for connecting the Chinese envoy and the Chan patriarch in connection with each other is, in my opinion, related to the fact that Bodhidharma was considered to have lived in the time in which Song Yun had traveled and to a mysterious passage in the LJJ – which is also found in Huisheng's report and, according to my

---

<sup>28</sup> See Hulsewé, Loewe (1979), 3ff. The historiographies usually give the position of a certain place by its distance from the capital, while the travelogues measure successively. The way of describing the Barbarian regions has remained not only a purely secular historiographical pattern; it was generally accepted in the Buddhist travel reports, starting with Faxian – only the dates of the start of the journey and the arrival back in China are given beside sometimes the time-spans of the sojourn at a certain place – and having as its most eminent exponent Xuanzang.

<sup>29</sup> Jenner (1981), 15: "What lifts Yang from obscurity is his book, and his book alone."

<sup>30</sup> According to the sources this seemed to have happened before the Song period: see e.g. in Shenxiu's 神秀 biography in Zanning's 贊寧 (919–1001) *Song-gaoseng-zhuan* 宋高僧傳, T.2061.756a.7f.; see also Foguo-huanwu-chanshi-biyan-lu 佛果圓悟禪師碧巖錄 by Chongxian 重顯 (980–1052), T.2003.140c.25f. and 183c.5f., Lidai-fabao-ji 歷代法寶記, T.2075.181a.8ff., and others. The legend itself was probably shaped after and as a reaction and counter-narrative to the legend of the Daoist legend of Laozi going to the west and converting the barbarians, on which see Deeg (2003).

<sup>31</sup> See Chavannes (1903), 381f. As Chavannes points out, there are some inconsistencies in the early reports: the Fozu-tongji 佛祖統記 gives the date 535 for this episode which is not compatible with the actual date of emperor Ming (528) mentioned in the text and not at all with the year of Song Yun's return to the capital in 522.

thesis is owed rather to this report than to Song Yun's – where a notice on the relic of a shoe of a *pratyekabuddha* is given. The Chan historiographers at some point obviously had identified these relics as belonging to Bodhidharma.<sup>32</sup>

This passage, however, does not prove any predominance as a source for the LJJ on the side of Song Yun as it is also found in Huisheng's record; it is rather taken from there than from Song Yun's text. The fact, however, that Yang chose to change Huisheng's introductory lines (see above) gives the impression that it had been Song Yun who was the main acting person and that, if this embassy should have met Bodhidharma on his way back to the Western Regions, it was him who described this meeting.

Like on Song Yun and Huisheng – not to speak of Daorong – not much is known about the author of the LJJ, Yang Xuanzhi. He was a fujun-fusima 撫軍府司馬, a relatively high-ranked officer.<sup>33</sup> As the travels of the Chinese embassy took place from 518 to probably 520 and Yang has been at the court in the years of the era Yong'an 永安 (528–530) of the Northern Wei.<sup>34</sup> The time distance from Yang's involvement at the court to the actually described travel events was minimal and Yang, as a director of the Palace Library (*mishu-jian* 祕書監<sup>35</sup>), certainly had access to official documents. The LJJ was presumably written between 547 and 549 / 550.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> In the 10<sup>th</sup> century this legend was still in concurrence with the report about Bodhidharma's grave in China (see the passage in T.2003 quoted above in note 30). I would suggest that in later times there was information about shoe relics of Bodhidharma or even the relics themselves were displayed, and that this caused such an identification. It is interesting that the Xianjue-zongsheng 先覺宗乘, Z.1620.203b.12ff., mentions a direct encounter between Yang and Bodhidharma in which Yang expresses his admiration about the patriarch's enigmatic answer to his question. One might suggest that this is a hint to Yang's involvement in creating the legend.

<sup>33</sup> A prefectural commander.

<sup>34</sup> See Jenner (1981), 14.

<sup>35</sup> Hucker (1985), 376a.f.

<sup>36</sup> Jenner (1981), 15. There might be some doubt on this late date of composition as, e.g., Daorong is called the *śramaṇa* of the Great Wei (see below) which would rather indicate a date before the fall of the dynasty, i.e. 534. This could also be substantiated by the fact that references to Yang Xuanzhi and his text in other texts are made under the title Qi-cheng-taishou 期城太守, "governor of the city of Qi," a position which he should have held before he was appointed director of the imperial library.

To judge Song Yun's function in the LJJ one must be aware of Yang's anti-Buddhist position,<sup>37</sup> even if it is disputed how strong it was. In the *Guang-hongming-ji* 廣弘明記 by Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) Yang is quoted with a statement of strong opposition against the wealth of Buddhist monasteries and the Buddhist community.<sup>38</sup> This, in my opinion, does explain why Yang does not quote Huisheng as his main source of information but writes his compilation as if it was based on Song Yun's report. Even if we admit that Yang's opposition to Buddhism was not as strong as Daoxuan tries to make us believe, he did not want to present a record on an official embassy to the Western Regions which was mainly, if not completely, dependent on a Buddhist source.

Although Yang Xuanzhi could insert bits and pieces of the travelogue written by the rather unknown Daorong he had to rely on Huisheng's text, but he could and would not admit it expressly. Daorong's description seems to have been on a restricted area: according to the quotations found in the LJJ<sup>39</sup> it was a rather detailed piece of work on the Kaniṣka-stūpa (Queli-stūpa) and on the cave of the Buddha's shadow in Nagarahāra.<sup>40</sup> His relation to Song Yun and Huisheng and their embassy is completely unclear; he seems to have been an independent traveler from the same period as he is just called a "*shamen* of the Great Wei" (Dawei-shamen 大魏沙門, see below) and not an "envoy" (*shi* 使) like Huisheng. This can be concluded from the first passage – the only one in which he does not quote directly from the text<sup>41</sup> – in which Yang Xuanzhi mentions Daorong:

At some distance from the mountain range there is the Pojian-monastery which had been built by yakṣas. There are eighty monks who say that arhats and yakṣas often come to venerate (the place), sprinkle water, sweep (the place) and collect fire-

---

<sup>37</sup> On this position see above.

<sup>38</sup> T.2103.128b.15-29; for an English translation and a discussion of the passage see Jenner (1981), 8ff.

<sup>39</sup> From the fact that Yang gives quite a number of short passages with mainly differing numbers in the context of these two larger text portions and is not cited elsewhere which he quotes I would conclude that Daorong's report did not cover much more than these two passages.

<sup>40</sup> This motive will be dealt with in detail in Deeg (forthcoming).

<sup>41</sup> This may indicate that the description in Daorong's text was more extensive but did not directly fit into Yang's scheme because it was a place which Yang did not want to skip but on which information from the other two sources were not available.

wood.<sup>42</sup> Normal bhikṣus do not manage to stay in the monastery. The *śramaṇa* of the Great Wei went there, venerated and went away.<sup>43</sup>

This passage is completely disconnected with the preceding and following passages of the LJJ. It is not clear where this Pojian-monastery was situated and to what Buddhist legend it referred to.<sup>44</sup> A solution of this problem would involve the solution of the meaning of the name Pojian 婆姦<sup>45</sup> / EMC \**ba-kɛ:n* which is not clear at all: is it a transliteration of an Indian name – the frequent use of *po* as a transcriptional element in Buddhist name would support such a suggestion – or a semantic rendering, literally meaning “adultery of old women”? What is clear is that the description of this place was not included into Huisheng’s or Song Yun’s descriptions.

Huisheng’s report, in the form in which it is preserved in the Buddhist canon, is certainly abridged, as is clearly shown by the mutilated account of events and of the various Buddhist legends. It still reflects, however, the original composition by certain formal features as the well preserved four-syllable rhythm of its prose.

Considering all the points I have discussed, I would suggest that a lot of the description of the journey to the Western Regions in the LJJ mainly goes back to Huisheng’s original travelogue, and that this bulk of the 5<sup>th</sup> chapter of the LJJ, usually called the “Travelogue of Song Yun,” had then been completed with pieces of information from Song Yun’s report and by two longer citations from Daorong’s work which were not extent or not detailed enough in Huisheng’s original report. Unfortunately Huisheng’s complete report is no longer extant so that we cannot say anything about its real size and content. It seems, however, to be high time to question the general notion that the fifth chapter of the LJJ is representing more or less Song Yun’s account – whatever this may have looked like.

---

<sup>42</sup> Jenner (1981), 265, translates “... and it was said that arhats and yakṣas came to feed them, ...” *Gongyang* 供養, however, does not mean primarily “feed” but refers, in a Buddhist context at least, to the offering of flowers, incense and, in certain cases, also of food.

<sup>43</sup> 1020c.8 隔山嶺有婆姦寺, 夜叉所造。僧徒八十人。云羅漢夜叉常來供養, 灑掃取薪。凡俗比丘不得在寺。大魏沙門道榮至此, 禮拜而去。 The concrete name and the legend connected to this place are hidden in mystery as no other source seems to refer to it.

<sup>44</sup> It should be noted that already Faxian mentions similar “anonymymous,” probably local aitiological legends for North India: see Deeg (2005), 534, and the comments on pp. 283 and 287.

<sup>45</sup> Iriya, 100b, reads 姦 instead of 姦.

**Translation:**

Record of the Western Regions by the Monk and Envoy Huisheng of the Northern Wei(-Dynasty)

In the winter, in the eleventh month of the first year of the (era) Shengui (518) of the Wei(-dynasty), the Grand Dowager dispatched the *bhikṣu* Huisheng from the Chongli-monastery,<sup>46</sup> together with the Song Yun from Dunhuang to the Western Regions in order to collect *sūtras*, altogether one hundred and seventy, all of them sacred texts of the Mahāyāna. After having departed from the capital they traveled westwards for forty days and came to the ‘Red Mountain Range’<sup>47</sup> which is the western border of the kingdom (of the Wei). In these mountains there is no vegetation, (but) birds and mice live in the same holes.<sup>48</sup> Then they went further to the west for twenty days and came to the kingdom of Tuyuhun.<sup>49</sup> After they had traveled further to the west, after three thousand five hundred *li* they came to the city of Shanshan.<sup>50</sup> One thousand six hundred *li* fur-

---

<sup>46</sup> This monastery is only mentioned in Huisheng’s report and in the LJJ (1018b.24) – see also Zhou (1976), 182 –, and it only can be assumed that it was located in Luoyang. Wang (1984), 217, note 43, emends with the late Taiping-yulan 太平御覽 to Chongling-si 崇靈寺, which is not certain at all, not least because this name is also not found in the complete Chinese canon.

<sup>47</sup> Chiling 赤嶺; mountain range west of Xining 西寧 in modern Qinghai-province 青海縣, where the Wei-river 渭水 has its origin. From early times on this range had been considered as the Western frontier of the Chinese empire: Nagasawa (1971), 172, note 4. Jenner and Wang, following the explanation in the LJJ that these mountains were bare of vegetation, translate this as ‘Bare (Mountain) Range;’ Chavannes renders ‘Montagne rouge.’

<sup>48</sup> The LJJ is more detailed. In Daoxuan’s Shijia-fangzhi, T.2088.969a.22, the ‘Bird-Mouse-Mountains’ (Niaoshu-shan 鳥鼠山), referring to the envoy of the Late Han Cheng Guangzi 成光子, are obviously also meant to form the frontier between China and the Western regions; it is well possible that Huisheng refers to Cheng’s report (*bie-zhuan* 別傳) mentioned by Daoxuan. The motive of the birds and mice living together goes back to the Shujing 書經 and is elaborated on in numerous sources as, e.g., the Shanhai-jing 山海經, for which see Wang, 217, note 45; Zhou, 183f.; Iriya, 105a., note 10; Nagasawa, 172, note 5. Chavannes (1903), 389, note 4, sees here an inaccuracy because the ‘Bird-Mouse-Mountains’ were traditionally located in Shanxi.

<sup>49</sup> 吐谷渾, EMC \*tʰɔʷ-juawk-ɣwən. In modern Qinghai 青海 province; according to most commentators of the LJJ (Chavannes, Jenner, Wang) around lake Kokonor.

<sup>50</sup> 鄯善, EMC \*dzian-dzian<sup>h</sup>. The important garrison near the city of Kroraïṃna, Chin. Loulan 樓蘭 at the eastern fringe of the Tarim basin from which the southern and the northern Silk Roads departed along the Kunlun and Tianshan mountain ranges.



ther to the west they came to the city of Qiemo<sup>51</sup> where there were Bodhisattva and Buddha statues made in the time when Lü Guang<sup>52</sup> had defeated the barbarians. 1375 *li* further to the west they arrived at the city of Mo,<sup>53</sup> and twenty-two *li* further to the west they came to the city of Hanmi;<sup>54</sup> there is a *stūpa* where the Khotanese make offerings to the Buddha. The small *stūpas* beside (it) number in thousands and the banners hanging from them count in the ten thousands. When they went 878 *li* further to the west they came to the kingdom of Khotan.<sup>55</sup> There is a *stūpa* (*futu*)<sup>56</sup> made by a king of this kingdom from

---

According to Pulleyblank (1962), 109, this has been identified convincingly by Hamilton with modern *Charchan* < \**Jarjan*.

<sup>51</sup> 且末, EMC \**ts<sup>h</sup>ia'-mat*. This name form corresponds to the ones found in the Weishu 魏書 and the Shuijing-zhu 水經注, while LJJ has the unique Zuomo 左末. Iriya, 105b., note 14, thinks that this is the Chinese form for the name Śālmadana (Zhou, 186: Chalmadana) encountered in the Kharoṣṭhī-documents found on the Southern silkroad which corresponds to Ximotuona 析摩陀那 in the Shijia-fangzhi (T.2088.951a.1): Nagasawa, 173f., note 10, who has *zhe* 折 for *xi* 析.

<sup>52</sup> Lü Guang 呂光, a General of the Qin-dynasty, conquered the eastern part of Chinese Turkestan (Agni / Qarašahr, Shanshan, etc.) during a campaign in the years 382 / 383 and, after the death of the Qin-ruler Fu Jian 苻堅 in 385, founded his own kingdom in Liangzhou 涼州: a detailed description of Lü Guang and his career is given by Mathers (1959), 31ff.

<sup>53</sup> 末, EMC \**mat*. It is difficult to fix the exact position of this city, probably situated on the Southern Silkroad. Iriya, 105b., note 16, following Ding Qian (1915), Zhou (1976), 186, and Nagasawa, 175, note 12, seem to opine that it could have been the kingdom of Niya, famous for the archaeological remains which Aurel Stein had unearthed and described in his reports on his tours in East-Turkestan.

<sup>54</sup> 捍磨, EMC \**γan<sup>h</sup>-mi*. This also has to be a spot on the Southern Silkroad, although it is not clear where it was situated. It is usually identified by the details reported in the LJJ with Xuanzang's kingdom of Bimo 毗摩 (see Iriya, 106a., note 17) and is identified with the site of Uzun-tati, 95 km north-east of Khotan: see Nagasawa, 175, note 13. The underlying local name and the location are uncertain.

<sup>55</sup> Yutian 于闐, EMC \**wuǎ-den*. For a discussion of the form *Yutian* 于闐 which was continuously used since the Shiji cp. Pulleyblank (1962), 91, and Deeg, forthcoming.

<sup>56</sup> 浮圖, EMC \**buw-dɔ*. Originally a transliteration of Buddha – probably in its Northwestern dialectal form (Gāndhārī) *budho* –, but then used for relics and the architectural structure built above these, i.e. a *stūpa*. Huisheng seems to make a difference between pure memorial *stūpas*, which he calls *ta* 塔, and more important and bigger structures as the one mentioned here and the Queli-stūpa which he calls *futu*, probably assuming that there was a relic inside.

a basin turned upside down.<sup>57</sup> (And) there is the shoe of a *pratyekabuddha* which, until today, has not fallen into decay.<sup>58</sup> Three thousand *li* westwards of the frontiers of Khotan, on the 29<sup>th</sup> day of the seventh month of the second year of (the era) Shengui (519) they arrived in the kingdom of Zhujubo.<sup>59</sup> The people (there) live in the mountains; they do not slaughter animals (but only) eat the meat of animals which have died a naturally. The customs and the language (of this kingdom) are the same as in Khotan. Their literature is the same as the one of the Brahmins.<sup>60</sup> The frontiers of this kingdom can be encircled in five days. On the eighth month they entered the confines of the kingdom of Kepantuo<sup>61</sup> and, going six hundred *li* to the west, they climbed the Congling-mountains.<sup>62</sup> Going further to the west for four days they in the city of Bomeng,<sup>63</sup> and after three days came to the lake of poisonous *nāga* who once was cursed by the king of Pantuo<sup>64</sup> by a brahmanical spell. The *nāga* went away two thousand *li* to the west of this lake.<sup>65</sup> When they started to climb step by step on the

---

<sup>57</sup> This is connected to the foundation legend of Khotan which is reported in more details in the LJJ and other travel reports (Faxian, Xuanzang): see Deeg (2005), 88ff.

<sup>58</sup> On this relic and its assumed later reception as being connected with Bodhidharma in Chinese Buddhist literature see above.

<sup>59</sup> 朱駒波, EMC \**teuā-ku-pa*. This transliteration and others represent \*Cakupa, for which other sources refer to the existing Cakuka. This place is probably identical with modern Karghalik.

<sup>60</sup> This probably means that Indian script and languages were used.

<sup>61</sup> 渴盤陀, EMC \**k<sup>h</sup>at-ban-t<sup>h</sup>a*. Chavannes (1903), 399, note 3 (continued from p.398) refers to a name Karband (or Garband). This is another evidence of the authenticity of Huisheng's report: his place-name corresponds to the ones in most of the historiographical literature (Weishu 魏書, Liangshu 梁書, Nanshi 南史, Xin-tangshu 新唐書) and even to the forms in Xuanzang's and Huichao's report (see Iriya, 106b.f., note 25), while the LJJ's Hanpantuo 漢盤陀 seems to misrepresent the first character. The place was situated in the region of modern Tashkurghan.

<sup>62</sup> Congling 葱嶺; the Pamir-range.

<sup>63</sup> 鉢孟, EMC \**pat-me:ɣ<sup>h</sup>* (variant reading in the LJJ: Boyu 鉢孟). This place is assumed to have been situated around modern Tangu (see Iriya, 107a, note 26) or Onkul (Zhou, 192).

<sup>64</sup> 盤陀, EMC \**ban-t<sup>h</sup>a*, is a mistake for Kepantuo (see above, note 61).

<sup>65</sup> The LJJ relates this legend in more details: it is about a fierceful *nāga* in a pond who is subdued by the former king who went to Udyāna / Wuchang 烏菴 in order to learn the magic spells necessary for this task. This story in the LJJ, also it shows common features with other *nāga*-legends – see Deeg, forthcoming –, still lacks the explanatory character of most of these stories.

Congling it was not before four days that they reached its peak. Although this is generally taken as being (a height) below medium in reality it is half up to the sky. The kingdom of Kepantuo is exactly on the top (of the mountain). All rivers west of the Congling flow into the Western Sea.<sup>66</sup> People say that this is the center of the universe. Around the middle of the ninth month they entered the kingdom of Bohe.<sup>67</sup> The mountains were high and the valleys steep; the paths were dangerous as usual (in this region) and one has used the mountains as the fortification (of the main city). People dress in felt and live in caves. People and animal depend on each other. Wind and Snow are violent. There are great snow mountains which look like jade peaks. In the first third of the tenth month they entered the kingdom of Yeda.<sup>68</sup> People do not live inside of cities but follow the (flow) of water and the grass. They are illiterate. They do not count the year by the lunar intercalary (system); a year (for them) is a complete round of twelve moons (months). They receive tribute from all the kingdoms – in the south to Dieluo,<sup>69</sup> in the north up to Chile,<sup>70</sup> in the east until Khotan, in the west to Persia – all together they receive tribute from about forty kingdoms, and they are most powerful. The king's tent encompasses forty paces and the items (he uses are made) of the seven precious. He does not follow the Law of the Buddha, kills animals and partakes of their blood. (But) when he met the envoys of the Wei he reverently received the imperial letter. About twenty

---

<sup>66</sup> Xihai 西海: this is already found in the Hanshu 漢書, Xiyu-zhuan 西域傳, in the context with Yutian / Khotan: see Wang (1984), 224, note 88.

<sup>67</sup> 鉢和, EMC \**pat-ɣwa*. The reconstruction of a transcriptional Parvata, “mountain” – Wang (1984), 224, probably following Zhou, 194, and Nagasawa, 179, note 32 – certainly has to be dismissed, and it is not possible to identify the assumedly local name. This region corresponds with what is called by the Indic name Dharmasthiti / Damoxitiedi 達摩悉鐵帝 in the Xiyu-ji and in the Xin-tangshu (Iriya, 107a.f., note 31; Nagasawa, 179f., note 32) and corresponds with modern Wakhan.

<sup>68</sup> 嚙噠, EMC \**?jiap-dat*; the Hephthalites – also called Da-yuezhi 大月支 in other Chinese sources: Chavannes (1903), 402, note 3, a people of Iranian origin with a Turkic royal class who ruled over large parts of Central Asia and northwest India.

<sup>69</sup> 牒羅, EMC \**dep-la*. The exact position of this region is not known – Chavannes (1903), 404, note 4: “*Pays non-identifié.*” Nagasawa, 193, note 2, assumes – highly questionable, in my opinion – that this name corresponds to modern Zābul (in Zabūlistān; see also Iriya, 107b., note 33). On the identification with modern Tirhut see Wang, 225, note 96.

<sup>70</sup> 勅勒, EMC \**tr<sup>h</sup>ik-lək*. Zhou, 196, points out to Tolak, Wang, 225, note 97, refers to a modern place name Tölöö or Teulès (?). Iriya, 107b., note 35, and Nagasawa, 193f., note 3, refer to the region of a Turk people which he calls Churuku (チユルク), living between the Baikal lake and the northern shores of the Aral lake.

thousand *li* away from the (Chinese) capital they entered Persia on the eleventh month.<sup>71</sup> The territory is really narrow and can be passed in seven days.<sup>72</sup> People live in the mountain valleys where snow reflects the sun. Around the middle of the eleventh month they entered into the kingdom of Shemi<sup>73</sup> and gradually left the Congling. (The country) is hard and steep so that men and horses can merely pass through. (The precipices) are crossed over by (bridges made of) iron chains and one does not see the ground. On the first third of the twelfth month they entered the kingdom of Udyāna<sup>74</sup> which in the north borders the Congling and in the south is connected with India. The climate is mild, the plateau fields are dry; it is rich of population and abundant of goods. The king of this kingdom eats vegetables and is a permanent vegetarian. Day and night he worships the Buddha. After midday he starts with his ruling affairs. The sound of bells pervades everywhere in his boundaries and various flowers are offered. When he heard that the envoys of the Wei had arrived he prostrated himself and received the imperial letter. In this kingdom there is a stone where the Tathāgata had dried his garment in the sun and on which he had stepped.<sup>75</sup> The others traces of the Buddha also become visible when one approaches them. On the side of each trace of the Buddha there are *stūpas* and monasteries (which one can) follow. The monks keep the rules in a pure way and practice asceticism. (They stayed there) until around the middle of the fourth month of the first year of (the era) Zhengguang (521) (and then) entered the kingdom of

---

<sup>71</sup> Bosi 波斯, EMC \**pa-si* : Persia in a more general sense, although Chavannes (1903), 405, note 7, suggested that this is a small kingdom between Zébak and Chitral in the Pamir-range, which is called Bozhi 波知 in the LJJ and in the Beishi: Nagasawa, 196, note 10. I am, however, not convinced by this interpretation which is heavily based on the translation “Le territoire (de ce pays) est fort resserré.” for the phrase 境土甚狹, what I would take as meaning that the territory is “narrow” (*xia* 狹) in the sense of mountainous and inhabitable (*xia* 峽).

<sup>72</sup> The *yue* 月, “month,” of the text certainly has to be emended to *ri* 日, as the LJJ has it. I suggest that it has slipped into the text because of its normally giving the date of entry into a kingdom by month.

<sup>73</sup> 賧彌, EMC \**cia-mji*. According to Iriya, 108, note 37, this is a transliteration for Sāmbhī and refers to the region around modern Chitral and Mastūj, which is already pointed out by Chavannes. Nagasawa, 195, note 11, concludes that this is a place south of the Darkot pass near present Hāim.

<sup>74</sup> Wuchang 烏場, EMC \**ʔɔ-driay*: Udyāna, the old and well-known kingdom in modern Northern Pakistan at the shores of the Swāt river.

<sup>75</sup> This refers to the legend of the submission and conversion of the *nāga* Apalāla on which see Deeg (2005), 222ff., and Deeg (forthcoming).

Gandhāra.<sup>76</sup> The land resembles Udyāna. Its original name was Yeboluo,<sup>77</sup> (but) because it was crushed by the Yeda they put a *chile*<sup>78</sup> on the throne. All the people in the kingdom are Brahmins and they [\*like to read the *sūtras*\*].<sup>79</sup> But the king liked killing and was not a follower of Law of the Buddha and had inflicted war on the territory of Jibin;<sup>80</sup> he had fought for many years and military commanders, elder and the people reproached (him for this). He received the imperial letter while seated, in a rude manner and without (keeping) the etiquette. He sent the envoys off to a monastery but offered very little. Traveling west they came to the great river Indus<sup>81</sup> and traveling further to the west for thirteen days they reached the city of Foshafu.<sup>82</sup> The city walls are straight and fountains and forests are abundant, the soil rich of treasures. The manners (of

<sup>76</sup> Gantuoluo 乾陀羅, EMC \**kan-ta-la*.

<sup>77</sup> 業波羅, EMC \**ɲiap-pa-la*. Iriya does not comment on this name, but Zhou, 210, Wang, 235, and 212, note 2, claim that this is a transliteration of Gopāla, probably referring to a legend on a *nāga* of this name in the region around Nagarahāra / Haḍḍa (see below). From a strictly phonetical standpoint this is not at all certain, and I do not see a convincing etiological reason for such a toponym.

<sup>78</sup> 勅勒, for which the LJJ and the Beishi 北史 have *chiqin* 勅慙, EMC \*. Already Chavannes (1903), 416, note 4, identified this as related to the Turkish title *tegin*.

<sup>79</sup> 為嘸囉□典: this is certainly a corruption of the text – see also the different sequence of the sentences in the LJJ –, probably caused by the same word Yeda some characters above. JLL (1020c.12f.) has a longer sentence: 國中人民悉是婆羅門種, 崇奉佛教, 好讀經典。 (“All the people in the kingdom are of brahmanic origin, venerate the Buddha’s teaching and like to read the *sūtras*.”), and I have reconstructed the non-sensical Chinese text according to this.

<sup>80</sup> 罽賓, EMC \**kiaj<sup>h</sup>-pjin*. In this context this refers to Kaśmīr: cp. Nagasawa, 212, note 5. As Pulleyblank has demonstrated this is an old transliteration of a word corresponding to Ptolemäus’ *kaspeiria*: Pulleyblank (1983), 77.

<sup>81</sup> Xintou 新頭, EMC \**sin-dɔw* : Sindhu.

<sup>82</sup> 佛沙伏, EMC \**but-ʂ -buwɔk* : Puruṣapura (?) (= LJJ 1021a.14); it is difficult to see which Indian form is the basis of this transcription: Chavannes (1903), 449, note 5. Chavannes had already proposed an identity with Xuanzang’s Balusha 跋虜沙 / \*Puruṣa the location of which is also not clear. Iriya, 111a., note 66, and Nagasawa, 213, note 11, propose Varṣapura, an old name for the region around modern Shābāz Gārḥī, but as ingenious as this suggestion may be, it does not really fit to the Chinese form of the name. It is either an abridged form or it may be based on a local variant which may have had an initial part \**purṣa-* – there has been a name variant Parṣapura, “city of the Persians”: Dani (1969), 2f. and 28. I have no real explanation for the last character *fu* 伏 – has it anything to do with Puṣkalāvātī, the capital of the smaller region Gandhāvātī?

the people) are honest and good. The fountain of virtue and the practice of the Way of the eminent monks are highly developed and peculiar. The stone statues look dignified and their bodies are gilded. There are traces of the Buddha Kāśyapa.<sup>83</sup> When they went further to the west for one day they crossed a deep river of three hundred paces on board of a boat. When they went sixty *li* further to the west they arrived at the city of Gandhāra.<sup>84</sup> Two hundred years after the nirvāṇa of the Buddha the king of the kingdom Kaniṣka<sup>85</sup> had built the Queli-*stūpa*<sup>86</sup> of twelve stories which rises seven hundred *chi* over the earth and whose basis is about three hundred paces wide and he completely used inscribed stones to build the stairs. The Buddhist services inside the *stūpa* are always changing. Its golden disc<sup>87</sup> is radiating, and its jeweled bells ring harmoniously. This is the most eminent of all *stūpas* in the Western Regions. When (Huisheng) traveled further to the northwest he crossed a big river and arrived at the kingdom of Nagara(hāra).<sup>88</sup> There is the skull bone<sup>89</sup> of the Buddha and an inscription on a stone *stūpa* written by the Buddha's hand in

---

<sup>83</sup> Jiayebo-fo-ji 迦葉波佛跡, EMC\**kia-jiap-pa*-°. This and the reference in the LJJ is, as far as I can see, the only reference to a visit of the Buddha of the past Kāśyapa to the Northwest. It may go back to the fact that, according to Xuanzang's report, some events in the regions were placed in the period of this Buddha.

<sup>84</sup> Gantuoluo-cheng 乾陀羅城. The mentioning of the Buddha Kāśyapa, combined with Xuanzang's report (see note 82), may imply that this city is Takṣaśilā. But then there has to be some confusion in the geographical description. Iriya, 111b., note 70, and Nagasawa, 214, note 13, identify this city with Puruṣapura as the capital of Gandhāra.

<sup>85</sup> Jianijia 迦尼迦 / EMC \**kia-nri-kia*; this is certainly based on a Prākṛt form of the name. On the Chinese transliterations of Kaniṣka's name and the Chinese tradition about the Kuṣāna-king see Zürcher (1968).

<sup>86</sup> On the Queli-*stūpa* / Queli-futu 雀離浮圖, \**tsiak-li*-°, the famous Kaniṣka-*stūpa* at Shāh Jī kī Dherī: see Kuwayama (1997); for an interpretation of the name in the light of the legend Deeg (2004).

<sup>87</sup> *jinpan* 金盤: this probably means the umbrella-like top of the *stūpa* (*chattra*).

<sup>88</sup> Najialuo 那迦邏, EMC \**na'-kia-la*<sup>h</sup>, near present Jalālabād, Afghanistan. This was a famous pilgrimage place. The most important relic there was the shadow which the Buddha had left in a cave after he had subdued and converted a violent *nāga*. On this story see Deeg (2005), Deeg (forthcoming).

<sup>89</sup> The skull bone relic is the famous *uṣṇīṣa* relic of the Buddha in Nagarahāra / Haḍḍa.

Brahma-letters.<sup>90</sup> He stayed in Udyāna for two years and in the second year (of the era) Zhengguang (521 / 522) he returned to the (Wei-)capital.

### Chinese Text (T.2086.866c.12ff.):

#### 北魏僧惠生使西域記<sup>91</sup>

魏神龜元年十一月冬，大后遣崇立寺比丘惠生與敦煌人宋雲向西域取經；凡得百七十部，皆是大乘妙典。初發京師，西行四十日，至赤嶺，即國之西疆也。山無草木，有鳥鼠同穴。又西行二十日，至吐谷渾國。又西行三千五百里，至鄯善城。又西行千六百里，至且末城；有呂光代<sup>92</sup>胡時所作佛菩薩像。又西行千三百七十五里，至末城。又西行二十二里，至捍[(序-予+林)/女]城。有于闐供佛之塔。其旁小塔數千，縣幡萬計。又西行八百七十八里，至于闐國。有國王所造覆盆浮圖一軀；有辟支佛靴，于今不爛。于闐境東西三千里，神龜二年七月二十九日，入朱駒波國。人民山居。不立屠殺，食自死肉。風俗語言與于闐同，文學與婆羅門同。其國疆界可五日行遍。八月入渴盤陀國界。西行六百里，登葱嶺山。復西行三日，至鉢孟城。三日至毒龍池：為昔盤陀王以婆羅門呪呪之。龍徙葱嶺西。去此地二千餘里，自發葱嶺步步漸高。如此四日，乃至嶺。依約中下，實天半矣。渴盤陀國正在山頂。自葱嶺已西，水皆西流入西海。世人云，是天地之中。九月中旬，入鉢和國。高山深谷，險道如常。因山為城，氈服窟居。人畜相依。風雪勁切。有大雪山，望若玉峯。十月初旬入嚙嚙國。居無城郭，隨逐水草。不識文字，年無盈閏，周十二月為一歲。受諸國貢獻。南至牒羅，北盡勅勒，東被于闐，西及波斯。四十餘國，皆來朝貢。最為強大。王帳周四十步，器用七寶。不信佛法，殺生血食。見魏使拜受詔書。去京師二萬餘里，十一月入波斯國。境土甚狹。七月行過。人居山谷。雪光耀日。十一月中旬入賒彌國。漸出葱嶺。磽角危峻。人馬僅通。鐵鎖懸度，下不見底。十二月初旬入烏場國。北接葱嶺，南連天竺。土氣和暖。原田膾膾。民物殷阜。國王菜食長齋，晨夜禮佛。日中以後，始治國事。鐘聲遍界，異花供養。聞魏使來，膜拜受詔。國中有如來晒衣履石之處；其餘佛跡，所至炳然。每一佛跡，輒有寺塔履之。比丘戒行清苦。至正光元年四月中旬入乾陀羅國。土地與烏場國相似。本名業波羅。為嚙嚙所滅。遂立勅勒為王。國中人民悉是婆羅門，為嚙嚙<sup>93</sup>典，而國王好殺，不

<sup>90</sup> *foshou-shu-fanzi-shita-ming* 佛手書梵字石塔銘。This is the only reference to an “inscription” in Nagarāhāra by the Buddha’s hand; it seems to be referring to a local legend.

<sup>91</sup> I have gratefully used the electronic text available in the CBETA database; the punctuation, however, is my own.

<sup>92</sup> 代 = 伐 (see LJJ, 1018c.10)

<sup>93</sup> This lacuna, concluded from the LJJ, may have had 經.

信佛法；與罽賓爭境，連年戰鬪。師老民怨，坐受詔書。凶慢無禮。送使一寺，供給甚薄。西行至新頭大河。復西行十三日，至佛沙伏城。城郭端直。林泉茂盛，土饒珍寶，風俗淳善。名僧德泉道行高奇。石像莊嚴，通身金箔。有迦葉波佛跡。復西行一日，乘舟渡一深水，三百餘步。復西南行六十里，至乾陀羅城。有佛涅槃後二百年，國王迦尼迦所造雀離浮圖凡十二重，去地七百尺，基廣三百餘步，悉用文石為陛。塔內佛事，千變萬化，金盤晃朗，寶鐸和鳴。西域浮圖。最為第一。復西北行，渡一大水，至那迦邏國。有佛頂骨及佛手書梵字石塔銘。凡在烏場國二年，至正光二年還闕。

### Abbreviations:

ASCC	Academia Sinica Computing Centre, Version 1.3, 1997
CBETA	Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association, Version 2005
EMC	Early Middle Chinese, as reconstructed in Pulleyblank (1991).
T.	Taishō-shinshū-daizōkyō
Z.	Zoku-zōkyō

### Bibliography:

- Beal, Samuel, *Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun. Buddhist Pilgrims from China to India (400 A.D. and 518 A.D.)*, London 1869 (Indian reprint Delhi).
- Chavannes, Édouard, “Voyage de Song Yun dans l’Udyāna et le Gandhāra (518–522 p.C.),” in: *Bulletin de l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient* 3 (1903), 379–471.
- Dani, Ahmad Hasan, *Peshawar. Historic City of the Frontier*, Peshawar 1969.
- Deeg, Max, “On the localisation of Faxian’s kingdom of Jiecha,” in: *South Asian Archaeology, Papers of the 14<sup>th</sup> International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Rome (7.7.-11.7.1997)*, Rome 2001, 877–888.
- Deeg, Max, “Laozi oder Buddha? Polemische Strategien um die „Bekehrung der Barbaren durch Laozi“ als Grundlagen des Konflikts zwischen Buddhisten und Daoisten im chinesischen Mittelalter,” in: *Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft* 11 (2003), 209–234.
- Deeg, Max, “Legend and Cult – Contributions to the History of Indian Buddhist Stūpas – Part 1: the Stūpa of Kaniṣka,” in: *Buddhist Studies Review* 21.1 (2004), 1–34.
- Deeg, Max, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-zhuan als religionsgeschichtliche Quelle. Der älteste Bericht eines chinesischen buddhistischen Pilgermönchs über seine Reise nach Indien mit Übersetzung des Textes*, Wiesbaden 2005 (Studies in Oriental Religions 52).



- Deeg, Max, *Miscellanae Nepalicae: Early Chinese Reports on Nepal – The Foundation Legend of Nepal in its Trans-Himalayan Context*, Lumbini (forthcoming).
- Ding Qian 丁謙, *Sung-Yun-qiujing-ji-dili-kaozheng* 宋雲求經記地理考證, Zhejiang-tushuguan-congshu 浙江圖書館叢書, Hangzhou 杭州 1915.
- Hucker, Charles O., *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, Stanford 1985 (Chinese Reprint Taipei).
- Hulsewé, A. F. P.; Loewe, M. A. N., *China in Central Asia. The Early Stage: 125 B.C. – A.D.23 (An Annotated Translation of Chapters 61 and 96 of the History of the Former Han Dynasty)*, Leiden 1979 (Sinica Leidensia, vol. XIV).
- Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高, *Rakuyō-karan-ki* 洛陽伽藍記; Mori Shikazō 森鹿三, Hibino Takeo 日比野丈夫, *Suikyō-jū* 水經注, Tokyo (Chūgoku-koten-bungaku-daikei 中國古典中文學大系 21), Tokyo 1994 = Iriya Yoshitaka, *Rakuyō-karan-ki*, Tokyo 1990 (Tōyō-bunko 517).
- Jenner, W. F. J., *Memories of Loyang, Yang Hsüan-chih and the lost capital (493–534)*, Oxford 1981.
- Kuwayama Shōshin, *The Main Stūpa of Shāh-Jī-Kī Dherī. A Chronological Outlook*, Kyoto 1997.
- Kuwayama Shōshin; Takata Tokio (ed.), *Hokken-den – Rakuyō-karan-ki – Shakka-hōshi* [“(Indices) zu Faxian-zhuan, Loyang-jialan-ji, Shijia-fangzhi”] (Saiiki-kōki-sakuin-sōkan, vol. 3), Kyoto 2001 桑山正進. 高田時雄. 法顯傳. 洛陽伽藍記. 釋迦方志〈西域行記索引叢刊 III〉. 京都.
- Mather, Richard B., *Biography of Lü Kuang*, Berkley, Los Angeles 1959 (Chinese Dynastic Histories Translations, No. 7).
- Nagasawa Kazutoshi 長澤和俊, *Hokken-den – Sōun-gyōki* 法顯傳. 宋雲行紀, Tokyo 1971 (Tōyō-Bunko 東洋文庫 194).
- Neumann, K., “Pilgerfahrten buddhistischer Priester von China nach Indien“, in: *Historisch-Theologische Zeitschrift* 3,11, 114–177, Leipzig 1833.
- Ōno Genmyō 小野玄妙 (ed.), *Bussho-kaisetsu-daijiten* 佛書解説大辭典, 13 vols., Tōkyō 1965–78.
- Pulleyblank, Edwin G., “The Consonantal System of Old Chinese (Part I & II),” in: *Asia Major* 9 (1962), 58–144 and 206–265.
- Pulleyblank, Edwin G., “Stages of Transcription of Indian Words in Chinese from Han to Tang,” in: Röhrborn, Klaus, Veenker, Wolfgang (ed.), *Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien (Vorträge des Hamburger Symposiums vom 2.Juli bis 5.Juli 1981)*, Wiesbaden 1983, 73–102.
- Pulleyblank, Edwin G., *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin*, Vancouver 1991.
- Uchida Ginpū 内田吟風, *Kōgi-Sōun-Shaku-Ejō-saiiki-gukyōki-kōshō-josetsu* 後魏宋雲釋惠西域求經記考序說, Tsukamoto-hakase-shōju-kinen-Bukkyōshigaku-ronsō 塚本博士頌壽紀念佛教史学論叢, Kyōto 1961, 113–124.

- Wang Yi-t'ung, *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang by Yang Hsüan-chih*, Princeton 1984.
- Zhou Zumo 周祖謨, *Luoyang-jialan-ji-xiaoshi* 洛陽伽藍記校釋, Xianggang (Hongkong) 1976.
- Zürcher, Erich, "The Yüeh-chih and Kaniška in the Chinese Sources," in: Basham, A. L. (ed.), *Papers on the date of Kaniška: submitted to the Conference on the Date of Kaniška, London, 20–22 April, 1960*, Leiden 1968, 346–390.