

## Xuanzang and the Silk Route

China as we know is a great civilization and Xuanzang's (who is popularly known as Hsüan-tsang) visit to India was a great event. The noted Chinese traveller and Buddhist pilgrim, Xuanzang, reached India in AD 630, having undertaken arduous journey across Central Asia. A Chinese emperor called him "the jewel of the empire." Nearly fourteen years of his life (from AD 630 to AD 644) were spent visiting Buddhist temples and monasteries, cities and places of interest in the Indian subcontinent. He was a keen observer of men and affairs. Apart from being a devout monk, he has left behind a fascinating and authentic account of India's history, geography, economy, and society of the times when King Harsha (AD 606-47) ruled over northern India. This volume contains articles on the life and achievement of Xuanzang. Dharmamaster Xuanzang came to India particularly in search of Buddhist texts which were not available in China. He studied his favourite text *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* under the famous teacher Shīlabhadra of Nālanda. He was a great recorder of historical sites of the Silk Route. His description of the Silk Route countries in Afghanistan and Gandhāra are valuable for the political and cultural history of these lands. The study of Bāmiyān monasteries and colossal Buddhas have inspired Art historians to make a thorough study of the Cultural history of Afghanistan.

The articles in this present volume show, through wide range of studies, not only Xuanzang's love and knowledge of Buddhism, but only an account of various countries and their cultural heritage.

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# Xuanzang and the Silk Route

*Edited by*  
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**New Delhi**



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## *Foreword*

K.K. CHAKRAVARTY

We are happy to place in the hands of scholars the erudite collection of papers, presented in an international seminar on 'Xuanzang and the Silk Route' in 2003, at the IGNCA.

The noted Chinese traveller and Buddhist pilgrim, Xuanzang, reached India in AD 630, after an arduous journey across Central Asia. Fourteen years of his life (AD 630-644) were spent visiting Buddhist temples and monasteries, cities and places of interest in the Indian sub-continent. A keen observer of men and affairs, and a devout monk, he has left behind a fascinating and authentic account of India's history, geography, economy and society of the times when King Harsha (AD 606-647) ruled over northern India and the Chalukyan ruler, Pulakesin II (AD 609-642) held sway in the Deccan, along with Narasimha Varman I (AD 630-668) of Kanchi in the southern most regions.

Xuanzang came to India in search of Buddhist texts which were not available in China. He studied his favourite text *Yogācārabhūmi śāstra* under the famous teacher Śīlabhadra of Nālandā. He recorded the historical sites of the Silk Route/Sūtra route/Dharmaratna route by which he came to India. His account of India and description of the Silk Route countries are valuable for the political and cultural history of Afghanistan and Gandhara. His study of Bāmiyān monasteries and colossal Buddhas has inspired art historians to make a thorough study of the cultural history of Afghanistan.

Xuanzang went back to China with a great corpus of authentic Buddhist texts. Completely at home in both Sanskrit and Chinese, he provided translations of seventy seven texts, which greatly exceed in precision and intelligibility those produced in earlier periods. A symbol and instrument of cultural exchange between two ancient civilizations



in Asia, he was one of the greatest disseminators of Buddhist faith in China. He provided, through his life and work, a perennial source of inspiration to succeeding generations of inter cultural translators and bridge makers.

The volume celebrates the life, times and achievements of Xuanzang. It speaks of his seminal efforts in uniting, binding, harmonizing Yogācāra and Mādhyamika, dhyāna and prajñā interpretations of Buddhism. It places his visit to Bāmiyān and his undying spirit, informed by wisdom and compassion, against the background of the recent destruction of Bāmiyān in an orgy of intolerance and violence. It recalls his communion with the syncretic vision, which inspired the creation of the Maitreya and Vairocana Buddhas at Bāmiyān, transcending divisive sectarianism. It recollects his lost work on the harmony of schools. It remembers him as the dauntless pilgrim, who travelled thousands of miles, faced unknown perils, and inspired creation of the illustrated emakimono scroll, many Dun Huang paintings, and, folkloristic narratives on his eventful journey to the West. It recapitulates his role as an advisor for emperors and empresses, who effected a meeting of sacerdotium and regnum, the spiritual and temporal.

Xuanzang thus fulfilled the mission he set out in Si-yu-ki. 'At this time, the Buddhist schools were mutually contentious. They hastened to grasp the end without regarding the beginning. They seized the power and rejected the reality. So, there followed the confused sounds of Yes and No and perpetual words. On this, he (Xuanzang) proposed to examine thoroughly the literature of the perfumed elephant. He took his staff, dusted his clothes and set off for distant regions.'

Sir Aurel Stein wrote of Xuanzang; 'When we meet a figure of such immense personal achievement, and hence of importance to a phase of human cultural history, we may well ask how history would be different had he not lived. Although history is about what really happened, asking such a non historical question can help us to appreciate better what really happened.'

I thank Prof. Lokesh Chandra and Dr. Radha Banerjee for editing this volume with empathy and dedication. I thank the learned scholars who have contributed to this volume. I record my appreciation for Messrs Munshiram Manoharlal for bringing out the volume with the care that it deserves. I hope that it will be received well by scholars.



# Introduction

LOKESH CHANDRA

The *omphalos* of Gandhārodyāna and the deserts and oases of Central Asia symbolized hell and heaven, or *duḥkha* and *nirvāṇa* of Buddhist thought. They were the embodiment of Śakyamuni's Enlightenment as monks pondered over the sūtras and tantras, knowing well that everything flows and nothing is permanent. With their vanished jade flutes, wailing images, desiccated springs, and jewels of culture turned to dust, Gandhārodyāna (as my father Prof. RaghuVira termed the Gandhāra Culture Area) and Central Asia are a smile on the lips of death. In this volume, our memories search for their way home from the evanescence of time-nurtured civilizations, their murals and sculptures annihilated, their morning bells, evening drums, and chanting of sūtras lulled to silence, centuries-dry trees lining the peripheries of desecrated monasteries: all awakening to the spade of archaeologists and the painstaking midnight toil of linguists, art historians and culture scientists. Like the vision that once loomed up in the eyes of Serindian monks in ancient *saṅghārāma*'s or garden monasteries:

*We plant this tree*

*To crown the desert with a jewel*

A poem of Tai Wang-shun (1905-50) reminds us that time is like an immense ocean with its symphony never still, vibrating multicolored wings through the clouds of dreamless perpetual sleep.

1. The first article on the two colossal Buddhas of Bāmiyān by Marilyn M. Rhie translates anew the account of Bāmiyān by Xuanzang in his "Record" as well as in his "Life" by Huili. She dates the Eastern Great Buddha (38m) to the fourth century and the Western Great Buddha (55m) to the fifth. Her dating is based on the form, technique and



motifs of the drapery of the colossi, and of the paintings in the niche of the Western Great Buddha. Chinese sculptures inscribed with dates provide precise chronological data. Bāmiyān is situated in the Lamkan valley. It is *Ramyaka* in Sanskrit, and *Ramma*, *Rammaka* and *Rammavālī* in Pali. It was the birthplace of two Buddhas (Dīpaṅkara and Koṇḍañña), and Atideva lived here in the time of Revata Buddha. The Ramyaka-sūtra is the Gaṇḍavyūha, the last text in the Avataṃsaka-sūtras. It was translated into Chinese by Āryasthira in 388-407. The 32nd sūtra of the Avataṃsaka in Śikṣānanda's translation entitled "Dwelling places of Bodhisattvas" (= sūtra 27 in Buddhahadra's translation) enumerates names of places where Bodhisattvas appear: "In Afghanistan there is a dwelling place called 'Producing Compassion' where enlightened beings have lived since ancient times" (Cleary 1986: 2.219). Thus Afghanistan, esp. Ramyaka / Lamkan was a centre of Avataṃsaka. In the Avataṃsaka text of the Gaṇḍavyūha, Maitreya and Rocana are the first and last of the epiphanies of the Thousand Future Buddhas. Rocana is also termed *Abhyucca-deva* in the Gaṇḍavyūha. *Abhyucca-deva* means the Colossal Buddha. I have detailed elsewhere that the Eastern colossus is Maitreya, and the Western is Rocana. The intimate connection of the colossus to the Avataṃsaka and Afghanistan, and the translation of the Ramyaka-sūtra into Chinese in the fourth century support the dating of Rice. The earliest Chinese translation of an Avataṃsaka text is by Lokakṣema in AD 167-85. The colossal statues of Rocana at Yūnkang in caves 16-20 were done in AD 460-465 for the benefit of the five Wei emperors: T'ai-tsu 386-408, T'ai-tsung 409-23, Shih-tsu 424-52, Kung-tsung, Kao-tsung 452-65. The fifth was the reigning Emperor and he ordered the construction in AD 452. They are strongly reminiscent of Bāmiyān in idea and execution that one is constrained to think that Kekaya and others must have borne glowing accounts of them to the Wei Emperor.

2. Ronald M. Bernier points out the international influences on the Gandhāra tradition due to the rule of the Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and Kushans. Lying in the region, Bāmiyān inherited all the idioms, and was "a crescendo of style and scale on the long line of the Silk Road."

3. S.K. Pathak quotes various etymologies of Bāmiyān, the spread of Buddha's word in Uttarāpatha during his life-time, the participation of Sāṇavāsī from the NW in the second Synod in c. 468 BC, the growth of Buddhist schools in the NW, and Buddhism in Bāmiyān. The last visitor to Bāmiyān was the Korean monk Hui Ch'ao in AD 722. Hui Ch'ao



does not speak of the colossi. His description of Bāmiyān is cited below in full as translated by Han-sung Yang, Yun-hua Jan, Shotaro Iida and Lawrence W. Preston (Seoul, Korea, n.d.): "From Zabulistan I travelled further north and after seven days arrived at the country of Bāmiyān. The king here is a Hu, and is independent of other countries. His cavalry is strong and numerous, and other countries dare not invade this land. The clothing consists of cotton shirts, furs, felt shirts and such. The products of this country include sheep, horses and cotton. There are plenty of grapes. The land has snow and is extremely cold. The dwellings are mostly on the mountain side. The king, the chiefs, and the common people highly revere the Three Jewels. There are many monasteries and monks. Both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna are practised. The inhabitants of this country and those of Zabulistan cut their beards and hair. The dress is similar to that of Kapiśa. Nevertheless, there are also many differences. The local dialects are different from those of other countries."

Pathak is not sure as to when Bāmiyān lost its Buddhist identity. It was ruled by a dynasty of Hephthalite origin, who followed Buddhism, and were subject to a prince of the Western Turks, and were in power till around AD 725 (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Toukiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg, 1903: 291-292). The king of Bāmiyān bore the title Sher/Shir (from the Old Persian *khsthathriya*). Under the later Abbasids, the members of the dynasty of Bāmiyān held important positions at the court of Baghdad. A King of Bāmiyān was appointed governor of Yaman in AD 844. The large Buddhist temple had images till the ninth century. This temple was destroyed by the Saffarid Yaqub and the images were carried to Baghdad in AD 871 (Barthold, *Orientalische Studien*, Noeldeke Festschrift, 1.187).

4. Juliette van Krieken-Pieters traces the events that led to the destruction of the colossi of Bāmiyān, inspite of the Organization of the Islamic Conference's warning: "The Bāmiyān statues belong to the whole of mankind and they should be preserved." Juliette was active in the Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage (SPACH), but the internal power struggle resulted in the victory of the hard-liners and the demolition of all pre-Islamic monuments and artifacts.

5. Nandana Chutiwongs sheds welcome light on the Buddhist temples of Jehol, the summer capital of the Manchu Emperors. Jehol (now called Chengde) symbolised the convergence of secular and sacred power, each strengthening and stabilizing the several peoples inhabiting the empire in the flamonium of Buddhism. The Buddhist deities in the



temples won the admiration and devotion of the tribes and their acceptance of the Manchu Emperors as the rightful dharma-cakravartins. It was the ceremonial city of the Manchus where they could preserve their language and translate the Buddhist Canon into Manchu, establish their affinity with the Altaic nationalities in cultural identity, so as not to lose their vigour in the melee of state concerns governed by mandarin codes.

Chutiwongs discusses the Qing policy of adaptation of Han culture and polity, and the control of the aggressive Central Asian and Mongolian tribes through Buddhism. In 1703 Emperor Kangxi created the imperial resort at Jehol "as a means of ruling and pacifying the frontier peoples". The Manchus regarded themselves as incarnations of Mañjuśrī. Kangxi and his grandson Qianlong made several pilgrimages to the shrine of Mañjuśrī at Wu-tai Mountains. Qianlong was born in the year 1711 when his grandfather Kangxi had completed the 36 beautiful places at Jehol. Thus Jehol held a mystic attraction for Qianlong.

Chutiwongs describes the various temples built at Jehol:

*Emperor Kangxi* (ruled 1662-1722)

1713: Pushan Si 'Temple of Universal Auspiciousness', now disappeared.

1713: Puren Si 'Temple of Universal Love' built by Dzungar Mongols to celebrate the 60th birthday of Emperor Kangxi.

Main hall has: Three Buddhas of the Past, Present and Future, symbolizing the trinity of eternity (*tri-samaya-vyūha*). Accompanied by Two Disciples and Eighteen Arhats.

*Emperor Yongzheng* (ruled 1716-35)

He converted his crown prince palace into Yong-he-gong.

*Emperor Qianlong* (ruled 1736-95)

1744: Expanded Yong-he-gong into a large monastery. It represented Jetavana where Śākyamuni taught in the rainy seasons for the last twentyfive years of his life. It represented the Ganden Monastery or the Tuṣita (Ganden) paradise of Maitreya. It was the seat of the Lcān.skya Qutuktu Lalitavajra, the head of the Buddhist Saṅgha of China.

1745: Lalitavajra gave the empowerment of Cakra-Saṃvara to Qianlong. Cakra- Saṃvara is the 'vow (*saṃvara*) of a Cakravartin (*cakra*)' or the supreme endowment of the Will to Power.

1750: Qianlong erected the meditation chapel of Yu-hua-ge 'Pavilion



- of Raining Flowers' at Beijing, on the pattern of the Golden Hall of the Tholing Monastery of Rinchenzangpo.
- 1751: Began the construction of Yungyou Si 'Temple of Eternal Protection' in the palace grounds at Jehol.
- 1755: Puning Si 'Temple of Universal Peace' to celebrate his victory over Dzungar tribes. Modelled after Samye, the first monastery in Tibet. Built in Sino-Tibetan style, it represents the three sacred mountains of China: Wu-tai Shan (Mañjuśrī), Putuo Shan (Avalokiteśvara), and Omei Shan (Samantabhadra). A colossal wooden image of Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara in the multi-storeyed Main Hall represents the sanctification of the political power of China. Amoghavajra's dhāraṇī to this Avalokiteśvara (Taisho #1056) implores him to grant dominion over kingdoms (*śiṅghraṃ vaśaṃ me rāṣṭraṃ sa-rājakaṃ kuru sahasra-bhuja sahasra-vira lokaśvara*).
- 1764: Qianlong built the Anyuan Miao 'Pacifying Afar' after the subjugation of Ili, on the pattern of the Kulja Temple at Ili. Has a large statue of Vajrabhairava in embrace with his consort. He is the terrific emanation of Mañjuśrī, and as such represents the ferocious power of the Manchu empire.
- 1767: Qianlong constructed Pule Si 'Temple of Universal Joy' to bring peace to people living in the West who "all came here seeking allegiance" (edict). Cakra-Samvara represents the mystic manifestation of the supreme power of the Emperor.
- 1767: He constructed the Putuo-zongcheng, a replica of the Potala Palace of the Dalai Lama as "a sign of Our encouragement and friendliness towards the loyal princes from Mongolia and Xinjiang" (edict). It was completed in 1771 when the princes from Mongolia and Xinjiang tendered good wishes for the sixtieth birthday of the Emperor and for the eightieth birthday of his mother. The sixtieth birthday celebrates the completion of a cycle (*saṣṭi-pūrti*), and the eightieth celebrates a thousand full moons (*sahasra-candra-darśana*).
- 1771: Guangan Si was completed and dedicated to the Imperial Mother on her eightieth birthday.
- 1774: Lohan Tang 'Hall of Arhats', has been destroyed.
- 1774: Shuxiang Si, duplicated after the Mañjuśrī Temple at Wu-tai Shan. It had a definitive Manchu character: its lamas had to be Manchus, teaching was entirely in the Manchu language, and the Tripiṭaka was translated into Manchu here.
- 1780: Qianlong completed the Xumi-fushou 'Temple of Happiness and Longevity on Mount Sumeru', the most elaborate temple at



Jehol. It was modelled after the Tashilhumpo Monastery of the Panchen Lama. The Liuche Wanshou Stupa rises in seven lofty storeys and stands for Mt. Sumeru. Vairocana sits in the centre.

The precise identification of the maṇḍala needs to be done.

The temples of Jehol constructed by Emperor Kangxi and his grandson Emperor Qianlong represent the coupled notion of the regnum and flamonium, the sacred order as the guardian of imperial power, sovereignty sanctified by temples and their rich iconography, where the creative violence of war became the virtue of tribute to the deities, the victories of military campaigns against recalcitrant tribes became slapdash radiance of Cakrasaṃvara or Vajrabhairava, or the strategic hierarchy harmonized into cosmic bonds of faith, the impirium and tribes communizing in consecration.

6. Patricia Karetzky presents the role of Xuanzang at the courts of Emperor Taizong (r. 627-49), Emperor Gaozong (r. 649-83), Empress Wu (r. 684-703). He was dedicated to Maitreya, and because of him Empress Wu became an ardent devotee of Maitreya and erected a number of his colossal images, like the one at Tunhuang. Maitreya the Buddha in Tuṣita passed on the Yogācāra school to Asaṅga and Vasubandhu who developed its doctrine of vijñāna-vāda. It upholds the concept that all phenomena arise from consciousness (*vijñāna*), and the basis of their functions is *ālaya-vijñāna*. It was a major subject of Buddhist philosophy at Nalanda, and Śīlabhadra taught it to Xuanzang. On return to China, he translated the fundamental works of Yogācāra into Chinese, and in addition, synthesized the works of ten famous Yogācāra masters in *Ch'eng wei-shih lun*. Maitreya evolves from Mitra, and his epithet Ajita is Mithra Invictus. The martial aspects of Mithra are detailed in the chapter on the 'Pensive images and martial traditions' (*Cultural Horizons of India* 6.1-31). The nexus of royal power and Maitreya are discussed in the same work 6.32-51. Asaṅga came from a Brahmin family of Peshawar and Vasubandhu was his younger brother. Thus Yogācāra, Maitreya, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, and Bāmiyān all lay in NW India or Uttarāpatha. The Eastern Colossus of Bāmiyān (38m or 127ft) is Maitreya. Maitreya has an immense body (Taisho 14. 419c-420a): this concept was conducive to his iconography as a colossus. In a Confucian 'men-only' society, the insignia of an Empress were derived from the Mahāmegha-sūtra and from the 695 declaration that Empress Wu was an incarnation of Maitreya. The models for Chinese colossi were Darel and Bāmiyān. The chapter of Karetzky affirms the historic role of Bāmiyān as a catalyst for *Abhyucca-devas*, an epithet in the Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra of the Avataṃsaka.



7. Xuanzang's transcription of Bāmiyān reflects a Sanskritised form *Brahmayāna*. Brahmagavati is the name of a city in the Mahāmāyūrī 31. The word *Brahmayāna* occurs in the Saṃyutta-nikāya 5.5, and Jātakas 6.57. It has been translated as 'way of the highest good, path of goodness, the best vehicle' in the Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary*. Its adjectival form *Brahmayānīyo maggo* 'the way leading to Brahma' is found in the Dīgha-nikāya 1.220. It is associated with the Brahma-kāyika devas. Kāya is a kingdom. The *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* (Sanskrit text p. 134-35, D.T. Suzuki's translation p.116) speaks of five yānas: devayāna, brahmayāna, śrāvakayāna (*śrāvakīyam*), tathāgata-yāna (*tāthāgatam*) and pratyekabuddha-yāna (*pratyekam*). Suzuki translates brahma-yāna as 'Brahma Vehicle'. This stanza occurs again in the sagāthaka chapter (p. 322). Brahmayāna was probably a distinct system of thought and contemplation on Brahman.

8. Xuanzang's journey represents the high point of the Age of Discovery of Classical China, with his noble planning, bold execution and sense of mission and destiny as he crossed the Deep Sands of Central Asia to the Western Regions. His loyalty and perseverance in crossing the kingdoms became a legend. The Travels of Emperor Mu (c.1001-945 BC) recount how he toured the Flowing Sand Desert marking the kingdoms with the hooves of his horses and paid a visit to the Royal Mother of the West (Prof. Wang Bangwei of the Peking University considers her to be Uma). Another pioneering but dangerous trail was that of Chang Ch'ien, who brought China in fruitful contact with Bactria, Sogdiana, Ferghana and other lands in Western Central Asia. Xuanzang surpasses them all in the wealth of his academic achievements, and the first detailed and precise account of the region. His achievements were highly valued both by monarchs and by monks. They gave rise to the most popular legend of the Monk and his Monkey. Buddhism was associated with the performing arts as can be seen in the pien-wen manuscripts discovered at Tun-huang. The story of Mu-lien (Maudgalyāyana) was a popular tradition, enlivened by boisterous and often scurrilous intermezzi. The Xuanzang cycle was constructed as episodic dignity of a sacred mission. This monkish folklore was a potent instrument to counteract Taoist diatribes against Buddhism. The monkey-hero reflects Hanumān of the Sundara-kāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyana*, and Glen Dudbridge (*The Hsi-yu Chi*, Cambridge, 1970, p. 160f) details pairing of motifs in them. Moreover, monkey was a metaphor of the mind in Buddhist texts. In Chinese astrology, the animal zodiac of birth sets the seal on one's personality. The monkey is adaptable, resourceful, active, versatile, has a good memory and loves to be wonderful in



achievements. All these strands are visible in the personality of Xuanzang. The *Fascicule Annexe du Hōbōgirin* gives three variants of his year of birth: 602 (var. 596, 600). He could have been born in the year of the monkey, if there is one among them. The Chinese Embassy at Delhi screened a gorgeous film entitled "Uproar in Heaven," when Chairman Mao's poems were removed from the reception hall, the red gates painted heavenly blue, at the onset of the process of liberalization. I asked a Chinese diplomat: "Did Chairman Mao love the monkey or the monk?" Pat came the answer: "The monkey." Priyadarsi Mukherji has discussed Taoist polemics and its refutation in the absorbing exploits of the Monkey-king in the Hsi-yu Chi.

9. B.B. Lal presents a racy account of the antiquity of India's relations with Afghanistan. He points out that they go back to the Sindhu-Sarasvatī civilisation and the radio carbon dates are about 2500-2300 BC. Relations were dynamic during Ṛgvedic times, in the epic period, and in the reign of Aśoka down to the travels of Xuanzang. The people of Kafirstan still have the haoma plant or soma which they drink as a mild intoxicant.

10. Charles Willemen clarifies that Jibin was not Kashmir, but Udyāna and Gilgit, and gradually it came to cover the Gandharan Cultural Area (GCA). Chinese Abhidharma came mainly from GCA. Saṅghadeva who introduced Abhidharma in China was probably from Gandhāra. So also Kumāralāta the root teacher of the Sautrāntikas. The Gandharan Sarvāstivādins were important for China. The Abhidharma lineage was based on the Aṣṭaśāstras of Saṅghadeva and on the Mīśrakā of Dharmatrāta. The first Chinese translation of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā was by the Yueh-chih monk Lokakṣema or Laṅkakṣina. His name has to be restored as Laugākṣin, a name that occurs in the Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra. Willemen opines that the ideas of prajñā and śūnyatā originated in the GCA.

11. Chhaya Bhattacharya-Haesner recounts the threefold depiction of Xuanzang in Central Asian art: (I) he wears a necklace of skulls of his previous incarnations, (II) he is accompanied by a tiger, and (III) his companion is a monkey. The monk accompanied by a Tiger has no inscription to identify him as Xuanzang. He is Dharmatāla who accompanied the Sixteen Arhats to China, and is illustrated in several Tibetan pantheons (my *Dictionary of Buddhist Iconography*, 3.943-44). Later on, she points out the legends narrated by Xuanzang that appear in the art of Kizil, Yarkhoto, and Yotkan. The origin of sericulture in



Khotan has been represented on the famous wooden panel of the Silk Princess. Silk was the mainstay of the economy of Khotan and a special iconography of Four-armed Gaṇeśa was created to seek his blessings. His four hands hold:

weaver's comb	shuttle.
silk ball	silk thread

in a 7/8th century painted panel brought by the First Stein Expedition from Endere (British Museum 1907:1111.143/ E.ii.i; Susan Whitfield, *The Silk Road*, 2004:162 fig.62)

The votive panel D.VIII.6 (OA.1907.11-11.71) from Dandan-oiliq, of about the 6th century, shows a God of Silk. It has strong Iranian characteristics: bearded, dressed in royal Iranian costume, wears a golden crown and long black boots, and a dagger lies in the lap. His four hands hold:

shuttle	weaver's comb
lies in the lap	goblet

These attributes are the same as in the painted wood panel of the Silk Princess (D.X.4, OA. 1907.11-11.73). Roderick Whitfield and Anne Farrer (*Caves of the Thousand Buddhas*, 1990:162 fig.133) think that he "may be the patron of weaving associated with the silk legend". The 'Patron' and the 'Silk Princess' are King Vijaya-jaya and his Queen Puṇyeśvarā the daughter of the Chinese King. In the Annals of Khotan, the Queen brought the seed of silk worms and reared them in the Mazha district, where the King built a stupa and vihara of Mazho Po.ta.rya (Thomas 1935:110-111, Emmerick 1967: 35, 76). In the earlier panel, King Vijaya-jaya is deified as the four-armed God of Silk, resplendent in full regalia, majestic in his royal demeanor, and mighty in his martial uniform with boots and dagger. The Prophecy of the Li Country says that from King Sa.nu to King Btsan.bzan Btsan.la.brtan down to the last intercalary autumn month of the Dog Year there were 1,256 years and 57 kings. This gives a reasonable average reign of 22 years. The Dog Year in the reign of the fifty-seventh King Btsan.bzan Btsan.la.brtan could be 890 or 892. Thus the date of King Vijaya-jaya (14th king of the 57 kings) would fall around 80 BC. Thomas (1935:110 n.9) dates the introduction of silk-culture into Khotan probably about the beginning of the Christian era.

12. Mariko Namba Walter discusses the different Buddhist denominations in the four kingdoms of Central Asia: Shan-shan (Kroraina), Turfan, Kucha and Khotan. The evidence of Xuanzang and Hui-ch'ao, documents found at the sites, and fragments of Buddhist texts in Sanskrit and local languages presents a complex but vivid



picture of the several strands that composed the religious thought and praxis of the region. Saṃcaka is termed a 'Bodhisattva in person' in document no. 288 from Kroraina. Such Earthly Bodhisattvas were distinguished by their compassion and altruism, in contrast to the Transcendent Bodhisattvas who have actualised pāramitās and attained Buddhahood but postponed their entry into nirvāṇa. Mahāyāna and Hīnayana were not always a binary opposition, but were in syncretic reaction and in coexistence in Central Asia, as in India and China. Remarkable diversity, collaboration and sectarian rivalries were part of Buddhist monasticism.

13. Radha Banerjee makes observations on six Buddhist deities from Xinjiang: Sarasvatī, Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara, Three-headed Maheśvara from Dandan-oiliq, Vajravārāhī from Yotkan, Mahāmāyūrī, Rocana with cosmic emblems from Balawaste, and Avadhūta from Kucha. The first three come from the general Buddhist ritual, Vajravārāhī and Mahāmāyūrī from the tantras, Rocana from the Avatamsaka, and the Avadhūta comes from the Buddhist tradition of Siddhas. Lalanā, rasanā and avadhūti are figurative terms for the three channels: lalanā is the tongue, rasanā is a woman and avadhūti means yoginī or the central channel. As the lalanā and rasanā empty into the avadhūti, the mind is emptied of all distracting thoughts, discursive concepts go up in smoke, and the siddha attains effective concentration. There are Eightyfour Siddhas in the Buddhist tradition of Abhayadatta. For instance, Siddhas Ajogi the Wastral (no. 26), Karmāripa the Blacksmith (no. 45), Jālandhara the Chosen One (no. 46), Rāhula (no. 47), Ghaṇṭāpāda (no. 52), Celukapāda (no. 54), Dhilipa (no. 62) and Sarvabhakṣa (no. 75) visualise the body and avadhūti as a lake, and cognition as a swan upon the lake, and all spontaneously arisen appearances become mahāmudrā. A Ḍākinī conferred the empowerment of Hevajra to Jālandhara with the instruction "Empty the lalanā and rasanā into the avadhūti, and then eject all the constructs of your mind through the 'gate of purity' on the crown of your head. Thereafter, meditate upon the indivisibility of appearances and emptiness" (Abhayadatta's Lives of 84 Siddhas, in Keith Dowman 1985:245). The Kucha depiction represents one of the Eightyfour Buddhist Siddhas.

14. Saroj Kumar Chaudhuri writes about a fragment of the sound tables of monk Shou-wen who lived at the end of the ninth century. Only three pages of Shou-wen is'an-chuan have been discovered at Tun-huang. They deal with Chinese phonetics based on the five categories of Sanskrit consonants. In 601, the first rhyme dictionary adopted the



seven categories of sounds based on the classification of consonants in Sanskrit. In the twelfth century, Cheng Ch'iao (1104-1162) wrote that the classification of sounds in seven categories originated in India and it was introduced into China by Buddhist monks who finalized its definitive formulation.

15. Fan Jinshi makes a detailed exposition of the Tun-huang murals depicting (I) the main achievements of Xuanzang, (II) the illustrations of sutras translated by him, (III) the influence of his translations and their thought on Tun-huang, and (IV) copies of his 'Record' and drawings of images brought by him found at Tun-huang, six murals of his journey to India, and the Tiger Monk (identified either as Dharmatrāta or as Xuanzang). Xuanzang's translations of six sutras pictured at Tun-huang are: *Bhaiṣajyaguru-sūtra*, *Deva-paripṛcchā*, *Ekādaśamukha-hṛdaya*, *Ekādaśamukha-dhāraṇī*, *Amoghapāśa-hṛdaya* and *Nandimitr-āvadāna* of the Sixteen Arhats. The article ends with tables of Tun-huang caves illustrating these sutras upto the Yuan dynasty (table 1), during the Tibetan interregnum (table 2), in the rule of the Zhang family (AD 848-960, table 3), in the reign of the Cao family (AD 906-1035, table 4), and (v) by local magnates in the years AD 861-980.

16. Mary Storm's syncretic symbolism of the cosmic Buddhas of Bāmiyān elaborates their three unusual aspects in the description of Xuanzang: (I) location in a mountain side, (II) immense size, and (III) resplendence reflecting Vairocana "The Resplendent". The Buddha and mountain or cave is a unified symbol of cosmic axis/womb matrix. Mount Meru is the residence of the Thirtythree Gods and its peak is the abode of Indra or Vairocana. The excavated mountain cavern which contains the Buddha at Bāmiyān is the stupa matrix. The colossal size of the Bāmiyān figures were an interpretation of the Great Buddha, which she links to the Avatamsaka whose supramundane Buddha is Vairocana. She identifies it with solar effulgence. Above the head of the Eastern Colossus (38m), the Sun is painted riding across the heavens in his chariot pulled by four white horses. She points out the symbolic conflation of the king with divinity to ensure stability of the kingdom. The religio-political rituals were the compelling need of the real politik of Uttarāpatha. She correctly associates Vairocana as the vehicle for royal stability, as in the Yunggang and Longmen caves of the Wei dynasty of the Toba Turks (founded in AD 386), and with the Daibutsu of Rocana at the Todai-ji Nara.

The Thirtythree Gods are connected with the powerful *aiṇdra* mahābhiṣeka in the rājasūya section of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa. It was



performed for the Twelve Cakravartin Kings (Keith 331-339). The Thirtythree Gods are: Twelve Ādityas, Eleven Rudras, Eight Vasus, Heaven and Earth (12+11+8+2=33) representing Learning (Ādityas), Defence (Rudras), Economic Prosperity (Vasus), and Environment (see details in *Cultural Horizons of India* 7.199-217).

Vairocana is the European translation of Rocana and Virocana in the Chinese translations of the *Avatamsaka*. Buddhahadra's translation of AD 422 has Roshana (Japanese pronunciation) throughout. The form Rocana is found in the Sanskrit text of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*. Śikṣānanda's translation completed in AD 699 has Birushana or Virocana. Rocana is the culmination of the Thousand Buddhas and is also termed Abhyuccadeva or Colossus as a symbol of power and impirium. I have identified the larger Colossus of Bāmiyān as Rocana (see details in *Cultural Horizons of India* 6.32-51). Dr. Storm refers to the Bṛhad Buddha and Avatamsaka and their doctrinal interpretation.

The Sun in a four-horse chariot painted in the vault above the head of the 38meter Eastern Colossus at Bāmiyān is an indication that he is Maitreya, which is a derivative of the word Mitra. The Sino-Japanese Miroku is in fact a transcription of Mitraka. Mary Storm comes close to the textual foundations of the Bāmiyān colossi from their functions of real-politik on the cross roads of pilgrimage and wealth, consolidation and stability of the kingdom, in the sparkling splendor and grandiosity of scale of the colossi where power and piety intertwine.

17. Grigory Semenov identifies the city of Suye mentioned by Xuanzang as Ak-Beshim. He details the discovery of two Buddhist shrines, a statue of Kubera, Sogdian deities from the First Buddhist shrine and a stone slab depicting the Buddha with a Chinese inscription. Manich was widespread among the people. A Zoroastrian cemetery and two Nestorian churches have been excavated. Christianity continued until the 14th century. Though a Sogdian area, it had a history of changing fortunes under the Chinese and Turks. Chinese annals of the second century AD mention it in the hands of the nomadic Wu-sun people and with the Huns. The Zhuan-zhuan confederacy, that arose out of the disintegration of the Huns, controlled it in the fourth century. In the early seventh century, Xuanzang describes it as a flourishing Sogdian colony with a vibrant commerce and a prosperous agriculture.

18. W.B. Douglas gives a history of the restoration of the Bodhgaya monastery, which was destroyed in the twelfth century by Turkish troops. He connects three Vajrayāna kingdoms of the Chindas, Western Mallas (or Khasiyas), and their feudatory state to the Bodhagaya. The Chindas



ruled Magadha and Bodhgaya was in their kingdom. They traced their descent from the maternal uncle of Śākyamuni: The first inscription is dated AD 993 and the last is of AD 1289. The Chinda King Buddhaseṇa's devotion to Buddhism figures in the Tibetan account of Dharmasvāmin. The Western Mallas made pilgrimages to Bodhgaya till the early 14th century. The Chinda king Jayasena took initiations from Mitrāyogin. These dynasties cooperated to restore Bodhgaya. Tāranātha mentions that a king in Bengal renovated Bodhgaya in the 15th century.

19. Malati J. Shendge writes about the contribution of Xuanzang to Chinese Buddhism, esp. in the field of Yogācāra or Vijñapti-mātratā, known in Japan as Hossō (lit.dharma-lakṣaṇa, Chin. Fa-hsiang). Being besieged by doubts, he started on his journey to India in quest of Truth. She describes his unswerving faith when he made hundreds of prostrations at Nāgarahara reciting stanzas from the Śrīmālādevī-simhanāda and other sutras. His translation of the Corpus of Prajñāparamitā texts runs into 600 rolls, and bears prefaces by two Emperors T'ai-tsung and Kao-tsung. He leaned heavily on Abhidharma. To the Mādhyamikas, prajñā or wisdom is supreme and it develops from the Abhidharma. Meditation is the core of Yogācārin practice. Xuanzang wrote a work on the harmony of schools in Sanskrit, which is lost now. Shendge makes an important statement that Xuanzang groans in exasperation as to why he is associated with the Silk Route. He forbade the use of silk robes, gave away the silk rolls he received on many occasions, and instructed his disciples to wrap him in a bier of bamboo-mat without any silk. This was to observe strict simplicity according to Vinaya rules. In fact the so-called Silk Route was the Sūtra Route, the way of thought, the path of Sutras, whereby monks and scriptures went across the sands, hallowed by cloisters, to become the incoming waves of the hearts of men. As the monks and monasteries were destroyed by religio-political processes, the Sutra Route died. The feet of men and camels sinking into the soft sand, slow and exhausting tread, limbs frozen with cold, the romance of merchants with their merchandise and monks with sacred manuscripts in their cassocks: all was a dead bygone. The emptiness of the route had wounds of destruction all round. Had it been a Silk Route it may have survived. As it was not the Silk Route, it died with the śramaṇas, sutras and statues.

20. Ivan Put gives a history of the Kamakura scroll of Xuanzang, produced between 1309 and 1330 by the Imperial Artist Takashina Takakane. It is an illustrated narration scroll of the complete life (emakimono) of Xuanzang based on the 'Records'. It is in twelve



volumes with 76 pictures, accompanied by a text explaining each event. Nalanda constitutes the major portion of the work as Yogācāra was transmitted by Śīlabhadra to Xuanzang at this university. Ivan Put translates vol. 6 which describes the reception of Xuanzang and the glories of Nalanda. It indicates the importance of this scroll for enriching our understanding of the 'Record' and 'Life' of Xuanzang.

In conclusion, I deem it a duty to record my gratitude to Dr. Radha Banerji for editing and proof-reading this complex volume, with transcriptions of several languages. This volume is a tribute to the colossi of Bāmiyān, Abhyuccadeva of the Gaṇḍavyūha. Bāmiyān gave rise to the splendor of Northern Asia. It was a shared iconic majesty, wherein security and sanctity brought together neighbours and distant friends, who came as pilgrims in wonder and awe of the divine *numen* immanent in the colossi. Persian sources call them Kheng Bot 'The Moon-White Buddha' and Surkh Bot 'The Red Buddha' and record grand ceremonies of the two when they were living statues. From Gandhārodyāna to the Deep Sands and to China, the colossi of Bāmiyān have inhabited the depths of the mind, and led to the creation of splendid and gigantic statuary in the resplendence of the Spiritual. And today, the solemnity of their Silence : *Sūnyatā eva rūpam*.

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