CHAPTER XLII

CHINA

Prefatory note.

For the transcription of Chinese words I use the modern Peking pronunciation as represented in Giles's Dictionary. It may be justly objected that of all dialects Pekingese is perhaps the furthest removed from ancient Chinese and therefore unsuited for historical studies and also that Wade's system of transcription employed by Giles is open to serious criticism. But, on the other hand, I am not competent to write according to the pronunciation of Nanking or Canton all the names which appear in these chapters and, if I were, it would not be a convenience to my readers. Almost all English works of reference about China use the forms registered in Giles's Dictionary or near approximations to them, and any variation would produce difficulty and confusion. French and German methods of transcribing Chinese differ widely from Wade's and unfortunately there seems to be no prospect of sinologues agreeing on any international system.

INTRODUCTORY.

The study of Chinese Buddhism is interesting but difficult. Here more than in other Asiatic countries we feel that the words and phrases natural to a European language fail to render justly the elementary forms of thought, the simplest relationships. But Europeans are prone to exaggerate the mysterious, topsyturvy character of the Chinese mind. Such epithets are based on the assumption that human thought and conduct normally conform to reason and logic, and that when such conformity is wanting the result must be strange and hardly human, or at least such as no respectable European could expect or approve. But the assumption is wrong. In no country with which I am

1 For Chinese Buddhism see especially Johnston, Chinese Buddhism, 1913 (cited as Johnston). Much information about the popular side of Buddhism and Taoism may be found in Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine par le Père Henri Doré, 10 vols. 1911–1916, Shanghai (cited as Doré).
acquainted are logic and co-ordination of ideas more wanting than in the British Isles. This is not altogether a fault, for human systems are imperfect and the rigorous application of any one imperfect system must end in disaster. But the student of Asiatic psychology must begin his task by recognising that in the West and East alike, the thoughts of nations, though not always of individuals, are a confused mosaic where the pattern has been lost and a thousand fancies esteemed at one time or another as pleasing, useful or respectable are crowded into the available space. This is especially true in the matter of religion. An observer fresh to the subject might find it hard to formulate the relations to one another and to the Crown of the various forms of Christianity prevalent in our Empire or to understand how the English Church can be one body, when some sections of it are hardly distinguishable from Roman Catholicism and others from non-conformist sects. In the same way Chinese religion offers startling combinations of incongruous rites and doctrines: the attitude of the laity and of the government to the different churches is not to be defined in ordinary European terms and yet if one examines the practice of Europe, it will often throw light on the oddities of China.

The difficulty of finding a satisfactory equivalent in Chinese for the word God is well known and has caused much discussion among missionaries. Confucius inherited and handed on a worship of Heaven which inspired some noble sayings and may be admitted to be monotheism. But it was a singularly impersonal monotheism and had little to do with popular religion, being regarded as the prerogative and special cult of the Emperor. The people selected their deities from a numerous pantheon of spirits, falling into many classes among which two stand out clearly, namely, nature spirits and spirits of ancestors. All these deities, as we must call them for want of a better word, present odd features, which have had some influence on Chinese Buddhism. The boundary between the human and the spirit worlds is slight. Deification and euhemerism are equally natural to the Chinese. Not only are worthies of every sort made into gods\(^1\), but foreign deities are explained on the same

\(^1\) A curious instance of deification is mentioned in Maudon, 1914, p. 61. It appears that several deceased Jesuits have been deified. For a recent instance of deification in 1913 see Doré, x. p. 753.
principle. Thus Yen-lo (Yama), the king of the dead, is said to have been a Chinese official of the sixth century A.D. But there is little mythology. The deities are like the figures on porcelain vases: all know their appearance and some their names, but hardly anyone can give a coherent account of them. A poly-
dæmonism of this kind is even more fluid than Hinduism: you may invent any god you like and neglect gods that don't concern you. The habit of mind which produces sects in India, namely the desire to exalt one's own deity above others and make him the All-God, does not exist. No Chinese god inspires such feelings.

The deities of medieval and modern China, including the spirits recognized by Chinese Buddhism, are curiously mixed and vague personalities. Nature worship is not absent, but it is nature as seen by the fancy of the alchemist and astrologer. The powers that control nature are also identified with ancient heroes, but they are mostly heroes of the type of St George and the Dragon of whom history has little to say, and Chinese respect for the public service and official rank takes the queer form of regarding these spirits as celestial functionaries. Thus the gods have a Ministry of Thunder which supervises the weather and a Board of Medicine which looks after sickness and health.

The characteristic expression of Chinese popular religion is not exactly myth or legend but religious romance. A writer starts from some slender basis of fact and composes an edifying novel. Thus the well-known story called Hsi-Yu-Chi purports to be an account of Hsüan Chuang's journey to India but, except that it represents the hero as going there and returning with copies of the scriptures, it is romance pure and simple, a

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1 The spirits called San Kuan or San Yüan are a good instance of Chinese deities. The words mean Three Agents or Principles who strictly speaking have no names: (a) Originally they appear to represent Heaven, Earth and Water. (b) Then they stand for three periods of the year and the astrological influences which rule each. (c) As Agents, and more or less analogous to human personalities, Heaven gives happiness, Earth pardons sins and Water delivers from misfortune. (d) They are identified with the ancient Emperors Yao, Shun, Yu. (e) They are also identified with three Censors under the Emperor Li-Wang, b.c. 878-841.

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2 西遊記. Hsüan Chuang's own account of his travels bears the slightly different title of Hai-Yü-Chi. 西域記. The work noticed here is attributed to Chiu Ch'ang Ch'un, a Taoist priest of the thirteenth century. It is said to be the Buddhist book most widely read in Korea where it is printed in the popular script. An abridged English translation has been published by T. Richard under the title of A Mission to Heaven.
fantastic Pilgrim's Progress, the scene of which is sometimes on earth and sometimes in the heavens. The traveller is accompanied by allegorical creatures such as a magic monkey, a pig, and a dragon horse, who have each their own significance and may be seen represented in Buddhist and Taoist temples even to-day. So too another writer, starting from the tradition that Avalokita (or Kuan-Yin) was once a benevolent human being, set himself to write the life of Kuan-Yin, represented as a princess endued with every virtue who cheerfully bears cruel persecution for her devotion to Buddhism. It would be a mistake to seek in this story any facts throwing light on the history of Avalokita and his worship. It is a religious novel, important only because it still finds numerous readers.

It is commonly said that the Chinese belong to three religions, Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, and the saying is not altogether inaccurate. Popular language speaks of the three creeds and an ordinary person in the course of his life may take part in rites which imply a belief in them all. Indeed the fusion is so complete that one may justly talk of Chinese religion, meaning the jumble of ceremonies and beliefs accepted by the average man. Yet at the same time it is possible to be an enthusiast for any one of the three without becoming unconventional.

Of the three religions, Confucianism has a disputable claim to the title. If the literary classes of China find it sufficient, they do so only by rejecting the emotional and speculative sides of religion. The Emperor Wan-li made a just epigram when he said that Confucianism and Buddhism are like the wings of a bird. Each requires the co-operation of the other. Confucius was an ethical and political philosopher, not a prophet, hierophant or church founder. As a moralist he stands in the first rank, and I doubt if either the Gospels or the Pitakas contain maxims for the life of a good citizen equal to his sayings. But he ignored that unworldly morality which, among Buddhists and Christians, is so much admired and so little practised. In religion he claimed no originality, he brought no revelation, but

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1 I am writing immediately after the abolition of the Imperial Government (1912), and what I say naturally refers to a state of things which is passing away. But it is too soon to say how the new regime will affect religion. There is an old saying that China is supported by the three religions as a tripod by three legs.

2 萬曆 strictly speaking the title of his reign 1573-1620.
he accepted the current ideas of his age and time, though perhaps he eliminated many popular superstitions. He commended the worship of Heaven, which, if vague, still connected the deity with the moral law, and he enjoined sacrifice to ancestors and spirits. But all this apparently without any theory. His definition of wisdom is well known: "to devote oneself to human duties and keep aloof from spirits while still respecting them." This is not the utterance of a sceptical statesman, equivalent to "remember the political importance of religion but keep clear of it, so far as you can." The best commentary is the statement in the Analects that he seldom spoke about the will of Heaven, yet such of his utterances about it as have been preserved are full of awe and submission\(^1\). A certain delicacy made him unwilling to define or discuss the things for which he felt the highest reverence, and a similar detached but respectful attitude is still a living constituent of Chinese society. The scholar and gentleman will not engage in theological or metaphysical disputes, but he respectfully takes part in ceremonies performed in honour of such venerated names as Heaven, Earth and Confucius himself. Less willingly, but still without remonstrance, he attends Buddhist or Taoist celebrations.

If it is hard to define the religious element in Confucianism, it is still harder to define Taoism, but for another reason, namely, that the word has more than one meaning. In one sense it is the old popular religion of China, of which Confucius selected the scholarly and gentlemanly features. Taoism, on the contrary, rejected no godlings and no legends however grotesque: it gave its approval to the most extravagant and material superstitions, especially to the belief that physical immortality could be insured by drinking an elixir, which proved fatal to many illustrious dupes. As an organized body it owes its origin to Chang-Ling (c. 130 A.D.) and his grandson Chang-Lu\(^2\). The sect received its baptism of blood but made terms with the Chinese Government, one condition being that a member of the house of Chang should be recognized as its hereditary

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1 Compare *Analects*, xii. 1 and xiv. 38. 2. See also *Doctrine of the Mean*, chap. xvi, for more positive views about spirits.

Patriarch or Pope\(^1\). Rivalry with Buddhism also contributed to give Taoism something of that consistency in doctrine and discipline which we associate with the word religion, for in their desire to show that they were as good as their opponents the Taoists copied them in numerous and important particulars, for instance triads of deities, sacred books and monastic institutions.

The power of inventive imitation is characteristic of Taoism\(^2\). In most countries great gods are children of the popular mind. After long gestation and infancy they emerge as deities bound to humanity by a thousand ties of blood and place. But the Taoists, whenever they thought a new deity needful or ornamental, simply invented him, often with the sanction of an Imperial Edict. Thus Yü-Ti\(^3\), the precious or jade Emperor, who is esteemed the supreme ruler of the world, was created or at least brought into notice about 1012 A.D. by the Emperor Chén Tsung\(^4\) who pretended to have correspondence with him. He is probably an adaptation of Indra and is also identified with a prince of ancient China, but cannot be called a popular hero like Rama or Krishna, and has not the same hold on the affections of the people.

But Taoism is also the name commonly given not only to this fanciful church but also to the philosophic ideas expounded in the Tao-tê-ching and in the works of Chuang-tzü. The Taoist priesthood claim this philosophy, but the two have no necessary connection. Taoism as philosophy represents a current of thought opposed to Confucianism, compared with which it is ascetic, mystic and pantheistic, though except in comparison it does not deserve such epithets. My use of pantheistic in particular may raise objection, but it seems to me that Tao, however hard to define, is analogous to Brahma, the impersonal Spirit of Hindu philosophy. The universe is the expression of Tao and in conforming to Tao man finds happiness. For Confucianism, as for Europe, man is the pivot and centre of things,

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\(^1\) Chang Yüan-hsü, who held office in 1912, was deprived of his titles by the Republican Government. In 1914 petitions were presented for their restoration, but I do not know with what result. See *Peking Daily News*, September 5th, 1914.

\(^2\) Something similar may be seen in Mormonism where angels and legends have been invented by individual fancy without any background of tradition.

\(^3\) 玉帝

\(^4\) 真宗
but less so for Taoism and Buddhism. Philosophic Taoism, being somewhat abstruse and unpractical, might seem to have little chance of becoming a popular superstition. But from early times it was opposed to Confucianism, and as Confucianism became more and more the hall-mark of the official and learned classes, Taoism tended to become popular, at the expense of degrading itself. From early times too it dallied with such fascinating notions as the acquisition of miraculous powers and longevity. But, as an appeal to the emotional and spiritual sides of humanity, it was, if superior to Confucianism, inferior to Buddhism.

Buddhism, unlike Confucianism and Taoism, entered China as a foreign religion, but, in using this phrase, we must ask how far any system of belief prevalent there is accepted as what we call a religion. Even in Ceylon and Burma people follow the observances of two religions or at least of a religion and a superstition, but they would undoubtedly call themselves Buddhists. In China the laity use no such designations and have no sense of exclusive membership. For them a religion is comparable to a club, which they use for special purposes. You may frequent both Buddhist and Taoist temples just as you may belong to both the Geographical and Zoological Societies. Perhaps the position of spiritualism in England offers the nearest analogy to a Chinese religion. There are, I believe, some few persons for whom spiritualism is a definite, sufficient and exclusive creed. These may be compared to the Buddhist clergy with a small minority of the laity. But the majority of those who are interested or even believe in spiritualism, do not identify themselves with it in this way. They attend séances as their curiosity or affections may prompt, but these beliefs and practices do not prevent them from also belonging to a Christian denomination. Imagine spiritualism to be better organized as an institution and you will have a fairly accurate picture of the average Chinaman’s attitude to Buddhism and Taoism. One may also compare the way in which English poets use classical mythology. *Lycidas*, for instance, is an astounding compound of classical and biblical ideas, and Milton does not hesitate to call the Supreme Being Jove in a serious passage. Yet Milton’s Christianity has never, so far as I know, been called in question.
There is an obvious historical parallel between the religions of the Chinese and early Roman Empires. In both, the imperial and official worship was political and indifferent to dogma without being hostile, provided no sectary refused to call the Emperor Son of Heaven or sacrifice to his image. In both, ample provision was made outside the state cult for allaying the fears of superstition, as well as for satisfying the soul's thirst for knowledge and emotion. A Roman magistrate of the second century A.D. may have offered official sacrifices, propitiated local genii, and attended the mysteries of Mithra, in the same impartial way as Chinese magistrates took part a few years ago in the ceremonies of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. In both cases there was entire liberty to combine with the official religious routine private beliefs and observances incongruous with it and often with one another: in both there was the same essential feature that no deity demanded exclusive allegiance. The popular polytheism of China is indeed closely analogous to the paganism of the ancient world. Hinduism contains too much personal religion and real spiritual feeling to make the resemblance perfect, but in dealing with Apollo, Mars and Venus a Roman of the early Empire seems to have shown the mixture of respect and scepticism which is characteristic of China.

This attitude implies not only a certain want of conviction but also a utilitarian view of religion. The Chinese visit a temple much as they visit a shop or doctor, for definite material purposes, and if it be asked whether they are a religious people in the better sense of the word, I am afraid the answer must be in the negative. It is with regret that I express this opinion and I by no means imply that there are not many deeply religious persons in China, but whereas in India the obvious manifestations of superstition are a superficial disease and the heart of the people is keenly sensitive to questions of personal salvation and speculative theology, this cannot be said of the masses in China, where religion, as seen, consists of superstitious rites and the substratum of thought and feeling is small.

1 The sixth Æneid would seem to a Chinese quite a natural description of the next world. In it we have Elysium, Tartarus, transmigration of souls, souls who can find no resting place because their bodies are unburied, and phantoms showing still the wounds which their bodies received in life. Nor is there any attempt to harmonize these discordant ideas.
This struck me forcibly when visiting Siam some years ago. In Bangkok there is a large Chinese population and several Buddhist temples have been made over to them. The temples frequented by Siamese are not unlike catholic churches in Europe: the decoration is roughly similar, the standard of decorum much the same. The visitors come to worship, meditate or hear sermons. But in the temples used by the Chinese, a lower standard is painfully obvious and the atmosphere is different. Visitors are there in plenty, but their object is to "get luck," and the business of religion has become transformed into divination and spiritual gambling. The worshipper, on entering, goes to a counter where he buys tapers and incense-sticks, together with some implements of superstition such as rods or inscribed cards. After burning incense he draws a card or throws the rods up into the air and takes an augury from the result. Though the contrast presented in Siam makes the degradation more glaring, yet these temples in Bangkok are not worse than many which I have seen in China. I gladly set on the other side of the account some beautiful and reverent halls of worship in the larger monasteries, but I fear that the ordinary Chinese temple, whether Taoist or Buddhist, is a ghostly shop where, in return for ceremonies which involve neither moral nor intellectual effort, the customer is promised good luck, offspring, and other material blessings.

It can hardly be denied that the populace in China are grossly superstitious. Superstition is a common failing and were statistics available to show the number and status of Europeans who believe in fortune-telling and luck, the result might be startling. But in most civilized countries such things are furtive and apologetic. In China the strangest forms of magic and divination enjoy public esteem. The ideas which underlie popular practice and ritual are worthy of African savages: there has been a monstrous advance in systematization, yet the ethics and intellect of China, brilliant as are their achievements, have not leavened the lump. The average Chinese, though an excellent citizen, full of common sense and shrewd in business, is in religious matters a victim of fatuous superstition and completely divorced from the moral and intellectual standards which he otherwise employs.

Conspicuous among these superstitions is Féng Shuí or
Geomancy\(^1\), a pseudo-science which is treated as seriously as law or surveying. It is based on the idea that localities have a sort of spiritual climate which brings prosperity or the reverse and depends on the influences of stars and nature spirits, such as the azure dragon and white tiger. But since these agencies find expression in the contours of a locality, they can be affected if its features are modified by artificial means, for instance, the construction of walls and towers. Buddhism did not disdain to patronize these notions. The principal hall of a monastery is usually erected on a specially auspicious site and the appeals issued for the repair of sacred buildings often point out the danger impending if edifices essential to the good Fēng Shui of a district are allowed to decay. The scepticism and laughter of the educated does not clear the air, for superstition can flourish when neither respected nor believed. The worst feature of religion in China is that the decently educated public ridicules its external observances, but continues to practise them, because they are connected with occasions of good fellowship or because their omission might be a sign of disrespect to departed relatives or simply because in dealing with uncanny things it is better to be on the safe side. This is the sum of China’s composite religion as visible in public and private rites. Its ethical value is far higher than might be supposed, for its most absurd superstitions also recommend love and respect in family life and a high standard of civic duty. But China has never admitted that public or private morality requires the support of a religious creed.

As might be expected, life and animation are more apparent in sects than in conventional religion. Since the recent revolution it is no longer necessary to confute the idea that the Chinese are a stationary and unemotional race, but its inaccuracy was demonstrated by many previous movements especially the T’ai-p’ing rebellion, which had at first a religious tinge. Yet in China such movements, though they may kindle enthusiasm and provoke persecution, rarely have the religious value at-

\(^1\) 風水. A somewhat similar pseudo-science called vatthu-vijjā is condemned in the Pali scriptures. *E.g.* Digha N. i. 21. Astrology also has been a great force in Chinese politics. See Bland and Backhouse, *Ann. and Memoirs*, passim. The favour shown at different times to Buddhist, Manichean and Catholic priests was often due to their supposed knowledge of astrology.
taching to a sect in Christian, Hindu and Mohammedan countries. Viewed as an ecclesiastical or spiritual movement, the T'ai-p'ing is insignificant: it was a secret society permitted by circumstances to become a formidable rising and in its important phases the political element was paramount. The same is true of many sects which have not achieved such notoriety. They are secret societies which adopt a creed, but it is not in the creed that their real vitality lies.

If it is difficult to say how far the Buddhism of China is a religion, it is equally difficult to define its relation to the State. Students well acquainted with the literature as well as with the actual condition of China have expressed diametrically opposite views as to the religious attitude of the Imperial Government, one stating roundly that it was "the most intolerant, the most persecuting of all earthly Governments," and another that it "at no period refused hospitality and consideration to any religion recommended as such."

In considering such questions I would again emphasize the fact that Chinese terms have often not the same extension as their apparent synonyms in European languages, which, of course, means that the provinces of human life and thought have also different boundaries. For most countries the word clergy has a definite meaning and, in spite of great diversities, may be applied to Christian clerics, Mollahs and Brahmans without serious error. It means a class of men who are the superintendents of religion, but also more. On the one side, though they may have serious political differences with the Government, they are usually in touch with it: on the other, though they may dislike reformers and movements from below, they patronize and minister to popular sentiment. They are closely connected with education and learning and sometimes with the law. But in China there is no class which unites all these features. Learning, law and education are represented by the Confucian scholars or literati. Though no one would think of calling them priests, yet they may offer official sacrifices, like Roman magis-

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1 I may again remind the reader that I am not speaking of the Chinese Republic but of the Empire. The long history of its relations to Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism, though it concerns the past, is of great interest.

2 De Groot and Parker. For an elaboration of the first thesis see especially De Groot's Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China.
trates. Though they are contemptuous of popular superstition, yet they embody the popular ideal. It is the pride of a village to produce a scholar. But the scholarship of the literati is purely Confucian: Buddhist and Taoist learning have no part in it.

The priest, whether Buddhist or Taoist, is not in the mind of the people the repository of learning and law. He is not in religious matters the counterpart of the secular arm, but rather a private practitioner, duly licensed but of no particular standing. But he is skilful in his own profession: he has access to the powers who help, pity and console, and even the sceptic seeks his assistance when confronted with the dangers of this world and the next.

The student of Chinese history may object that at many periods, notably under the Yüan dynasty, the Buddhist clergy were officially recognized as an educational body and even received the title of Kuo-shih or teacher of the people. This is true. Such recognition by no means annihilated the literati, but it illustrates the decisive influence exercised by the Emperor and the court. We have, on the one side, a learned official class, custodians of the best national ideals but inclined to reject emotion and speculation as well as superstition: on the other, two priesthoods, prone to superstition but legitimately strong in so far as they satisfied the emotional and speculative instincts. The literati held persistently, though respectfully, to the view that the Emperor should be a Confucianist pure and simple, but Buddhism and Taoism had such strong popular support that it was always safe and often politic for an Emperor to patronize them. Hence an Emperor of personal convictions was able to turn the balance, and it must be added that Buddhism often flourished in the courts of weak and dissolute Emperors who were in the hands of women and eunuchs. Some of these latter were among its most distinguished devotees.

All Chinese religions agreed in accepting the Emperor as head of the Church, not merely titular but active. He exercised a strange prerogative of creating, promoting and degrading deities. Even within the Buddhist sphere he regulated the incarnations of Bodhisattvas in the persons of Lamas and from time to time re-edited the canon or added new works to it. This

1 But it must be remembered that the Chinese canon is not entirely analogous to the collections of the scriptures current in India, Ceylon or Europe.
extreme Erastianism had its roots in Indian as well as Chinese ideas. The Confucianist, while reminding the Emperor that he should imitate the sages and rulers of antiquity, gladly admitted his right to control the worship of all spirits\(^1\) and the popular conscience, while probably unable to define what was meant by the title *Son of Heaven*\(^2\), felt that it gave him a vice-regal right to keep the gods in order, so long as he did not provoke famine or other national calamities by mismanagement. The Buddhists, though tenacious of freedom in the spiritual life, had no objection to the patronage of princes. Asoka permitted himself to regulate the affairs of the Church and the success of Buddhists as missionaries was due in no small measure to their tact in allowing other sovereigns to follow his example.

That Buddhism should have obtained in China a favourable reception and a permanent status is indeed remarkable, for in two ways it was repugnant to the sentiments of the governing classes to say nothing of the differences in temper and outlook which divide Hindus and Chinese. Firstly, its ideal was asceticism and celibacy; it gave family life the lower place and ignored the popular Chinese view that to have a son is not only a duty, but also essential for those sacrifices without which the departed spirit cannot have peace. Secondly, it was not merely a doctrine but an ecclesiastical organization, a congregation of persons who were neither citizens nor subjects, not exactly an *imperium in imperio* nor a secret society, but dangerously capable of becoming either. Such bodies have always incurred the suspicion and persecution of the Chinese Government. Even in the fifth century Buddhist monasteries were accused of organizing armed conspiracies and many later sects suffered from the panic which they inspired in official bosoms. But both difficulties were overcome by the suppleness of the clergy.

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\(^1\) The Emperor is the Lord of all spirits and has the right to sacrifice to all spirits, whereas others should sacrifice only to such spirits as concern them. For the Emperor's title "Lord of Spirits," see Shu Ching iv., vi. 2-3, and Shih Ching, iii., ii. 8, 3.

\(^2\) The title is undoubtedly very ancient and means Son of Heaven or Son of God. See Hirth, *Ancient History of China*, pp. 95-96. But the precise force of Son is not clear. The Emperor was Viceroy of Heaven, high priest and responsible for natural phenomena, but he could not in historical times be regarded as sprung (like the Emperor of Japan) from a family of divine descent, because the dynasties, and with them the imperial family, were subject to frequent change.
If they outraged family sentiment they managed to make themselves indispensable at funeral ceremonies¹. If they had a dangerous resemblance to an imperium in imperio, they minimized it by their obvious desire to exercise influence through the Emperor. Though it is true that the majority of antidynastic political sects had a Buddhist colour, the most prominent and influential Buddhists never failed in loyalty. To this adroitness must be added a solid psychological advantage. The success of Buddhism in China was due to the fact that it presented religious emotion and speculation in the best form known there, and when it began to spread the intellectual soil was not unpropitious. The higher Taoist philosophy had made familiar the ideas of quietism and the contemplative life: the age was unsettled, harassed alike by foreign invasion and civil strife. In such times when even active natures tire of unsuccessful struggles, the asylum of a monastery has attractions for many.

We have now some idea of the double position of Buddhism in China and can understand how it sometimes appears as almost the established church and sometimes as a persecuted sect. The reader will do well to remember that in Europe the relations of politics to religion have not always been simple: many Catholic sovereigns have quarrelled with Popes and monks. The French Government supports the claims of Catholic missions in China but does not favour the Church in France. The fact that Huxley was made a Privy Councillor does not imply that Queen Victoria approved of his religious views. In China the repeated restrictive edicts concerning monasteries should not be regarded as acts of persecution. Every politician can see the loss to the state if able-bodied men become monks by the thousand. In periods of literary and missionary zeal, large congregations of such monks may have a sufficient sphere of activity but in sleepy, decadent periods they are apt to become a moral or political danger. A devout Buddhist or Catholic may reasonably hold that though the monastic life is the best for the elect, yet for the unworthy it is more dangerous than the temptations of the world. Thus the founder of the Ming dynasty had himself been a bonze, yet he limited the number

¹ Similarly it is a popular tenet that if a man becomes a monk all his ancestors go to Heaven. See Paraphrase of sacred Edict, vii.
and age of those who might become monks. On the other hand, he attended Buddhist services and published an edition of the Tripitaka. In this and in the conduct of most Emperors there is little that is inconsistent or mysterious: they regarded religion not in our fashion as a system deserving either allegiance or rejection, but as a modern Colonial Governor might regard education. Some Governors are enthusiastic for education; others mistrust it as a stimulus of disquieting ideas: most accept it as worthy of occasional patronage, like hospitals and races. In the same way some Emperors, like Wu-Ti², were enthusiasts for Buddhism and made it practically the state religion: a few others were definitely hostile either from conviction or political circumstances, but probably most sovereigns regarded it as the average British official regards education, as something that one can’t help having, that one must belaud on certain public occasions, that may now and then be useful, but still emphatically something to be kept within limits.

Outbursts against Buddhism are easy to understand. I have pointed out its un-Chinese features and the persistent opposition of the literati. These were sufficient reasons for repressive measures whenever the Emperor was unbuddhist in his sympathies, especially if the monasteries had enjoyed a period of prosperity and become crowded and wealthy. What is harder to understand is the occasional favour shown by apparently anti-Buddhist Emperors.

The Sacred Edict of the great K’ang Hsi forbids heterodoxy (i tuan) in which the official explanation clearly includes Buddhism.³ It was published in his extreme youth, but had his mature approval, and until recently was read in every prefecture twice a month. But the same Emperor gave many gifts to monasteries, and in 1705 he issued a decree to the monks of P’uto in which he said, “we since our boyhood have been earnest students of Confucian lore and have had no time to become minutely acquainted with the sacred books of Buddhism, but we are satisfied that Virtue is the one word

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¹ Japanese Emperors did the same, e.g. Kwammü Tennō in 793.
² 梁武帝
³ K’ang Hsi is responsible only for the text of the Edict which merely forbids heterodoxy. But his son Yung Chêng who published the explanation and paraphrase repaired the Buddhist temples at P’uto and the Taoist temple at Lung-hu-shan.
which indicates what is essential in both systems. Let us pray to the compassionate Kuan-yin that she may of her grace send down upon our people the spiritual rain and sweet dew of the good Law: that she may grant them bounteous harvests, seasonable winds and the blessings of peace, harmony and long life and finally that she may lead them to the salvation which she offers to all beings in the Universe. The two edicts are not consistent but such inconsistency is no reproach to a statesman nor wholly illogical. The Emperor reprimands extravagance in doctrine and ceremonial and commends Confucianism to his subjects as all that is necessary for good life and good government, but when he finds that Buddhism conduces to the same end he accords his patronage and politely admits the existence and power of Kuan-yin.

But I must pass on to another question, the relation of Chinese to Indian Buddhism. Chinese Buddhism is often spoken of as a strange and corrupt degeneration, a commixture of Indian and foreign ideas. Now if such phrases mean that the pulse of life is feeble and the old lights dim, we must regretfully admit their truth, but still little is to be found in Chinese Buddhism except the successive phases of later Indian Buddhism, introduced into China from the first century A.D. onwards. In Japan there arose new sects, but in China, when importation ceased, no period of invention supervened. The T'ien-t'ai school has some originality, and native and foreign ideas were combined by the followers of Bodhidharma. But the remaining schools were all founded by members of Indian sects or by Chinese who aimed at scrupulous imitation of Indian models. Until the eighth century, when the formative period came to an end, we have an alternation of Indian or Central Asian teachers arriving in China to meet with respect and acceptance, and of Chinese enquirers who visited India in order to discover the true doctrine and practice and were honoured on their return in proportion as they were believed to have found it. There is this distinction between China and such countries as Java, Camboja and Champa, that whereas in

1 See Johnston, p. 352. I have not seen the Chinese text of this edict. In Laufer and Francke's Epigraphische Denkmäler aus China is a long inscription of Kang Hai's giving the history both legendary and recent of the celebrated sandal-wood image of the Buddha.
them we find a mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism, in China the traces of Hinduism are slight. The imported ideas, however corrupt, were those of Indian Buddhist scholars, not the mixed ideas of the Indian layman.

Of course Buddhist theory and practice felt the influence of their new surroundings. The ornaments and embroidery of the faith are Chinese and sometimes hide the original material. Thus Kuan-yin, considered historically, has grown out of the Indian deity Avalokita, but the goddess worshipped by the populace is the heroine of the Chinese romance mentioned above. And, since many Chinese are only half Buddhists, tales about gods and saints are taken only half-seriously; the Buddha periodically invites the immortals to dine with him in Heaven and the Eighteen Lohan are described as converted brigands.

In every monastery the buildings, images and monks obviously bear the stamp of the country. Yet nearly all the doctrines and most of the usages have Indian parallels. The ritual has its counterpart in what I-Ching describes as seen by himself in his Indian travels. China has added the idea of feng-shui, and has modified architectural forms. For instance the many-storeyed pagoda is an elongation of the stupa. So, too, in ceremonial, the great prominence given to funeral rites and many superstitious details are Chinese, yet, as I have often mentioned in this work, rites on behalf of the dead were tolerated by early Buddhism. The curious mingling of religious services with theatrical pagents which Hsiian Chuang witnessed at Allahabad in the reign of Harsha, has its modest parallel to-day in many popular festivals.

The numerous images which crowd a Chinese temple, the

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1 This indicates that the fusion of Buddhism and Hinduism was less complete than some scholars suppose. Where there was a general immigration of Hindus, the mixture is found, but the Indian visitors to China were mostly professional teachers and their teaching was definitely Buddhist. There are, however, two non-Buddhist books in the Chinese Tripitaka. Nanjio Cat. Nos. 1295 and 1300.

2 It has been pointed out by Ferguson and others that there were high towers in China before the Buddhist period. Still, the numerous specimens extant date from Buddhist times, many were built over relics, and the accounts of both Fa-hsien and Hsian Chuang show that the Stupa built by Kanishka at Peshawar had attracted the attention of the Chinese.

I regret that de Groot’s interesting work Der Thūpa: das heiligste Heiligtum des Buddhismus in China, 1919, reached me too late for me to make use of it.
four kings, Arhats and Bodhisattvas, though of unfamiliar appearance to the Indian student, are Indian in origin. A few Taoist deities may have side chapels, but they are not among the principal objects of worship. The greater part of the Chinese Tripitaka is a translation from the Sanskrit and the Chinese works (only 194 against 1467 translations) are chiefly exegetical. Thus, though Chinese bonzes countenance native superstitions and gladly undertake to deal with all the gods and devils of the land, yet in its doctrine, literature, and even in many externals their Buddhism remains an Indian importation. If we seek in it for anything truly Chinese, it is to be found not in the constituents, but in the atmosphere, which, like a breeze from a mountain monastery sometimes freshens the gilded shrines and libraries of verbose sutras. It is the native spirit of the Far East which finds expression in the hill-side hermit's sense of freedom and in dark sayings such as *Buddhism is the oak-tree in my garden*. Every free and pure heart can become a Buddha, but also is one with the life of birds and flowers. Both the love of nature\(^1\) and the belief that men can become divine can easily be paralleled in Indian texts, but they were not, I think, imported into China, and joy in natural beauty and sympathy with wild life are much more prominent in Chinese than in Indian art.

Is then Buddhist doctrine, as opposed to the superstitions tolerated by Buddhism, something exotic and without influence on the national life? That also is not true. The reader will perceive from what has gone before that if he asks for statistics of Buddhism in China, the answer must be, in the Buddha's own phrase, that the question is not properly put. It is incorrect to describe China as a Buddhist country. We may say that it contains so many million Mohammedans or Christians, because these creeds are definite and exclusive. We cannot quote similar figures for Buddhism or Confucianism. Yet assuredly Buddhism has been a great power in China, as great perhaps as Christianity in Europe, if we remember how much is owed by European art, literature, law and science to non-Christian sources. The Chinese language is full of Buddhist phraseology\(^2\), not only in literature

\(^1\) The love of nature shown in the Pali Pitakas (particularly the Thera and Therī Gāthā) has often been noticed, but it is also strong in Mahāyānist literature. *E.g.*, Bodhicaryāvatāra viii. 26-39 and 86-88.

but in popular songs and proverbs and an inspection of such entries in a Chinese dictionary as Fo (Buddha), Kuan Yin, Ho Shang (monk)\(^1\) will show how large and not altogether flattering a part they play in popular speech.

Popular literature bears the same testimony. It is true that in what are esteemed the higher walks of letters Buddhism has little place. The quotations and allusions which play there so prominent a part are taken from the classics and Confucianism can claim as its own the historical, lexicographical and critical works which are the solid and somewhat heavy glory of Chinese literature. But its lighter and less cultivated blossoms, such as novels, fairy stories and poetry, are predominantly Buddhist or Taoist in inspiration. This may be easily verified by a perusal of such works as the *Dream of the Red Chamber*, *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*, and Wieger’s *Folk Lore Chinois Moderne*. The same is true in general of the great Chinese poets, many of whom did not conceal that (in a poetic and unascetic fashion) they were attached to Buddhism.

It may be asked if the inspiration is not Taoist in the main rather than Buddhist. Side by side with ethics and ceremony, a native stream of bold and weird imagination has never ceased to flow in China and there was no need to import tales of the Genii, immortal saints and vampire beauties. But when any coherency unites these ideas of the supernatural, that I think is the work of Buddhism and so far as Taoism itself has any coherency it is an imitation of Buddhism. Thus the idea of metempsychosis as one of many passing fancies may be indigenous to China but its prevalence in popular thought and language is undoubtedly due to Buddhism, for Taoism and Confucianism have nothing definite to say as to the state of the dead.

Much the same story of Buddhist influence is told by Chinese art, especially painting and sculpture. Here too Taoism is by no means excluded: it may be said to represent the artistic side

\(^1\) 佛, 觀音, 和尚.
of the Chinese mind, as Confucianism represents the political. But it is impossible to mistake the significance of chronology. As soon as Buddhism was well established in China, art entered on a new phase which culminated in the masterpieces of the T'ang and Sung. Buddhism did not introduce painting into China or even perfect a rudimentary art. The celebrated roll of Ku K'ai-chih shows no trace of Indian influence and presupposes a long artistic tradition. But Mahayanist Buddhism brought across Central Asia new shapes and motives. Some of its imports were of doubtful artistic value, such as figures with many limbs and eyes, but with them came ideas which enriched Chinese art with new dramatic power, passion and solemnity. Taoism dealt with other worlds but they were gardens of the Hesperides, inhabited by immortal wizards and fairy queens, not those disquieting regions where the soul receives the reward of its deeds. But now the art of Central Asia showed Chinese painters something new; saints preaching the law with a gesture of authority and deities of infinite compassion inviting suppliants to approach their thrones. And with them came the dramatic story of Gotama's life and all the legends of the Jatakas.

This clearly is not Taoism, but when the era of great art and literature begins, any distinction between the two creeds, except for theological purposes, becomes artificial, for Taoism borrowed many externals of Buddhism, and Buddhism, while not abandoning its austere and emaciated saints, also accepted the Taoist ideal of the careless wandering hermit, friend of mountain pines and deer. Wei Hsieh who lived under the Chin dynasty, when the strength of Buddhism was beginning to be felt, is considered by Chinese critics as the earliest of the great painters and is said to have excelled in both Buddhist and Taoist subjects. The same may be said of the most eminent names, such as Ku K'ai-chih and Wu Tao-tzü, and we may also remember that Italian artists painted the birth of Venus and the origin of the milky way as well as Annunciations and

1 There are said to have been four great schools of Buddhist painting under the T'ang. See Kokka 294 and 295.

2 Preserved in the British Museum and published.

3 世筆 of the 晋 dynasty.

4 顧愷之, 吳道子.
Assumptions, without any hint that one incident was less true than another. Buddhism not only provided subjects like the death of the Buddha and Kuan Yin, the Goddess of Mercy, which hold in Chinese art the same place as the Crucifixion and the Madonna in Europe, and generation after generation have stimulated the noblest efforts of the best painters. It also offered a creed and ideals suited to the artistic temperament: peace and beauty reigned in its monasteries: its doctrine that life is one and continuous is reflected in that love of nature, that sympathetic understanding of plants and animals, that intimate union of sentiment with landscape which marks the best Chinese pictures.
CHAPTER XLIII

CHINA (continued)

History.

The traditional date for the introduction of Buddhism is 62 A.D., when the chronicles tell how the Emperor Ming-Ti of the Later Han Dynasty dreamt that he saw a golden man fly into his palace\(^1\) and how his courtiers suggested that the figure was Fo-t'ao\(^2\) or Buddha, an Indian God. Ming-Ti did not let the matter drop and in 65 sent an embassy to a destination variously described as the kingdom of the Ta Yüeh Chih\(^3\) or India with Instructions to bring back Buddhist scriptures and priests. On its return it was accompanied by a monk called Kâśyapa Mâtanga\(^4\), a native of Central India. A second called Chu Fa-Lan\(^5\), who came from Central Asia and found some difficulty in obtaining permission to leave his country, followed shortly afterwards. Both were installed at Loyang, the capital of the dynasty, in the White Horse Monastery\(^6\), so called because the foreign monks rode on white horses or used them for carrying books.

The story has been criticized as an obvious legend, but I see no reason why it should not be true to this extent that Ming-Ti sent an embassy to Central Asia (not India in our sense) with the result that a monastery was for the first time established under imperial patronage. The gravest objection is that before the campaigns of Pan Ch’ao\(^7\), which began about 73 A.D., Central Asia was in rebellion against China. But those

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\(^1\) See B.E.F.E.O. 1910, Le Songe et l’Ambassade de l’Empereur Ming Ti, par M. H. Maspéro, where the original texts are translated and criticized. It is a curious coincidence that Ptolemy Soter is said to have introduced the worship of Serapis to Egypt from Sinoe in consequence of a dream.

\(^2\) 菩陀. No doubt then pronounced something like Vut-tha.

\(^3\) 大月支 or 氏. 伽葉摩騰. 竺法蘭.

\(^4\) 白馬寺. 班超.
campaigns show that the Chinese Court was occupied with Central Asian questions and to send envoys to enquire about religion may have been politically advantageous, for they could obtain information without asserting or abandoning China's claims to sovereignty. The story does not state that there was no Buddhism in China before 62 A.D. On the contrary it implies that though it was not sufficiently conspicuous to be known to the Emperor, yet there was no difficulty in obtaining information about it and other facts support the idea that it began to enter China at least half a century earlier. The negotiations of Chang Ch'ien with the Yüeh Chih (129-119 B.C.) and the documents discovered by Stein in the ancient military posts on the western frontier of Kansu prove that China had communication with Central Asia, but neither the accounts of Chang Ch'ien's journeys nor the documents contain any allusion to Buddhism. In 121 B.C. the Annals relate that "a golden man" was captured from the Hsiung-nu but, even if it was an image of Buddha, the incident had no consequences. More important is a notice in the Wei-lüeh which gives a brief account of the Buddha's birth and states that in the year 2 B.C. an ambassador sent by the Emperor Ai to the court of the Yüeh Chih was instructed in Buddhism by order of their king. Also the Later Han Annals intimate that in 65 A.D. the Prince of Ch'u was a Buddhist and that there were Śramanas and Upāsakas in his territory.

The author of the Wei-lüeh comments on the resemblance of Buddhist writings to the work of Lao-tzü, and suggests that the latter left China in order to teach in India. This theory found many advocates among the Taoists, but is not likely to commend itself to European scholars. Less improbable is a view held by

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1 張騫.
2 See Chavannes, Les documents Chinois découverts par Aurel Stein, 1913, Introduction. The earliest documents are of 98 B.C.
3 The Wei-lüeh or Wei-lö 魏畧, composed between 239 and 265 A.D., no longer exists as a complete work, but a considerable extract from it dealing with the countries of the West is incorporated in the San Kuo Chih 三國志 of Pei-Sung-Chih 裴松之 (429 A.D.). See Chavannes, translation and notes in T'oung Pao, 1905, pp. 519-571.
many Chinese critics\(^1\) and apparently first mentioned in the Sui annals, namely, that Buddhism was introduced into China at an early date but was exterminated by the Emperor Shih Huang Ti (221–206) in the course of his crusade against literature. But this view is not supported by any details and is open to the general objection that intercourse between China and India \textit{vid} Central Asia before 200 B.C. is not only unproved but improbable.

Still the mystical, quietist philosophy of Lao-tzū and Chuang-tzū has an undoubted resemblance to Indian thought. No one who is familiar with the Upanishads can read the Tao-Tê-Ching without feeling that if Brahman is substituted for Tao the whole would be intelligible to a Hindu. Its doctrine is not specifically Buddhist, yet it contains passages which sound like echoes of the Pitakas. Compare Tao-Tê-Ching, 33. 1, "He who overcomes others is strong: he who overcomes himself is mighty," with Dhammapada, 103, "If one man overcome a thousand thousand in battle and another overcome himself, this last is the greatest of conquerors"; and 46. 2, "There is no greater sin that to look on what moves desire: there is no greater evil than discontent: there is no greater disaster than covetousness," with Dhammapada, 251, "There is no fire like desire, there is no monster like hatred, there is no snare like folly, there is no torrent like covetousness." And if it be objected that these are coincidences of obvious ethics, I would call attention to 39. 1, "Hence if we enumerate separately each part that goes to form a cart, we have no cart at all." Here the thought and its illustration cannot be called obvious and the resemblance to well-known passages in the Samyutta Nikâya and Questions of Milinda\(^2\) is striking.

Any discussion of the indebtedness of the Tao-Tê-Ching to India is too complicated for insertion here since it involves the

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\(^1\) See Francke, \textit{Zur Frage der Einführung des Buddhismus in China}, 1910, and Maspéro's review in \textit{B.E.F.E.O.} 1910, p. 629. Another Taoist legend is that Dipankara Buddha or Jan Têng, described as the teacher of Sākyamuni was a Taoist and that Sākyamuni visited him in China. Giles quotes extracts from a writer of the eleventh century called Shên Kua to the effect that Buddhism had been flourishing before the Ch'in dynasty but disappeared with its advent and also that eighteen priests were imprisoned in 216 B.C. But the story adds that they recited the \textit{Prajñāpāramitā} which is hardly possible at that epoch.

question of its date or the date of particular passages, if we reject the hypothesis that the work as we have it was composed by Lao-tzü in the sixth century B.C. But there is less reason to doubt the genuineness of the essays of Chuang-tzü who lived in the fourth century B.C. In them we find mention of trances which give superhuman wisdom and lead to union with the all-pervading spirit, and of magical powers enjoyed by sages, similar to the Indian *iddhi*. He approves the practice of abandoning the world and enunciates the doctrines of evolution and reincarnation. He knows, as does also the Tao-Tê-Ching, methods of regulating the breathing which are conducive to mental culture and long life. He speaks of the six faculties of perception, which recall the Shañayatana, and of name and real existence (nāmarūpaṃ) as being the conditions of a thing². He has also a remarkable comparison of death to the extinction of a fire: "what we can point to are the faggots that have been consumed: but the fire is transmitted and we know not that it is over and ended." Several Buddhist parallels to this might be cited³.

The list of such resemblances might be made longer and the explanation that Indian ideas reached China sporadically, at least as early as the fourth century B.C., seems natural. I should accept it, if there were any historical evidence besides these literary parallels. But there seems to be none and it may be justly urged that the roots of this quietism lie so deep in the Chinese character, that the plant cannot have sprung from some chance wind-wafted seed. That character has two sides, one seen in the Chinese Empire and the classical philosophy, excellent as ethics but somewhat stiff and formal: the other in revolutions and rebellions, in the free life of hermits and wanderers, in poetry and painting. This second side is very like the temper of Indian Buddhism and easily amalgamated with it⁴, but it has a special note of its own.

¹ I may say, however, that I think it is a compilation containing very ancient sayings amplified by later material which shows Buddhist influence. This may be true to some extent of the Essays of Chuang-tzü as well.
² See Legge's translation in *S.B.E. Part i.* pp. 176, 257, n. 46, 62; *ib.* i. pp. 171, 192, n. 13; *ib.* p. 13; *ib.* p. 9, i. p. 249; *ib.* pp. 45, 95, '00, 364, ii. p. 139; *ib.* p. 139; *ib.* p. 129.
⁴ Kumārajīva and other Buddhists actually wrote commentaries on the Tao-Tê-Ching.
The curiosity of Ming-Ti did not lead to any immediate triumph of Buddhism. We read that he was zealous in honouring Confucius but not that he showed devotion to the new faith. Indeed it is possible that his interest was political rather than religious. Buddhism was also discredited by its first convert, the Emperor's brother Chu-Ying, who rebelled unsuccessfully and committed suicide. Still it flourished in a quiet way and the two foreign monks in the White Horse Monastery began that long series of translations which assumed gigantic proportions in the following centuries. To Kāśyapa is ascribed a collection of extracts known as the Sūtra of forty-two sections which is still popular. This little work adheres closely to the teaching of the Pali Tripitaka and shows hardly any traces of the Mahāyāna. According to the Chinese annals the chief doctrines preached by the first Buddhist missionaries were the sanctity of all animal life, metempsychosis, meditation, asceticism and Karma.

It is not until the third century that we hear much of Buddhism as a force at Court or among the people, but meanwhile the task of translation progressed at Lo-yang. The Chinese are a literary race and these quiet labours prepared the soil for the subsequent efflorescence. Twelve translators are named as having worked before the downfall of the Han Dynasty and about 350 books are attributed to them. None of them were Chinese. About half came from India and the rest from Central Asia, the most celebrated of the latter being An Shih-kao, a prince of An-hsi or Parthia. The Later Han Dynasty was

1 四十二章經. It speaks, however, in section 36 of being born in the condition or family of a Bodhisattva (P'u-sa-chia), where the word seems to be used in the late sense of a devout member of the Buddhist Church.

2 But the Emperor Huan is said to have sacrificed to Buddhas and Lao-tzu. See Hou Han Shu in T'oung Pao, 1907, p. 194. For early Buddhism see "Communautés et Moines Bouddhistes Chinois au II et au III siècles," by Maspéro in B.E.F.E.O. 1910, p. 222. In the second century lived Mou-tzu 莫子 a Buddhist author with a strong spice of Taoism. His work is a collection of questions and answers, somewhat resembling the Questions of Milinda. See translation by Pelliot (in T'oung Pao, vol. xix. 1920) who gives the date provisionally as 193 A.D.

3 Accounts of these and the later translators are found in the thirteen catalogues of the Chinese Tripitaka (see Nanjio, p. xxvii) and other works such as the Kao Sang-Chuan (Nanjio, No. 1490).

followed by the animated and romantic epoch known as the Three Kingdoms (221–265) when China was divided between the States of Wei, Wu and Shu. Loyang became the capital of Wei and the activity of the White Horse Monastery continued. We have the names of five translators who worked there. One of them was the first to translate the Pātimokkha\(^1\), which argues that previously few followed the monastic life. At Nanking, the capital of Wu, we also hear of five translators and one was tutor of the Crown Prince. This implies that Buddhism was spreading in the south and that monks inspired confidence at Court.

The Three Kingdoms gave place to the Dynasty known as Western Tsin\(^2\) which, for a short time (A.D. 265–316), claimed to unite the Empire, and we now reach the period when Buddhism begins to become prominent. It is also a period of political confusion, of contest between the north and south, of struggles between Chinese and Tartars. Chinese histories, with their long lists of legitimate sovereigns, exaggerate the solidity and continuity of the Empire, for the territory ruled by those sovereigns was often but a small fraction of what we call China. Yet the Tartar states were not an alien and destructive force to the same extent as the conquests made by Mohammedan Turks at the expense of Byzantium. The Tartars were neither fanatical, nor prejudiced against Chinese ideals in politics and religion. On the contrary, they respected the language, literature and institutions of the Empire: they assumed Chinese names and sometimes based their claim to the Imperial title on the marriage of their ancestors with Chinese princesses.

During the fourth century and the first half of the fifth some twenty ephemeral states, governed by Tartar chieftains and perpetually involved in mutual war, rose and fell in northern China. The most permanent of them was Northern Wei which lasted till 535 A.D. But the Later Chao and both the Earlier and Later Ts’in are important for our purpose\(^3\). Some writers make it a reproach to Buddhism that its progress, which had been

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\(^1\) Dharmakīla, see Nanjio, p. 386. The Vinaya used in these early days of Chinese Buddhism was apparently that of the Dharmagupta school. See J.A. 1916, II, p. 40. An Shih-kao (c. A.D. 150) translated a work called The 3000 Rules for Monks (Nanjio, 1120), but it is not clear what was the Sanskrit original.

\(^2\) 西晉.

\(^3\) 北魏, 後趙, 前秦, 後秦.
slow among the civilized Chinese, became rapid in the provinces which passed into the hands of these ruder tribes. But the phenomenon is natural and is illustrated by the fact that even now the advance of Christianity is more rapid in Africa than in India. The civilization of China was already old and self-complacent: not devoid of intellectual curiosity and not intolerant, but sceptical of foreign importations and of dealings with the next world. But the Tartars had little of their own in the way of literature and institutions: it was their custom to assimilate the arts and ideas of the civilized nations whom they conquered: the more western tribes had already made the acquaintance of Buddhism in Central Asia and such native notions of religion as they possessed disposed them to treat priests, monks and magicians with respect.

Of the states mentioned, the Later Chao was founded by Shih-Lo\(^1\) (273–332), whose territories extended from the Great Wall to the Han and Huai in the South. He showed favour to an Indian monk and diviner called Fo-t’u-ch’êng\(^2\) who lived at his court and he appears to have been himself a Buddhist. At any rate the most eminent of his successors, Shih Chi-lung\(^3\), was an ardent devotee and gave general permission to the population to enter monasteries, which had not been granted previously. This permission is noticeable, for it implies, even at this early date, the theory that a subject of the Emperor has no right to become a monk without his master’s leave.

In 381 we are told that in north-western China nine-tenths of the inhabitants were Buddhists. In 372 Buddhism was introduced into Korea and accepted as the flower of Chinese civilization.

The state known as the Former Ts’ìn\(^4\) had its nucleus in

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\(^1\) 石勒.  He was a remarkable man and famous in his time, for he was credited not only with clairvoyance and producing rain, but with raising the dead. Rémusat’s account of him, based on the Ts’in annals, may still be read with interest. See *Nouv. Mélanges Asiatiques*, ii. 1829, pp. 179 ff. His biography is contained in chap. 95 of the Ts’in 晉 annals.

\(^2\) 佛圖澄.  Died 363 A.D.

\(^3\) 石季龍.  Died 363 A.D.

\(^4\) Ts’ìn 秦 must be distinguished from Ts’in 晉, the name of three short but legitimate dynasties.
Shensi, but expanded considerably between 351 and 394 A.D. under the leadership of Fu-Chien\(^1\), who established in it large colonies of Tartars. At first he favoured Confucianism but in 381 became a Buddhist. He was evidently in close touch with the western regions and probably through them with India, for we hear that sixty-two states of Central Asia sent him tribute.

The Later Ts'in dynasty (384–417) had its headquarters in Kansu and was founded by vassals of the Former Ts'in. When the power of Fu-Chien collapsed, they succeeded to his possessions and established themselves in Ch'ang-an. Yao-hsing\(^2\), the second monarch of this line was a devout Buddhist, and deserves mention as the patron of Kumârajâvî\(^3\), the most eminent of the earlier translators.

Kumârajâvî was born of Indian parents in Kucha and, after following the school of the Sarvâstivâdins for some time, became a Mahayanist. When Kucha was captured in 383 by the General of Fu-Chien, he was carried off to China and from 401 onwards he laboured at Ch'ang-an for about ten years. He was appointed Kuo Shih\(^4\), or Director of Public Instruction, and lectured in a hall specially built for him. He is said to have had 3000 disciples and fifty extant translations are ascribed to him. Probably all the Tartar kingdoms were well disposed towards Buddhism, though their unsettled condition made them precarious residences for monks and scholars. This was doubtless true of Northern Wei, which had been growing during the period described, but appears as a prominent home of Buddhism somewhat later.

Meanwhile in the south the Eastern Tsin Dynasty, which represented the legitimate Empire and ruled at Nanking from 317 to 420, was also favourable to Buddhism and Hsiao Wu-Ti, the ninth sovereign of this line, was the first Emperor of China to become a Buddhist.

The times were troubled, but order was gradually being restored. The Eastern Tsin Dynasty had been much disturbed by the struggles of rival princes. These were brought to an end in 420 by a new dynasty known as Liu Sung which reigned in

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\(^1\) 荷堅.
\(^3\) 姚興.
\(^4\) 國師. For this title see Pelliot in T'oung Pao, 1911, p. 671.
the south some sixty years. The north was divided among six Tartar kingdoms, which all perished before 440 except Wei. Wei then split into an Eastern and a Western kingdom which lasted about a hundred years. In the south, the Liu Sung gave place to three short dynasties, Ch’i, Liang and Ch’ên, until at last the Sui (589–605) united China.

The Liu Sung Emperor Wên-Ti (424–454) was a patron of Confucian learning, but does not appear to have discouraged Buddhism. The Sung annals record that several embassies were sent from India and Ceylon to offer congratulations on the flourishing condition of religion in his dominions, but they also preserve memorials from Chinese officials asking for imperial interference to prevent the multiplication of monasteries and the growing expenditure on superstitious ceremonies. This marks the beginning of the desire to curb Buddhism by restrictive legislation which the official class displayed so prominently and persistently in subsequent centuries. A similar reaction seems to have been felt in Wei, where the influential statesman Ts’ui Hao¹, a votary of Taoism, conducted an anti-Buddhist campaign. He was helped in this crusade by the discovery of arms in a monastery at Ch’ang-an. The monks were accused of treason and debauchery and in 446 Toba Tao², the sovereign of Wei, issued an edict ordering the destruction of Buddhist temples and sacred books as well as the execution of all priests. The Crown Prince, who was a Buddhist, was able to save many lives, but no monasteries or temples were left standing. The persecution, however, was of short duration. Toba Tao was assassinated and almost the first act of his successor was to re-establish Buddhism and allow his subjects to become monks. From this period date the sculptured grottoes of Yün-Kang in northern Shan-si which are probably the oldest specimens of Buddhist art in China. In 471 another ruler of Wei, Toba Hung, had a gigantic image of Buddha constructed and subsequently abdicated in order to devote himself to

¹ 崔浩
³ 拓跋壽. He was canonized under the name of Wu 武, and the three great persecutions of Buddhism are sometimes described as the disasters of the three Wu, the others being Wu of the North Chou dynasty (674) and Wu of the T’ang (845).
Buddhist studies. His successor marks a reaction, for he was an ardent Confucianist who changed the family name to Yüan and tried to introduce the Chinese language and dress. But the tide of Buddhism was too strong. It secured the favour of the next Emperor in whose time there are said to have been 13,000 temples in Wei.

In the Sung dominions a conspiracy was discovered in 458 in which a monk was implicated, and restrictive, though not prohibitive, regulations were issued respecting monasteries. The Emperor Ming-Ti, though a cruel ruler was a devout Buddhist and erected a monastery in Hu-nan, at the cost of such heavy taxation that his ministers remonstrated. The fifty-nine years of Liu Sung rule must have been on the whole favourable to Buddhism, for twenty translators flourished, partly natives and partly foreigners from Central Asia, India and Ceylon. In 420 a band of twenty-five Chinese started on a pilgrimage to India. They had been preceded by the celebrated pilgrim Fa-Hsien\(^1\) who travelled in India from 399 to 414.

In the reign of Wu-Ti, the first Emperor of the Ch'i dynasty, one of the imperial princes, named Tzü Liang\(^2\), cultivated the society of eminent monks and enjoyed theological discussions. From the specimens of these arguments which have been preserved we see that the explanation of the inequalities of life as the result of Karma had a great attraction for the popular mind and also that it provoked the hostile criticism of the Confucian literati.

The accession of the Liang dynasty and the long reign of its first emperor Wu-Ti (502–549) were important events in the history of Buddhism, for this monarch rivalled Asoka in pious enthusiasm if not in power and prosperity. He obviously set the Church above the state and it was while he was on the throne that Bodhidharma came to China and the first edition of the Tripitaka was prepared.

His reign, though primarily of importance for religion, was not wanting in political interest, and witnessed a long conflict with Wei. Wu-Ti was aided by the dissensions which distracted Wei but failed to achieve his object, probably as a result of his religious preoccupations, for he seemed unable to estimate the

\(^{1}\) For the 25 pilgrims see Nanjio, p. 417.
\(^{2}\) 于良.
power of the various adventurers who from time to time rose to pre-eminence in the north and, holding war to be wrong, he was too ready to accept insincere overtures for peace. Wei split into two states, the Eastern and Western, and Hou-Ching¹, a powerful general who was not satisfied with his position in either, offered his services to Wu-Ti, promising to add a large part of Ho-nan to his dominions. He failed in his promise but Wu-Ti, instead of punishing him, first gave him a post as governor and then listened to the proposals made by the ruler of Eastern Wei for his surrender. On this Hou-Ching conspired with an adopted son of Wu-Ti, who had been set aside as heir to the throne and invested Nanking. The city was captured after the horrors of a prolonged siege and Wu-Ti died miserably.

Wu-Ti was not originally a Buddhist. In fact until about 510, when he was well over forty, he was conspicuous as a patron of Confucianism. The change might be ascribed to personal reasons, but it is noticeable that the same thing occurred in Wei, where a period of Confucianism was succeeded by a strong wave of Buddhism which evidently swept over all China. Hu², the Dowager Empress of Wei, was a fervent devotee, though of indifferent morality in both public and private life since she is said to have poisoned her own son. In 518 she sent Sung Yün and Hui Shêng³ to Udyâna in search of Buddhist books of which they brought back 175.

Wu-Ti's conversion is connected with a wandering monk and magician called Pao-Chih⁴, who received the privilege of approaching him at all hours. A monastery was erected in Nanking at great expense and edicts were issued forbidding not only the sacrifice of animals but even the representation of living things in embroidery, on the ground that people might cut up such figures and thus become callous to the sanctity of life. The emperor expounded sūtras in public and wrote a work on Buddhist ritual⁵. The first Chinese edition of the Tripitaka, in manuscript and not printed, was collected in 518.

Although Wu-Ti's edicts, particularly that against animal sacrifices, gave great dissatisfaction, yet the Buddhist movement seems to have been popular and not merely an imperial whim, for many distinguished persons, for instance the authors Liu Hsieh and Yao Ch’al, took part in it.

In 520 (or according to others, in 525) Bodhidharma (generally called Ta-mo in Chinese) landed in Canton from India. He is described as the son of a king of a country called Hsiang-chih in southern India, and the twenty-eighth Patriarch. He taught that merit does not lie in good works and that knowledge is not gained by reading the scriptures. The one essential is insight, which comes as illumination after meditation. Though this doctrine had subsequently much success in the Far East, it was not at first appreciated and Bodhidharma’s introduction to the devout but literary Emperor in Nanking was a fiasco. He offended his Majesty by curtly saying that he had acquired no merit by causing temples to be built and books to be transcribed. Then, in answer to the question, what is the most important of the holy doctrines, he replied “where all is emptiness, nothing can be called holy.” “Who,” asked the astonished Emperor, “is he who thus replies to me?” “I do not know,” said Bodhidharma.

Not being able to come to any understanding with Wu-Ti, Bodhidharma went northwards, and is said to have crossed the Yang-tse standing on a reed, a subject frequently represented in Chinese art. He retired to Lo-yang where he spent nine years in the Shao-Lin temple gazing silently at a wall, whence he was popularly known as the wall-gazer. One legend says that he sat so long in contemplation that his legs fell off, and

1 劉繹 and 姚察.

2 See chap. xxiii. p. 95, and chap. xlv below (on schools of Chinese Buddhism), for more about Bodhidharma. The earliest Chinese accounts of him seem to be those contained in the Liang and Wei annals. But one of the most popular and fullest accounts is to be found in the Wu Têng Hui Yuân (first volume) printed at Kushan near Fuchow.

3 His portraits are also frequent both in China and Japan (see Ostasiat. Zeitschrift 1912, p. 220) and the strongly marked features attributed to him may perhaps represent a tradition of his personal appearance, which is entirely un-Chinese. An elaborate study of Bodhidharma written in Japanese is noticed in B.E.P.E.O. 1911, p. 457.
a kind of legless doll which is a favourite plaything in Japan is still called by his name. But according to another tale he preserved his legs. He wished to return to India but died in China. When Sung Yün, the traveller mentioned above, was returning from India, he met him in a mountain pass bare-footed and carrying one sandal in his hand. When this was reported, his coffin was opened and was found to contain nothing but the other sandal which was long preserved as a precious relic in the Shao-Lin temple.

Wu-Ti adopted many of the habits of a bonze. He was a strict vegetarian, expounded the scriptures in public and wrote a work on ritual. He thrice retired into a monastery and wore the dress of a Bhikkhu. These retirements were apparently of short duration and his ministers twice redeemed him by heavy payments.

In 538 a hair of the Buddha was sent by the king of Fu-nan and received with great ceremony. In the next year a mission was despatched to Magadha to obtain Sanskrit texts. It returned in 546 with a large collection of manuscripts and accompanied by the learned Paramártha who spent twenty years in translating them. Wu-Ti, in his old age, became stricter. All luxury was suppressed at Court, but he himself always wore full dress and showed the utmost politeness, even to the lowest officials. He was so reluctant to inflict the punishment of death that crime increased. In 547 he became a monk for the third time and immediately afterwards the events connected with Hou-Ching (briefly sketched above) began to trouble the peace of his old age. During the siege of Nanking he was obliged to depart from his vegetarian diet and eat eggs. When he was told that his capital was taken he merely said, "I obtained the kingdom through my own efforts and through me it has been lost. So I need not complain."

Hou-Ching proceeded to the palace, but, overcome with awe, knelt down before Wu-Ti who merely said, "I am afraid you must be fatigued by the trouble it has cost you to destroy my kingdom." Hou-Ching was ashamed and told his officers that

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1 The legend does not fit in well with chronology since Sung-Yün is said to have returned from India in 522.


he had never felt such fear before and would never dare to see Wu-Ti again. Nevertheless, the aged Emperor was treated with indignity and soon died of starvation. His end, though melancholy, was peaceful compared with that in store for Hou-Ching who, after two years of fighting and murdering, assumed the imperial title, but immediately afterwards was defeated and slain. The people ate his body in the streets of Nanking and his own wife is said to have swallowed mouthfuls of his flesh.

One of Wu-Ti's sons, Yüan-Ti, who reigned from 552 to 555, inherited his father's temper and fate with this difference that he was a Taoist, not a Buddhist. He frequently resided in the temples of that religion, studied its scriptures and expounded them to his people. A great scholar, he had accumulated 140,000 volumes, but when it was announced to him in his library that the troops of Wei were marching on his capital, he yielded without resistance and burnt his books, saying that they had proved of no use in this extremity.

This alternation of imperial patronage in the south may have been the reason why Wên Hsüan Ti, the ruler of Northern Ch'í,1 and for the moment perhaps the most important personage in China, summoned Buddhist and Taoist priests to a discussion in 555. Both religions could not be true, he said, and one must be superfluous. After hearing the arguments of both he decided in favour of Buddhism and ordered the Taoists to become bonzes on pain of death. Only four refused and were executed.

Under the short Ch'en dynasty (557–589) the position of Buddhism continued favourable. The first Emperor, a mild and intelligent sovereign, though circumstances obliged him to put a great many people out of the way, retired to a monastery after reigning for two years. But in the north there was a temporary reaction. Wu-Ti, of the Northern Chou dynasty2, first of all defined the precedence of the three religions as Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism and then, in 575, prohibited the two latter, ordering temples to be destroyed and priests to return to the world. But as usual the persecution was not of long duration. Five years later Wu-Ti's son withdrew his father's edict and in 582, the founder of the Sui dynasty, gave the population permission to become monks. He may be said to have used

1 北齊, 文宣.    2 北周, 武帝.
Buddhism as his basis for restoring the unity of the Empire and in his old age he became devout. The Sui annals observe that Buddhist books had become more numerous under this dynasty than those of the Confucianists, and no less than three collections of the Tripitaka were made between 594 and 616.

With the seventh century began the great T’ang dynasty (620–907). Buddhism had now been known to the rulers of China for about 550 years. It began as a religion tolerated but still regarded as exotic and not quite natural for the sons of Han. It had succeeded in establishing itself as the faith of the majority among both Tartars and Chinese. The rivalry of Taoism was only an instance of that imitation which is the sincerest flattery. Though the opposition of the mandarins assumed serious proportions whenever they could induce an Emperor to share their views, yet the hostile attitude of the Government never lasted long and was not shared by the mass of the people. It is clear that the permissions to practise Buddhism which invariably followed close on the prohibitions were a national relief. Though Buddhism tended to mingle with Taoism and other indigenous ideas, the many translations of Indian works and the increasing intercourse between Chinese and Hindus had diffused a knowledge of its true tenets and practice.

The T’ang dynasty witnessed a triangular war between Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. As a rule Confucianism attacked the other two as base superstitions but sometimes, as in the reign of Wu Tsung, Taoism seized a chance of being able to annihilate Buddhism. This war continued under the Northern Sung, though the character of Chinese Buddhism changed, for the Contemplative School, which had considerable affinities to Taoism, became popular at the expense of the T’ien T’ai. After the Northern Sung (except under the foreign Mongol dynasty) we feel that, though Buddhism was by no means dead and from time to time flourished exceedingly, yet Confucianism had established its claim to be the natural code and creed of the scholar and statesman. The Chinese Court remained a strange place to the end but scholarship and good sense had a large measure of success in banishing extravagance from art and literature. Yet, alas, the intellectual life of China lost more in fire and brilliancy than it gained in sanity. Probably the most critical times for literature and indeed for thought were those
brief periods under the Sui and T'ang when Buddhist and Taoist books were accepted as texts for the public examinations and the last half century of the Northern Sung, when the educational reforms of Wang An Shih were intermittently in force. The innovations were cancelled in all cases. Had they lasted, Chinese style and mentality might have been different.

The T'ang dynasty, though on the whole favourable to Buddhism, and indeed the period of its greatest prosperity, opened with a period of reaction. To the founder, Kao Tsu, is attributed the saying that Confucianism is as necessary to the Chinese as wings to a bird or water to a fish. The imperial historiographer Fu I presented to his master a memorial blaming Buddhism because it undervalued natural relationships and urging that monks and nuns should be compelled to marry. He was opposed by Hsiao Yü, who declared that hell was made for such people as his opponent—an argument common to many religions. The Emperor followed on the whole advice of Fu I. Magistrates were ordered to inquire into the lives of monks and nuns. Those found pure and sincere were collected in the large establishments. The rest were ordered to return to the world and the smaller religious houses were closed. Kao Tsu abdicated in 627 but his son Tai Tsung continued his religious policy, and the new Empress was strongly anti-Buddhist, for when mortally ill she forbade her son to pray for her recovery in Buddhist shrines. Yet the Emperor cannot have shared these sentiments at any rate towards the end of his reign. He issued an edict allowing every monastery to receive five new monks and the

1 See Biot, Hist. de l'instruction publique en Chine, pp. 289, 313.

2 傅奕. Is celebrated in Chinese history as one of the greatest opponents of Buddhism. He collected all the objections to it in 10 books and warned his son against it on his death bed. Giles, Biog. Dict. 589.

3 蕭瑀. An important minister and apparently a man of talent but of ungovernable and changeable temper. In 639 he obtained the Emperor's leave to become a priest but soon left his monastery. The Emperor ordered him to be canonized under the name Pure but Narrow. Giles, Biog. Dict. 722. The monk Fa-Lin also attacked the views of Fu I in two treatises which have been incorporated in the Chinese Tripitaka. See Nanjio, Cat. Nos. 1500, 1501.

4 Subsequently a story grew up that his soul had visited hell during a prolonged fainting fit after which he recovered and became a devout Buddhist. See chap. xi of the Romance called Hsüan Chuang's travels, and Wieger, Textes Historiques, p. 1585.
celebrated journey of Hsüan Chuang\(^1\) was made in his reign. When the pilgrim returned from India, he was received with public honours and a title was conferred on him. Learned monks were appointed to assist him in translating the library he had brought back and the account of his travels was presented to the Emperor who also wrote a laudatory preface to his version of the Prajñāpāramitā. It was in this reign also that Nestorian missionaries first appeared in China and were allowed to settle in the capital. Diplomatic relations were maintained with India. The Indian Emperor Harsha sent an envoy in 641 and two Chinese missions were despatched in return. The second, led by Wang Hsüan-Tsê\(^2\), did not arrive until after the death of Harsha when a usurper had seized the throne. Wang Hsüan-Tsê collected a small army in Tibet, dethroned the usurper and brought him as a prisoner to China.

The latter half of the seventh century is dominated by the figure of the Dowager Empress Wu, the prototype of the celebrated lady who took charge of China's fate in our own day and, like her, superhuman in decision and unscrupulousness, yet capable of inspiring loyalty. She was a concubine of the Emperor Tai Tsung and when he died in 649 lived for a short time as a Buddhist nun. The eventful life of Wu Hou, who was at least successful in maintaining order at home and on the frontiers, belongs to the history of China rather than of Buddhism. She was not an ornament of the faith nor an example of its principles, but, mindful of the protection it had once afforded her, she gave it her patronage even to the extent of making a bronze named Huai I\(^3\) the minister of her mature passions when she was nearly

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\(^{1}\) 玄奘. This name has been transliterated in an extraordinary number of ways. See B.E.F.E.O. 1905, pp. 424–430. Giles gives Hsüan Chuang in his Chinese Dictionary, but Hsiian Tsang in his Biographical Dictionary. Probably the latter is more correct. Not only is the pronunciation of the characters variable, but the character 元 was tabooed as being part of the Emperor K'ang Hai's personal name and was substituted for it. Hence the spelling Yüan Chuang.

\(^{2}\) 王玄策. See Vincent Smith, Early History of India, pp. 326–327, and Giles, Biog. Dict., s.v. Wang Hsüan-T'ze. This worthy appears to have gone to India again in 657 to offer robes at the holy places.

\(^{3}\) 懐義. Some of the principal statues in the caves of Lung-men were made at her expense, but other parts of these caves seem to date from at least 500 A.D. Chavannes, Mission Archéol. tome 1, deuxième partie.
seventy years old. A magnificent temple, at which 10,000 men worked daily, was built for him, but the Empress was warned that he was collecting a body of vigorous monks nominally for its service, but really for political objects. She ordered these persons to be banished. Huai I was angry and burnt the temple. The Empress at first merely ordered it to be rebuilt, but finding that Huai I was growing disrespectful, she had him assassinated.

We hear that the Mahâmegha-sûtra\(^1\) was presented to her and circulated among the people with her approval. About 690 she assumed divine honours and accommodated these pretensions to Buddhism by allowing herself to be styled Maitreya or Kuan-yin. After her death at the age of 80, there does not appear to have been any religious change, for two monks were appointed to high office and orders were issued that Buddhist and Taoist temples should be built in every Department. But the earlier part of the reign of Hsüan Tsung\(^2\) marks a temporary reaction. It was represented to him that rich families wasted their substance on religious edifices and that the inmates were well-to-do persons desirous of escaping the burdens of public service. He accordingly forbade the building of monasteries, making of images and copying of sutras, and 12,000 monks were ordered to return to the world. In 725 he ordered a building known as "Hall of the Assembled Spirits" to be renamed "Hall of Assembled Worthies," because spirits were mere fables.

In the latter part of his life he became devout though addicted to Taoism rather than Buddhism. But he must have outgrown his anti-Buddhist prejudices, for in 730 the seventh collection of the Tripitaka was made under his auspices. Many poets of this period such as Su Chin and the somewhat later Liu Tsung Yüan\(^3\) were Buddhists and the paintings of the great Wu Tao-tzû and Wang-wei (painter as well as poet) glowed with the inspiration of the T'ien-t'ai teaching. In 740 there were in the city of Ch'ang-An alone sixty-four monasteries and

\(^1\) 大雲經. Ta-Yün-Ching. See J.A. 1913, p. 149. The late Dowager Empress also was fond of masquerading as Kuan-yin but it does not appear that the performance was meant to be taken seriously.

\(^2\) "That romantic Chinese reign of Genio (713–756) which is the real absolute culmination of Chinese genius." Fenollosa, Epochs of Chinese and Japanese art, p. 102.

\(^3\) 蘇晉, 柳宗元.
twenty-seven nunneries. A curious light is thrown on the inconsistent and composite character of Chinese religious sentiment—as noticeable to-day as it was twelve hundred years ago—by the will of Yao Ch’ung a statesman who presented a celebrated anti-Buddhist memorial to this Emperor. In his will he warns his children solemnly against the creed which he hated and yet adds the following direction. "When I am dead, on no account perform for me the ceremonies of that mean religion. But if you feel unable to follow orthodoxy in every respect, then yield to popular custom and from the first seventh day after my death until the last (i.e. seventh) seventh day, let mass be celebrated by the Buddhist clergy seven times: and when, as these masses require, you must offer gifts to me, use the clothes which I wore in life and do not use other valuable things."

In 751 a mission was sent to the king of Ki-pin. The staff included Wu-K’ung, also known as Dharmadhâtu, who remained some time in India, took the vows and ultimately returned to China with many books and relics. It is probable that in this and the following centuries Hindu influence reached the outlying province of Yün-nan directly through Burma.

Letters, art and pageantry made the Court of Hsüan Tsung brilliant, but the splendour faded and his reign ended tragically in disaster and rebellion. The T’ang dynasty seemed in danger of collapse. But it emerged successfully from these troubles and continued for a century and a half. During the whole of this period the Emperors with one exception were favourable to Buddhism, and the latter half of the eighth century marks in Buddhist history an epoch of increased popularity among the masses but also the spread of ritual and doctrinal corruption, for it is in these years that its connection with ceremonies for the repose and honour of the dead became more intimate.

1 姚崇.
2 閩王. The meaning of this name appears to vary at different times. At this period it is probably equivalent to Kapisa or N.E. Afghanistan.
3 懐空.
4 See B.E.F.E.O. 1904, p. 161. This does not exclude the possibility of an opposite current, viz. Chinese Buddhism flowing into Burma.
5 Wu-Tsung, 841–847.
These middle and later T'ang Emperors were not exclusive Buddhists. According to the severe judgment of their own officials, they were inclined to unworthy and outlandish superstitions. Many of them were under the influence of eunuchs, magicians and soothsayers, and many of those who were not assassinated died from taking the Taoist medicine called Elixir of Immortality. Yet it was not a period of decadence and dementia. It was for China the age of Augustus, not of Heliogabalus. Art and literature flourished and against Han-Yü, the brilliant adversary of Buddhism, may be set Liu Tsung Yüan\(^1\), a writer of at least equal genius who found in it his inspiration. A noble school of painting grew up in the Buddhist monasteries and in a long line of artists may be mentioned the great name of Wu Tao-tzü, whose religious pictures such as Kuan-yin, Purgatory and the death of the Buddha obtained for him a fame which is still living. Among the streams which watered this paradise of art and letters should doubtless be counted the growing importance of Central and Western Asia in Chinese policy and the consequent influx of their ideas. In the mid T'ang period Manicheism, Nestorianism and Zoroastrianism all were prevalent in China. The first was the religion of the Uigurs. So long as the Chinese had to keep on good terms with this tribe Manicheism was respected, but when they were defeated by the Kirghiz and became unimportant, it was abruptly suppressed (843). In this period, too, Tibet became of great importance for the Chinese. Their object was to keep open the passes leading to Ferghana and India. But the Tibetans sometimes combined with the Arabs, who had conquered Turkestan, to close them and in 763 they actually sacked Chang An. China endeavoured to defend herself by making treaties with the Indian border states, but in 775 the Arabs inflicted a disastrous defeat on her troops. A treaty of peace was subsequently made with Tibet\(^2\).

When Su-Tsung (758–762), the son of Hsüan-Tsung, was safely established on the throne, he began to show his devotion to Buddhism. He installed a chapel in the Palace which was

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\(^1\) "Liu-Tsung-Yuan has left behind him much that for purity of style and felicity of expression has rarely been surpassed," Giles, Chinese Literature, p. 191.

served by several hundred monks and caused his eunuchs and guards to dress up as Bodhisattvas and Genii. His ministers, who were required to worship these maskers, vainly remonstrated as also when he accepted a sort of Sibylline book from a nun who alleged that she had ascended to heaven and received it there.

The next Emperor, Tai-Tsung, was converted to Buddhism by his Minister Wang Chin¹, a man of great abilities who was subsequently sentenced to death for corruption, though the Emperor commuted the sentence to banishment. Tai-Tsung expounded the scriptures in public himself and the sacred books were carried from one temple to another in state carriages with the same pomp as the sovereign. In 768 the eunuch Yü Chao-Én² built a great Buddhist temple dedicated to the memory of the Emperor’s deceased mother. In spite of his minister’s remonstrances, His Majesty attended the opening and appointed 1000 monks and nuns to perform masses for the dead annually on the fifteenth day of the seventh month. This anniversary became generally observed as an All Souls’ Day, and is still one of the most popular festivals in China. Priests both Buddhist and Taoist recite prayers for the departed, rice is scattered abroad to feed hungry ghosts and clothes are burnt to be used by them in the land of shadows. Large sheds are constructed in which are figures representing scenes from the next world and the evening is enlivened by theatricals, music and fireworks³.

The establishment of this festival was due to the celebrated teacher Amogha (Pu-k’ung), and marks the official recognition by Chinese Buddhism of those services for the dead which have rendered it popular at the cost of forgetting its better aspects. Amogha was a native of Ceylon (or, according to others, of Northern India), who arrived in China in 719 with his teacher Vajrabodhi. After the latter’s death he revisited India and Ceylon in search of books and came back in 746. He wished to return to his own country, but permission was refused and until his death in 774 he was a considerable personage at Court,

¹ 王緯．
² 魚朝恩．
³ See Eitel, Handbook of Chinese Buddhism, p. 185 s.v. Ullambana, a somewhat doubtful word, apparently rendered into Chinese as Yü-lan-p‘én.
receiving high rank and titles. The Chinese Tripitaka contains 108 translations\(^1\) ascribed to him, mostly of a tantric character, though to the honour of China it must be said that the erotic mysticism of some Indian tantras never found favour there. Amogha is a considerable, though not auspicious, figure in the history of Chinese Buddhism, and, so far as such changes can be the work of one man, on him rests the responsibility of making it become in popular estimation a religion specially concerned with funeral rites\(^2\).

Some authors\(^3\) try to prove that the influx of Nestorianism under the T’ang dynasty had an important influence on the later development of Buddhism in China and Japan and in particular that it popularized these services for the dead. But this hypothesis seems to me unproved and unnecessary. Such ceremonies were an essential part of Chinese religion and no faith could hope to spread, if it did not countenance them: they are prominent in Hinduism and not unknown to Pali Buddhism\(^4\). Further the ritual used in China and Japan has often only a superficial resemblance to Christian masses for the departed. Part of it is magical and part of it consists in acquiring merit by the recitation of scriptures which have no special reference to the dead. This merit is then formally transferred to them. Doubtless Nestorianism, in so far as it was associated with Buddhism, tended to promote the worship of Bodhisattvas and prayers addressed directly to them, but this tendency existed independently and the Nestorian monument indicates not that Nestorianism influenced Buddhism but that it abandoned the doctrine of the atonement.

In 819 a celebrated incident occurred. The Emperor Hsien-Tsung had been informed that at the Fa-mên monastery in Shen-si a bone of the Buddha was preserved which every thirty years exhibited miraculous powers. As this was the auspicious year, he ordered the relic to be brought in state to the capital

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\(^1\) See Nanjio Catalogue, pp. 445–448.

\(^2\) He is also said to have introduced the images of the Four Kings which are now found in every temple. A portrait of him by Li Chien is reproduced in Tajima’s Masterpieces, vol. viii, plate ix. The artist was perhaps his contemporary.

\(^3\) E.g. Saeki, The Nestorian Monument in China, 1916. See also above, p. 217.

\(^4\) See Khuddaka-Patha, 7; Peta Vatthu, 1, 5 and the commentary; Milinda Panha, iv, 8, 29; and for modern practices my chapter on Siam, and Copleston, Buddhism, p. 445.
and lodged in the Imperial Palace, after which it was to make the round of the monasteries in the city. This proceeding called forth an animated protest from Han-Yü\(^1\), one of the best known authors and statesmen then living, who presented a memorial, still celebrated as a masterpiece. The following extract will give an idea of its style. "Your Servant is well aware that your Majesty does not do this (give the bone such a reception) in the vain hope of deriving advantage therefrom but that in the fulness of our present plenty there is a desire to comply with the wishes of the people in the celebration at the capital of this delusive mummer... For Buddha was a barbarian. His language was not the language of China. His clothes were of an alien cut. He did not utter the maxims of our ancient rulers nor conform to the customs which they have handed down. He did not appreciate the bond between prince and minister, the tie between father and son. Had this Buddha come to our capital in the flesh, your Majesty might have received him with a few words of admonition, giving him a banquet and a suit of clothes, before sending him out of the country with an escort of soldiers.

"But what are the facts? The bone of a man long since dead and decomposed is to be admitted within the precincts of the Imperial Palace. Confucius said, 'respect spiritual beings but keep them at a distance.' And so when princes of old paid visits of condolence, it was customary to send a magician in advance with a peach-rod in his hand, to expel all noxious influences before the arrival of his master. Yet now your Majesty is about to introduce without reason a disgusting object, personally taking part in the proceedings without the intervention of the magician or his wand. Of the officials not one has raised his voice against it: of the Censors\(^2\) not one has pointed out the enormity of such an act. Therefore your servant, overwhelmed with shame for the Censors, implores your Majesty that these bones may be handed over for destruction by fire

\(^1\) 韓愈. Some native critics, however, have doubted the authenticity of the received text and the version inserted in the Official History seems to be a summary. See Wiegert, Textes Historiques, vol. iii. pp. 1726 ff., and Giles, Chinese Literature, pp. 200 ff.

\(^2\) The officials whose duty it was to remonstrate with the Emperor if he acted wrongly.
or water, whereby the root of this great evil may be exter-
minated for all time and the people may know how much the
wisdom of your Majesty surpasses that of ordinary men."
The Emperor became furious when he read the memorial
and wished to execute its author on the spot. But Han-Yü’s
many friends saved him and the sentence was commuted to
honourable banishment as governor of a distant town. Shortly
afterwards the Emperor died, not of Buddhism, but of the elixir
of immortality which made him so irritable that his eunuchs
put him out of the way. Han-Yü was recalled but died the next
year. Among his numerous works was one called Yüan Tao,
much of which was directed against non-Confucian forms of
religion. It is still a thesaurus of arguments for the opponents
of Buddhism and, let it be added, of Christianity.

It is not surprising that the prosperity of the Buddhist
church should have led to another reaction, but it came not
so much from the literary and sceptical class as from Taoism
which continued to enjoy the favour of the T’ang Emperors,
although they died one after another of drinking the elixir. The
Emperor Wu-Tsung was more definitely Taoist than his pre-
decessors. In 843 he suppressed Manichæism and in 845, at
the instigation of his Taoist advisers, he dealt Buddhism the
severest blow which it had yet received. In a trenchant edict he
repeated the now familiar arguments that it is an alien
and maleficient superstition, unknown under the ancient and
glorious dynasties and injurious to the customs and morality of
the nation. Incidentally he testifies to its influence and popu-

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1 Giles, Chinese Literature, pp. 201, 202—somewhat abbreviated.
3 “Thousands of ten-thousands of Ch’ing.” A Ch’ing = 15.13 acres.
4 Presumably similar to the temple slaves of Camboja, etc.
though all despatch was used on account of the private fortunes which could be amassed incidentally by the executive.

As the Confucian chronicler of his doings observes, he suppressed Buddhism on the ground that it is a superstition but encouraged Taoism which is no better. Indeed the impartial critic must admit that it is much worse, at any rate for Emperors. Undeterred by the fate of his predecessors Wu-Tsung began to take the elixir of immortality. He suffered first from nervous irritability, then from internal pains, which were explained as due to the gradual transformation of his bones, and at the beginning of 846 he became dumb. No further explanation of his symptoms was then given him and his uncle Hsüan Tsung was raised to the throne. His first act was to revoke the anti-Buddhist edict, the Taoist priests who had instigated it were put to death, the Emperor and his ministers vied in the work of reconstruction and very soon things became again much as they were before this great but brief tribulation. Nevertheless, in 852 the Emperor received favourably a memorial complaining of the Buddhist reaction and ordered that all monks and nuns must obtain special permission before taking orders. He was beginning to fall under Taoist influence and it is hard to repress a smile on reading that seven years later he died of the elixir. His successor I-Tsung (860–874), who died at the age of 30, was an ostentatious and dissipated Buddhist. In spite of the remonstrances of his ministers he again sent for the sacred bone from Fa-mên and received it with even more respect than his predecessor had shown, for he met it at the Palace gate and bowed before it.

During the remainder of the T'ang dynasty there is little of importance to recount about Buddhism. It apparently suffered no reverses, but history is occupied with the struggle against the Tartars. The later T'ang Emperors entered into alliance with various frontier tribes, but found it hard to keep them in the position of vassals. The history of China from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries is briefly as follows. The T'ang dynasty collapsed chiefly owing to the incapacity of the later Emperors and was succeeded by a troubled period in which five short dynasties founded by military adventurers, three of whom were of Turkish race, rose and fell in 53 years¹. In 960 the

¹ One Emperor of this epoch, Shih-Tsung of the later Chou dynasty, suppressed
Sung dynasty united the Chinese elements in the Empire, but had to struggle against the Khitan Tartars in the north-east and against the kingdom of Hsia in the north-west. With the twelfth century appeared the Kins or Golden Tartars, who demolished the power of the Khitans in alliance with the Chinese but turned against their allies and conquered all China north of the Yang-tze and continually harassed, though they did not capture, the provinces to the south of it which constituted the reduced empire of the Sungas. But their power waned in its turn before the Mongols, who, under Chinggiz Khan and Ogotai, conquered the greater part of northern Asia and eastern Europe. In 1232 the Sung Emperor entered into alliance with the Mongols against the Kins, with the ultimate result that though the Kins were swept away, Khubilai, the Khan of the Mongols, became Emperor of all China in 1280.

The dynasties of T'ang and Sung mark two great epochs in the history of Chinese art, literature and thought, but whereas the virtues and vices of the T'ang may be summed up as genius and extravagance, those of the Sung are culture and tameness. But this summary judgment does not do justice to the painters, particularly the landscape painters, of the Sung and it is noticeable that many of the greatest masters, including Li Lung-Mien, were obviously inspired by Buddhism. The school which had the greatest influence on art and literature was the Ch'an or contemplative sect better known by its Japanese name Zen. Though founded by Bodhidharma it did not win the sympathy and esteem of the cultivated classes until the Sung period. About this time the method of block-printing was popularized and there began a steady output of comprehensive histories, collected works, encyclopædias and biographies which excelled anything then published in Europe. Antiquarian research and accessible editions of classical writers were favour-

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1 季龍眠. See Kokka No. 309, 1916.

2 禪.
able to Confucianism, which had always been the religion of the literati.

It is not surprising that the Emperors of this literary dynasty were mostly temperate in expressing their religious emotions. T'ai-Tsu, the founder, forbade cremation and remonstrated with the Prince of T'ang, who was a fervent Buddhist. Yet he cannot have objected to religion in moderation, for the first printed edition of the Tripitaka was published in his reign (972) and with a preface of his own. The early and thorough application of printing to this gigantic Canon is a proof—if any were needed—of the popular esteem for Buddhism.

Nor did this edition close the work of translation: 275 later translations, made under the Northern Sung, are still extant and religious intercourse with India continued. The names and writings of many Hindu monks who settled in China are preserved and Chinese continued to go to India. Still on the whole there was a decrease in the volume of religious literature after 900 A.D.¹ In the twelfth century the change was still more remarkable. Nanjio does not record a single translation made under the Southern Sung and it is the only great dynasty which did not revise the Tripitaka.

The second Sung Emperor also, T'ai Tsung, was not hostile, for he erected in the capital, at enormous expense, a stupa 360 feet high to contain relics of the Buddha. The fourth Emperor, Jên-tsung, a distinguished patron of literature, whose reign was ornamented by a galaxy of scholars, is said to have appointed 50 youths to study Sanskrit but showed no particular inclination towards Buddhism. Neither does it appear to have been the motive power in the projects of the celebrated social reformer, Wang An-Shih. But the dynastic history says that he wrote a book full of Buddhist and Taoist fancies and, though there is nothing specifically Buddhist in his political and economic theories, it is clear from the denunciations against him that his system of education introduced Buddhist and Taoist subjects into the public examinations². It is also clear that this system was favoured by those Emperors of the Northern Sung dynasty who were able to think for themselves. In 1087 it was abolished

¹ The decrease in translations is natural for by this time Chinese versions had been made of most works which had any claim to be translated.
² See Biot, L'instruction publique en Chine, p. 360.
by the Empress Dowager acting as regent for the young Chê Tsung, but as soon as he began to reign in his own right he restored it, and it apparently remained in force until the collapse of the dynasty in 1127.

The Emperor Hui-Tsung (1101–1126) fell under the influence of a Taoist priest named Lin Ling-Su. This young man had been a Buddhist novice in boyhood but, being expelled for misconduct, conceived a hatred for his old religion. Under his influence the Emperor not only reorganized Taoism, sanctioning many innovations and granting many new privileges, but also endeavoured to suppress Buddhism, not by persecution, but by amalgamation. By imperial decree the Buddha and his Arhats were enrolled in the Taoist pantheon: temples and monasteries were allowed to exist only on condition of describing themselves as Taoist and their inmates had the choice of accepting that name or of returning to the world.

But there was hardly time to execute these measures, so rapid was the reaction. In less than a year the insolence of Lin Ling-Su brought about his downfall: the Emperor reversed his edict and, having begun by suppressing Buddhism, ended by oppressing Taoism. He was a painter of merit and perhaps the most remarkable artist who ever filled a throne. In art he probably drew no distinction between creeds and among the pictures ascribed to him and preserved in Japan are some of Buddhist subjects. But like Hsüan Tsung he came to a tragic end, and in 1126 was carried into captivity by the Kin Tartars among whom he died.

Fear of the Tartars now caused the Chinese to retire south of the Yang-tse and Hang-chow was made the seat of Government. The century during which this beautiful city was the capital did not produce the greatest names in Chinese history, but it witnessed the perfection of Chinese culture, and the background of impending doom heightens the brilliancy of this literary and aesthetic life. Such a society was naturally eclectic in religion but Buddhism of the Ch’ an school enjoyed consideration and contributed many landscape painters to the roll of fame. But the most eminent and perhaps the most characteristic thinker of the period was Chu-Hsi (1130–1200), the celebrated com-

1 林靈素.
mentator on Confucius who reinterpreted the master's writings to the satisfaction of succeeding ages though in his own life he aroused opposition as well as enthusiasm. Chu-Hsi studied Buddhism in his youth and some have detected its influence in his works, although on most important points he expressly condemned it. I do not see that there is much definite Buddhism in his philosophy, but if Mahayanism had never entered China this new Confucianism would probably never have arisen or would have taken another shape. Though the final result may be anti-Buddhist yet the topics chosen and the method of treatment suggest that the author felt it necessary to show that the Classics could satisfy intellectual curiosity and supply spiritual ideals just as well as this Indian religion. Much of his expositions is occupied with cosmology, and he accepts the doctrine of world periods, recurring in an eternal series of growth and decline: also he teaches not exactly transmigration but the transformation of matter into various living forms. His accounts of sages and saints point to ideals which have much in common with Arhats and Buddhas and, in dealing with the retribution of evil, he seems to admit that when the universe is working properly there is a natural Karma by which good or bad actions receive even in this life rewards in kind, but that in the present period of decline nature has become vitiated so that vice and virtue no longer produce appropriate results.

Chu-Hsi had a celebrated controversy with Lu Chiu-Yüan, a thinker of some importance who, like himself, is commemorated in the tablets of Confucian temples, although he was accused of Buddhist tendencies. He held that learning was not indispensable and that the mind could in meditation rise above the senses and attain to a perception of the truth. Although he strenuously denied the charge of Buddhist leanings, it is clear that his doctrine is near in spirit to the mysticism of Bodhidharma and sets no store on the practical ethics and studious habits which are the essence of Confucianism.

The attitude of the Yüan or Mongol dynasty (1280–1368) towards Buddhism was something new. Hitherto, whatever may have been the religious proclivities of individual Emperors,

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1 See Le Gall, Varités Sinologiques, No. 6 Tchou-Hi: Sa doctrine Son influence. Shanghai, 1894, pp. 90, 122.

2 陸九淵. Compare the similar doctrines of Wang Yang-Ming.
the Empire had been a Confucian institution. A body of official and literary opinion always strong and often overwhelmingly strong regarded imperial patronage of Buddhism or Taoism as a concession to the whims of the people, as an excrescence on the Son of Heaven's proper faith or even a perversion of it. But the Mongol Court had not this prejudice and Khubilai, like other members of his house\(^1\) and like Akbar in India, was the patron of all the religions professed by his subjects. His real object was to encourage any faith which would humanize his rude Mongols. Buddhism was more congenial to them than Confucianism and besides, they had made its acquaintance earlier. Even before Khubilai became Emperor, one of his most trusted advisers was a Tibetan lama known as Pagspa, Bashpa or Pa-ssü-pa\(^2\). He received the title of Kuo-Shih, and after his death his brother succeeded to the same honours.

Khubilai also showed favour to Mohammedans, Christians, Jews and Confucianists, but little to Taoists. This prejudice was doubtless due to the suggestions of his Buddhist advisers, for, as we have seen, there was often rivalry between the two religions and on two occasions at least (in the reigns of Hui Tsung and Wu Tsung) the Taoists made determined, if unsuccessful, attempts to destroy or assimilate Buddhism. Khubilai received complaints that the Taoists represented Buddhism as an offshoot of Taoism and that this objectionable perversion of truth and history was found in many of their books, particularly the Hua-Hu-Ching\(^3\). An edict was issued ordering all Taoist books to be burnt with the sole exception of the Tao-Tê-Ching but it does not appear that the sect was otherwise persecuted.

The Yüan dynasty was consistently favourable to Buddhism. Enormous sums were expended on subventions to monasteries, printing books and performing public ceremonies. Old restrictions were removed and no new ones were imposed. But the sect which was the special recipient of the imperial favour was

\(^1\) E.g. his elder brother Mangku who showed favour to Buddhists, Mohammedans and Nestorians alike. He himself wished to obtain Christian teachers from the Pope, by the help of Marco Polo, but probably merely from curiosity.

\(^2\) More accurately hPhags-pa. It is a title rather than a name, being the Tibetan equivalent of Ārya. Khubilai seems to be the correct transcription of the Emperor's name. The Tibetan and Chinese transcriptions are Hvopilai and Hu-pi-leh.

\(^3\) For this curious work see B.E.F.E.O. 1908, p. 515, and J.A. 1913, i, pp. 116-132. For the destruction of Taoist books see Chavannes in T'oung Pao, 1904, p. 360.
not one of the Chinese schools but Lamaism, the form of Buddhism developed in Tibet, which spread about this time to northern China, and still exists there. It does not appear that in the Yüan period Lamaism and other forms of Buddhism were regarded as different sects¹. A lamaist ecclesiastic was the hierarchical head of all Buddhists, all other religions being placed under the supervision of a special board.

The Mongol Emperors paid attention to religious literature. Khubilai saw to it that the monasteries in Peking were well supplied with books and ordered the bonzes to recite them on stated days. A new collection of the Tripitaka (the ninth) was published 1285–87. In 1312, the Emperor Jên-tsung ordered further translations to be made into Mongol and later had the whole Tripitaka copied in letters of gold. It is noticeable that another Emperor, Chêng Tsung, had the Book of Filial Piety translated into Mongol and circulated together with a brief preface by himself.

It is possible that the Buddhism of the Yüan dynasty was tainted with Sâktism from which the Lama monasteries of Peking (in contrast to all other Buddhist sects in China) are not wholly free. The last Emperor, Shun-ti, is said to have witnessed indecent plays and dances in the company of Lamas and created a scandal which contributed to the downfall of the dynasty². In its last years we hear of some opposition to Buddhism and of a reaction in favour of Confucianism, in consequence of the growing numbers and pretensions of the Lamas.

Whole provinces were under their control and Chinese historians dwell bitterly on their lawlessness. It was a common abuse for wealthy persons to induce a Lama to let their property be registered in his name and thus avoid all payment of taxes on the ground that priests were exempt from taxation by law³.

The Mongols were driven out by the native Chinese dynasty known as Ming, which reigned from 1368 to 1644. It is not

¹ At the present day an ordinary Chinese regards a Lama as quite different from a Hoshang or Buddhist monk.
² The Yüan Emperors were no doubt fond of witnessing religious theatricals in the Palace. See for extracts from Chinese authors, New China Review, 1919, pp. 68 ff. Compare the performances of the T'ang Emperor Su Tsung mentioned above.
³ For the ecclesiastical abuses of the time see Köppen, ii. 103, and de Mailla, Histoire de la Chine, ix. 475, 538.
easy to point out any salient features in religious activity or thought during this period, but since the Ming claimed to restore Chinese civilization interrupted by a foreign invasion, it was natural that they should encourage Confucianism as interpreted by Chu-Hsi. Yet Buddhism, especially Lamaism, acquired a new political importance. Both for the Mings and for the earlier Manchu Emperors the Mongols were a serious and perpetual danger, and it was not until the eighteenth century that the Chinese Court ceased to be preoccupied by the fear that the tribes might unite and again overrun the Empire. But the Tibetan and Mongolian hierarchy had an extraordinary power over these wild horsemen and the Government of Peking won and used their goodwill by skilful diplomacy, the favours shown being generally commensurate to the gravity of the situation. Thus when the Grand Lama visited Peking in 1652 he was treated as an independent prince: in 1908 he was made to kneel.

Few Ming Emperors showed much personal interest in religion and most of them were obviously guided by political considerations. They wished on the one hand to conciliate the Church and on the other to prevent the clergy from becoming too numerous or influential. Hence very different pictures may be drawn according as we dwell on the favourable or restrictive edicts which were published from time to time. Thus T'ai-Tsu, the founder of the dynasty, is described by one authority as always sympathetic to Buddhists and by another as a crowned persecutor. He had been a bonze himself in his youth but left the cloister for the adventurous career which conducted him to the throne. It is probable that he had an affectionate recollection of the Church which once sheltered him, but also a knowledge of its weaknesses and this knowledge moved him to publish restrictive edicts as to the numbers and qualifications of monks. On the other hand he attended sermons, received monks in audience and appointed them as tutors to his sons. He revised the hierarchy and gave appropriate titles to its various grades. He also published a decree ordering that all monks should study

1 Seco Wirger, Textes Historiques, iii. p. 2013, and De Groot, Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China, i. p. 82. He is often called Hung Wu which is strictly speaking the title of his reign. He was certainly capable of changing his mind, for he degraded Mencius from his position in Confucian temples one year and restored him the next.
three śūtras (Lankāvatāra, Prajñāpāramitā and Vajracchedikā), and that three brief commentaries on these works should be compiled (see Nanjio’s Catalogue, 1613–15).

It is in this reign that we first hear of the secular clergy, that is to say, persons who acted as priests but married and did not live in monasteries. Decrees against them were issued in 1394 and 1412, but they continued to increase. It is not clear whether their origin should be sought in a desire to combine the profits of the priesthood with the comforts of the world or in an attempt to evade restrictions as to the number of monks. In later times this second motive was certainly prevalent, but the celibacy of the clergy is not strictly insisted on by Lamaists and a lax observance of monastic rules¹ was common under the Mongol dynasty.

The third Ming Emperor, Ch’êng-tsu², was educated by a Buddhist priest of literary tastes named Yao Kuang-Hsiao³, whom he greatly respected and promoted to high office. Nevertheless he enacted restrictions respecting ordination and on one occasion commanded that 1800 young men who presented themselves to take the vows should be enrolled in the army instead. His prefaces and laudatory verses were collected in a small volume and included in the eleventh collection of the Tripitaka⁴, called the Northern collection, because it was printed at Peking. It was published with a preface of his own composition and he wrote another to the work called the Liturgy of Kuan-yin⁵, and a third introducing selected memoirs of various remarkable monks⁶. His Empress had a vision in which she imagined a sūtra was revealed to her and published the same with an introduction. He was also conspicuously favourable to the Tibetan clergy. In 1403 he sent his head eunuch to Tibet to invite the presence of Tsoñ-kha-pa, who refused to come himself

¹ See de Mailla, Histoire de la Chine, ix. p. 470.
² Often called Yung-Lo which is strictly the title of his reign.
³ 姚廣孝.
⁴ See Nanjio, Cat. 1613–16.
⁵ See Beal, Catena of Buddhist Scriptures, p. 398. The Emperor says: “So we, the Ruler of the Empire...do hereby bring before men a mode for attaining to the condition of supreme Wisdom. We therefore earnestly exhort all men...carefully to study the directions of this work and faithfully to follow them.”
⁶ Nanjio, Cat. 1620. See also ib. 1032 and 1657 for the Empress’s sūtra.
but sent a celebrated Lama called Halima. On arriving at the capital Halima was ordered to say masses for the Emperor's relatives. These ceremonies were attended by supernatural manifestations and he received as a recognition of his powers the titles of Prince of the Great Precious Law and Buddha of the Western Paradise. His three principal disciples were styled Kuo Shih, and, agreeably to the precedent established under the Yüan dynasty, were made the chief prelates of the whole Buddhist Church. Since this time the Red or Tibetan Clergy have been recognized as having precedence over the Grey or Chinese.

In this reign the Chinese made a remarkable attempt to assert their authority in Ceylon. In 1405 a mission was sent with offerings to the Sacred Tooth and when it was ill received a second mission despatched in 1407 captured the king of Ceylon and carried him off as a prisoner to China. Ceylon paid tribute for fifty years, but it does not appear that these proceedings had much importance for religion.

In the reigns of Ying Tsung and Ching-Ti (1436–64) large numbers of monks were ordained, but, as on previous occasions, the great increase of candidates led to the imposition of restrictions and in 1458 an edict was issued ordering that ordinations should be held only once a year. The influence of the Chief Eunuchs during this period was great, and two successive holders of this post, Wang-Chên and Hsing-An, were both devoted Buddhists and induced the Emperors whom they served to expend enormous sums on building monasteries and performing ceremonies at which the Imperial Court were present.

1 Or Kalima. In Tibetan Karma de bshin gshegs-pa. He was the fifth head of the Karma-pa school. See Chandra Das's dictionary, s.v., where a reference is given to kLong-rdol-gaung-hbum. It is noticeable that the Karma-pa is one of the older and more Tantric sects.

*大寶法王, 西天大善自在佛. Yüan Shih K'ai prefixed to this latter the four characters 誠順泰安.
The end of the fifteenth century is filled by two reigns, Hsien Tsung and Hsiao Tsung. The former fell under the influence of his favourite concubine Wan and his eunuchs to such an extent that, in the latter part of his life, he ceased to see his ministers and the chief eunuch became the real ruler of China. It is also mentioned both in 1468 and 1483 that he was in the hands of Buddhist priests who instructed him in secret doctrines and received the title of Kuo-Shih and other distinctions. His son Hsiao Tsung reformed these abuses: the Palace was cleansed; the eunuchs and priests were driven out and some were executed; Taoist books were collected and burnt. The celebrated writer Wang Yang Ming\(^1\) lived in this reign. He defended and illustrated the doctrine of Lu Chin-Yüan, namely that truth can be obtained by meditation. To express intuitive knowledge, he used the expression *Liang Chih\(^2\)* (taken from Mencius). *Liang Chih* is inherent in all human minds, but in different degrees, and can be developed or allowed to atrophy. To develop it should be man's constant object, and in its light when pure all things are understood and peace is obtained. The phrases of the Great Learning "to complete knowledge," "investigate things," and "rest in the highest excellence," are explained as referring to the *Liang Chih* and the contemplation of the mind by itself. We cannot here shut our eyes to the influence of Bodhidharma and his school, however fervently Wang Yang Ming may have appealed to the Chinese Classics.

The reign of Wu-tsung (1506–21) was favourable to Buddhism. In 1507 40,000 men became monks, either Buddhist or Taoist. The Emperor is said to have been learned in Buddhist literature and to have known Sanskrit\(^3\) as well as Mongol and Arabic, but he was in the hands of a band of eunuchs, who were known as the eight tigers. In 1515 he sent an embassy to Tibet with the object of inducing the Grand Lama to visit Peking, but the invitation was refused and the Tibetans expelled the mission with force. The next Emperor, Shih-T’sung (1522–

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1 王陽明. His real name was Wang Shou Jên 王守仁.

2 良知.

3 Though the ecclesiastical study of Sanskrit decayed under the Ming dynasty, Yung-lo founded in 1407 a school of language for training interpreters at which Sanskrit was taught among other tongues.
66), inclined to Taoism rather than Buddhism. He ordered the images of Buddha in the Forbidden City to be destroyed, but still appears to have taken part in Buddhist ceremonies at different periods of his reign. Wan Li (1573–1620), celebrated in the annals of porcelain manufacture, showed some favour to Buddhism. He repaired many buildings at P’u-t’o and distributed copies of the Tripitaka to the monasteries of his Empire. In his edicts occurs the saying that Confucianism and Buddhism are like the two wings of a bird: each requires the co-operation of the other.

European missionaries first arrived during the sixteenth century, and, had the Catholic Church been more flexible, China might perhaps have recognized Christianity, not as the only true religion but as standing on the same footing as Buddhism and Taoism. The polemics of the early missionaries imply that they regarded Buddhism as their chief rival. Thus Ricci had a public controversy with a bonze at Hang-Chou, and his principal pupil Hsü Kuang-Ch’ì¹ wrote a tract entitled “The errors of the Buddhists exposed.” Replies to these attacks are preserved in the writings of the distinguished Buddhist priest Shen Chu-Hung².

In 1644 the Ming dynasty collapsed before the Manchus and China was again under foreign rule. Unlike the Mongols, the Manchus had little inclination to Buddhism. Even before they had conquered China, their prince, T’ai Tsung, ordered an inspection of monasteries and limited the number of monks. But in this edict he inveighs only against the abuse of religion and admits that “Buddha’s teaching is at bottom pure and chaste, true and sincere: by serving him with purity and piety, one can obtain happiness³.” Shun-Chih, the first Manchu Emperor, wrote some prefaces to Buddhist works and entertained the Dalai Lama at Peking in 1652⁴. His son and successor, commonly known as K’ang-Hsi (1662–1723), dallied for a while with Christianity, but the net result of his religious policy was to secure to Confucianism all that imperial favour can give. I have mentioned above his Sacred Edict and the

¹ 徐光啟. ² 沈袾宏. ³ De Groot, I.c. p. 93. ⁴ Some authorities say that he became a monk before he died, but the evidence is not good. See Johnston in New China Review, Nos. 1 and 2, 1920.
partial favour which he showed to Buddhism. He gave donations to the monasteries of P'u-t'o, Hang-chou and elsewhere: he published the Kanjur with a preface of his own\(^1\) and the twelfth and last collection of the Tripitaka was issued under the auspices of his son and grandson. The latter, the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, also received the Teshu Lama not only with honour, but with interest and sympathy, as is clear from the inscription preserved at Peking, in which he extols the Lama as a teacher of spiritual religion\(^2\). He also wrote a preface to a sutra for producing rain\(^3\) in which he says that he has ordered the old editions to be carefully corrected and prayer and worship to be offered, "so that the old forms which have been so beneficial during former ages might still be blessed to the desired end." Even the late Empress Dowager accepted the ministrations of the present Dalai Lama when he visited Peking in 1908, although, to his great indignation she obliged him to kneel at Court\(^4\). Her former colleague, the Empress Tzü-An was a devout Buddhist. The statutes of the Manchu dynasty (printed in 1818) contain regulations for the celebration of Buddhist festivals at Court, for the periodical reading of sutras to promote the imperial welfare, and for the performance of funeral rites.

Still on the whole the Manchu dynasty showed less favour to Buddhism than any which preceded it and its restrictive edicts limiting the number of monks and prescribing conditions for ordination were followed by no periods of reaction. But the vitality of Buddhism is shown by the fact that these restrictions merely led to an increase of the secular clergy, not legally ordained, who in their turn claimed the imperial attention. Ch'ien Lung began in 1735 by giving them the alternative of becoming ordinary laymen or of entering a monastery but this drastic measure was considerably modified in the next few years. Ultimately the secular clergy were allowed to continue as such, if they could show good reason, and to have one disciple each.

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1 See T'oung Pao, 1909, p. 533.
2 See E. Ludwig, The visit of the Teshoo Lama to Peking, Tien Tsin Press, 1904.
4 See for an account of his visit "The Dalai Lamas and their relations with the Manchu Emperor of China" in T'oung Pao, 1910, p. 774.
CHAPTER XLIV

CHINA (continued)

THE CANON

The Buddhist scriptures extant in the Chinese language are known collectively as San Tsang\(^1\) or the three store-houses, that is to say, Tripitaka. Though this usage is justified by both eastern and European practice, it is not altogether happy, for the Chinese thesaurus is not analogous to the Pali Canon or to any collection of sacred literature known in India, being in spite of its name arranged in four, not in three, divisions. It is a great Corpus Scriptorum Sanctorum, embracing all ages and schools, wherein translations of the most diverse Indian works are supplemented by original compositions in Chinese. Imagine a library comprising Latin translations of the Old and New Testaments with copious additions from the Talmud and Apocryphal literature; the writings of the Fathers, decrees of Councils and Popes, together with the opera omnia of the principal schoolmen and the early protestant reformers and you will have some idea of this theological miscellany which has no claim to be called a canon, except that all the works included have at some time or other received a certain literary or doctrinal hallmark.

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The collection is described in the catalogue compiled by Bunyi Nanjio\(^2\). It enumerates 1662 works which are classified in four great divisions, (a) Sûtra, (b) Vinaya, (c) Abhidharma, (d) Miscellaneous. The first three divisions contain translations only; the fourth original Chinese works as well.

The first division called Ching or Sûtras amounts to nearly two-thirds of the whole, for it comprises no less than 1081 works.

\(^1\) 三藏. For an account of some of the scriptures here mentioned see chap. xx.

works and is subdivided as follows: (a) Mahāyāna Sūtras, 541, (b) Hinayāna Sūtras, 240, (c) Mahāyāna and Hinayāna Sūtras, 300 in number, admitted into the canon under the Sung and Yüan dynasties, a.d. 960–1368. Thus whereas the first two subdivisions differ in doctrine, the third is a supplement containing later translations of both schools. The second subdivision, or Hinayāna Sūtras, which is less numerous and complicated than that containing the Mahāyāna Sūtras, shows clearly the character of the whole collection. It is divided into two classes of which the first is called A-han, that is, Âgama. This comprises translations of four works analogous to the Pali Nikâyas, though not identical with the texts which we possess, and also numerous alternative translations of detached sūtras. All four were translated about the beginning of the fifth century whereas the translations of detached sūtras are for the most part earlier. This class also contains the celebrated Sūtra of Forty-two Sections, and works like the Jātaka-nidāna. The second class is styled Sūtras of one translation. The title is not used rigorously, but the works bearing it are relatively obscure and it is not always clear to what Sanskrit texts they correspond. It will be seen from the above that the Chinese Tripitaka is a literary and bibliographical collection rather than an ecclesiastical canon. It does not provide an authorized version for the edification of the faithful, but it presents for the use of the learned all translations of Indian works belonging to a particular class which possess a certain age and authority.

The same characteristic marks the much richer collection of Mahāyāna Sūtras, which contains the works most esteemed by Chinese Buddhists. It is divided into seven classes:

1. 疏若. Pan-jo (Po-jo) or Prajñāpāramitâ.
2. 寶積. Pao-chi or Ratnakūṭa.
3. 大集. Ta-chi or Mahāsannipâta.
4. 華嚴. Hua-yen or Avatamsaka.

1 阿含.
2 Tan-i-ching 單譯經. Some of the works classed under Tan-i-ching appear to exist in more than one form, e.g. Nanjio, Nos. 674 and 804.
3 These characters are commonly read Pojo by Chinese Buddhists but the Japanese reading Hanpya shows that the pronunciation of the first character was Pan.
5. 浄巌. Nieh-pan or Parinirvāṇa.
6. 五大部外中譯經. Sūtras in more than one translation but not falling into any of the above five classes.
7. 單譯經. Other sūtras existing in only one translation.

Each of the first five classes probably represents a collection of sūtras analogous to a Nikāya and in one sense a single work but translated into Chinese several times, both in a complete form and in extracts. Thus the first class opens with the majestic Mahāprajñāpāramitā in 600 fasciculi and equivalent to 200,000 stanzas in Sanskrit. This is followed by several translations of shorter versions including two of the little sūtras called the Heart of the Prajñāpāramitā, which fills only one leaf. There are also six translations of the celebrated work known as the Diamond-cutter\(^1\), which is the ninth sūtra in the Mahāprajñāpāramitā and all the works classed under the heading Pan-jo seem to be alternative versions of parts of this great Corpus.

The second and third classes are collections of sūtras which no longer exist as collections in Sanskrit, though the Sanskrit text of some individual sūtras is extant. That called Pao-chí or Ratnakūṭa opens with a collection of forty-nine sūtras which includes the longer version of the Sukhāvatīvyūha. This collection is reckoned as one work, but the other items in the same class are all or nearly all of them duplicate translations of separate sūtras contained in it. This is probably true of the third class also. At least seven of the works included in it are duplicate translations of the first, which is called Mahāsannipāta, and the sūtras called Candragarbha, Kṣitig., Sumerug., and Akāśag., appear to be merely sections, not separate compositions, although this is not clear from the remarks of Nanjio and Wassiljew.

The principal works in class 4 are two translations, one fuller than the other, of the Hua-yen or Avatamsāka Sūtra\(^2\), still one of the most widely read among Buddhist works, and at least sixteen of the other items are duplicate renderings of

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\(^1\) Vajracchedikā or 金刚 Chin Kang.

\(^2\) Winternitz (Gesch. Ind. Lit. ii. i. p. 242) states on the authority of Takakusu that this work is the same as the Gaṇḍavyūha. See also Pelliot in J.A. 1914, ii. pp. 118–21. The Gaṇḍavyūha is probably an extract of the Avatamsaka.
parts of it. Class 5 consists of thirteen works dealing with
the death of the Buddha and his last discourses. The first
sūtra, sometimes called the northern text, is imperfect and
was revised at Nanking in the form of the southern text. There
are two other incomplete versions of the same text. To judge
from a specimen translated by Beal it is a collection of late
discourses influenced by Vishnuism and does not correspond
to the Mahāparinibbānasutta of the Pali Canon.

Class 6 consists of sūtras which exist in several translations,
but still do not, like the works just mentioned, form small
libraries in themselves. It comprises, however, several books
highly esteemed and historically important, such as the
Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (six translations), the Suvarṇaprabhāsā,
the Lalitavistara, the Lankāvatāra, and the Shorter Sukhā-
vatīvyūha, all extant in three translations. In it are also
included many short tracts, the originals of which are not
known. Some of them are Jātakas, but many deal with the
ritual of image worship or with spells. These characteristics are
still more prominent in the seventh class, consisting of sūtras
which exist in a single translation only. The best known among
them are the Śūrāṅgama and the Mahāvairocana (Ta-jih-ching),
which is the chief text of the Shin-gon or Mantra School.

The Lü-tsang or Vinaya-pitaka is divided into Mahāyāna
and Hinayāna texts, neither very numerous. Many of the
Mahāyāna texts profess to be revelations by Maitreya and are
extracts of the Yogācāryabhūmiśāstra or similar to it. For
practical purposes the most important is the Fan-wang-ching
or net of Brahmā. The Indian original of this work is not known,
but since the eighth century it has been accepted in China as
the standard manual for the monastic life.

1 Nos. 113 and 114 北本 and 南本.
2 Calcuta of Buddhist Scriptures, pp. 160 ff.
3 The longer Sukhāvatīvyūha is placed in the Ratnakūta class.
4 The Sūtra of Kuan-yin with the thousand hands and eyes is very popular
and used in most temples. Nanjio, No. 320.
5 No. 399 首楞嚴 and 530 大日經.
6 Said to have been revealed to Asanga by Maitreya. No. 1170.
7 梵網經. No. 1087. It has nothing to do with the Pali Sūtra of the same
name. Digha, i.
8 See below for an account of it.
The Hinayâna Vinaya comprises five very substantial recensions of the whole code, besides extracts, compendiums, and manuals. The five recensions are: (a) Shih-sung-lû in sixty-five fasciculi, translated in A.D. 404. This is said to be a Vinaya of the Sarvâstivâdins, but I-Ching\(^1\) expressly says that it does not belong to the Mûlasarvâstivâdin school, though not unlike it. (b) The Vinaya of this latter translated by I-Ching who brought it from India. (c) Shih-fen-lû-tsang in sixty fasciculi, translated in 405 and said to represent the Dharmagupta school. (d) The Mi-sha-so Wu-fên Lû or Vinaya of the Mahî-sásakas, said to be similar to the Pali Vinaya, though not identical with it\(^2\). (e) Mo-ko-sèng-chi Lû or Mahasanghika Vinaya brought from India by Fa-Hsien and translated 416 A.D. It is noticeable that all five recensions are classed as Hinayanist, although (b) is said to be the Vinaya used by the Tibetan Church. Although Chinese Buddhists frequently speak of the five-fold Vinaya\(^3\), this expression does not refer to these five texts, as might be supposed, and I-Ching condemns it, saying that\(^4\) the real number of divisions is four.

The Abhidharma-Pitaka or Lun-tsang is, like the Sûtra Pitaka, divided into Mahayanist and Hinayanist texts and texts of both schools admitted into the Canon after 960 A.D. The Mahayanist texts have no connection with the Pali Canon and their Sanskrit titles do not contain the word Abhidharma\(^1\). They are philosophical treatises ascribed to Aśvaghosha, Nâgârjuna, Asanga, Vasubandhu and others, including three works supposed to have been revealed by Maitreya to Asanga\(^5\). The principal of these is the Yogâcârya-bhûmîsâstra, a scripture of capital importance for the Yogâcârya school. It describes the career of a Bodhisattva and hence parts of it are treated as belonging to the Vinaya. Among other important works in this section may be mentioned the Madhyamaka Sûstra of

\(^1\) Record of Buddhist Practices, p. 20.
\(^3\) See Watters, Yüan Chhwang, i, p. 227. The five schools are given as Dharma-gupta, Maḥisâsika, Sarvâstivâdin, Kâśyapiya and Mahâsanghika. For the last Vâtsiputra or Sthâvira is sometimes substituted.
\(^4\) Record of Buddhist Practices, p. 8.
\(^5\) The Chinese word lun occurs frequently in them, but though it is used to translate Abhidharma, it is of much wider application and means discussion of Sûstra.

See Watters, Yüan Chhwang, i, pp. 355 ff.
Nāgārjuna, the Mahāyānasūtrālankāra of Asanga, and the Awakening of Faith ascribed to Aśvaghosa.

The Hinayāna texts also show no correspondence with the Pali Pitaka but are based on the Abhidharma works of the Sarvāstivādin school. These are seven in number, namely the Jñānapraśthānasāstra of Kātyāyaniputra with six accessory treatises or Pādas. The Mahāvibhāshasāstra, or commentary on the Jñānapraśthāna, and the Abhidharmakōsa are also in this section.

The third division of the Abhidharma is of little importance but contains two curious items: a manual of Buddhist terminology composed as late as 1272 by Pañjśpa for the use of Khubilai's son and the Sāṅkhya-kārikābhāshya, which is not a Buddhist work but a compendium of Sāṅkhya philosophy.

The fourth division of the whole collection consists of miscellaneous works, partly translated from Sanskrit and partly composed in Chinese. Many of the Indian works appear from their title not to differ much from the later Mahāyāna Sūtras, but it is rather surprising to find in this section four translations of the Dharmapada (or at least of some similar anthology) which are thus placed outside the Sūtra Pitaka. Among the works professing to be translated from Sanskrit are a History of the Patriarchs, the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghosa, a work similar to the Questions of King Milinda, Lives of Aśvaghosa, Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu and others and the Suhriliekha or Friendly Epistle ascribed to Nāgārjuna.

The Chinese works included in this Tripiṭaka consist of nearly two hundred books, historical, critical, controversial and homiletic, composed by one hundred and two authors. Excluding late treatises on ceremonial and doctrine, the more interesting may be classified as follows:

(a) Historical.—Besides general histories of Buddhism, there

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1 Nos. 1179, 1300, 1249.
2 For a discussion of this literature see Takakusu on the Abhidharma Literature of the Sarvāstivādins, J. Pali Text Society, 1905, pp. 87 ff.
3 Nanjio, Cat. Nos. 1273, 1275, 1276, 1277, 1292, 1281, 1282, 1296, 1317. This last work was not translated till the eleventh century.
4 Nanjio, Cat. Nos. 1263, 1267 and 1269.
5 See Takakusu's study of these translations in B.E.F.E.O. 1904, pp. 1 ff. and pp. 978 ff.
6 Nanjio, Cat. Nos. 1321, 1353, 1365, 1439.
are several collections of ecclesiastical biography. The first is
the Kao-sâng-chuan\(^1\), or Memoirs of eminent Monks (not,
however, excluding laymen), giving the lives of about five
hundred worthies who lived between 67 and 519 A.D. The series
is continued in other works dealing with the T'ang and Sung
dynasties. For the Contemplative School there are further
supplements carrying the record on to the Yüan. There are also
several histories of the Chinese patriarchs. Of these the latest
and therefore most complete is the Fo-tsu-t'ung-chi\(^2\) composed
about 1270 by Chih P'an of the T'ien-T'ai school. The Ching-
tè-ch'uan-têng-lu\(^3\) and other treatises give the succession of
patriarchs according to the Contemplative School. Among
historical works may be reckoned the travels of various pilgrims
who visited India.

\[(b) \text{Critical.}\]—There are thirteen catalogues of the Tripitaka
as it existed at different periods. Several of them contain
biographical accounts of the translators and other notes. The
work called Chên-chêng-lun criticizes several false sûtras and
names. There are also several encyclopædic works containing
extracts from the Tripitaka, arranged according to subjects,
such as the Fa-yüan-chu-lin\(^4\) in 100 volumes; concordances of
numerical categories and a dictionary of Sanskrit terms,
Fan-i-ming-i-chi\(^5\), composed in 1151.

\[(c) \text{The literature of several Chinese sects is well repre-}
\text{sented. Thus there are more than sixty works belonging to}
the T'ien T'ai school beginning with the San-ta-pu or three
great books attributed to the founder and ending with the
ecclesiastical history of Chih-p'an, written about 1270. The
Hua-yen school is represented by the writings of four patriarchs
and five monks: the Lü or Vinaya school by eight works at-
tributed to its founder, and the Contemplative School by a
 sûtra ascribed to Hui-nêng, the sixth patriarch, by works on
the history of the Patriarchs and by several collections of
sayings or short compositions.}

\(^1\) 高僧傳. No. 1490.

\(^2\) 佛祖統紀, 志磐. No. 1601. For more about the Patriarchs see
the next chapter.

\(^3\) 景德傳燈錄. No. 1524, written A.D. 1006.

\(^4\) 法苑珠林. No. 1482.翻譯名義集. No. 1640.
(d) Controversial.—Under this heading may be mentioned polemics against Taoism, including two collections of the controversies which took place between Buddhists and Taoists from A.D. 71 till A.D. 730: replies to the attacks made against Buddhism by Confucian scholars and refutations of the objections raised by sceptics or heretics such as the Chê-i-lun and the Yüan-jên-lun, or Origin of man. This latter is a well-known text-book written by the fifth Patriarch of the Hua-yen school and while criticizing Confucianism, Taoism, and the Hinayâna, treats them as imperfect rather than as wholly erroneous. Still more conciliatory is the Treatise on the three religions composed by Liu Mi of the Yüan dynasty, which asserts that all three deserve respect as teaching the practice of virtue. It attacks, however, anti-Buddhist Confucianists such as Han-Yü and Chu-Hsi.

The Chinese section contains three compositions attributed to imperial personages of the Ming, viz., a collection of the prefaces and laudatory verses written by the Emperor T'ai-Tsung, the Shên-Sêng-Chuan or memoirs of remarkable monks with a preface by the Emperor Ch'êng-tsu, and a curious book by his consort the Empress Jên-Hsiao, introducing a sûtra which Her Majesty states was miraculously revealed to her on New Year's day, 1398 (see Nanjio, No. 1657).

Though the Hindus were careful students and guardians of their sacred works, their temperament did not dispose them to define and limit the scriptures. But, as I have mentioned above, there is some evidence that there was a loose Mahayanist canon in India which was the origin of the arrangement found in the Chinese Tripitaka, in so far as it (1) accepted Hinayanist as well as Mahayanist works, and (2) included a great number of relatively late sûtras, arranged in classes such as Prajñâpâramitâ and Mahâsannipâta.

The Tripitaka analyzed by Nanjio, which contains works assigned to dates ranging from 67 to 1622 A.D., is merely the

1 折疑論 and 原人論. Nos. 1634 and 1594.
3 三教平心論 by 劉謙.
4 See chap. xx on the Mahayanist canon in India.
best known survivor among several similar thesauri\(^1\). From 518 A.D. onwards twelve collections of sacred literature were made by imperial order and many of these were published in more than one edition. The validity of this Canon depends entirely on imperial authority, but, though Emperors occasionally inserted the works of writers whom they esteemed\(^2\), it does not appear that they aimed at anything but completeness nor did they favour any school. The Buddhist Church, like every other department of the Empire, received from them its share of protection and supervision and its claims were sufficient to induce the founder, or at least an early Sovereign, of every important dynasty to publish under his patronage a revised collection of the scriptures. The list of these collections is as follows\(^3\):

1. A.D. 518 in the time of Wu-Ti, founder of the Liang.
2. ,, 533–4 Hsiao-Wu of the Northern Wei.
3. ,, 534 Wan-ti, founder of the Sui.
4. ,, 602 602
5. ,, 605–16 Yang-Ti of the Sui.
6. ,, 695 the Empress Wu of the T’ang.
7. ,, 730 Hsüan-Tsung of the T’ang.
8. ,, 971 T’ai-Tsu, founder of the Sung.
9. ,, 1285–7 Khubilai Khan, founder of the Yüan.
10. ,, 1368–98 Hung-Wu, founder of the Ming.
11. ,, 1403–24 Yung-Lo of the Ming.
12. ,, 1735–7 Yung-Ching and Ch’ien-Lung of the Ch’ing\(^4\).

Of these collections, the first seven were in MS. only: the last five were printed. The last three appear to be substantially the same. The tenth and eleventh collections are known as

\(^1\) It is described at the beginning as Ta Ming San Tsang, but strictly speaking it must be No. 12 of the list, as it contains a work said to have been written about 1622 A.D. (p. 408).

\(^2\) Thus the Emperor Jên Tsung ordered the works of Ch’i Sung 車詡 to be admitted to the Canton in 1062.

\(^3\) Taken from Nanjio’s Catalogue, p. xxvii.

\(^4\) Ch’ien-Lung is said to have printed the Tripitaka in four languages, Chinese, Tibetan, Mongol and Manchu, the whole collection filling 1392 vols. See Mollendorf in China Branch, J.A.S. xxiv. 1890, p. 28.
southern and northern, because they were printed at Nanking and Peking respectively. They differ only in the number of Chinese works admitted and similarly the twelfth collection is merely a revision of the tenth with the addition of fifty-four Chinese works.

As mentioned, the Tripitaka contains thirteen catalogues of the Buddhist scriptures as known at different dates. Of these the most important are (a) the earliest published between 506 and 512 A.D., (b) three published under the T’ang dynasty and known as Nei-tien-lu, T’u-chi (both about 664 A.D.), and K’ai-yüan-lu (about 720 A.D.), (c) Chih-Yüan-lu or catalogue of Yüan dynasty, about 1285, which, besides enumerating the Chinese titles, transliterates the Sanskrit titles and states whether the Indian works translated are also translated into Tibetan. (d) The catalogue of the first Ming collection.

The later collections contain new material and differ from the earlier by natural accretion, for a great number of translations were produced under the T’ang and Sung. Thus the seventh catalogue (685 A.D.) records that 559 new works were admitted to the Canon. But this expansion was accompanied by a critical and sifting process, so that whereas the first collection contained 2213 works, the Ming edition contains only 1622. This compression means not that works of importance were rejected as heretical or apocryphal, for, as we have seen, the Tripitaka is most catholic, but that whereas the earlier collections admitted multitudinous extracts or partial translations of Indian works, many of these were discarded when complete versions had been made.

Nanjio considers that of the 2213 works contained in the first collection only 276 are extant. Although the catalogues are preserved, all the earlier collections are lost: copies of the

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1. But according to another statement the southern recension was not the imperial collection begun in 1308 but a private edition now lost. See Nanjio, Cat. p. xxiii.

2. See for the complete list Nanjio, Cat. p. xxvii. Those named above are (a) 内典録, 圖紀, 開元録, Nos. 1483, 1485, 1487, and (b) 至元録, No. 1612. For the date of the first see Maspéro in B.E.F.E.O. 1910, p. 114. There was a still earlier catalogue composed by Tao-an in 374 of which only fragments have been preserved. See Pelliot in T‘oung Pao, xix. 1920, p. 258.
eighth and ninth were preserved in the Zō-jō-ji Library of Tokyo and Chinese and Japanese editions of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth are current. So far as one can judge, when the eighth catalogue, or K'ai-yüan-lu, was composed (between 713 and 741), the older and major part of the Canon had been definitively fixed and the later collections merely add the translations made by Amogha, and by writers of the Sung and Yüan dynasties.

The editions of the Chinese Tripitaka must be distinguished from the collections, for by editions are meant the forms in which each collection was published, the text being or purporting to be the same in all the editions of each collection. It is said that under the Sung and Yüan twenty different editions were produced. These earlier issues were printed on long folding sheets and a nun called Fa-chên is said to have first published an edition in the shape of ordinary Chinese books. In 1586 a monk named Mi-Tsang imitated this procedure and his edition was widely used. About a century later a Japanese priest known as Tetsu-yen reproduced it and his publication, which is not uncommon in Japan, is usually called the Ō-baku edition. There are two modern Japanese editions: (a) that of Tokyo, begun in 1880, based on a Korean edition with various readings taken from other Chinese editions. (b) That of Kyoto, 1905, which is a reprint of the Ming collection. A Chinese edition has been published at Shanghai (1913) at the expense of Mrs Hardoon, a Chinese lady well known as a munificent patron of the faith, and I believe another at Nanking, but I do not know if it is complete or not.

1 For the Korean copy now in Japan, see Courant, Bibliographie coréenne, vol. iii. pp. 215–19.
2 See Nanjio, Cat. p. xxii.
3 Also called Do-ko.
4 The earlier collections of the Tripitaka seem to have been known in Korea and about 1000 A.D. the king procured from China a copy of the Imperial Edition, presumably the eighth collection (971 A.D.). He then ordered a commission of scholars to revise the text and publish an edition of his own. The copy of this edition, on which the recent Tokyo edition was founded, was brought to Japan in the Bun-mei period 1469–1486.
5 A supplement to the Tripitaka containing non-canonical works in 750 volumes (Dai Nippon Zoku-Zōkyō) was published in 1911.
6 The Peking Tripitaka catalogued by Forke appears to be a set of 1223 works represented by copies taken from four editions published in 1578, 1582, 1598 and 1735 A.D., all of which are editions of the collections numbered 11 and 12 above.
The translations contained in the Chinese Tripitaka belong to several periods. In the earliest, which extends to the middle of the fourth century, the works produced were chiefly renderings of detached sūtras. Few treatises classified as Vinaya or Abhidharma were translated and those few are mostly extracts or compilations. The sūtras belong to both the Hīna and Mahāyāna. The earliest extant translation or rather compilation, the Sūtra of Forty-two sections, belongs to the former school, and so do the majority of the translations made by An-Shih-Kao (148–170 A.D.), but from the second century onwards the Prajñāpāramitā and Amitābha Sūtras make their appearance. Many of the translations made in this period are described as incomplete or incorrect and the fact that most of them were superseded or supplemented by later versions shows that the Chinese recognized their provisional character. Future research will probably show that many of them are paraphrases or compendiums rather than translations in our sense.

The next period, roughly speaking 375–745 A.D., was extraordinarily prolific in extensive and authoritative translations. The translators now attack not detached chapters or discourses but the great monuments of Indian Buddhist literature. Though it is not easy to make any chronological bisection in this period, there is a clear difference in the work done at the beginning and at the end of it. From the end of the fourth century onwards a desire to have complete translations of the great canonical works is apparent. Between 385 and 445 A.D. were translated the four Āgamas, analogous to the Nikāyas of the Pali Canon, three great collections of the Vinaya, and the principal scriptures of the Abhidharma according to the Sarvāstivādin school. For the Mahāyāna were translated the great sūtras known as Avatamsaka, Lankāvatāra, and many others, as well as works...

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1 For two interesting lives of translators see the T'oung Pao, 1909, p. 190, and 1903, p. 332, where will be found the biographies of Sāng Hui, a Sogdian who died in 280 and Jinagupta a native of Gandhāra (529–606).

2 But between 266 and 313 Dharmaraksha translated the Saddharmapundarika (including the additional chapters 21–26) and the Lalitavistara. His translation of the Prajñāpāramitā is incomplete.

3 In the translations of Lokākṣhi 147–180, Chih-Ch'ion 223–243, Dharmaraksha 206–313.
ascribed to Asvaghosha and Nagarjuna. After 645 A.D. a further development of the critical spirit is perceptible, especially in the labours of Hsüan Chuang and I-Ching. They attempt to give the religious public not only complete works in place of extracts and compendiums, but also to select the most authoritative texts among the many current in India. Thus, though many translations had appeared under the name of Prajñāpāramitā, Hsüan Chuang filled 600 fasciculi with a new rendering of the gigantic treatise. I-Ching supplemented the already bulky library of Vinaya works with versions of the Mūlasārva-vāstivādin recension and many auxiliary texts.

Amogha (Pu-K'ung) whose literary labours extended from 746 to 774 A.D. is a convenient figure to mark the beginning of the next and last period, although some of its characteristics appear a little earlier. They are that no more translations are made from the great Buddhist classics—partly no doubt because they had all been translated already, well or ill—but that renderings of works described as Dhāraṇī or Tantra pullulate and multiply. Though this literature deserves such epithets as decadent and superstitious, yet it would appear that Indian Tantras of the worst class were not palatable to the Chinese.

The Chinese Tripitaka is of great importance for the literary history of Buddhism, but the material which it offers for investigation is superabundant and the work yet done is small. We are confronted by such questions as, can we accept the dates assigned to the translators, can we assume that, if the Chinese translations or transliterations correspond with Indian titles, the works are the same, and if the works are professedly the same, can we assume that the Chinese text is a correct presentation of the Indian original?

The dates assigned to the translators offer little ground for scepticism. The exactitude of the Chinese in such matters is well attested, and there is a general agreement between several authorities such as the Catalogues of the Tripitaka, the memoirs known as Kao-Sêng Chuan with their continuations, and the chapter on Buddhist books in the Sui annals. There are no signs
of a desire to claim improbable accuracy or improbable antiquity. Many works are said to be by unknown translators, doubtful authorship is frankly discussed, and the movement of literature and thought indicated is what we should expect. We have first fragmentary and incomplete translations belonging to both the Mahā and Hinayāna: then a series of more complete translations beginning about the fifth century in which the great Hinayāna texts are conspicuous: then a further series of improved translations in which the Hinayāna falls into the background and the works of Asanga and Vasubandhu come to the front. This evidently reflects the condition of Buddhist India about 500–650 A.D., just as the translations of the eighth century reflect its later and tantric phase.

But can Chinese texts be accepted as reasonably faithful reproductions of the Indian originals whose names they bear, and some of which have been lost? This question is really double: firstly, did the translators reproduce with fair accuracy the Indian text before them, and secondly, since Indian texts often exist in several recensions, can we assume that the work which the translators knew under a certain Sanskrit name is the work known to us by that name? In reply it must be said that most Chinese translators fall short of our standards of accuracy. In early times when grammars and dictionaries were unknown the scholarly rendering of foreign books was a difficult business, for professional interpreters would usually be incapable of understanding a philosophic treatise. The method often followed was that an Indian explained the text to a literary Chinese, who regast the explanation in his own language. The many translations of the more important texts and the frequent description of the earlier ones as imperfect indicate a feeling that the results achieved were not satisfactory. Several so-called translators, especially Kumārajīva, gave abstracts of the Indian texts. Others, like Dharmaraksha, who made a Chinese version of Asvaghosha’s Buddhacarita, so amplified and transposed the

1 But his translation of the Lotus won admiration for its literary style. See Anesaki Nichiren, p. 17. Wieger (Croyances, p. 367) says that the works of Anshih-kao illustrate the various methods of translation: absolutely literal renderings which have hardly any meaning in Chinese; word for word translations to which is added a paraphrase of each sentence in Chinese idiom; and elegant renderings by a native in which the original text obviously suffers.
original that the result can hardly be called a translation. Others combined different texts in one. Thus the work called Ta-o-mi-to-ching consists of extracts taken from four previous translations of the Sukhāvatīvyūha and rearranged by the author under the inspiration of Avalokita to whom, as he tells us, he was wont to pray during the execution of his task. Others again, like Dharmagupta, anticipated a method afterwards used in Tibet, and gave a word for word rendering of the Sanskrit which is hardly intelligible to an educated Chinese. The later versions, e.g. those of Hsian Chuang, are more accurate, but still a Chinese rendering of a lost Indian document cannot be accepted as a faithful representation of the original without a critical examination.

Often, however, the translator, whatever his weaknesses may have been, had before him a text differing in bulk and arrangement from the Pali and Sanskrit texts which we possess. Thus, there are four Chinese translations of works bearing some relation to the Dhammapada of the Pali Canon. All of these describe the original text as the compilation of Dharmatrāta, to whom is also ascribed the compilation of the Tibetan Udānavarga. His name is not mentioned in connection with the Pali text, yet two of the Chinese translations are closely related to that text. The Fa-chü-ching is a collection of verses translated in 224 A.D. and said to correspond with the Pali except that it has nine additional chapters and some additional stanzas. The Fa-chü-p'i-yü-ching represents another edition of the same

1 Yet it must have been intended as such. The title expressly describes the work as composed by the Bodhisattva Ma-Ming (Āvaghosha) and translated by Dharmaraksha. Though his idea of a translation was at best an amplified metrical paraphrase, yet he coincides verbally with the original so often that his work can hardly be described as an independent poem inspired by it.

2 大阿毘陀経. No. 203.

3 See Sukhāvatīvyūha, ed. Max Müller and Bunyiu Nanjio, Oxford, 1883. In the preface, pp. vii–ix, is a detailed comparison of several translations and in an appendix, pp. 79 ff., a rendering of Sanghavarman's Chinese version of verses which occur in the work. Chinese critics say that Tao-an in the third century was the first to introduce a sound style of translation. He made no translations himself which have survived but was a scholar and commentator who influenced others.

4 This is an anthology (edited by Beckh, 1911: translated by Rockhill, 1892) in which 300 verses are similar to the Pali Dhammapada.

5 法句経. No. 1365. 6 法句譬喻経. No. 1353.
verses, illustrated by a collection of parables. It was translated between 290 and 306. The Ch’u-yao-ching, translated in 399, is a similar collection of verses and parables, but founded on another Indian work of much greater length. A revised translation containing only the verses was made between 980 and 1001. They are said to be the same as the Tibetan Udâna, and the characteristics of this book, going back apparently to a Sanskrit original, are that it is divided into thirty-three chapters, and that though it contains about 300 verses found in Pali, yet it is not merely the Pali text plus additions, but an anthology arranged on a different principle and only partly identical in substance.

There can be little doubt that the Pali Dhammapada is one among several collections of verses, with or without an explanatory commentary of stories. In all these collections there was much common matter, both prose and verse, but some were longer, some shorter, some were in Pali and some in Sanskrit. Whereas the Chinese Dhammapada is longer than the Indian texts, the Chinese version of Milinda’s Questions is much shorter and omits books iv-vii. It was made between 317 and 420 A.D. and the inference is that the original Indian text received later additions.

A more important problem is this: what is the relation to the Pali Canon of the Chinese texts bearing titles corresponding to Dirgha, Madhyama, Samyukta and Ekottara? These collections of sūtras do not call themselves Nikâya but A-han or Âgama: the titles are translated as Ch’ang (long), Chung (medium), Tsâ (miscellaneous) and Tseng-i, representing Ekottara rather than Anguttara. There is hence prima facie reason

1 出曜經. No. 1321.
3 There seem to be at least two other collections. Firstly a Prākrit anthology of which Dutreuil de Rhins discovered a fragmentary MS. in Khotan and secondly a much amplified collection preserved in the Korean Tripitaka and reprinted in the Tokyo edition (xxxv.‘g). The relation of these to the other recensions is not clear.
4 Nanjio, Cat. 1338. See Pelliot, J.A. 1914, II, p. 379.
5 長, 中, 雜, 增壹. For the relations of the Chinese translations to the Pali Tripitaka, and to a Sanskrit Canon now preserved only in a fragmentary state, see inter alia, Nanjio, Cat. pp. 127 ff., especially Nos. 542, 543, 545. Anesaki, J.R.A.S. 1901, p. 806; id. “On some problems of the textual history of the Buddhist scriptures,” in Trans. A. S. Japan, 1908, p. 81, and more especially his longer article
to suppose that these works represent not the Pali Canon, but a somewhat similar Sanskrit collection. That one or many Sanskrit works may have coexisted with a somewhat similar Pali work is clearly shown by the Vinaya texts, for here we have the Pali Canon and Chinese translations of five Sanskrit versions, belonging to different schools, but apparently covering the same ground and partly identical. For the Sūtra Pitaka no such body of evidence is forthcoming, but the Sanskrit fragments of the Samyuktāgama found near Turfan contain parts of six sūtras which are arranged in the same order as in the Chinese translation and are apparently the original from which it was made. It is noticeable that three of the four great Agamas were translated by monks who came from Tukhara or Kabul. Guṇabhadra, however, the translator of the Samyuktāgama, came from Central India and the text which he translated was brought from Ceylon by Fa-Hsien. It apparently belonged to the Abhayagiri monastery and not to the Mahāvihāra. Nanjio¹, however, states that about half of it is repeated in the Chinese versions of the Madhyama and Ekottara Agamas. It is also certain that though the Chinese Agamas and Pali Nikāyas contain much common matter, it is differently distributed².

There was in India a copious collection of sūtras, existing primarily as oral tradition and varying in diction and arrangement, but codified from time to time in a written form. One of such codifications is represented by the Pali Canon, at least one other by the Sanskrit text which was rendered into Chinese. With rare exceptions the Chinese translations were from the Sanskrit³. The Sanskrit codification of the sūtra literature, while


¹ No. 544.

² Thus seventy sūtras of the Pali Anguttara are found in the Chinese Madhyama and some of them are repeated in the Chinese Ekottara. The Pali Majjhima contains 125 sūtras, the Chinese Madhyamāgama 222, of which 98 are common to both. Also twenty-two Pali Majjhima dialogues are found in the Chinese Ekottara and Samyukta, seventy Chinese Madhyama dialogues in Pali Anguttara, nine in Dīgha, seven in Samyutta and five in Khuddaka. Aensaki, Some Problems of the textual history of the Buddhist Scriptures. See also Aensaki in Musées, 1905, pp. 23 ff. on the Samyutta Nikāya.

³ Aensaki, "Traces of Pali Texts," Musées, 1905, shows that the Indian author of the Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sāstra may have known Pali texts, but the only certain translation from the Pali appears to be Nanjio, No. 1125, which is a translation of
differing from the Pali in language and arrangement, is identical in doctrine and almost identical in substance. It is clearly the product of the same or similar schools, but is it earlier or later than the Pali or contemporary with it? The Chinese translations merely fix the latest possible date. A portion of the Samyuktāgama (Nanjio, No. 547) was translated by an unknown author between 220 and 280. This is probably an extract from the complete work which was translated about 440, but it would be difficult to prove that the Indian original was not augmented or rearranged between these dates. The earliest translation of a complete Agama is that of the Ekottarāgama, 384 A.D. But the evidence of inscriptions\(^1\) shows that works known as Nikāyas existed in the third century B.C. The Sanskrit of the Agamas, so far as it is known from the fragments found in Central Asia, does not suggest that they belong to this epoch, but is compatible with the theory that they date from the time of Kanishka of which if we know little, we can at least say that it produced much Buddhist Sanskrit literature. M. Sylvain Lévi has suggested that the later appearance of the complete Vinaya in Chinese is due to the late compilation of the Sanskrit original\(^2\). It seems to me that other explanations are possible. The early translators were clearly shy of extensive works and until there was a considerable body of Chinese monks, to what public would these theological libraries appeal? Still, if any indication were forthcoming from India or Central Asia that the Sanskrit Agamas were arranged or rearranged in the early centuries of our era, the late date of the Chinese translations would certainly support it. But I am inclined to think that the Nikāyas were rewritten in Sanskrit about the beginning of our era, when it was felt that works claiming a certain position ought to be composed in what had become the general literary language of India\(^3\).

the Introduction to Buddhaghosa's Samanta-pāsādikā or commentary on the Vinaya. See Takakusu in J.R.A.S. 1896, p. 415. Nanjio's restoration of the title as Sudarśana appears to be incorrect.

\(^1\) See Epigraphia Indica, vol. ii. p. 93.

\(^2\) In support of this it may be mentioned that Fa-Hsien says that at the time of his visit to India the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins was preserved orally and not committed to writing.

\(^3\) The idea that an important book ought to be in Sanskrit or deserves to be turned into Sanskrit is not dead in India. See Grierson, J.R.A.S. 1913, p. 133, who in discussing a Sanskrit version of the Rāmāyana of Tulsī Das mentions that translations of vernacular works into Sanskrit are not uncommon.
Perhaps those who wrote them in Sanskrit were hardly conscious of making a translation in our sense, but simply wished to publish them in the best literary form.

It seems probable that the Hinayanist portion of the Chinese Tripitaka is in the main a translation of the Canon of the Sarvastivādins which must have consisted of:

1. Four Agamas or Nikāyas only, for the Dhammapada is placed outside the Sutta Pitaka.
2. A voluminous Vinaya covering the same ground as the Pali recension but more copious in legend and anecdote.
3. An Abhidharma entirely different from the Pali works bearing this name.

It might seem to follow from this that the whole Pali Abhidharma and some important works such as the Theragathâ were unknown to the Hinayanists of Central Asia and Northern India in the early centuries of our era. But caution is necessary in drawing such inferences, for until recently it might have been said that the Sutta Nipata also was unknown, whereas fragments of it in a Sanskrit version have now been discovered in Eastern Turkestan. The Chinese editors draw a clear distinction between Hinayanist and Mahayanist scriptures. They exclude from the latter works analogous to the Pali Nikāyas and Vinaya, and also the Abhidharma of the Sarvastivādins. But the labours of Hsüan Chuang and I-Ching show that this does not imply the rejection of all these works by Mahayanists.

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Buddhist literary activity has an interesting side aspect, namely the expedients used to transliterate Indian words, which

\footnote{J.R.A.S. 1916, p. 709. Also, the division into five Nikāyas is ancient. See Bühler in Epig. Indica, ii. p. 93. Aneesaki says (Trans. A. S. Japan, 1908, p. 9) that Nanjio, No. 714, Pên Shih is the Itivuttakam, which could not have been guessed from Nanjio's entry. Portions of the works composing the fifth Nikāya (e.g. the Sutta Nipata) occur in the Chinese Tripitaka in the other Nikāyas. For mentions of the fifth Nikāya in Chinese, see J.A. 1916, ii. pp. 32-33, where it is said to be called Tsa-Tsang. This is also the designation of the last section of the Tripitaka, Nanjio, Nos. 1321 to 1662, and as this section contains the Dhammapada, it might be supposed to be an enormously distorted version of the Kashdraka Nikāya. But this can hardly be the case, for this Tsa-Tsang is placed as if it was considered as a fourth Pitaka rather than as a fifth Nikāya.}
almost provided the Chinese with an alphabet. To some extent Indian names, particularly proper names possessing an obvious meaning, are translated. Thus Asoka becomes Wu-yu, without sorrow: Aśvaghosha, Ma-ming or horse-voice, and Udyāna simply Yüan or park. But many proper names did not lend themselves to such renderings and it was a delicate business to translate theological terms like Nirvāṇa and Samādhi. The Buddhists did not perhaps invent the idea of using the Chinese characters so as to spell with moderate precision, but they had greater need of this procedure than other writers and they used it extensively and with such variety of detail that though they invented some fifteen different syllabaries, none of them obtained general acceptance and Julien enumerates 3000 Chinese characters used to represent the sounds indicated by 47 Indian letters. Still, they gave currency to the system known as fan-ch’ieh which renders a syllable phonetically by two characters, the final of the first and the initial of the second not being pronounced. Thus, in order to indicate the sound Chung, a Chinese dictionary will use the two characters chu yung, which are to be read together as Ch'ung.

The transcriptions of Indian words vary in exactitude and the later are naturally better. Hsüan Chuang was a notable reformer and probably after his time Indian words were rendered in Chinese characters as accurately as Chinese words are now transcribed in Latin letters. It is true that modern pronunciation makes such renderings as Fo seem a strange distortion of the original. But it is an abbreviation of Fo-t’o and these syllables were probably once pronounced something like Vutttha. Similarly Wên-shu-shih-li7 seems a parody of Manjuśrī.

1 無憂，馬鳴，苑.

3 See Watters, Essays on the Chinese Language, pp. 36, 51, and, for the whole subject of transcription, Stanislas Julien, Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms Sanscrits qui se rencontrent dans les livres chinois.

5 Entire Sanskrit compositions were sometimes transcribed in Chinese characters. See Kien Ch’ui Fan Tsan, Bibl. Budd. xv. and Max Müller, Buddhist Texts from Japan, iii. pp. 35-40.


7 See inter alia the Preface to K’ang Hsi’s Dictionary. The fan-ch’ieh 反切 system is used in the well-known dictionary called Yü-Pien composed 543 A.D.

1 文殊師利.
But the evidence of modern dialects shows that the first two syllables may have been pronounced as Man-ju. The pupil was probably taught to eliminate the obscure vowel of shih, and li was taken as the nearest equivalent of ri, just as European authors write chih and tzū without pretending that they are more than conventional signs for Chinese sounds unknown to our languages. It was certainly possible to transcribe not only names but Sanskrit prayers and formulæ in Chinese characters, and though many writers sneer at the gibberish chaunted by Buddhist priests yet I doubt if this ecclesiastical pronunciation, which has changed with that of the spoken language, is further removed from its original than the Latin of Oxford from the speech of Augustus.

Sanskrit learning flourished in China for a considerable period. In the time of the T'ang, the clergy numbered many serious students of Indian literature and the glossaries included in the Tripitaka show that they studied the original texts. Under the Sung dynasty (A.D. 1151) was compiled another dictionary of religious terms and the study of Sanskrit was encouraged under the Yüan. But the ecclesiastics of the Ming produced no new translations and apparently abandoned the study of the original texts which was no longer kept alive by the arrival of learned men from India. It has been stated that Sanskrit manuscripts are still preserved in Chinese monasteries, but no details respecting such works are known to me. The statement is not improbable in itself as is shown by the Library which Stein discovered at Tun-huang and by the Japanese palm-leaf manuscripts which came originally from China. A few copies of Sanskrit sūtras printed in China in the Lanja variety of the Devanāgari alphabet have been brought to Europe. Max Müller published a facsimile of part of the Vajracchedikā obtained at Peking and printed in Sanskrit from wooden blocks. The place of production is unknown, but the characters are similar to those used for printing Sanskrit in Tibet, as may be seen from

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1 Nanjio, Cat. No. 1640.
2 History repeats itself. I have seen many modern Burmese and Sinhalese MSS. in Chinese monasteries.
3 Buddhist Texts from Japan, ed. Max Müller in Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, i, ii and iii. For the Lanja printed text see the last facsimile in i, also iii, p. 34 and Bibl. Budd. xiv (Kuan-si-im Pusar), pp. vi, vii. Another copy of this Lanja printed text was bought in Kyoto, 1920.
another facsimile (No. 3) in the same work. Placards and pamphlets containing short invocations in Sanskrit and Tibetan are common in Chinese monasteries, particularly where there is any Lamaistic influence, but they do not imply that the monks who use them have any literary acquaintance with those languages.
CHAPTER XLV

CHINA (continued)

SCHOOLS\(^1\) OF CHINESE BUDDHISM

The Schools (Tsung) of Chinese Buddhism are an intricate subject of little practical importance, for observers agree that at the present day all salient differences of doctrine and practice have been obliterated, although the older monasteries may present variations in details and honour their own line of teachers. A particular Bodhisattva may be singled out for reverence in one locality or some religious observance may be specially enjoined, but there is little aggressiveness or self-assertion among the sects, even if they are conscious of having a definite name: they each tolerate the deities, rites and books of all and pay attention to as many items as leisure and inertia permit. There is no clear distinction between Mahāyāna and Hinayāna.

The main division is of course into Lamaism on one side and all remaining sects on the other. Apart from this we find a record of ten schools which deserve notice for various reasons. Some, though obscure in modern China, have flourished after transportation to Japan: some, such as the T’ien-t’ai, are a memorial of a brilliant epoch: some represent doctrines which, if not now held by separate bodies, at least indicate different tendencies, such as magical ceremonies, mystical contemplation, or faith in Amitābha.

\(^1\) See especially Hackmann, “Die Schulen des chinesischen Buddhismus” (in the Mitth. Seminare für Orientalische Sprachen, Berlin, 1911), which contains the text and translation of an Essay by a modern Chinese Buddhist, Yang Wên Hui. Such a review of Chinese sects from the contemporary Buddhist point of view has great value, but it does not seem to me that Mr Yang explains clearly the dogmatic tenets of each sect, the obvious inference being that such tenets are of little practical importance. Chinese monasteries often seem to combine several schools. Thus the Ts’u-Fu-Ssu monastery near Peking professes to belong both to the Lin-Chi and Pure Land schools and its teachers expound the Diamond-cutter, Lotus and Shou-Lêng-Ching. So also in India. See Rhys Davids in article Sects Buddhist, E.R.E. Hackmann gives a list of authorities. Edkins, Chinese Buddhism (chaps. vii and viii), may still be consulted, though the account is far from clear.
The more important schools were comparatively late, for they date from the sixth and seventh centuries. For two or three hundred years the Buddhists of China were a colony of strangers, mainly occupied in making translations. By the fifth century the extent and diversity of Indian literature became apparent and Fa-Hsien went to India to ascertain which was the most correct Vinaya and to obtain copies of it. Theology was now sufficiently developed to give rise to two schools both Indian in origin and merely transported to China, known as Ch’ēng-shih-tsung and San-lun-tsung ¹.

The first is considered as Hinayanist and equivalent to the Sautrāntikas ². In the seventh century it passed over to Japan where it is known as Ji-jitsu-shu, but neither there nor in China had it much importance. The San-lun-tsung recognizes as three authorities (from which it takes its name) the Mādhyamikaśāstra and Dwādasaṇikāyāśāstra of Nāgārjuna with the Śataśāstra of his pupil Deva. It is simply the school of these two doctors and represents the extreme of Mahayanism. It had some importance in Japan, where it was called San-Ron-Shu.

The arrival of Bodhidharma at Canton in 520 (or 526) was a great event for the history of Buddhist dogma, although his special doctrines did not become popular until much later. He introduced the contemplative school and also the institution of the Patriarchate, which for a time had some importance. He wrote no books himself, but taught that true knowledge is gained in meditation by intuition ³ and communicated by transference of thought. The best account of his teaching is contained in the Chinese treatise which reports the sermon preached by him before the Emperor Wu-Ti in 520 ⁴. The chief thesis of this discourse is that the only true reality is the Buddha

¹ 成實宗 and 三論宗.
² It based itself on the Satyasiddhiśāstra of Harivaran, Nanjio, Cat. 1274.
³ This meditation however is of a special sort. The six Pāramitās are, Dāna, Śīla, Kabanti, Vīrya, Dhyāna and Prajñā. The meditation of Bodhidharma is not the Dhyāna of this list, but meditation on Prajñā, the highest of the Pāramitās. See Haackmann’s Chinese text, p. 249.
⁴ Ta-mo-hsie-mai-lun, analyzed by Wieger in his Histoire des Croyances religieuses en Chine, pp. 520 ff. I could wish for more information about this work, but have not been able to find the original.
nature in the heart of every man. Prayer, asceticism and good works are vain. All that man need do is to turn his gaze inward and see the Buddha in his own heart. This vision, which gives light and deliverance, comes in a moment. It is a simple, natural act like swallowing or dreaming which cannot be taught or learnt, for it is not something imparted but an experience of the soul, and teaching can only prepare the way for it. Some are impeded by their karma and are physically incapable of the vision, whatever their merits or piety may be, but for those to whom it comes it is inevitable and convincing.

We have only to substitute ātman for Buddha or Buddha nature to see how closely this teaching resembles certain passages in the Upanishads, and the resemblance is particularly strong in such statements as that the Buddha nature reveals itself in dreams, or that it is so great that it embraces the universe and so small that the point of a needle cannot prick it. The doctrine of Māyā is clearly indicated, even if the word was not used in the original, for it is expressly said that all phenomena are unreal. Thus the teaching of Bodhidharma is an anticipation of Śankara’s monism, but it is formulated in consistently Buddhist language and is in harmony with the views of the Mādhyamika school and of the Diamond-cutter. This Chinese sermon confirms other evidence which indicates that the ideas of the Advaita philosophy, though Brahmanic in their origin and severely condemned by Gotama himself, were elaborated in Buddhist circles before they were approved by orthodox Hindus.

Bodhidharma’s teaching was Indian but it harmonized marvellously with Taoism and Chinese Buddhists studied Taoist books. A current of Chinese thought which was old and strong, if not the main stream, bade man abstain from action and look for peace and light within. It was, I think, the junction of this native tributary with the river of inflowing Buddhism which gave the Contemplative School its importance. It lost that importance because it abandoned its special doctrines

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1 Also called Fa-shên or dharmakāya in the discourse. Bodhidharma said that he preached the seal of the heart (hsinyin). This probably corresponds to some Sanskrit expression, but I have not found the Indian equivalent.

2 I-Ching, in his Memoirs of Eminent Monks, mentions three pilgrims as having studied the works of Chuang-tzu and his own style shows that he was well-read in this author.
and adopted the usages of other schools. When Taoism flourished under the Sung Emperors it was also flourishing and influenced art as well as thought, but it probably decayed under the Yüan dynasty which favoured religion of a different stamp. It is remarkable that Bodhidharma appears to be unknown to both Indian and Tibetan writers but his teaching has imparted a special tone and character to a section (though not the whole) of Far Eastern Buddhism. It is called in Chinese Tsung-mên or Ch’än-tsung, but this word Ch’än is perhaps better known to Europe in its Japanese form Zen.

Bodhidharma is also accounted the twenty-eighth Patriarch, a title which represents the Chinese Tsu Shih rather than any Indian designation, for though in Pali literature we hear of the succession of teachers, it is not clear that any of them enjoyed a style or position such as is implied in the word Patriarch. Hindus have always attached importance to spiritual lineage and every school has a list of teachers who have transmitted its special lore, but the sense of hierarchy is so weak that it is misleading to describe these personages as Popes, Patriarchs or Bishops, and apart from the personal respect which the talents of individuals may have won, it does not appear that there was any succession of teachers who could be correctly termed heads of the Church. Even in China such a title is of dubious accuracy for whatever position Bodhidharma and his successors may have claimed for themselves, they were not generally accepted as being more than the heads of a school and other schools also gave their chief teachers the title of Tsu-shih. From time to time the Emperor appointed overseers of religion with the title of Kuo-shih, instructor of the nation, but these were officials appointed by the Crown, not prelates consecrated by the Church.

Twenty-eight Patriarchs are supposed to have flourished between the death of the Buddha and the arrival of Bodhidharma in China. The Chinese lists do not in the earlier part agree with

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1 He is not mentioned by Tāranātha.
2 禪.
3 祖師.
4 Ācāryaparamparā. There is a list of such teachers in Mahāvamsa, v. 95 ff., Dipavamsa, iv. 27 ff. and v. 69.
5 國師.
6 The succession of Patriarchs is the subject of several works comprised in the Chinese Tripitaka. Of these the Fu-fa-tsang-yin-yüan-ching (Nanjio, 1340) is the
the Sinhalese accounts of the apostolic succession and contain few eminent names with the exception of Āśvaghosha, Nāgārjuna, Deva and Vasubandhu.

According to most schools there were only twenty-four Patriarchs. These are said to have been foretold by the Buddha and twenty-four is a usual number in such series. The twenty-fourth Patriarch Simha Bhikshu or Simhālaputra went to Kashmir and suffered martyrdom there at the hands of Mihirakula without appointing a successor. But the school of Bodhidharma continues the series, reckoning him as the twenty-eighth, and the first of the Chinese Patriarchs. Now since the three Patriarchs between the martyr and Bodhidharma are all described as living in southern India, whereas such travellers as Fa-Hsien obviously thought that the true doctrine was to be found in northern India, and since Bodhidharma left India altogether, it is probable that the later Patriarchs represent the most important, because it professes to be translated (A.D. 472) from an Indian work, which, however, is not in the Tibetan Canon and is not known in Sanskrit. The Chinese text, as we have it, is probably not a translation from the Sanskrit, but a compilation made in the sixth century which, however, acquired considerable authority. See Maspéro in Mélanges d’Indiennisme: Sylvain Lévi, pp. 129–149, and B.E.F.E.O. 1911, pp. 344–348. Other works are the Fo-tau-t’ung-chi (Nanjio, 1661), of Chih P’an (c. 1270), belonging to the Ti’en-t’ai school, and the Ching-tê-ch’uán-têng-lu together with the Tsung-mên-t’ung-yao-huai-chi (Nanjio, 1524, 1526) both belonging to the school of Bodhidharma. See also Nanjio, 1528, 1529. The common list of Patriarchs is as follows: 1. Mahâkâśyapa; 2. Ananda; 3. Śāṇavâsa or Śânakavâsa; 4. Upagupta; 5. Dhritaka; 6. Micchâka. Here the name of Vasumitra is inserted by some but omitted by others; 7. Buddhanandi; 8. Buddhaimitra; 9. Pârâva; 10. Punâyassas; 11. Āśvaghosha; 12. Kapimala; 13. Nâgârjuna; 14. Deva (Kâpadeva); 15. Râhulata; 16. Sanghanandi; 17. Sanghayaśas; 18. Kumârata; 19. Jayata; 20. Vasubandhu; 21. Manura; 22. Haklena or Padmaratna; 23. Simha Bhikshu; 24. Basiasita; 25. Putnomita or Punyamitra; 26. Prajnâtara; 27 (or 28, if Vasumitra is reckoned) Bodhidharma. Many of these names are odd and are only conjectural restorations made from the Chinese transcription, for which see Nanjio, 1340. Other lists of Patriarchs vary from that given above, partly because they represent the traditions of other schools. It is not strange, for instance, if the Sarvâstivâdins did not recognize Nâgârjuna as a Patriarch. Two of their lists have been preserved by Sêng-yu (Nanjio, 1478) who wrote about 520. Some notes on the Patriarchs and reproductions of Chinese pictures representing them will be found in Doré, pp. 244 ff. It is extremely curious that Āśvaghosha is represented as a woman.

1 It is found, for instance, in the lists of the Jain Tirthankaras and in some accounts of the Buddhas and of the Avatāras of Vishnu.

2 See Watters, Yuan Chwang, p. 290. But the dates offer some difficulty, for Mihirakula, the celebrated Hun chieftain, is usually supposed to have reigned about 510–540 A.D. Târanâtha (Schiefner, p. 85) speaks of a martyr called Mâlikabuddhi. See, too, ib. p. 306.
spiritual genealogy of some school which was not the Church as established at Nālandā.

It will be convenient to summarize briefly here the history of Bodhidharma's school. Finding that his doctrines were not altogether acceptable to the Emperor Wu-Ti (who did not relish being told that his pious exertions were vain works of no value) he retired to Lo-yang and before his death designated as his successor Hui-k'o. It is related of Hui-k'o that when he first applied for instruction he could not attract Bodhidharma's attention and therefore stood before the sage's door during a whole winter night until the snow reached his knees. Bodhidharma indicated that he did not think this test of endurance remarkable. Hui-k'o then took a knife, cut off his own arm and presented it to the teacher who accepted him as a pupil and ultimately gave him the insignia of the Patriarchate—a robe and bowl. He taught for thirty-four years and is said to have mixed freely with the lowest and most debauched reprobates. His successors were Sêng-ts'an, Tao-hsin, Hung-jên, and Hui-nêng who died in 713 and declined to nominate a successor, saying that the doctrine was well established. The bowl of Bodhidharma was buried with him. Thus the Patriarch was not willing to be an Erastian head of the Church and thought the Church could get on without him. The object of the Patriarchate was simply to insure the correct transmission from teacher to scholar of certain doctrines, and this precaution was especially necessary in sects which rejected scriptural authority and relied on personal instruction. So soon as there were several competent teachers handing on the tradition such a safeguard was felt to be unnecessary.

That this feeling was just is shown by the fact that the school of Bodhidharma is still practically one in teaching. But its small regard for scripture and insistence on oral instruction caused the principal monasteries to regard themselves as centres with an apostolic succession of their own and to form divisions which were geographical rather than doctrinal. They are often

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1 It is clear that the school of VaIabhi was to some extent a rival of Nālandā.
2 For a portrait of Hui-nêng see Kokka, No. 297. The names of Bodhidharma's successors are in Chinese characters 慧可, 僧璨, 道信, 弘忍, 慧能.
called school (tsung), but the term is not correct, if it implies that the difference is similar to that which separates the Ch’ an-tsung and Lü-tsung or schools of contemplation and of discipline. Even in the lifetime of Hui-nêng there seems to have been a division, for he is sometimes called the Patriarch of the South, Shên-Hsiu\(^1\) being recognized as Patriarch of the North. But all subsequent divisions of the Ch’an-tsung trace their lineage to Hui-nêng. Two of his disciples founded two schools called Nan Yüeh and Ch’i-üng Yüan\(^2\) and between the eighth and tenth centuries these produced respectively two and three subdivisions, known together as Wu-tsung or five schools. They take their names from the places where their founders dwelt and are the schools of Wei-Yang, Lin-Chi, Ts’ao-Tung, Yün-Mên and Fa-Yen\(^3\). This is the chronological order, but the most important school is the Lin-Chi, founded by I-Hsüan\(^4\), who resided on the banks of a river\(^5\) in Chih-li and died in 867. It is not easy to discriminate the special doctrines\(^6\) of the Lin-Chi for it became the dominant form of the school to such an extent that other variants are little more than names. But it appears to have insisted on the transmission of spiritual truths not only by oral instruction but by a species of telepathy between teacher and pupil culminating in sudden illumination. At the present day the majority of Chinese monasteries profess to belong to the Ch’an-tsung and it has encroached on other schools. Thus it is now accepted on the sacred island of P’uto which originally followed the Lü-tsung.

Although the Ch’an school did not value the study of scripture as part of the spiritual life, yet it by no means neglected letters and can point to a goodly array of ecclesiastical authors,

\(^1\) 神秀.

\(^2\) 南嶽, 青原. Much biographical information respecting this and other schools will be found in Doré, vols. vii and viii. But there is little to record in the way of events or literary and doctrinal movements.

\(^3\) 鴻仰, 臨濟, 曹洞, 雲門, 法眼. 義玄.

\(^4\) Lin-Chi means coming to the ford. Is this an allusion to the Pali expression Sotâpanno? The name appears in Japanese as Rinzai. Most educated Chinese monks when asked as to their doctrine say they belong to the Lin-Chi.

\(^5\) They are generally called the three mysteries (Hsüan) and the three important points (Yao), but I have not been able to obtain any clear explanation of what they mean. See Edkins, Chinese Buddhism, p. 164, and Hackmann, I.c. p. 250.
extending down to modern times\(^1\). More than twenty of their treatises have been admitted into the Tripitaka. Several of these are historical and discuss the succession of Patriarchs and abbots, but the most characteristic productions of the sect are collections of aphorisms, usually compiled by the disciples of a teacher who himself committed nothing to writing\(^2\).

In opposition to the Contemplative School or Tsung-mên, all the others are sometimes classed together as Chiao-mên. This dichotomy perhaps does no more than justice to the importance of Bodhidharma's school, but is hardly scientific, for, whatever may be the numerical proportion, the other schools differ from one another as much as they differ from it. They all agree in recognizing the authority not only of a founder but of a special sacred book. We may treat first of one which, like the Tsung-mên, belongs specially to the Buddhism of the Far East and is both an offshoot of the Tsung-mên and a protest against it—there being nothing incompatible in this double relationship. This is the T'ien-t'ai\(^3\) school which takes its name from a celebrated monastery in the province of Chê-kiang. The founder of this establishment and of the sect was called Chih-K'ai or Chih-I\(^4\) and followed originally Bodhidharma's teaching, but ultimately rejected the view that contemplation is all-sufficient, while still claiming to derive his doctrine from Nâgârjuna. He had a special veneration for the Lotus Sûtra and paid attention to ceremonial. He held that although the Buddha-mind is present in all living beings, yet they do not of themselves come to the knowledge and use of it, so that instruction is necessary to remove error and establish true ideas. The phrase Chih-kuan\(^5\) is almost the motto of the school: it is a translation of the two words Samatha and Vipassanâ, taken to mean calm and insight.

\(^1\) Wüger, *Bouddhisme Chinois*, p. 108, states that 230 works belonging to this sect were published under the Manchu dynasty.

\(^2\) See e.g. Nanjio, Cat. 1527, 1532.

\(^3\) 法華. Tendai in Japanese. It is also called in China Fa-hua.

\(^4\) 智顗. Also often spoken of as Chih-chê-ta-shih 智者大師. Officially he is often styled the fourth Patriarch of the school. See Doré, p. 449.

\(^5\) 止觀. In Pali Buddhism also, especially in later works, Samatha and Vipassanâ may be taken as a compendium of the higher life as they are respectively the results of the two sets of religious exercises called Adhiicitta and Adhipaññâ. (See Ang. Nik. III. 88.)
The T’ien-T’ai is distinguished by its many-sided and almost encyclopaedic character. Chih-I did not like the exclusiveness of the Contemplative School. He approved impartially of ecstasy, literature, ceremonial and discipline: he wished to find a place for everything and a point of view from which every doctrine might be admitted to have some value. Thus he divided the teaching of the Buddha into five periods, regarded as progressive not contradictory, and expounded respectively in (a) the Hua-yen Sūtra; (b) the Hīnayāna Sūtras; (c) the Lēng-yen-ching; (d) the Prajñā-pāramitā; (e) the Lotus Sūtra which is the crown, quintessence and plenitude of all Buddhism. He also divided religion into eight parts, sometimes counted as four, the latter half of the list being the more important. The names are collection, progress, distinction and completion. These terms indicate different ways of looking at religion, all legitimate but not equally comprehensive or just in perspective. By collection is meant the Hīnayāna, the name being apparently due to the variously catalogued phenomena which occupy the disciple in the early stages of his progress: the scriptures, divisions of the universe, states of the human minds and so on. Progress (T’ung, which might also be rendered as transition or communication) is applicable to the Hīna and Mahāyanā alike and regards the religious life as a series of stages rising from the state of an unconverted man to that of a Buddha. Pīch, or distinction, is applicable only to the Mahāyanā and means the special excellences of a Bodhisattva. Yūan, completeness or plenitude, is the doctrine of the Lotus which embraces all aspects of religion. In a similar spirit of synthesis and conciliation Chih-I uses Nāgārjuna’s view that truth is not of one kind. From the standpoint of absolute truth all phenomena are void or unreal; on the other hand they are indubitably real for practical purposes. More just is the middle view which builds up the religious character. It sees that all phenomena both exist and do not exist and that thought cannot content itself with the hypothesis either of their real existence or of the void. Chih-I’s teaching as

1 In Chinese 顚，漸，秘密，不定，藏，通，別，圓。 Tun, Chien, Pi-mi, Pu-ting, Tsang, Tʻung, Pīch, Yuan. See Nanjio, 1568, and for very different explanations of these obscure words, Edkins, Chinese Buddhism, p. 182, and Richard’s New Testament of Higher Buddhism, p. 41. Masson-Oursel in J.A. 1915, i. p. 305.
to the nature of the Buddha is almost theistic. It regards the fundamental (ペン) Buddhahood as not merely the highest reality but as constant activity exerting itself for the good of all beings. Distinguished from this fundamental Buddhahood is the derivative Buddhahood or trace (chi) left by the Buddha among men to educate them. There has been considerable discussion in the school as to the relative excellence of the pen and the chi.

The T'ien-T'ai school is important, not merely for its doctrines, but as having produced a great monastic establishment and an illustrious line of writers. In spite of the orders of the Emperor who wished to retain him at Nanking, Chih-I retired to the highlands of Chê-Kiang and twelve monasteries still mark various spots where he is said to have resided. He had some repute as an author, but more as a preacher. His words were recorded by his disciple Kuan-Ting and in this way have been preserved two expositions of the Lotus and a treatise on his favourite doctrine of Chih-Kuan which together are termed the San-ta-pu, or Three Great Books. Similar spoken expositions of other sūtras are also preserved. Some smaller treatises on his chief doctrines seem to be works of his own pen. A century later Chan-Jan, who is reckoned the ninth Patriarch of the T'ien-t'ai school, composed commentaries on the Three Great Books as well as some short original works. During the troubled period of the Five Dynasties, the T'ien-t'ai monasteries suffered severely and the sacred books were almost lost. But the school had a branch in Korea and a Korean priest called Ti-Kuan re-established it in China. It continued to contribute literature to the Tripitaka until 1270 but after the tenth century its works, though numerous, lose their distinctive character and are largely concerned with magical formulae and the worship of Amida.

The latter is the special teaching of the Pure Land school, also known as the Lotus school, or the Short Cut. It is indeed

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1 本 and 蹟
2 灌頂
3 净土宗
4 諦觀
5 淨土横超門
6 净土宗, 蓮宗, 净土横超門
7 本 and 蹟
8 The books are Nanjio, Nos. 1534, 1536, 1538.
9 Among them is the compendium for beginners called Hsiao-chih-kuan, (Nanjio, 1540), partly translated in Beal's Catena, pp. 251 ff.
a short cut to salvation, striking unceremoniously across all systems, for it teaches that simple faith in Amitābha (Amida) and invocation of his name can take the place of moral and intellectual endeavour. Its popularity is in proportion to its facility: its origin is ancient, its influence universal, but perhaps for this very reason its existence as a corporation is somewhat indistinct. It is also remarkable that though the Chinese Tripitaka contains numerous works dedicated to the honour of Amitābha, yet they are not described as composed by members of the Pure Land school but appear to be due to authors of all schools.

The doctrine, if not the school, was known in China before 186, in which year there died at Lo-yang, a monk of the Yüeh-chih called Lokâksîhi, who translated the longer Sukhâvatīvyûha. So far as I know, there is no reason for doubting these statements. The date is important for the history of doctrine, since it indicates that the sūtra existed in Sanskrit some time previously. Another translation by the Parthian An Shih-Kao, whose activity falls between 148 and 170 A.D. may have been earlier and altogether twelve translations were made before 1000 A.D. of which five are extant. Several of the earlier translators were natives of Central Asia, so it is permissible to suppose that the sūtra was esteemed there. The shorter Sukhâvatīvyûha was translated by Kumârajîva (c. 402) and later by Hsüan Chuang. The Amitâyurdyânasûtra was translated by Kâlayasas about 424. These three books are the principal scriptures of the school and copies of the greater Sukhâvatî may still be found in almost every Chinese monastery, whatever principles it professes.

Hui Yüan who lived from 333 to 416 is considered as the founder of the school. He was in his youth an enthusiastic

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1 The list of Chinese authors in Nanjio's Catalogue, App. iii, describes many as belonging to the T'ien-t'ai, Avatamsaka or Dhyâna schools, but none as belonging to the Ching-T'u.
2 For the authorities, see Nanjio, p. 381.
3 Nanjio, p. 10, note.
4 They are all translated in S.B.E. xlvi. The two former exist in Sanskrit. The Amitâyurdyâna is known only in the Chinese translation. They are called in Chinese 無量壽經, 阿彌陀經 and 馨無量壽佛經.
5 慧遠.
Taoist and after he turned Buddhist is said to have used the writings of Chuang-tzü to elucidate his new faith. He founded a brotherhood, and near the monastery where he settled was a pond in which lotus flowers grew, hence the brotherhood was known as the White Lotus school. For several centuries it enjoyed general esteem. Pan-chou, one of its Patriarchs, received the title of Kuo-shih about 770 A.D., and Shan-tao, who flourished about 650 and wrote commentaries, was one of its principal literary men. He popularized the doctrine of the Pai-tao or White Way, that is, the narrow bridge leading to Paradise across which Amitābha will guide the souls of the faithful. But somehow the name of White Lotus became connected with conspiracy and rebellion until it was dreaded as the title of a formidable secret society, and ceased to be applied to the school as a whole. The teaching and canonical literature of the Pure Land school did not fall into disrepute but since it was admitted by other sects to be, if not the most excellent way, at least a permissible short cut to heaven, it appears in modern times less as a separate school than as an aspect of most schools. The simple and emotional character of Amidism, the directness of its “Come unto me,” appeal so strongly to the poor and uneducated, that no monastery or temple could afford to neglect it.

Two important Indian schools were introduced into China in the sixth and seventh centuries respectively and flourished until about 900 A.D. when they began to decay. These are the Chū-shē-tsung and Fa-hsiang-tsung. The first name is merely a Chinese transcription of the Sanskrit Kośa and is due to the fact that the chief authority of the school is the Abhidharmakośa-

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1 白蓮社. The early history of the school is related in a work called Lien-shē-kao-hsien-ch’uan, said to date from the Tsin dynasty. See for some account of the early worthies, Doré, pp. 280 ff. and 457 ff. Their biographies contain many visions and miracles.

2 Apparently at least until 1042. See De Groot, Sectarianism, p. 163. The dated inscriptions in the grottoes of Lung-mên indicate that the cult of Amitābha flourished especially from 647 to 715. See Chavannes, Mission. Archdol. Tome 1, deuxième partie, p. 545.

3 般舟 和 善導.

4 See for instance the tract called Hsüan-Fo-P’u 選佛譜 and translated by Richard under the title of A Guide to Buddhism, pp. 97 ff.

5 俱舍宗 and 法相宗.
śāstra of Vasubandhu. This work expounds the doctrine of the Sarvāstivādins, but in a liberal spirit and without ignoring other views. Though the Chü-shê-tsung represented the best scholastic tradition of India more adequately than any other Chinese sect, yet it was too technical and arid to become popular and both in China and Japan (where it is known as Kusha-shu) it was a system of scholastic philosophy rather than a form of religion. In China it did not last many centuries.

The Fa-Hsiang school is similar inasmuch as it represented Indian scholasticism and remained, though much esteemed, somewhat academic. The name is a translation of Dharmalakshaṇa and the school is also known as Tz’ü-én-tsung, and also as Wei-shih-hsiang-chiao because its principal text-book is the Ch’êng-wei-shih-lun. This name, equivalent to Vidyāmātra, or Vijñānamātra, is the title of a work by Hsüan Chuang which appears to be a digest of ten Sanskrit commentaries on a little tract of thirty verses ascribed to Vasubandhu. As ultimate authorities the school also recognizes the revelations made to Asanga by Maitreya and probably the Mahāyānasūtrālankāra expresses its views. It claims as its founder Śīlabhadra the teacher of Hsüan Chuang, but the latter was its real parent.

Closely allied to it but reckoned as distinct is the school called the Hua-yen-tsung because it was based on the Hua-yen-ching or Avatamsakasūtra. The doctrines of this work and of Nāgārjuna may be conveniently if not quite correctly contrasted as pantheistic and nihilistic. The real founder and first patriarch was Tu-Fa-Shun who died in 640 but the school sometimes bears the name of Hsien-Shou, the posthumous title of its third Patriarch who contributed seven works to the Tripitaka. It

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1 See Watters, On Yuan Chuang, i. 210, and also Takakusu, Journal of the Pali Text Soc. 1905, p. 132.

2 The name refers not to the doctrines of the school, but to Tz’ü-én-tai-shih, a title given to Kuei-chi the disciple of Hsüan Chuang who was one of its principal teachers and taught at a monastery called Tz’ü-én.

3 See Nanjio, Cat. Nos. 1197 and 1215.

4 See Watters, On Yuan Chuang, i. pp. 355 ff.

5 Ed. and transl. by Sylvain Lévi, 1911.

6 His name when alive was Fa-tsang. See Nanjio, Cat. p. 402, and Doré, 450. The Empress Wu patronized him.
began to wane in the tenth century but has a distinguished literary record.

The Lü-tsung or Vinaya school\(^1\) was founded by Tao Hsüan (595–667). It differs from those already mentioned inasmuch as it emphasizes discipline and asceticism as the essential part of the religious life. Like the T'ien-t'ai this school arose in China. It bases itself on Indian authorities, but it does not appear that in thus laying stress on the Vinaya it imitated any Indian sect, although it caught the spirit of the early Hīnayāna schools. The numerous works of the founder indicate a practical temperament inclined not to mysticism or doctrinal subtlety but to biography, literary history and church government. Thus he continued the series called Memoirs of Eminent Monks and wrote on the family and country of the Buddha. He compiled a catalogue of the Tripitaka, as it was in his time, and collections of extracts, as well as of documents relating to the controversies between Buddhists and Taoists\(^2\). Although he took as his chief authority the Dharmagupta Vinaya commonly known as the Code in Four Sections, he held, like most Chinese Buddhists, that there is a complete and perfect doctrine which includes and transcends all the vehicles. But he insisted, probably as a protest against the laxity or extravagance of many monasteries, that morality and discipline are the indispensable foundation of the religious life. He was highly esteemed by his contemporaries and long after his death the Emperor Mu-tsung (821–5) wrote a poem in his honour. The school is still respected and it is said that the monks of its principal monastery, Pao-hua-shan in Kiangsu, are stricter and more learned than any other.

The school called Chên-yen (in Japanese Shin-gon), true word, or Mi-chiao\(^3\), secret teaching, equivalent to the Sanskrit Mantrayāna or Tantrayāna, is the latest among the recognized divisions of Chinese Buddhism since it first made its appearance in the eighth century. The date, like that of the translation of the Amida scriptures is important, for the school was introduced

\(^1\) 律宗. Also called Nan Shan or Southern mountain school from a locality in Shensi.

\(^2\) 道宜. Nanjio, Cat. 1493, 1469, 1470, 1120, 1481, 1483, 1484, 1471.

\(^3\) 真言 or 密教.
from India and it follows that its theories and practices were openly advocated at this period and probably were not of repute much earlier. It is akin to the Buddhism of Tibet and may be described in its higher aspects as an elaborate and symbolic pantheism, which represents the one spirit manifesting himself in a series of emanations and reflexes. In its popular and unfortunately commoner aspect it is simply polytheism, fetishism and magic. In many respects it resembles the Pure Land school. Its principal deity (the word is not inaccurate) is Vairocana, analogous to Amitābha, and probably like him a Persian sun god in origin. It is also a short cut to salvation, for, without denying the efficiency of more laborious and ascetic methods, it promises to its followers a similar result by means of formulæ and ceremonies. Like the Pure Land school it has become in China not so much a separate corporation as an aspect, and often the most obvious and popular aspect, of all Buddhist schools.

It claims Vajrabodhi as its first Patriarch. He was a monk of the Brahman caste who arrived in China from southern India in 719 and died in 730 after translating several Tantras and spells. His companion and successor was Amoghavajra of whose career something has already been said. The fourth Patriarch, Hui Kuo, was the instructor of the celebrated Japanese monk Kobo Daishi who established the school in Japan under the name of Shingon.

The principal scripture of this sect is the Ta-jih-ching or sūtra of the Sun-Buddha. A distinction is drawn between exoteric and esoteric doctrine (the "true word") and the various phases of Buddhist thought are arranged in ten classes. Of these the first nine are merely preparatory, but in the last or esoteric phase, the adept becomes a living Buddha and receives full intuitive knowledge. In this respect the Tantric school resembles the teaching of Bodhidharma but not in detail. It teaches that Vairocana is the whole world, which is divided into Garbhadhātu (material) and Vajradhātu (indestructible), the two together forming Dharmadhātu. The manifestations of

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1 From Mo-lai-yê, which seems to mean the extreme south of India. Doré gives some Chinese legends about him, p. 299.
2 For an appreciative criticism of the sect as known in Japan, see Aneaski's Buddhist Art, chap. iii.
3 Nanjio, No. 530. Nos. 533, 534 and 1039 are also important texts of this sect.
Vairocana's body to himself—that is Buddhas and Bodhisattvas—are represented symbolically by diagrams of several circles. But it would be out of place to dwell further on the dogmatic theology of the school, for I cannot discover that it was ever of importance in China whatever may have been its influence in Japan. What appealed only too powerfully to Chinese superstition was the use of spells, charms and magical formulae and the doctrine that since the universe is merely idea, thoughts and facts are equipollent. This doctrine (which need not be the outcome of metaphysics, but underlies the magical practices of many savage tribes) produced surprising results when applied to funeral ceremonies, which in China have always formed the major part of religion, for it was held that ceremonial can represent and control the fortunes of the soul, that is to say that if a ceremony represents figuratively the rescue of a soul from a pool of blood, then the soul which is undergoing that punishment will be delivered. It was not until the latter part of the eighth century that such theories and ceremonies were accepted by Chinese Buddhism, but they now form a large part of it.

Although in Japan Buddhism continued to produce new schools until the thirteenth century, no movement in China attained this status after about 730, and Lamaism, though its introduction produced considerable changes in the north, is not usually reckoned as a Tsung. But numerous societies and brotherhoods arose especially in connection with the Pure Land school and are commonly spoken of as sects. They differ from the schools mentioned above in having more or less the character of secret societies, sometimes merely brotherhoods like the Freemasons but sometimes political in their aims. Among those whose tenets are known that which has most religion and least politics in its composition appears to be the Wu-wei-chiao, founded about 1620 by one Lo-tsu who claimed to have received a revelation contained in five books. It is strictly vegetarian

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1 In the T'ien-t'ao and Ch'en-yen schools, and indeed in Chinese Buddhism generally, Dharma (Fa in Chinese) is regarded as cosmic law. Buddhas are the visible expression of Dharma. Hence they are identified with it and the whole process of cosmic evolution is regarded as the manifestation of Buddhahood.

2 無為教. See the account by Edkins, Chinese Buddhism, pp. 271 ff.

3 羅祖.
and antiritualistic, objecting to the use of images, incense and candles in worship.

There are many other sects with a political tinge. The proclivity of the Chinese to guilds, corporations and secret societies is well known and many of these latter have a religious basis. All such bodies are under the ban of the Government, for they have always been suspected with more or less justice of favouring anti-social or anti-dynastic ideas. But, mingled with such political aspirations, there is often present the desire for cooperation in leading privately a religious life which, if made public, would be hampered by official restrictions. The most celebrated of these sects is the White Lotus. Under the Yüan dynasty it was anti-Mongol, and prepared the way for the advent of the Ming. When the Ming dynasty in its turn became decadent, we hear again of the White Lotus coupled with rebellion, and similarly after the Manchus had passed their meridian, its beautiful but ill-omened name frequently appears. It seems clear that it is an ancient and persistent society with some idea of creating a millennium, which becomes active when the central government is weak and corrupt. Not unlike the White Lotus is the secret society commonly known as the Triad but called by its members the Heaven and Earth Association. The T'ai-p'ing sect, out of which the celebrated rebellion arose, was similar but its inspiration seems to have come from a perversion of Christianity. The Tsai-Li sect¹ is still prevalent in Peking, Tientsin, and the province of Shantung. I should exceed the scope of my task if I attempted to examine these sects in detail², for their relation to Buddhism is often doubtful. Most of them combine with it Taoist and other beliefs and some of them expect a Messiah or King of Righteousness who is usually identified with Maitreya. It is easy to see how at this point hostility to the existing Government arises and provokes not unnatural resentment³.

¹ 在理. See China Mission Year Book, 1896, p. 43.

² For some account of them, see Stanton, The Triad Society, White Lotus Society, etc., 1900, reprinted from China Review, vols. xxx, xxxi, and De Groot, Sectarianism and religious persecution in China, vol. i. pp. 149-259.

³ The Republic of China has not changed much from the ways of the Empire. The Peking newspapers of June 17, 1914, contain a Presidential Edict stating that "the invention of heretical religions by ill-disposed persons is strictly prohibited by law," and that certain religious societies are to be suppressed.
Recently several attempts have been made to infuse life and order into Chinese Buddhism. Japanese influence can be traced in most of them and though they can hardly be said to represent a new school, they attempt to go back to Mahayanism as it was when first introduced into China. The Hinayana is considered as a necessary preliminary to the Mahayana and the latter is treated as existing in several schools, among which are included the Pure Land school, though the Contemplative and Tantric schools seem not to be regarded with favour. They are probably mistrusted as leading to negligence and superstition.

1 See, for an account of such a reformed sect, O. Francke, "Ein Buddhistischer Reformversuch in China," T'oung Pao, 1909, p. 567.
CHAPTER XLVI

CHINA (continued)

CHINESE BUDDHISM AT THE PRESENT DAY

The Buddhism treated of in this chapter does not include Lamaism, which being identical with the religion of Tibet and Mongolia is more conveniently described elsewhere. Ordinary Chinese Buddhism and Lamaism are distinct, but are divided not so much by doctrine as by the race, language and usages of the priests. Chinese Buddhism has acquired some local colour, but it is still based on the teaching and practice imported from India before the Yüan dynasty, whereas Lamaist tradition is not direct: it represents Buddhism as received not from India but from Tibet. Some holy places, such as P’uto and Wu-t’ai-shan are frequented by both Lamas and Chinese monks, and Tibetan prayers and images may sometimes be seen in Chinese temples, but as a rule the two divisions do not coalesce.

Chinese Buddhism has a physiognomy and language of its own. The Paraphrase of the Sacred Edict in a criticism, which, though unfriendly, is not altogether inaccurate, says that Buddhists attend only to the heart, claim that Buddha can be found in the heart, and aim at becoming Buddhas. This sounds strange to those who are acquainted only with the Buddhism of Ceylon and Burma, but is intelligible as a popular statement of Bodhidharma’s doctrine. Heart\textsuperscript{1} means the spiritual nature of man, essentially identical with the Buddha nature and capable of purification and growth so that all beings can become Buddhas. But in the Far East the doctrine became less pantheistic and more ethical than the corresponding Indian ideas. The Buddha in the heart is the internal light and monitor rather than the universal spirit. Amida, Kuan-yin and Ti-tsang with other radiant and benevolent spirits have risen from humanity and will help man to rise as they have done. Chinese Buddhists do not regard Amida’s vows as an isolated achievement. All

\textsuperscript{1} For a specimen of devotional literature about the heart see the little tract translated in China Branch, \textit{R.A.S. xxiii.} pp. 9–22.
Buddhisattvas have done the same and carried out their resolution in countless existences. Like the Madonna these gracious figures appeal directly to the emotions and artistic senses and their divinity offers no difficulty, for in China Church and State alike have always recognized deification as a natural process. One other characteristic of all Far Eastern Buddhism may be noticed. The Buddha is supposed to have preached many creeds and codes at different periods of his life and each school supposes its own to be the last, best and all inclusive.

As indicated elsewhere, the essential part of the Buddhist Church is the monkhood and it is often hard to say if a Chinese layman is a Buddhist or not. It will therefore be best to describe briefly the organization and life of a monastery, then the services performed there and to some extent attended by the laity, and thirdly the rites performed by monks on behalf of the laity, especially funeral ceremonies.

The Chinese Tripitaka contains no less than five recensions of the Vinaya, and the later pilgrims who visited India made it their special object to obtain copies of the most correct and approved code. But though the theoretical value of these codes is still admitted, they have for practical purposes been supplemented by other manuals of which the best known are the Fan-wang-ching or Net of Brâhma\(^1\) and the Pai-chang-ts'ung-lin-ch'ing-kuei or Rules of Purity of the Monasteries of Pai Chang.

The former is said to have been translated in A.D. 406 by Kumārajīva and to be one chapter of a larger Sanskrit work. Some passages of it, particularly the condemnation of legislation which forbids or imposes conditions on the practice of Buddhism\(^2\), read as if they had been composed in China rather than India, and its whole attitude towards the Hinayanist Vinaya as something inadequate and superseded, can hardly have been usual in India or China even in the time of I-Ching (700 A.D.). Nothing is known of the Indian original, but it certainly was not the Brahmajâlasutta of the Pali Canon\(^3\). Though the translation

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1 梵網經. For text translation and commentary, see De Groot, *Code du Mahâdyâna en Chine*, 1893, see also Nanjio, No. 1087.
2 De Groot, p. 81.
3 The identity of name seems due to a similarity of metaphor. The Brahmajâla sutta is a net of many meshes to catch all forms of error. The Fan-wang-ching
is ascribed to so early a date, there is no evidence that the work carried weight as an authority before the eighth century. Students of the Vinaya, like I-Ching, ignore it. But when the scholarly endeavour to discover the most authentic edition of the Vinaya began to flag, this manual superseded the older treatises. Whatever external evidence there may be for attributing it to Kumārajīva, its contents suggest a much later date and there is no guarantee that a popular manual may not have received additions. The rules are not numbered consecutively but as 1–10 and 1–48, and it may be that the first class is older than the second. In many respects it expounds a late and even degenerate form of Buddhism for it contemplates not only a temple ritual (including the veneration of images and sacred books), but also burning the head or limbs as a religious practice. But it makes no allusion to salvation through faith in Amitābha and says little about services to be celebrated for the dead.

Its ethical and disciplinary point of view is dogmatically Mahayanist and similar to that of the Bodhicaryāvatāra. The Hīnayāna is several times denounced and called heretical, but, setting aside a little intolerance and superstition, the teaching of this manual is truly admirable and breathes a spirit of active charity—a desire not only to do no harm but to help and rescue.

It contains a code of ten primary and forty-eight secondary commandments, worded as prohibitions, but equivalent to positive injunctions, inasmuch as they blame the neglect of various active duties. The ten primary commandments are called Prātimoksha and he who breaks them is Pārājika, that is to say, he ipso facto leaves the road leading to Buddhahood and is condemned to a long series of inferior births. They prohibit taking life, theft, unchastity, lying, trading in alcoholic liquors, evil speaking, boasting, avarice, hatred and blasphemy. Though infraction of the secondary commandments has less permanently serious consequence, their observance is indispensable for all monks. Many of them are amplifications of the

compares the varieties of Buddhist opinion to the meshes of a net (De Groot, l.c. p. 26), but the net is the all-inclusive common body of truth.

1 See, however, sections 20 and 39.

2 See especially De Groot, l.c. p. 58, where the reading of the Abhidharma is forbidden. Though this name is not confined to the Hīnayāna, A-pi-t’an in Chinese seems to be rarely used as a title of Mahayanist books.

3 The Indian words are transliterated in the Chinese text.
ten major commandments and are directed against indirect and potential sins, such as the possession of weapons. The Bhikshu may not eat flesh, drink alcohol, set forests on fire or be connected with any business injurious to others, such as the slave trade. He is warned against gossip, sins of the eye, foolish practices such as divination and even momentary forgetfulness of his high calling and duties. But it is not sufficient that he should be self-concentrated and without offence. He must labour for the welfare and salvation of others, and it is a sin to neglect such duties as instructing the ignorant, tending the sick, hospitality, saving men or animals from death or slavery, praying for all in danger, exhorting to repentance, sympathy with all living things. A number of disciplinary rules prescribe a similarly high standard for daily monastic life. The monk must be strenuous and intelligent; he must yield obedience to his superiors and set a good example to the laity: he must not teach for money or be selfish in accepting food and gifts. As for creed he is strictly bidden to follow and preach the Mahāyāna: it is a sin to follow or preach the doctrine of the Srāvakas or read their books or not aspire to ultimate Buddhahood. Very remarkable are the injunctions to burn one's limbs in honour of Buddhhas: to show great respect to copies of the scriptures and to make vows. From another point of view the first and forty-seventh secondary commandments are equally remarkable: the first bids officials discharge their duties with due respect to the Church and the other protests against improper legislation.

The Fan-wang-ching is the most important and most authoritative statement of the general principles regulating monastic life in China. So far as my own observation goes, it is known and respected in all monasteries. The Pai-chang-ch'ing-kuei deals rather with the details of organization and ritual and has not the same universal currency. It received the

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1 More accurately reading the sūtras on their behalf, but this exercise is practically equivalent to intercessory prayer.

2 The full title is 百文叢林清規. Pai Chang is apparently to be taken as the name of the author, but it is the designation of a monastery used as a personal name. See Hackmann in T'oung Pao, 1908, pp. 661–662. It is No. 1642 in Nanjio's Catalogue. He says that it has been revised and altered.
approval of the Yüan dynasty\textsuperscript{1} and is still accepted as authori-
tative in many monasteries and gives a correct account of their
general practice. It was composed by a monk of Kiang-si, who
died in 814 A.D. He belonged to the Ch‘an school, but his rules
are approved by others. I will not attempt to summarize them,
but they include most points of ritual and discipline mentioned
below. The author indicates the relations which should prevail
between Church and State by opening his work with an account
of the ceremonies to be performed on the Emperor’s birthday,
and similar occasions.

Large Buddhist temples almost always form part of a
monastery, but smaller shrines, especially in towns, are often
served by a single priest. The many-storyed towers called
pagodas which are a characteristic beauty of Chinese landscapes,
are in their origin stupas erected over relics but at the present
day can hardly be called temples or religious buildings, for they
are not places of worship and generally owe their construction
to the dictates of Fêng-shui or geomancy. Monasteries are
usually built outside towns and by preference on high ground,
whence shan or mountain has come to be the common designa-
tion of a convent, whatever its position. The sites of these
establishments show the deep feeling of cultivated Chinese for
nature and their appreciation of the influence of scenery on
temper, an appreciation which connects them spiritually with
the psalms of the monks and nuns preserved in the Pali Canon.
The architecture is not self-assertive. Its aim is not to produce
edifices complete and satisfying in their own proportions but
rather to harmonize buildings with landscape, to adjust courts
and pavilions to the slope of the hillside and diversify the groves
of fir and bamboo with shrines and towers as fantastic and yet
as natural as the mountain boulders. The reader who wishes
to know more of them should consult Johnston’s Buddhist
\textit{China}, a work which combines in a rare degree sound knowledge
and literary charm.

A monastery\textsuperscript{2} is usually a quadrangle surrounded by a wall.

\textsuperscript{1} See \textit{T‘oung Pao}, 1904, pp. 437 ff.

\textsuperscript{2} It is probable that the older Chinese monasteries attempted to reproduce the
arrangement of Nâlanda and other Indian establishments. Unfortunately Hsüan
Chuang and the other pilgrims give us few details as to the appearance of Indian
monasteries: they tell us, however, that they were surrounded by a wall, that the
monks’ quarters were near this wall, that there were halls where choral services
Before the great gate, which faces south, or in the first court is a tank, spanned by a bridge, wherein grows the red lotus and tame fish await doles of biscuit. The sides of the quadrangle contain dwelling rooms, refectories, guest chambers, store houses, a library, printing press and other premises suitable to a learned and pious foundation. The interior space is divided into two or three courts, bordered by a veranda. In each court is a hall of worship or temple, containing a shelf or alcove on which are set the sacred images: in front of them stands a table, usually of massive wood, bearing vases of flowers, bowls for incense sticks and other vessels. The first temple is called the Hall of the Four Great Kings and the figures in it represent beings who are still in the world of transmigration and have not yet attained Buddhahood. They include gigantic images of the Four Kings, Maitreya, the Buddha designate of the future, and Wei-to, a military Bodhisattva sometimes identified with Indra. Kuan-ti, the Chinese God of War, is often represented in this building. The chief temple, called the Precious Hall of the Great Hero, is in the second court and contains the principal images. Very commonly there are nine figures on either side representing eighteen disciples of the Buddha and known as the Eighteen Lohan or Arhats. Above the altar are one or more large gilt

were performed and that there were triads of images. But the Indian buildings had three stories. See Chavannes, Mémoire sur les Religieux Eminents, 1894, p. 85.

1 韋陀 or 駱. For this personage see the article in B.E.F.E.O. 1916. No. 3, by Péri who identifies him with Wei, the general of the Heavenly Kings who appeared to Tao Hsüan the founder of the Vinaya school and became popular as a protecting deity of Buddhism. The name is possibly a mistaken transcription of Skandha.

2 大雄寶殿.

3 羅漢. See Lévi and Chavannes' two articles in J.A. 1916, i and ii, and Watters in J.R.A.S. 1898, p. 329, for an account of these personages. The original number, still found in a few Chinese temples as well as in Korea, Japan and Tibet was sixteen. Several late Sūtras contain the idea that the Buddha entrusted the protection of his religion to four or sixteen disciples and bade them not enter Nirvana but tarry until the advent of Maitreya. The Ta-A-lo-han-nan-t’i-mi-to-lo-so-shuo-fa-chu-chi (Nanjio, 1466) is an account of these sixteen disciples and of their spheres of influence. The Buddha assigned to each a region within which it is his duty to guard the faith. They will not pass from this life before the next Buddha comes. Pindola is the chief of them. Nothing is known of the work cited except that it was translated in 664 by Hsüan Chuang, who, according to Watters, used an earlier translation. As the Arhats are Indian personalities, and their spheres are mapped out from the
images. When there is only one it is usually Sākyapa-muni, but more often there are three. Such triads are variously composed and the monks often speak of them vaguely as the “three precious ones,” without seeming to attach much importance to their identity. The triad is loosely connected with the idea of the three bodies of Buddha but this explanation does not always apply and the central figure is sometimes O-mi-to or Kuan-yin, who are the principal recipients of the worship offered by the laity. The latter deity has usually a special shrine at the back of the main altar and facing the north door of the hall, in which her merciful activity as the saviour of mankind is represented in a series of statuettes or reliefs. Other Bodhisattvas such as Ta-shih-chi (Mahãsthamaprapta) and Ti-tsa-lang also have separate shrines in or at the side of the great hall. The third hall contains as a rule only small images. It is used for expounding the scriptures and for sermons, if the monastery has a preacher, but is set apart for the religious exercises of the monks rather than the devotions of the laity. In very large monasteries there is a fourth hall for meditation.

Monasteries are of various sizes and the number of monks is not constant, for the peripatetic habit of early Buddhism is not extinct: at one time many inmates may be absent on their point of view of Indian geography, there can be no doubt that we have to do with an Indian idea, imported into Tibet as well as into China where it became far more popular than it had ever been in India. The two additional Arhats (who vary in different temples, whereas the sixteen are fixed) appear to have been added during the T’ang dynasty and, according to Watters, in imitation of a very select order of merit instituted by the Emperor T’ai Tsung and comprising eighteen persons, Chavannes and Lévi see in them spirits borrowed from the popular pantheon.

Chinese ideas about the Lohans at the present day are very vague. Their Indian origin has been forgotten and some of them have been provided with Chinese biographies. (See Doré, p. 216.) One popular story says that they were sixteen converted brigands.

In several large temples there are halls containing 500 images of Arhats, which include many Chinese Emperors and one of them is often pointed out as being Marco Polo. But this is very doubtful. See, however, Hackmann, Buddhismus, p. 212.

1 Generally they consist of Sākyapa-muni and two superhuman Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, such as O-mi-to (Amitãbha) and Yo-shih-to (Vajra): Pi-lu-to (Vairocana) and Lo-shih-to (Lochana): Wên-shu (Manjû-ri) and P’u-hsien (Samanta-bhadra). The common European explanation that they are the Buddhas of the past, present and future is not correct.

大勢至 and 地藏. For the importance of Ti-tsang in popular Buddhism, which has perhaps been underestimated, see Johnston, chap. viii.
travels, at another there may be an influx of strangers. There are also wandering monks who have ceased to belong to a particular monastery and spend their time in travelling. A large monastery usually contains from thirty to fifty monks, but a very large one may have as many as three hundred. The majority are dedicated by their parents as children, but some embrace the career from conviction in their maturity and these, if few, are the more interesting. Children who are brought up to be monks receive a religious education in the monastery, wear monastic clothes and have their heads shaved. At the age of about seventeen they are formally admitted as members of the order and undergo three ceremonies of ordination, which in their origin represented stages of the religious life, but are now performed by accumulation in the course of a few days. One reason for this is that only monasteries possessing a licence from the Government are allowed to hold ordinations and that consequently postulants have to go some distance to be received as full brethren and are anxious to complete the reception expeditiously. At the first ordination the candidates are accepted as novices: at the second, which follows a day or two afterwards and corresponds to the upasampadā, they accept the robes and bowl and promise obedience to the rules of the Pratimoksha. But these ceremonies are of no importance compared with the third, called Shou Pu-sa-chieh or acceptance of the Bodhisattva precepts, that is to say the fifty-eight precepts enunciated in the Fan-wang-ching. The essential part of this ordination is the burning of the candidate's head in from three to eighteen places. The operation involves considerable pain and is performed by lighting pieces of charcoal set in a paste which is spread over the shaven skull.

Although the Fan-wang-ching does not mention this burning of the head as part of ordination, yet it emphatically enjoins the practice of burning the body or limbs, affirming that those who neglect it are not true Bodhisattvas. The prescription is found on the twenty-second chapter of the Lotus which, though a later addition, is found in the Chinese transla-

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1 I speak of the Old Imperial Government which came to an end in 1911.

2 受菩薩戒.

3 De Groot, i.e. p. 51.

4 See Kern's translation, especially pp. 379 and 385.
tion made between 265 and 316 A.D. I-Ching discusses and reprobates such practices. Clearly they were known in India when he visited it, but not esteemed by the better Buddhists, and the fact that they form no part of the ordinary Tibetan ritual indicates that they had no place in the decadent Indian Buddhism which in various stages of degeneration was introduced into Tibet. In Korea and Japan branding is practised but on the breast and arms rather than on the head.

It would appear then that burning and branding as part of initiation were known in India in the early centuries of our era but not commonly approved and that their general acceptance in China was subsequent to the death of I-Ching in A.D. 713. This author clearly approved of nothing but the double ordination as novice and full monk. The third ordination as Bodhisattva must be part of the later phase inaugurated by Amogha about 750.

This practice is defended as a trial of endurance, but the earlier and better monks were right in rejecting it, for in itself it is an unedifying spectacle and it points to the logical conclusion that, if it is meritorious to cauterize the head, it is still more meritorious to burn the whole body. Cases of suicide by burning appear to have occurred in recent years, especially in the province of Che-Kiang. The true doctrine of the Mahāyāna is that every one should strive for the happiness and salvation of all beings, but this beautiful truth may be sadly perverted.

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1 See Nanjio, Nos. 138 and 139. The practice is not entirely unknown in the legends of Pali Buddhism. In the Lokapaññatti, a work existing in Burma but perhaps translated from the Sanskrit, Aśoka burns himself in honour of the Buddha, but is miraculously preserved. See B.E.F.E.O. 1904, pp. 421 and 427.

2 See I-Tsing, Records of the Buddhist Religion, trans. Takakusu, pp. 195 ff., and for Tibet, Waddell, Buddhism of Tibet, p. 178, note 3, from which it appears that it is only in Eastern Tibet and probably under Chinese influence that branding is in vogue. For apparent instances in Central Asian art, see Grünwedel, Budd. Kultur, p. 23, note 1.

3 Branding is common in many Hindu sects, especially the Mādhvas, but is reprobated by others.

4 It is condemned as part of the superstition of Buddhism in a memorial of Han Yü, 819 A.D.

5 See those cited by De Groot, I.c. p. 228, and the article of MacGowan (Chinese Recorder, 1888) there referred to. See also Hackmann, Buddhism as a Religion, p. 228. Chinese sentiment often approves suicide, for instance, if committed by widows or the adherents of defeated princes. For a Confucian instance, see Johnston, p. 341.
if it is held that the endurance of pain is in itself meritorious and that such acquired merit can be transferred to others. Self-torture, seems not to be unknown in the popular forms of Chinese Buddhism.

The postulant, after receiving these three ordinations, becomes a full monk or Ho-shang and takes a new name. The inmates of every monastery owe obedience to the abbot and some abbots have an official position, being recognized by the Government as representing the clergy of a prefecture, should there be any business to be transacted with the secular authorities. But there is no real hierarchy outside the monasteries, each of which is an isolated administrative unit. Within each monastery due provision is made for discipline and administration. The monks are divided into two classes, the Western who are concerned with ritual and other purely religious duties and the Eastern who are relatively secular and superintend the business of the establishment. This is often considerable for the income is usually derived from estates, in managing which the monks are assisted by a committee of laymen. Other laymen of humbler status live around the monastery and furnish the labour necessary for agriculture, forestry and whatever industries the character of the property calls into being. As a rule there is a considerable library. Even a sympathetic stranger will often find that the monks deny its existence, because many books have been destroyed in political troubles, but most monasteries possess copies of the principal scriptures and a complete Tripitaka, usually the edition of 1737, is not rare. Whether the books are much read I do not know, but I have observed that after the existence of the library has been ad-

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1 See e.g. Du Bose, The Dragon, Image and Demon, p. 205. I have never seen such practices myself. See also Paraphrase of the Sacred Edict, vii. 8.

2 和尚. This word, which has no derivation in Chinese, is thought to be a corruption of some vernacular form of the Sanskrit Upādhyāya current in Central Asia. See I-tsing, transl. Takakusu, p. 118. Upādhyāya became Vajja (as is shown by the modern Indian forms Ojha or Jha and Tamil Vāddyar). See Bloch in Indo-Germanischen Forschungen, vol. xxv. 1909, p. 239. Vajja might become in Chinese Ho-sho or Ho-shang for Ho sometimes represents the Indian syllable va. See Julien, Méthode, p. 109, and Eitel, Handbook of Chinese Buddhism, p. 196.

3 For details see Hackmann in T'oung Pao, 1908.

4 They apparently correspond to the monastic lay servants or "pure men" described by I-Ching, chap. xxxii, as living as Nālanda.
mitted, it often proves difficult to find the key. There is also a printing press, where are prepared notices and prayers, as well as copies of popular sūtras.

The food of the monks is strictly vegetarian, but they do not go round with the begging bowl nor, except in a few monasteries, is it forbidden to eat after midday. As a rule there are three meals, the last about 6 p.m., and all must be eaten in silence. The three garments prescribed by Indian Buddhism are still worn, but beneath them are trousers, stockings, and shoes which are necessary in the Chinese climate. There is no idea that it is wrong to sleep on a bed, to receive presents or own property.

Two or three services are performed daily in the principal temple, early in the morning, about 4 p.m., and sometimes in the middle of the day. A specimen of this ritual may be seen in the service called by Beal the Liturgy of Kuan Yin\(^1\). It consists of versicles, responses and canticles, and, though strangely reminiscent both in structure and externals (such as the wearing of vestments) of the offices of the Roman Church\(^2\), appears to be Indian in origin. I-Ching describes the choral services which he attended in Nalanda and elsewhere—the chanting, bowing, processions—and the Chinese ritual is, I think, only the amplification of these ceremonies. It includes the presentation of offerings, such as tea, rice and other vegetables. The Chinese pilgrims testify that in India flowers, lights and incense were offered to relics and images (as in Christian churches), and the Bodhicaryāvatāra\(^3\), one of the most spiritual of later Mahayanist works, mentions offerings of food and drink as part of worship. Many things in Buddhism lent themselves to such a transformation or parody of earlier teaching. Offerings of food to hungry ghosts were countenanced, and it was easy to include among the recipients other spirits. It was meritorious to present food, raiment and property to living saints: oriental,

\(^1\) *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, pp. 339 ff.

\(^2\) The abbot and several upper priests wear robes, which are generally red and gold, during the service. The abbot also carries a sort of sceptre. The vestments of the clergy are said to be derived from the robes of honour which used to be given to them when they appeared at Court.

\(^3\) II. 16. Cf. the rituals in De la Vallée Poussin's *Bouddhisme et Matériaux*, pp. 214 ff. Tārānātha frequently mentions burnt offerings as part of worship in medieval Magadha.

\(\text{R. III.}\)
and especially Chinese, symbolism found it natural to express
the same devotion by offerings made before images.

In the course of most ceremonies, the monks make vows on
behalf of all beings and take oath to work for their salvation.
They are also expected to deliver and hear sermons and to
engage in meditation. Some of them superintend the education
of novices which consists chiefly in learning to read and repeat
religious works. Quite recently elementary schools for the
instruction of the laity have been instituted in some monas-
teries.

The regularity of convent life is broken by many festivals.
The year is divided into two periods of wandering, two of
meditation and one of repose corresponding to the old Vassa.
Though this division has become somewhat theoretical, it is
usual for monks to set out on excursions in the spring and
autumn. In each month there are six fasts, including the two
uposatha days. On these latter the 250 rules of the Prātimoksha
are recited in a refectory or side hall and subsequently the
fifty-eight rules of the Fan-wang-ching are recited with greater
ceremony in the main temple.

Another class of holy days includes the birthdays not only
of Sākyamuni, but of other Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, the
anniversaries of events in Sākyamuni’s life and the deaths of
Bodhidharma and other Saints, among whom the founder or
patron of each monastery has a prominent place. Another
important and popular festival is called Yü-lan-pên or All Souls’
day, which is an adaptation of Buddhist usages to Chinese
ancestral worship. Of many other festivals it may be said that
they are purely Chinese but countenanced by Buddhism: such
are the days which mark the changes of the seasons, those
sacred to Kuan-ti and other native deities, and (before the
revolution) imperial birthdays.

The daily services are primarily for the monks, but the laity
may attend them, if they please. More frequently they pay their
devotions at other hours, light a few tapers and too often have
recourse to some form of divination before the images. Some-

1 I do not refer to the practice of turning disused temples into schools which is
frequent. In some monasteries the monks, while retaining possession, have them-
selves opened schools.

2 It is not clear to me what is really meant by the birthdays of beings like
Maitreya and Amitābha.
times they defray the cost of more elaborate ceremonies to expiate sins or ensure prosperity. But the lay attendance in temples is specially large at seasons of pilgrimage. For an account of this interesting side of Chinese religious life I cannot do better than refer the reader to Mr Johnston’s volume already cited.

Though the services of the priesthood may be invoked at every crisis of life, they are most in requisition for funeral ceremonies. A detailed description of these as practised at Amoy has been given by De Groot\(^1\) which is probably true in essentials for all parts of China. These rites unite in incongruous confusion several orders of ideas. Pre-Buddhist Chinese notions of the life after death seem not to have included the idea of hell. The disembodied soul is honoured and comforted but without any clear definition of its status. Some representative—a person, figure, or tablet—is thought capable of giving it a temporary residence and at funeral ceremonies offerings are made to such a representative and plays performed before it. Though Buddhist language may be introduced into this ritual, its spirit is alien to even the most corrupt Buddhism.

Buddhism familiarized China with the idea that the average man stands in danger of purgatory and this doctrine cannot be described as late or Mahayanist\(^2\). Those epithets are, however, merited by the subsidiary doctrine that such punishment can be abridged by vicarious acts of worship which may take the form of simple prayer addressed to benevolent beings who can release the tortured soul. More often the idea underlying it is that the recitation of certain formulæ acquires merit for the reciter who can then divert this merit to any purpose\(^3\). This is really a theological refinement of the ancient and widespread notion that words have magic force. Equally ancient and un-Buddhist in origin is the theory of sympathetic magic. Just as by sticking pins into a wax figure you may kill the person represented, so by imitating physical operations of rescue, you may deliver a soul from the furnaces and morasses of hell. Thus

\(^1\) *Actes du Sizième Congrès des Orientalistes*, Leide, 1883, sec. iv. pp. 1–120.

\(^2\) E.g. in Dipavamsa, xiii; Mahāv. xiv. Mahinda is represented as converting Ceylon by accounts of the terrors of the next world.

\(^3\) The merit of good deeds can be similarly utilized. The surviving relatives feed the poor or buy and maintain for the rest of its life an animal destined to slaughter. The merit then goes to the deceased.
a paper model of Hades is made which is knocked to pieces and finally burnt: the spirit is escorted with music and other precautions over a mock bridge, and, most singular of all, the priests place over a receptacle of water a special machine consisting of a cylinder containing a revolving apparatus which might help a creature immersed in the fluid to climb up. This strange mummerly is supposed to release those souls who are condemned to sojourn in a pool of blood. This, too, is a superstition countenanced only by Chinese Buddhism, for the punishment is incurred not so much by sinners as by those dying of illnesses which defile with blood. Many other rites are based on the notion that objects—or their paper images—ceremonially burnt are transmitted to the other world for the use of the dead. Thus representations in paper of servants, clothes, furniture, money and all manner of things are burned together with the effigy of the deceased and sometimes also certificates and passports giving him a clean bill of health for the Kingdom of Heaven.

As in funeral rites, so in matters of daily life, Buddhism gives its countenance and help to popular superstition, to every kind of charm for reading the future, securing happiness and driving away evil spirits. In its praise may be said that this patronage, though far too easy going, is not extended to cruel or immoral customs. But the reader will ask, is there no brighter side? I believe that there is, but it is not conspicuous and, as in India, public worship and temple ritual display the lower aspects of religion. But in China a devout Buddhist is generally a good man and the objects of Buddhist associations are praiseworthy and philanthropic. They often include vegetarianism and abstinence from alcohol and drugs. The weakness of the religion to-day is no doubt the want of intelligence and energy among the clergy. There are not a few learned and devout monks, but even devotion is not a characteristic of the majority. On the other hand, those of the laity who take their religion seriously generally attain a high standard of piety and there have been

1 It may possibly be traceable to Manichaeism which taught that souls are transferred from one sphere to another by a sort of cosmic wheel. See Cumont's article, "La roue à puerer les âmes du Manichéisme" in Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions, 1915, p. 384. Chavannes and Pelliot have shown that traces of Manichaeism lingered long in Fu-Kien. The metaphor of the endless chain of buckets is also found in the Yuan Jen Lun.
attempts to reform Buddhism, to connect it with education and to spread a knowledge of the more authentic scriptures\textsuperscript{1}.

When one begins to study Buddhism in China, one fears it may be typified by the neglected temples on the outskirts of Peking, sullen and mouldering memorials of dynasties that have passed away. But later one learns not only that there are great and flourishing monasteries in the south, but that even in Peking one may often step through an archway into courtyards of which the prosaic streets outside give no hint and find there refreshment for the eye and soul, flower gardens and well-kept shrines tended by pious and learned guardians.

CHAPTER XLVII

KOREA

The Buddhism of Korea cannot be sharply distinguished from the Buddhism of China and Japan. Its secluded mountain monasteries have some local colour, and contain halls dedicated to the seven stars and the mountain gods of the land. And travellers are impressed by the columns of rock projecting from the soil and carved into images (miriok), by the painted walls of the temples and by the huge rolled-up pictures which are painted and displayed on festival days. But there is little real originality in art; in literature and doctrine none at all. Buddhism started in Korea with the same advantages as in China and Japan but it lost in moral influence because the monks continually engaged in politics and it did not win temporal power because they were continually on the wrong side. Yet Korea is not without importance in the annals of far-eastern Buddhism for, during the wanderings and vicissitudes of the faith, it served as a rest-house and depot. It was from Korea that Buddhism first entered Japan: when, during the wars of the five dynasties the T‘ien-t‘ai school was nearly annihilated in China, it was revived by a Korean priest and the earliest extant edition of the Chinese Tripitaka is known only by a single copy preserved in Korea and taken thence to Japan.

For our purposes Korean history may be divided into four periods:

I. The three States (B.C. 57–A.D. 668).
II. The Kingdom of Silla (668–918).
III. The Kingdom of Korye (918–1392).
IV. The Kingdom of Chosen (1392–1910).

The three states were Koguryu in the north, Pakche in the south-west and Silla in the south-east. Buddhism; together

1 See various articles in the Trans. of the Korean Branch of the R.A.S., and F. Starr, Korean Buddhism. Also M. Courant, Bibliographie coréenne, especially vol. iii. chap. 2.

1 The orthography of these three names varies considerably. The Japanese equivalents are Koma, Kudara and Shiragi. There are also slight variations in the dates given for the introduction of Buddhism into various states. It seems probable that Mārānanda and Mukucha, the first missionaries to Pakche and Silla were
with Chinese writing, entered Koguryu from the north in 372 and Pakche from the south a few years later. Silla being more distant and at war with the other states did not receive it till about 424. In 552 both Japan and Pakche were at war with Silla and the king of Pakche, wishing to make an alliance with the Emperor of Japan sent him presents which included Buddhist books and images. Thus Korea was the intermediary for introducing Buddhism, writing, and Chinese culture into Japan, and Korean monks played an important part there both in art and religion. But the influence of Korea must not be exaggerated. The Japanese submitted to it believing that they were acquiring the culture of China and as soon as circumstances permitted they went straight to the fountain head. The principal early sects were all imported direct from China.

The kingdom of Silla, which became predominant in the seventh century, had adopted Buddhism in 528, and maintained friendly intercourse with the T'ang dynasty. As in Japan Chinese civilization was imitated wholesale. This tendency strengthened Buddhism at the time, but its formidable rival Confucianism was also introduced early in the eighth century, although it did not become predominant until the thirteenth.

In the seventh century the capital of Silla was a centre of Buddhist culture and also of trade. Merchants from India, Tibet and Persia are said to have frequented its markets and several Korean pilgrims visited India.

In 918 the Wang dynasty, originating in a northern family of humble extraction, overthrew the kingdom of Silla and with it the old Korean aristocracy. This was replaced by an official nobility modelled on that of China: the Chinese system of examinations was adopted and a class of scholars grew up. But with this attempt to reconstruct society many abuses appeared. The number of slaves greatly increased, and there were many Hindus or natives of Central Asia who came from China and some of the early art of Silla is distinctly Indian in style. See Starr, _loc. cit._ plates viii and ix.

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1 These dates are interesting, as reflecting the changes of thought in China. In the sixth century Chinese influence meant Buddhism. It is not until the latter part of the Southern Sung, when the philosophy of Chu-hsi had received official approval, that Chinese influence meant Confucianism.

2 The reasons were many, but the upper classes were evidently ready to oppress the lower. Poor men became the slaves of the rich to obtain a livelihood. All children of slave women were declared hereditary slaves and so were the families of criminals.
hereditary low castes, the members of which were little better than slaves. Only the higher castes could compete in examinations or hold office and there were continual struggles and quarrels between the military and civil classes. Buddhism flourished much as it flourished in the Hei-an period of Japan, but its comparative sterility reflected the inferior social conditions of Korea. Festivals were celebrated by the Court with great splendour: magnificent monasteries were founded: the bonzes kept troops and entered the capital armed: the tutor of the heir apparent and the chancellor of the kingdom were often ecclesiastics, and a law is said to have been enacted to the effect that if a man had three sons one of them must become a monk. But about 1250 the influence of the Sung Confucianists began to be felt. The bonzes were held responsible for the evils of the time, for the continual feuds, exactions and massacres, and the civil nobility tended to become Confucianist and to side against the church and the military. The inevitable outburst was delayed but also rendered more disastrous when it came by the action of the Mongols who, as in China, were patrons of Buddhism. The Yüan dynasty invaded Korea, placed regents in the principal towns and forced the Korean princes to marry Mongol wives. It was from Korea that Khubilai despatched his expeditions against Japan, and in revenge the Japanese harried the Korean coast throughout the fourteenth century. But so long as the Yüan dynasty lasted the Korean Court which had become Mongol remained faithful to it and to Buddhism; when it was ousted by the Ming, a similar movement soon followed in Korea. The Mongolized dynasty of Korye was deposed and another, which professed to trace its lineage back to Silla, mounted the throne and gave the country the name of Chosen.

This revolution was mainly the work of the Confucianist party in the nobility and it was not unnatural that patriots and reformers should see in Buddhism nothing but the religion of the corrupt old regime of the Mongols. During the next century and a half a series of restrictive measures, sometimes amounting to persecution, were applied to it. Two kings who dared to build monasteries and favour bonzes were deposed. Statues were melted down, Buddhist learning was forbidden: marriages and burials were performed according to the rules of Chu-hsi. About the beginning of the sixteenth century (the date is
variously given as 1472 and 1512 and perhaps there was more than one edict) the monasteries in the capital and all cities were closed and this is why Korean monasteries are all in the country and often in almost inaccessible mountains. It is only since the Japanese occupation that temples have been built in towns.

At first the results of the revolution were beneficial. The great families were compelled to discharge their body-guards whose collisions had been a frequent cause of bloodshed. The public finances and military forces were put into order. Printing with moveable type and a phonetic alphabet were brought into use and vernacular literature began to flourish. But in time the Confucian literati formed a sort of corporation and became as troublesome as the bonzes had been. The aristocracy split into two hostile camps and Korean politics became again a confused struggle between families and districts in which progress and even public order became impossible. For a moment, however, there was a national cause. This was when Hideyoshi invaded Korea in 1592 as part of his attack on China. The people rose against the Japanese troops and, thanks to the death of Hideyoshi rather than to their own valour, got rid of them. It is said that in this struggle the bonzes took part as soldiers fighting under their abbots and that the treaty of peace was negotiated by a Korean and a Japanese monk.

Nevertheless it does not appear that Buddhism enjoyed much consideration in the next three centuries. The Hermit Kingdom, as it has been called, became completely isolated and stagnant nor was there any literary or intellectual life except the mechanical study of the Chinese classics. Since the annexation by Japan (1910) conditions have changed and Buddhism is encouraged. Much good work has been done in collecting and reprinting old books, preserving monuments and copying inscriptions. The monasteries were formerly under the control of thirty head establishments or sees, with somewhat conflicting interests. But about 1912 these thirty sees formed a union under a president who resides in Seoul and holds office for a year. A theological seminary also has been founded and a Buddhist magazine is published.

1 These statements are taken from Maurice Courant's Epitome of Korean History in Madrolle's Guide to North China, p. 428. I have not been successful in verifying them in Chinese or Japanese texts. See, however, Starr, Korean Buddhism, pp. 29–30.
CHAPTER XLVIII

ANNAI'

The modern territory called Annam includes the ancient Champa, and it falls within the French political sphere which includes Camboja. Of Champa I have treated elsewhere in connection with Camboja, but Annam cannot be regarded as the heir of this ancient culture. It represents a southward extension of Chinese influence, though it is possible that Buddhism may have entered it in the early centuries of our era either by sea or from Burma.

At the present day that part of the French possessions which occupies the eastern coast of Asia is divided into Tonkin, Annam and Cochin China. The Annamites are predominant in all three provinces and the language and religion of all are the same, except that Cochin China has felt the influence of Europe more strongly than the others. But before the sixteenth century the name Annam meant rather Tonkin and the northern portion of modern Annam, the southern portion being the now vanished kingdom of Champa.

Until the tenth century A.D.\(^1\) Annam in this sense was a part of the Chinese Empire, although it was occasionally successful in asserting its temporary independence. In the troubled period which followed the downfall of the T'ang dynasty this independence became more permanent. An Annamite prince founded a kingdom called Dai-cô-viet\(^2\) and after a turbulent interval there arose the Li dynasty which reigned for more than two centuries (1009–1226 A.D.). It was under this dynasty that the country was first styled An-nam: previously the official designation of the land or its inhabitants was Giao-Chi\(^3\). The

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\(^1\) The dates given are 111 B.C.–939 A.D.

\(^2\) French scholars use a great number of accents and even new forms of letters to transcribe Annamite, but since this language has nothing to do with the history of Buddhism or Hinduism and the accurate orthography is very difficult to read, I have contented myself with a rough transcription.

\(^3\) This is the common orthography, but Chiao Chih would be the spelling according to the system of transliterating Chinese adopted in this book.
Annamites were at this period a considerable military power, though their internal administration appears to have been chaotic. They were occasionally at war with China, but as a rule were ready to send complimentary embassies to the Emperor. With Champa, which was still a formidable antagonist, there was a continual struggle. Under the Tran dynasty (1225–1400) the foreign policy of Annam followed much the same lines. A serious crisis was created by the expedition of Khubilai Khan in 1285, but though the Annamites suffered severely at the beginning of the invasion, they did not lose their independence and their recognition of Chinese suzerainty remained nominal. In the south the Chams continued hostilities and, after the loss of some territory, invoked the aid of China with the result that the Chinese occupied Annam. They held it, however, only for five years (1414–1418).

In 1428 the Li dynasty came to the throne and ruled Annam at least in name until the end of the eighteenth century. At first they proved vigorous and capable; they organized the kingdom in provinces and crushed the power of Champa. But after the fifteenth century the kings became merely titular sovereigns and Annamite history is occupied entirely with the rivalry of the two great families, Trinh and Nguyen, who founded practically independent kingdoms in Tonkin and Cochin-China respectively. In 1802 a member of the Nguyen family made himself Emperor of all Annam but both he and his successors were careful to profess themselves vassals of China.

Thus it will be seen that Annam was at no time really detached from China. In spite of political independence it always looked towards the Chinese Court and though complimentary missions and nominal vassalage seem unimportant, yet they are significant as indicating admiration for Chinese institutions. Between Champa and Annam on the other hand there was perpetual war: in the later phases of the contest the Annamites appear as invaders and destroyers. They seem to have disliked the Chams and were not disposed to imitate them. Hence it is natural that Champa, so long as it existed as an independent kingdom, should mark the limit of direct Indian influence on the mainland of Eastern Asia, though afterwards Camboja became the limit. By direct, I do not mean to exclude the possibility of transmission through Java or elsewhere, but
by whatever route Indian civilization came to Champa, it
brought its own art, alphabet and language, such institutions as
caste and forms of Hinduism and Buddhism which had borrowed
practically nothing from non-Indian sources. In Annam, on
the other hand, Chinese writing and, for literary purposes, a
form of the Chinese language were in use: the arts, customs and
institutions were mainly Chinese: whatever Buddhism can be
found was imported from China and is imperfectly distinguished
from Taoism: of Hinduism there are hardly any traces.

The Buddhism of Annam is often described as corrupt and
decadent. Certainly it would be vain to claim for it that its
doctrine and worship are even moderately pure or primitive,
but it cannot be said to be moribund. The temples are better
kept and more numerousl y attended than in China and there
are also some considerable monasteries. As in China very few
except the monks are exclusive Buddhists and even the monks
have no notion that the doctrines of Lao-tzū and Confucius
are different from Buddhism. The religion of the ordinary layman
is a selection made according to taste from a mass of beliefs
and observances traceable to several distinct sources, though no
Annamite is conscious that there is anything incongruous in
this heterogeneous combination. This fusion of religions, which
is more complete even than in China, is illustrated by the temples
of Annam which are of various kinds. First we have the Chua
or Buddhist temples, always served by bonzes or nuns. They
consist of several buildings of which the principal contains an
altar bearing a series of images arranged on five or six steps,
which rise like the tiers of a theatre. In the front row there is
usually an image of the infant Śākyamuni and near him stand
figures of At-nan (Ānanda) and Muc-Lien (Maudgalyāyana).
On the next stage are Taoist deities (the Jade Emperor, the
Polar Star, and the Southern Star) and on the higher stages are
images representing (a) three Buddhas with attendants,

1 It is said that the story of the Rāmāyana is found in Annamite legends
(B.E.P.E.O. 1905, p. 77), and in one or two places the Annamites reverence statues
of Indian deities.

2 The most trustworthy account of Annamite religion is perhaps Dumontier,
Les Cultes Annamites, Hanoi, 1907. It was published after the author's death and
consists of a series of notes rather than a general description. See also Diguet,
Les Annamites, 1906, especially chap. vi.

3 Maitreya is called Ri-lac = Chinese Mi-le. The equivalence of the syllables
ri and mi seems strange, but certain. Cf. A-ri-da = Amida or O-mi-to.
(b) the Buddhist Triratna and (c) the three religions, Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism. But the arrangement of the images is subject to much variation and the laity hardly know who are the personages represented. At side altars there are generally statues of Quan-Am, guardian deities, eminent bonzes and other worthies. Representations of hell are also common. Part of the temple is generally set apart for women who frequent it in the hope of obtaining children by praying to Quan-Am and other goddesses. Buddhist literature is sometimes printed in these Chua and such works as the Amitâyurîdhyanasûtra and collections of Dhâranîs are commonly placed on the altars.

Quan-Am (Kuan-Yin) is a popular deity and the name seems to be given to several goddesses. They would probably be described as incarnations of Avalokîta, if any Annamite were to define his beliefs (which is not usual), but they are really legendary heroines who have left a reputation for superhuman virtue. One was a daughter of the Emperor Chuang of the Chou dynasty. Another (Quan-Am-Thi-Kinh), represented as sitting on a rock and carrying a child in her arms, was a much persecuted lady who passed part of her life disguised as a bonze. A third form, Quan-Am-Toa-Son, she who dwells on the mountains, has an altar in nearly every temple and is specially worshipped by women who wish for sons. At Hanoi there is a small temple, rising on one column out of the water near the shore of a lake, like a lotus in a tank, and containing a brass image of Quan-Am with eight arms, which is evidently of Indian origin. Sometimes popular heroines such as Cao Tien, a princess who was drowned, are worshipped without (it would seem) being identified with Quan-Am.

But besides the Chua there are at least three other kinds of religious edifices: (i) Dinh. These are municipal temples dedicated to beings commonly called genii by Europeans, that is to say, superhuman personages, often, but not always, departed local worthies, who for one reason or another are supposed to protect and supervise a particular town or village. The Dinh contains a council room as well as a shrine and is served by laymen. The genius is often represented by an empty chair and his name must not be pronounced within the temple. (ii) Taoist deities are sometimes worshipped in special temples, but the Annamites do not seem to think that such worship is antagonistic
to Buddhism or even distinct from it. (iii) Temples dedicated to Confucius (Van mien) are to be found in the towns, but are generally open only on certain feast days, when they are visited by officials. Sometimes altars dedicated to the sage may be found in natural grottoes or other picturesque situations. Besides these numerous elements, Annamite religion also includes the veneration of ancestors and ceremonies such as the worship of Heaven and Earth performed in imitation of the Court of Peking. To this must be added many local superstitions in which the worship of animals, especially the tiger, is prominent. But a further analysis of this composite religion does not fall within my province.

There is little to be said about the history of Buddhism in Annam, but native tradition places its introduction as late as the tenth century. Buddhist temples usually contain a statue of Phat To who is reported to have been the first adherent of the faith and to have built the first pagoda. He was the tutor of the Emperor Li-Thai-To who came to the throne in 1009. Phat-To may therefore have been active in the middle of the tenth century and this agrees with the statement that the Emperor Dinh Tien-Hoang Dé (968–979) was a fervent Buddhist who built temples and did his best to make converts. One Emperor, Li Hué-Ton, abdicated and retired to a monastery.

The Annals of Annam record a discussion which took place before the Emperor Thai-Tôn (1433–1442) between a Buddhist and a sorcerer. Both held singularly mixed beliefs but recognized the Buddha as a deity. The king said that he could not decide between the two sects, but gave precedence to the Buddhists.

1 Pelliot (Meou-Tseu, traduit et annoté, in T'oung Pao, vol. xix. p. 1920) gives reasons for thinking that Buddhism was prevalent in Tonkin in the early centuries of our era, but, if so, it appears to have decayed and been reintroduced. Also at this time Chiao-Chih may have meant Kuang-tung.
CHAPTER XLIX

TIBET

INTRODUCTORY

The religion of Tibet and Mongolia, often called Lamaism, is probably the most singular form of Buddhism in existence and has long attracted attention in Europe on account of its connection with politics and its curious resemblance to the Roman Church in ritual as well as in statecraft. The pontiffs and curia of Lhasa emulated the authority of the medieval papacy, so that the Mings and Manchus in China as well as the British in India had to recognize them as a considerable power.

Tibet had early relations with Kashmir, Central Asia and China which may all have contributed something to its peculiar civilization, but its religion is in the main tantric Buddhism imported from Bengal and invigorated from time to time by both native and Indian reformers. But though almost every feature of Lamaism finds a parallel somewhere in India, yet too great insistence on its source and historical development hardly does justice to the originality of the Tibetans. They borrowed a foreign faith wholesale, but still the relative emphasis which they laid on its different aspects was something new. They had only a moderate aptitude for asceticism, meditation and metaphysics, although they manfully translated huge tomes of Sanskrit philosophy, but they had a genius for hierarchy, discipline and ecclesiastical polity unknown to the Hindus. Thus taking the common Asiatic idea that great and holy men are somehow divine, they made it the principle of civil and sacerdotal government by declaring the prelates of the church to be deities incarnate. Yet in strange contrast to these practical talents, a certain innate devilry made them exaggerate all the magical, terrifying and demoniac elements to be found in Indian Tantrism.

The extraordinary figures of raging fiends which fill Tibetan shrines suggest at first that the artists simply borrowed and made more horrible the least civilized fancies of Indian sculpture,
yet the majesty of Tibetan architecture (for, judging by the photographs of Lhasa and Tashilhumpo, it deserves no less a name) gives another impression. The simplicity of its lines and the solid, spacious walls unadorned by carving recall Egypt rather than India and harmonize not with the many-limbed demons but with the calm and dignified features of the deified priests who are also portrayed in these halls.

An atmosphere of mystery and sorcery has long hung about the mountainous regions which lie to the north of India. Hindus and Chinese alike saw in them the home of spirits and wizards, and the grand but uncanny scenery of these high plateaux has influenced the art and ideas of the natives. The climate made it natural that priests should congregate in roomy strongholds, able to defy the cold and contain the stores necessary for a long winter, and the massive walls seem to imitate the outline of the rocks out of which they grow. But the strange shapes assumed by mists and clouds, often dyed many colours by the rising or setting sun, suggest to the least imaginative mind an aerial world peopled by monstrous and magical figures. At other times, when there is no fog, distant objects seem in the still, clear atmosphere to be very near, until the discovery that they are really far away produces a strange feeling that they are unreal and unattainable.

In discussing this interesting faith, I shall first treat of its history and then of the sacred books on which it professes to be based. In the light of this information it will be easier to understand the doctrines of Lamaism and I shall finally say something about its different sects, particularly as there is reason to think that the strength of the Established Church, of which the Grand Lama is head, has been exaggerated.
CHAPTER L

TIBET (continued)

HISTORY

It is generally stated that Buddhism was first preached in Tibet at the instance of King Srong-tsan-gam-po who came to the throne in 629 A.D. Some legendary notices of its earlier appearance will bear the natural interpretation that the Tibetans (like the Chinese) had heard something about it from either India or Khotan before they invited instructors to visit them.

At this time Tibet played some part in the politics of China

1 Tibetan orthography Sron-btsan-sgam-po. It is hard to decide what is the best method of representing Tibetan words in Latin letters:

(a) The orthography differs from the modern pronunciation more than in any other language, except perhaps English, but it apparently represents an older pronunciation and therefore has historical value. Also, a word can be found in a Tibetan dictionary only if the native spelling is faithfully reproduced. On the other hand readers interested in oriental matters know many words in a spelling which is a rough representation of the modern pronunciation. It seems pedantic to write bKah-hgyur and hBras-spun when the best known authorities speak of Kanjur and Debung. On the whole, I have decided to represent the commoner words by the popular orthography as given by Rockhill, Waddell and others while giving the Tibetan spelling in a foot-note. But when a word cannot be said to be well known even among Orientalists I have reproduced the Tibetan spelling.

(b) But it is not easy to reproduce this spelling clearly and consistently. On the whole I have followed the system used by Sarat Chandra Das in his Dictionary. It is open to some objections, as, for instance, that the sign h has more than one value, but the more accurate method used by Grünwedel in his Mythologie is extremely hard to read. My transcription is as follows in the order of the Tibetan consonants.

k, kh, g, n, c, ch, j, ny.
t, th, d, n, p, ph, b, m.
ts, ths, ds, w.
zh, z, h, y.
r, l, r, s, h.

Although th is in some respects preferable to represent an aspirated ts, yet it is liable to be pronounced as in the English words hat shop, and perhaps this is on the whole better.

2 See Waddell, Buddhism of Tibet, p. 19.

3 It has been argued (e.g., J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 11) that discoveries in Central Asia indicate that Tibetan civilization and therefore Tibetan Buddhism are older than is generally supposed. But recent research shows that Central Asian MSS. of even the eighth century say little about Buddhism, whatever testimony they may bear to civilization.

E. III. 23
and northern India. The Emperor Harsha and the T'ang Emperor T'ai Tsung exchanged embassies but a second embassy sent from China arrived after Harsha’s death and a usurper who had seized the throne refused to receive it. The Chinese with the assistance of the kings of Tibet and Nepal dethroned him and carried him off captive. There is therefore nothing improbable in the story that Srong-tsan-gam-po had two wives, who were princesses of Nepal and China respectively. He was an active ruler, warlike but progressive, and was persuaded by these two ladies that Buddhism was a necessary part of civilization. According to tradition he sent to India a messenger called Thonmi Sanbhota, who studied there for several years, adapted a form of Indian writing to the use of his native language and translated the Karanḍa Vyūha. Recent investigators however have advanced the theory that the Tibetan letters are derived from the alphabet of Indian origin used in Khotan and that Sanbhota made its acquaintance in Kashmir. Though the king and his two wives are now regarded as the first patrons of Lamaism and worshipped as incarnations of Avalokita and Tārā, it does not appear that his direct religious activity was great or that he built monasteries. But his reign established the foundations of civilization without which Buddhism could hardly have flourished, he to some extent unified Central Tibet, he chose the site of Lhasa as the capital and introduced the rudiments of literature and art. But after his death in 650 we hear little more of Buddhism for some decades.

About 705 King Khri-gtsug-lde-btsan is said to have built monasteries, caused translations to be made, and summoned monks from Khotan. His efforts bore little fruit, for no Tibetans were willing to take the vows, but the edict of 783 preserved in Lhasa mentions his zeal for religion, and he prepared the way for Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan in whose reign Padma-Sambhava, the real founder of Lamaism, arrived in Tibet.

1 See Hoernle MS. Remains found in E. Turkestan, 1916, pp. xvii ff., and Francke, Epig. Ind. xi. 266 ff., and on the other side Laufer in J.A.O.S. 1918, pp. 34 ff. There is a considerable difference between the printed and cursive forms of the Tibetan alphabet. Is it possible that they have different origins and that the former came from Bengal, the latter from Khotan?

2 There were some other streams of Buddhism, for the king had a teacher called Suntarakshita who advised him to send for Padma-Sambhava and Padma-Sambhava was opposed by Chinese bonzes.
This event is said to have occurred in 747 and the epoch is noticeable for two reasons. Firstly Tibet, which had become an important military power, was now brought into contact both in peace and war with China and Central Asia. It was predominant in the Tarim Basin and ruled over parts of Ssu-chuan and Yunnan. China was obliged to pay tribute and when it was subsequently refused the Tibetans sacked the capital, Chang-an. In 783 China made a treaty of peace with Tibet. The king was the son of a Chinese princess and thus blood as well as wide experience disposed him to open Tibet to foreign ideas. But in 747 relations with China were bad, so he turned towards India and invited to his Court a celebrated Pandit named Śāntaraksita, who advised him to send for Padma-Sambhava.

Secondly this was the epoch when Amogha flourished in China and introduced the Mantrayāna system or Chên Yen. This was the same form of corrupt Buddhism which was brought to Tibet and was obviously the dominant sect in India in the eighth century. It was pliant and amalgamated easily with local observances, in China with funeral rites, in Tibet with demonolatry.

At this time Padma-Sambhava was one of the most celebrated exponents of Tantric Buddhism, and in Tibet is often called simply the Teacher (Guru or Mahācārya). His portraits represent him as a man of strongly marked and rather angry features, totally unlike a conventional monk. A popular account of his life\(^1\) is still widely read and may contain some grains of history, though the narrative as a whole is fantastic. It describes him as born miraculously in Udyāna but as having studied at Bodhgaya and travelled in many regions with the intention of converting all the world. According to his plan, the conversion of his native land was to be his last labour, and when he had finished his work in Tibet he vanished thither miraculously. Thus Udyāna is not represented as the source and home of Tantric Buddhism but as being like Tibet a land of

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magic and mystery but, like Tibet, needing conversion: both are disposed to welcome Tantric ideas but those ideas are elaborated by Padma-Sambhava, not in Udyâna but in Bengal which from other sources we know to have been a centre of Tantrism.

Some other points of interest in these legends may be noticed. Padma-Sambhava is not celibate but is accompanied by female companions. He visits many countries which worship various deities and for each he has a new teaching suited to its needs. Thus in Tibet, where the older religion consisted of defensive warfare against the attacks of evil spirits, he assumes the congenial character of a victorious exorcist, and in his triumphant progress subdues local demons as methodically as if he were suppressing the guerilla warfare of native tribes. He has new revelations called Terma which he hides in caves to be discovered by his successors. These revelations are said to have been in an unknown language. Those at present existing are in Tibetan but differ from the canonical scriptures in certain orthographical peculiarities. The legend thus admits that Padma-Sambhava preached a non-celibate and magical form of Buddhism, ready to amalgamate with local superstitions and needing new revelations for its justification.

He built the monastery of Samye about thirty miles from Lhasa on the model of Odantapuri in Bengal. Sântarakshita became abbot and from this period dates the foundation of the order of Lamas. Mara (Thse Ma-ra) was worshipped as well as the Buddhas, but however corrupt the cultus may have been, Samye was a literary centre where many translations were made. Among the best known translators was a monk from Kashmir named Vairocana. It would appear however that

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2 Both he and the much later Sakya Pandita are said to have understood the Bru-zha language, for which see Ts'oung Pao, 1908, pp. 1–47.

3 Or bSam-yas. See Waddell, Buddhism, p. 266, for an account of this monastery at the present day.

4 The Tibetan word bLama means upper and is properly applicable to the higher clergy only though commonly used of all.

5 He was temporarily banished owing to the intrigues of the Queen, who acted the part of Potiphár's wife, but he was triumphantly restored. A monk called Vairocana is also said to have introduced Buddhism into Khotan from Kashmir, but at a date which though uncertain must be considerably earlier than this.
there was considerable opposition to the new school not only from the priests of the old native religion but from Chinese Buddhists.

Numerous Tibetan documents discovered in the Tarim basin date from this period. The absence in them of Buddhist personal names and the rarity of direct references to Buddhism indicate that though known in Tibet it was not yet predominant. Buddhist priests (ban-de) are occasionally mentioned but the title Lama has not been found. The usages of the Bonpo religion seem familiar to the writers and there are allusions to religious struggles.

When Padma-Sambhava vanished from Tibet, the legend says that he left behind him twenty-five disciples, all of them magicians, who propagated his teaching. At any rate it flourished in the reign of Ralpachen (the grandson of Khri-sron-Lde-btsan). Monasteries multiplied and received land and the right to collect tithes. To each monk was assigned a small revenue derived from five tenants and the hierarchy was reorganized. Many translators were at work in this period and a considerable part of the present canon was then rendered into Tibetan. The king's devotion to Buddhism was however unpopular and he was murdered apparently at the instigation of his brother and successor Lang-dar-ma, who endeavoured to extirpate Lamaism. Monasteries were destroyed, books burnt, Indian monks were driven out of the country and many Lamas were compelled to become hunters or butchers. But the persecution only lasted three years, for the wicked king was assassinated by a Lama who has since been canonized by the Church and the incident of his murder or punishment is still acted in the mystery plays performed at Himis and other monasteries.

After the death of Lang-dar-ma Tibet ceased to exist as a

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1 See Journal of Buddhist Text Society, 1893, p. 5. I imagine that by Ifoshang Mahâyâna the followers of Bodhidharma are meant.
3 See Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 225.
4 Various dates are given for his death, ranging from 838 to 902. See Rockhill (Life of the Buddha), p. 225, and Bushell in J.R.A.S. 1880, pp. 440 ff. But the treaty of 822 was made in his reign.
5 g Lan-dar-ma.
6 But see for other accounts Rockhill (Life of the Buddha), p. 226. According to Csoma de Koris's tables the date of the persecution was 899.
united kingdom and was divided among clans and chieftains. This was doubtless connected with the collapse of Tibetan power in the Tarim basin, but whether as effect or cause it is hard to say. The prosecution may have had a political motive: Lang-dar-ma may have thought that the rise of monastic corporations, and their right to own land and levy taxes were a menace to unity and military efficiency. But the political confusion which followed on his death was not due to the triumphant restoration of Lamaism. Its recovery was slow. The interval during which Buddhism almost disappeared is estimated by native authorities as from 73 to 108 years, and its subsequent revival is treated as a separate period called phyi-dar or later diffusion in contrast to the sna-dar or earlier diffusion. The silence of ecclesiastical history during the tenth century confirms the gravity of the catastrophe. On the other hand the numerous translations made in the ninth century were not lost and this indicates that there were monasteries to preserve them, for instance Samye.

At the beginning of the eleventh century we hear of foreign monks arriving from various countries. The chronicles say that the chief workers in the new diffusion were La-chen, Lo-chen, the royal Lama Yeses Hod and Atiśa. The first appears to have been a Tibetan but the pupil of a teacher who had studied in Nepal. Lo-chen was a Kashmiri and several other Kashmiri Lamas are mentioned as working in Tibet. Yeses Hod was a king or chieftain of mNa-ris in western Tibet who is said to have been disgusted with the debased Tantrism which passed as Buddhism. He therefore sent young Lamas to study in India and also invited thence learned monks. The eminent Dharma-pāla, a monk of Magadha who was on a pilgrimage in Nepal, became his tutor. Yeses Hod came to an unfortunate end. He was taken captive by the Raja of Garlog, an enemy of Buddhism, and died in prison. It is possible that this Raja was the ruler of Garhwal and a Mohammedan. The political history of the period is far from clear, but evidently there were numerous Buddhist schools in Bengal, Kashmir and Nepal and numerous learned monks ready to take up their residence in Tibet. This

1 See the chronological table in Waddell's Buddhism, p. 576. Not a single Tibetan event is mentioned between 899 and 1002.
readiness has been explained as due to fear of the rising tide of Islam, but was more probably the result of the revival of Buddhism in Bengal during the eleventh century. The most illustrious of these pandits was Atiśa (980–1053), a native of Bengal, who was ordained at Odontapuri and studied in Burma. Subsequently he was appointed head of the monastery of Vikramāśīla and was induced to visit Tibet in 1038. He remained there until his death fifteen years later; introduced a new calendar and inaugurated the second period of Tibetan Buddhism which is marked by the rise of successive sects described as reforms. It may seem a jest to call the teaching of Atiśa a reform, for he professed the Kālacakra, the latest and most corrupt form of Indian Buddhism, but it was doubtless superior in discipline and coherency to the native superstitions mixed with debased tantrism, which it replaced.

As in Japan during the eleventh and twelfth centuries many monasteries were founded and grew in importance, and what might have happened in Japan but for the somewhat unscrupulous prescience of Japanese statesmen actually did happen in Tibet. Among the numerous contending chiefs none was pre-eminent: the people were pugnacious but superstitious. They were ready to build and respect when built the substantial structures required to house monastic communities during the rigorous winter. Hence the monasteries became the largest and safest buildings in the land, possessing the double strength of walls and inviolability. The most important was the Sakya monastery. Its abbots were of royal blood and not celibate, and this dynasty of ecclesiastical statesmen practically ruled Tibet at a critical period in the history of eastern Asia and indeed of the world, namely, the conquests of Chinggiz and the rise of the Mongol Empire.

2 Suvarṇadvipa, where he studied, must be Thaton and it is curious to find that it was a centre of tantric learning.
3 From 1026 onwards see the chronological tables of Sum-pa translated by Sarat Chandra Das in J.A.S.B. 1889, pp. 40–82. They contain many details, especially of ecclesiastical biography. The Tibetan system of computing time is based on cycles of sixty years beginning it would seem not in 1026 but 1027, so that in many dates there is an error of a year. See Pelliot, J.A. 1913, i. 633, and Laufer, T’oung Pao, 1913, 569.
4 Or Jenghis Khan. The form in the text seems to be the more correct.
There is no evidence that Chinggiz was specially favourable to Buddhism. His principle was one King and one God\(^1\) and like other princes of his race he thought of religions not as incompatible systems but as different methods of worship of no more importance than the different languages used in prayer. The destruction wrought by the Mongol conquerors has often been noticed, but they had also an ample, unifying temper which deserves recognition. China, Russia and Persia all achieved a unity after the Mongol conquest which they did not possess before, and though this unification may be described as a protest and reaction, yet but for the Mongols and their treatment of large areas as units it would not have been possible. The Mings could not have united China before the Yüan dynasty as they did after it.

In spite of some statements to the contrary there is no proof that the early Mongols invaded or conquered central Tibet, but Khubilai subdued the eastern provinces and through the Lamaist hierarchy established a special connection between Tibet and his dynasty. This connection began even in the time of his predecessor, for the head Lama of the Sakya monastery commonly known as Sakya Pandita (or Sa-skya-pan-cen) was summoned to the Mongol Court in 1246–8, and cured the Emperor of an illness\(^2\). This Lama was a man of great learning and influence. He had received a double education both secular and religious, and was acquainted with foreign languages. The favourable impression which he created no doubt facilitated the brilliant achievements of his nephew and successor, who is commonly known as Bashpa or Pagspa\(^3\).

Khubilai Khan was not content with the vague theism of Central Asia and wished to give his rude Mongols a definite religion with some accessories of literature and manners. Confucianism was clearly too scholastic for a fighting race and we may surmise that he rejected Christianity as distant and

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\(^1\) Togri or Heaven. This monotheism common to the ancient Chinese, Turks and Mongols did not of course exclude the worship of spirits.

\(^2\) Guyuk was Khagan at this time but the *Mongol History of Sam. ng Setsen* (Schmidt, p. 3) says that the Lama was summoned by the Khagan Godan. It seems that Godan was never Khagan, but as an influential prince he may have sent the summons.

\(^3\) hPhagspa (corrupted in Mongol to Bashpa) is merely a title equivalent to Ayra in Sanskrit. His full style was hPhagspa bLo-gros-rgyal-mtshan.
unimportant, Mohammedanism as inconveniently mixed with politics. But why did he prefer Lamaism to Chinese Buddhism? The latter can hardly have been too austere to suit his ends, and Tibetan was as strange as Chinese to the Mongols. But the Mongol Court had already been favourably impressed by Tibetan Lamas and the Emperor probably had a just feeling that the intellectual calibre of the Mongols and Tibetans was similar and also that it was politic to conciliate the uncanny spiritual potentates who ruled in a land which it was difficult to invade. At any rate he summoned the abbot of Sakya to China in 1261 and was initiated by him into the mysteries of Lamaism.¹

It is said that before Pagspa's birth the God Gancéa showed his father all the land of Tibet and told him that it would be the kingdom of his son. In later life when he had difficulties at the Chinese Court Mahâkâla appeared and helped him, and the mystery which he imparted to Khubilai is called the Hevajravâṣītā.² These legends indicate that there was a large proportion of Sivaism in the religion first taught to the Mongols, larger perhaps than in the present Lamaism of Lhasa.

The Mongol historian Sanang Setsen relates³ that Pagspa took a higher seat than the Emperor when instructing him and on other occasions sat on the same level. This sounds improbable, but it is clear that he enjoyed great power and dignity. In China he received the title of Kuo-Shih or instructor of the nation and was made the head of all Buddhists, Lamaists and other. In Tibet he was recognized as head of the Church and tributary sovereign, though it would appear that the Emperor named a lay council to assist him in the government and also had a commissioner in each of the three provinces. This was a good political bargain and laid the foundations of Chinese influence in a country which he could hardly have subdued by force.

Pagspa was charged by the Emperor to provide the Mongols with an alphabet as well as a religion. For this purpose he used

¹ By abhiṣekha or sprinkling with water.
² Vâdîta is a magical formula which compels the obedience of spirits or natural forces. Hevajra (apparently the same as Heruka) is one of the fantastic beings conceived as manifestations of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas made for a special purpose, closely corresponding, as Grünwedel points out, to the manifestations of Siva.
a square form of the Tibetan letters\textsuperscript{1}, written not in horizontal but in vertical lines. But the experiment was not successful. The characters were neither easy to write nor graceful, and after Pagspa’s death his invention fell into disuse and was replaced by an enlarged and modified form of the Uigur alphabet. This had already been employed for writing Mongol by Sakya Pandita and its definitive form for that purpose was elaborated by the Lama Chos-kyi-hod-zer in the reign of Khubilai’s successor. This alphabet is of Aramaic origin, and had already been utilized by Buddhists for writing religious works, so its application to Mongol was merely an extension of its general currency in Asia\textsuperscript{2}.

Pagspa also superintended the preparation of a new edition of the Tripitaka, not in Mongol but in Chinese. Among the learned editors were persons acquainted with Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan and Uigur. An interesting but natural feature of this edition is that it notes whether the various Chinese texts are found in the Tibetan Canon or not.

Khubilai further instituted a bureau of fine arts, the head of which was a Lama called Aniko, skilled in both sculpture and painting. He and his Chinese pupil Liu Yüän introduced into Peking various branches of Tibetan art such as Buddhist images of a special type, ornamental ironwork and gold tapestry. The Chinese at this period appear to have regarded Tibetan art as a direct importation from India\textsuperscript{3}. And no doubt Tibetan art was founded on that of Nepal which in its turn came from Bengal. Miniature painting is a characteristic of both. But in later times the individuality of Tibet, shown alike in its monstrous deities and its life-like portraits of Lamas, imposed itself on Nepal. Indian and Tibetan temples are not alike. In the former there is little painting but the walls and pillars are covered with a superabundance of figures carved in relief: in Tibet pictures and painted banners are the first thing to strike the eye, but carvings in relief are rare.

It is hard to say to what extent the Mongols beyond such

\textsuperscript{1} It is given in Isaac Taylor’s \textit{The Alphabet}, vol. ii. p. 336. See also \textit{J.R.A.S.} 1910, pp. 1208–1214.

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{E.g.} see the \textit{Tisatsvustik}, a sūtra in a Turkish dialect and Uigur characters found at Turfan and published in \textit{Bibliotheca Buddhica}, xi.

\textsuperscript{3} See Kokka, No. 311, 1918, \textit{Tibetan Art in China}.
parts of northern China as felt the direct influence of the imperial court were converted to Lamaism. At any rate their conversion was only temporary for, as will be related below, a reconversion was necessary in the sixteenth century. It looks as if the first growth of Mongolian Buddhism was part of a political system and collapsed together with it. But so long as the Yüan dynasty reigned, Lamaist influence was strong and the downfall of the Yüan was partly caused by their subservience to the clergy and extravagant expenditure on religious buildings and ceremonies. After the departure of Pagspa, other Lamas held a high position at the Court of Peking such as Chos-kyi-hod-zer and gYun-ston rDo-rje-dpal. The latter was a distinguished exponent of the Kâlacakra system and the teacher of the historian Bu-ston who is said to have arranged the Tibetan Canon.

Although the Yüan dynasty heaped favours upon priests and monasteries, it does not appear that religion flourished in Tibet during the fourteenth century for at the end of that period the grave abuses prevalent provoked the reforming zeal of Tsong-kha-pa. From 1270 to 1340 the abbots of Sakya were rulers of both Church and State, and we hear that in 1320 they burned the rival monastery of Dikung. The language of Sanang Setsen implies that each abbot was appointed or invested by the Emperor\(^1\) and their power declined with the Yüan dynasty. Other monasteries increased in importance and a chief known as Phagmodu\(^2\) succeeded, after many years of fighting, in founding a lay dynasty which ruled parts of Tibet until the seventeenth century.

In 1368 the Ming superseded the Yüan. They were not professed Buddhists to the same extent and they had no preference for Lamaism but they were anxious to maintain good relations with Tibet and to treat it as a friendly but vassal state. They accorded imperial recognition (with an implication of suzerainty) to the dynasty of Phagmodu and also to the abbots of eight monasteries. Though they were doubtless glad to see Tibet a divided and contentious house, it does not appear that they interfered actively in its affairs or did more than recognize

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1 *Sanang Setsen*, p. 121. The succession of the Sakya abbots is not clear but the primacy continued in the family. See Köppen, II, p. 105.
2 Strictly speaking a place-name.
the status quo. In the time of Khubilai the primacy of Sakya was a reality: seventy years later Sakya was only one among several great monasteries.

The advent of the Ming dynasty coincided with the birth of Tsong-kha-pa\(^1\), the last reformer of Lamaism and organizer of the Church as it at present exists. The name means the man of the onion-bank, a valley near the monastery of Kumbum in the district of Amdo, which lies on the western frontiers of the Chinese province of Kansu. He became a monk at the age of seven and from the hair cut off when he received the tonsure is said to have sprung the celebrated tree of Kumbum which bears on its leaves wondrous markings\(^2\). According to the legend, his birth and infancy were attended by miracles. He absorbed instruction from many teachers and it has been conjectured that among them were Roman Catholic missionaries\(^3\). In early manhood he proceeded to Tibet and studied at Sakya, Dikung and finally at Lhasa. His reading convinced him that Lamaism as he found it was not in harmony with the scriptures, so with the patronage of the secular rulers and the support of the more earnest clergy he successfully executed a thorough and permanent work of reform. This took visible shape in the Gelugpa, the sect presided over by the Grand Lama, which acquired such paramount importance in both ecclesiastical and secular matters that it is justly termed the Established Church of Tibet. It may also be conveniently termed the Yellow Church, yellow being its special colour particularly for hats and girdles, in opposition to the red or unreformed sects which use red for the same purpose. Tsong-kha-pa’s reforms took two principal lines. Firstly he made monastic discipline stricter, insisting on celibacy and frequent services of prayer: secondly he greatly reduced, although he did not annihilate, the tantric and magical element

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\(^1\) The Tibetan orthography is bTson (or Tsöön)-kha-pa. He was called rJe-rin-po-che bLo-bzaṅ-grags-pa in Tibetan and Ārya-mahāratna Sumatikirti in Sanskrit. The Tibetan orthography of the monastery is sKu-lbum or hundred thousand pictures. See, for accounts of his life, Sarat Chandra Das in *J.A.S.B.* 1882, pp. 53–57 and 127. Huth, *Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, ii. pp. 175 ff.

\(^2\) There is some difference of statement as to whether these markings are images of Tsong-kha-pa or Tibetan characters. Huc, though no Buddhist, thought them miraculous. See his *Travels in Tartary*, vol. ii. chap. ii. See also Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, p. 67, and Filchner, *Das Kloster Kumbum*, chap. vi.

\(^3\) But the tradition mentioned by Huc that he was instructed by a long-nosed stranger from the west, has not been found in any Tibetan biography.
in Lamaism. These principles were perpetuated by an effective organization. He himself founded the great monastery of Gandan near Lhasa and became its first abbot. During his lifetime or shortly afterwards were founded three others, Sera and Depung both near Lhasa and Tashilhunpo. He himself seems to have ruled simply in virtue of his personal authority as founder, but his nephew and successor Geden-dub claimed the same right as an incarnation of the divine head of the Church, and this claim was supported by a hierarchy which became overwhelmingly powerful.

Tsong-kha-pa died in 1417 and is said to have been transfigured and carried up into heaven while predicting to a great crowd the future glories of his church. His mortal remains, however, preserved in a magnificent mausoleum within the Gandan monastery, still receive great veneration.

Among his more eminent disciples were Byams-chen-chos-rje and mKhas-grub-rje who in Tibetan art are often represented as accompanying him. The first played a considerable part in China. The Emperor Yung-Lo sent an embassy to invite Tsong-kha-pa to his capital. Tsong-kha-pa felt unable to go himself but sent his pupil to represent him. Byams-chen-chos-rje was received with great honour. The main object of the Ming Emperors was to obtain political influence in Tibet through the Lamas but in return the Lamas gained considerable prestige. The Kanjur was printed in China (1410) and Byams-chen-chos-rje and his disciples were recognized as prelates of the whole Buddhist Church within the Empire. He returned to Tibet laden with presents and titles and founded the monastery of Serra in 1417. Afterwards he went back to China and died there at the age of eighty-four.

1 Tibetan orthography writes dGab-ldan, So-ra, hBras-spuns and bKra-sis-Lhun-po. dGab-ldan, the happy, is a translation of the Sanskrit Tusita or Paradise. Tsong-kha-pa's reformed sect was originally called dGah-lugs-pa or those who follow the way of dGah-ldan. But this possibly suggested those who pursue pleasure and the name was changed to dGe-lugs-pa or those of the virtuous order.

2 dGe-'dun grub.

3 He was not the same as Ha-li-ma (see p. 277) of whom more is heard in Chinese accounts. Ha-li-ma or Karma was fifth head of the Karma-pa school and was invited on his own merits to China where he died in 1426 or 1414. See Huth, l.c. vol. i. p. 109 and vol. ii. p. 171. Also Köppen, die Rel. des Buddhas, ii. 107. Byams-chen-chos-rje was invited as the representative of Tsong-ka-pa. See Huth, l.c. vol. i. p. 120, vol. ii. p. 129.
mKhas-grub-rje founded the monastery of Tashilhunpo and became its abbot, being accepted as an incarnation of the Buddha Amitābha. He was eighth in the series of incarnations, which henceforth were localized at Tashilhunpo, but the first is said to have been Subhūti, a disciple of Gotama, and the second Mañjuśrīkirti, king of the country of Śambhala.

The abbot of Tashilhunpo became the second personage in the ecclesiastical and political hierarchy. The head of it was the prelate commonly known as the Grand Lama and resident at Lhasa. Geden-dub, the nephew of Tsong-kha-pa, is reckoned by common consent as the first Grand Lama (though he seems not to have borne the title) and the first incarnation of Avalokita as head of the Tibetan Church. The Emperor Ch'ēng Hua (1368–1488) who had occasion to fight on the borders of Tibet confirmed the position of these two sees as superior to the eight previously recognized and gave the occupants a patent and seal. From this time they bore the title of rGyal-po or king.

It was about this time that the theory of successive incarnations which is characteristic of Lamaism was developed and defined. At least two ideas are combined in it. The first is that divine persons appear in human form. This is common in Asia from India to Japan, especially among the peoples who have accepted some form of Hindu religion. The second is that in a school, sect or church there is real continuity of life. In the unreformed sects of Tibet this was accomplished by the simple principle of heredity so that celibacy, though undeniably correct, seemed to snap the thread. But it was reunited by the theory that a great teacher is reborn in the successive occupants of his chair. Thus the historian Tāranātha is supposed to be reborn in the hierarchs of Urga. But frequently the hereditary soul is identified with a Buddha or Bodhisattva, as in the great

1 See for a list of the Lamas of Tashilhunpo and their lives J.A.S.B. 1882, pp. 15–52. The third incarnation was Abhayakara Gupta, a celebrated Bengali Pandit who flourished in the reign of Rāmapāla. This appears to have been about 1075–1115, but there is considerable discrepancy in the dates given.
3 Tsong-kha-pa is not reckoned in this series of incarnations, for firstly he was regarded as an incarnation of Mañjuśrī and secondly Geden-dub was born before his death and hence could not represent the spirit which dwelt in him.
4 Tibetan spRul-pa, Mongol Khubilghan. Both are translations of the Sanskrit Nirmāna and the root idea is not incarnation but transformation in an illusive form.
incarnations of Lhasa and Tashilhunpo. This dogma has obvious advantages. It imparts to a Lamaist see a dignity which the papacy cannot rival but it is to the advantage of the Curia rather than of the Pope for the incarnate deity of necessity succeeds to his high office as an infant, is in the hands of regents and not unfrequently dies when about twenty years of age. These incarnations are not confined to the great sees of Tibet. The heads of most large monasteries in Mongolia claim to be living Buddhas and even in Peking there are said to be six.

The second Grand Lama enjoyed a long reign, and set the hierarchy in good order, for he distinguished strictly clerical posts, filled by incarnations, from administrative posts. He was summoned to Peking by the Emperor, but declined to go and the somewhat imperative embassy sent to invite him was roughly handled. His successor, the third Grand Lama bSod-nams, although less noticed by historians than the fifth, perhaps did more solid work for the holy see of Lhasa than any other of his line for he obtained, or at least received, the allegiance of the Mongols who since the time of Khubilai had woefully back-slidden from the true faith.

As mentioned above, the conversion of the Mongols to Buddhism took place when their capital was at Peking and chiefly affected those resident in China. But when the Yüan dynasty had been dethroned and the Mongols, driven back into their wilds, were frequently at war with China, they soon relapsed into their original superstitions. About 1570 Altan

1 The following list of Grand Lamas is taken from Grünwedel's *Mythologie*, p. 206. Their names are followed by the title rGya-mThso and in many cases the first part of the name is a title.

1. dGe-hdun-dub, 1391–1478. 7. bLo-bzaṅ sKal-dan, 1705–1758.


8 Also known as Yenta or Anda. See, for some particulars about him, Parker in N. China Branch of R.A.S. 1913, pp. 92 ff.
Khagan, the powerful chief of the Tümed, became more nearly acquainted with Tibet, since some Lamas captured in a border fray had been taken to his Court. After causing China much loss and trouble he made an advantageous peace and probably formed the idea (which the Manchus subsequently proved to be reasonable) that if the Mongols were stronger they might repeat the conquests of Khubilai. The Ming dynasty was clearly decadent and these mysterious priests of Tibet appeared to be on the upward grade\(^1\). They might help him both to become the undisputed chief of all the Mongol tribes and also to reconquer Peking. So he sent an embassy to invite the Grand Lama’s presence, and when it was not successful he followed it with a second.

The Grand Lama then accepted and set out on his travels with great pomp. According to the story he appeared to the astonished Mongols in the guise of Avalokita with four arms (of which two remained folded on his breast) and the imprint of his horse’s hoofs showed the six mystic syllables *om mani padme hum*. These wonders are so easily explicable that they may be historical.

A great congregation was held near Lake Kokonor and Sanang Setsen records an interesting speech made there by one of his ancestors respecting the relations of Church and State, which he compared with the sun and moon. The Lama bestowed on the Khagan high sounding titles and received himself the epithet Dalai or Talai, the Mongol word for sea, signifying metaphorically vast extent and profundity\(^2\). This is the origin of the name Dalai Lama by which the Tibetan pontiff is commonly known to Europeans. The hierarchy was divided into four classes parallel to the four ranks of Mongol nobles: the use of meat was restricted and the custom of killing men and horses at funerals forbidden. The observance of Buddhist festivals was made compulsory and native idols were destroyed, but the

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\(^1\) Naturally the narrative is not told without miraculous embellishment, including the singular story that Altan who suffered from the gout used to put his feet every month into the ripped up body of a man or horse and bathe them in the warm blood. Avalokita appeared to him when engaged in this inhuman cure and bade him desist and atone for his sins.

\(^2\) In Tibetan *Gya-mTho*. Compare the Chinese expression hai liang (sea measure) meaning spacious or broad minded. The Khagan received the title of *Hai thsams-pa chen-po* equivalent to Divyamahābrahma.
deities which they represented were probably identified with others in the new pantheon. The Grand Lama specially recommended to the Mongols the worship of the Blue Mahâkâla, a six armed representation of Śiva standing on a figure of Ganesâ, and he left with them a priest who was esteemed an incarnation of Mañjuśrî, and for whom a temple and monastery were built in Kuku-khoto.

His Holiness then returned to Tibet, but when Altan Khagan died in 1583 he made a second tour in Mongolia in order to make sure of the allegiance of the new chiefs. He also received an embassy from the Chinese Emperor Wan-Li, who conferred on him the same titles that Khubilai had given to Pagspa. The alliance between the Tibetans and Mongols was naturally disquieting to the Ming dynasty and they sought to minimize it by showing extreme civility to the Lamas.

This Grand Lama died at the age of forty-seven, and it is significant that the next incarnation appeared in the Mongol royal house, being a great-grandson of Altan Khagan. Until he was fourteen he lived in Mongolia and when he moved to Lhasa a Lama was appointed to be his vicar and Primate of all Mongolia with residence at Kuren or Urga¹. The prelates of this line are considered as incarnations of the historian Târanâtha². In common language they bear the name of rJe-btsun-dam-pa but are also called Maidari Khutuktu, that is incarnation of Maitreya. About this time the Emperor of China issued a decree, which has since been respected, that these hierarchs must be reborn in Tibet, or in other words that they must not reappear in a Mongol family for fear of uniting religion and patriotism too closely.

Lozang³, the fifth Grand Lama, is by common consent the most remarkable of the pontifical line. He established the right of himself and his successors—or, as he might have said, of himself in his successive births—to the temporal and ecclesiastical sovereignty of Tibet: he built the Potala and his dealings with

¹ The correct Mongol names of this place seem to be Örgö and Kürâ. The Lama’s name was bSam-pa rGya-mThso.

² He finished his history in 1608 and lived some time longer so that bSam-pa rGya-mThso cannot have been an incarnation of him.

³ This is an accepted abbreviation of his full name Nag-dbaṅ bLo-zaṅ rGya-mThso. Nag-dbaṅ is an epithet meaning eloquent.
the Mongols and the Emperor of China are of importance for general Asiatic history.

From the seventeenth century onwards there were four factors in Tibetan politics.

1. The Gelugpa or Yellow Church, very strong but anxious to become stronger both by increasing its temporal power and by suppressing other sects. Its attitude towards Chinese and Mongols showed no prejudice and was dictated by policy.

2. The Tibetan chiefs and people, on the whole respectful to the Yellow Church but not single-hearted nor forgetful of older sects: averse to Chinese and prone to side with Mongols.

3. The Mongols, conscious of their imperfect civilization and anxious to improve themselves by contact with the Lamas. As a nation they wished to repeat their past victories over China, and individual chiefs wished to make themselves the head of the nation. People and princes alike respected all Lamas.

4. The Chinese, apprehensive of the Mongols and desirous to keep them tranquil, caring little for Lamaism in itself but patiently determined to have a decisive voice in ecclesiastical matters, since the Church of Lhasa had become a political power in their border lands.

Lo-zang was born as the son of a high Tibetan official about 1616 and was educated in the Depung monastery under the supervision of Chos-kyi-Gyal-tsan, abbot of Tashilhunpo and a man of political weight. The country was then divided into Khamdo, Wu and Tsang, or Eastern, Central and Western Tibet, and in each province there ruled a king of the Phagmodu dynasty. In Central Tibet, and specially at Lhasa, the Gelugpa was the established church and accepted by the king but in the other provinces there was much religious strife and the older sects were still predominant. About 1630 the regent of Tsang captured Lhasa and made himself sovereign of all Tibet. He was a follower of the Sakya sect and his rule was a menace to the authority and even to the existence of the Yellow Church, which for some years suffered much tribulation. When the young Grand Lama grew up, he and his preceptor determined to seek foreign aid and appealed to Gushi Khan. This prince

1 The name is variously written Gushi, Gushri, Gus'ri, etc., and is said to stand for Gurušri. The name of the tribe also varies: Oirad and Ogeled are both found.
was a former pupil of Chos-kyi-Gyal-tsan and chief of the Oelöt, the ancestors of the Kalmuks and other western tribes, but then living near Kokonor. He was a staunch member of the Yellow Church and had already made it paramount in Khamdo which he invaded in 1638. He promptly responded to the appeal, invaded Tibet, took the regent prisoner, and, after making himself master of the whole country, handed over his authority to the Grand Lama, retaining only the command of his Mongol garrisons. This arrangement was advantageous to both parties. The Grand Lama not only greatly increased his ecclesiastical prestige but became a temporal sovereign of considerable importance. Gushi, who had probably no desire to reside permanently in the Snow Land, received all the favours which a grateful Pope could bestow on a king and among the superstitious Mongols these had a real value. Further the Oelöt garrisons which continued to occupy various points in Tibet gave him a decisive voice in the affairs of the country, if there was ever a question of using force.

The Grand Lamas had hitherto resided in the Depung monastery but Lo-zang now moved to the hill of Marpori, the former royal residence and began to build on it the Potala palace which, judging from photographs, must be one of the most striking edifices in the world, for its stately walls continue the curves of the mountain side and seem to grow out of the living rock. His old teacher was given the title of Panchen Rinpoche, which has since been borne by the abbots of Tashihunpo, and the doctrine that the Grand Lamas of Lhasa and Tashihunpo are respectively incarnations of Avalokita and Amitābha was definitely promulgated.

The establishment of the Grand Lama as temporal ruler of Tibet coincided with the advent of the Manchu dynasty (1644). The Emperor and the Lama had everything to gain from friendly relations and their negotiations culminated in a visit which

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1 So called from the sacred hill in India on which Avalokita lives. The origin of the name is doubtful but before the time of Haïan Chuang it had come to be applied to a mountain in South India.

2 Some European authorities consider that Lo-zang invented this system of incarnations. Native evidence seems to me to point the other way, but it must be admitted that if he was the first to claim for himself this dignity it would be natural for him to claim it for his predecessors also and cause ecclesiastical history to be written accordingly.
Lo-zang paid to Peking in 1652–3. He was treated as an independent sovereign and received from the Emperor a long title containing the phrase "Self-existent Buddha, Universal Ruler of the Buddhist faith." In return he probably undertook to use his influence with the Mongols to preserve peace and prevent raids on China.

After his return to Tibet, he appears to have been a real as well as a nominal autocrat for his preceptor and Gushi Khan both died, and the new Manchu dynasty had its hands full. His chief adviser was the Desi\(^1\) or Prime Minister, supposed to be his natural son. In 1666 the great Emperor K'ang-hsi succeeded to the throne: and shortly afterwards the restlessness of the Mongol Princes began to inspire the Chinese Court with apprehension. In 1680 Lo-zang died but his death was a state secret. It was apparently known in Tibet and an infant successor was selected but the Desi continued to rule in Lo-zang's name and even the Emperor of China had no certain knowledge of his suspected demise but probably thought that the fiction of his existence was the best means of keeping the Mongols in order. It was not until 1696 that his death and the accession of a youth named Thsang-yang Gya-thso were made public.

But the young Grand Lama, who owing to the fiction that his predecessor was still alive had probably been brought up less strictly than usual, soon began to inspire alarm at Peking for he showed himself wilful and intelligent. He wrote love songs which are still popular and his licentious behaviour was quite out of harmony with the traditions of the holy see. In 1701, under joint pressure from the Chinese and Mongols, he resigned his ecclesiastical rights and handed over the care of the Church to the abbot of Tashilhunpo, while retaining his position as temporal ruler. But the Chinese still felt uneasy and in 1705 succeeded in inducing him to undertake a journey to Peking. When he got as far as Mongolia he died of either dropsy or assassination. The commander of the Oelöt garrisons in Tibet was a friend of the Chinese, and at once produced a new Grand Lama called Yeses, a man of about twenty-five, who claimed to be the true reincarnation of the fifth Grand Lama, the pretensions of the dissolute youth who had just died being thus set aside. It suited the Chinese to deal with an adult, who

\(^1\) sDe-srid.
could be made to understand that he had received and held his office only through their good will, but the Tibetans would have none of this arrangement. They clung to the memory of the dissolute youth and welcomed with enthusiasm the news that he had reappeared in Li-t'ang as a new-born child, who was ultimately recognized as the seventh Grand Lama named Kalzang. The Chinese imprisoned the infant with his parents in the monastery of Kumbum in Kansu and gave all their support to Yeśes. For the better control of affairs in Lhasa two Chinese Agents were appointed to reside there with the Manchu title of Amban.

But the Tibetans would not accept the rule of Yeśes and in 1717 the revolutionary party conspired with the Oelŏt tribes of Ili to put Kalzang on the throne by force. The troops sent to take the holy child were defeated by the Chinese but those which attacked Lhasa were completely successful. Yeśes abdicated and the city passed into the possession of the Mongols. The Chinese Government were greatly alarmed and determined to subdue Tibet. Their first expedition was a failure but in 1720 they sent a second and larger, and also decided to install the youthful Kalzang as Grand Lama, thus conciliating the religious feelings of the Tibetans. The expedition met with little difficulty and the result of it was that China became suzerain of the whole country. By imperial edict the young Grand Lama was recognized as temporal ruler, the four ministers or Kalon were given Chinese titles, and garrisons were posted to keep open the road from China. But the Tibetans were still discontented. In 1727 a rebellion, instigated it was said by the family of the Grand Lama, broke out, and the Prime Minister was killed. This rising was not permanently successful and the Chinese removed the Grand Lama to the neighbourhood of their frontier. They felt however that it was unsafe to give ground for suspicion that they were ill-treating him and in 1734 he was reinstated in the Potala. But the dislike of the Tibetans for Chinese supervision was plain. In 1747 there was another rebellion. The population of Lhasa rose and were assisted by Oelŏt troops who suddenly arrived on the scene. Chinese rule was saved only by the heroism of the two Chinese Agents, who invited the chief conspirators to a meeting and engaged them in personal combat. They lost their

1 It is said that all Ambans were Manchus.
own lives but killed the principal rebels. The Chinese then abolished the office of Prime Minister, increased their garrison and gave the Agents larger powers.

About 1758 the Grand Lama died and was succeeded by an infant called Jambal. The real authority was wielded by the Panchen Lama who acted as regent and was so influential that the Emperor Ch’ien-Lung insisted on his visiting Peking. He had a good reception and probably obtained some promise that the government of Tibet would be left more in the hands of the Church but he died of smallpox in Peking and nothing came of his visit except a beautiful tomb and an epitaph written by the Emperor. After his death a new complication appeared. The prelates of the Red Church encouraged an invasion of the Gurkhas of Nepal in the hope of crushing the Yellow Church. The upshot was that the Chinese drove out the Gurkhas but determined to establish a more direct control. The powers of the Agents were greatly increased and not even the Grand Lama was allowed the right of memorializing the throne, but had to report to the Agents and ask their orders.

In 1793 Ch’ien-Lung issued a remarkable edict regulating the appearance of incarnations which, as he observed, had become simply the hereditary perquisites of certain noble Mongol families. He therefore ordered that when there was any question of an incarnation the names of the claimants to the distinction should be written on slips of paper and placed in a golden bowl: that a religious service should be held and at its close a name be drawn from the bowl in the presence of the Chinese Agents and the public. The child whose name should be drawn was to be recognized as the true incarnation but required investiture by an imperial patent.

A period of calm followed, and when the Grand Lama died in 1804 the Tibetans totally neglected this edict and selected a child born in eastern Tibet. The Chinese Court, desirous of avoiding unnecessary trouble, approved the choice on the ground that the infant’s precocious ability established his divine

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1 See E. Ludwig, The visit of the Tsufoo Lama to Peking, Tientsin Press, 1904. See also J.A.S.B. 1882, pp. 29–52.

2 See the curious edict of Chia Ch’ing translated by Waddell in J.R.A.S. 1910, pp. 69 ff. The Chinese Government were disposed to discredit the sixth, seventh and eighth incarnations and to pass straigt from the fifth Grand Lama to the ninth.
character but when he died in 1815 and an attempt was made to repeat this irregularity, a second edict was published, insisting that the names of at least three candidates must be placed in the golden urn and that he whose name should be first drawn must be Grand Lama. This procedure was followed but the child elected by the oracle of the urn died before he was twenty and another infant was chosen as his successor in 1838. As a result the Lama who was regent acquired great power and also unpopularity. His tyranny caused the Tibetans to petition the Emperor; and His Majesty sent a new Agent to investigate his conduct. Good reason was shown for holding him responsible for the death of the Grand Lama in 1838 and for other misdeeds. The Emperor then degraded and banished him and, what is more singular, forbade him to reappear in a human incarnation.

The reigns of Grand Lamas in the nineteenth century have mostly been short. Two others were selected in 1858 and 1877 respectively. The latter who is the present occupant of the post was the son of a Tibetan peasant; he was duly chosen by the oracle of the urn and invested by the Emperor. In 1893 he assumed personal control of the administration and terminated a regency which seems to have been oppressive and unpopular. The British Government were anxious to negotiate with him about Sikhim and other matters, but finding it impossible to obtain answers to their communications sent an expedition to Lhasa in 1904. The Grand Lama then fled to Urga, in which region he remained until 1907. In the autumn of 1908 he was induced to visit Peking where he was received with great ceremony but, contrary to the precedent established when the fifth Grand Lama attended Court, he was obliged to kneel and kowtow before the Empress Dowager. Neither could he obtain the right to memorialize the throne, but was ordered to report to the Agents. The Court duly recognized his religious position. On the birthday of the Empress he performed a service for her long life, at which Her Majesty was present. It was not wholly successful, for a week or two later he officiated at her funeral. At the end of 1908 he left for Lhasa. He visited India in 1910 but this created dissatisfaction at Peking. In the same year

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1 See for a translation of this curious decree, *North China Herald* of March 4th, 1910.
a decree was issued deposing him from his spiritual as well as his temporal powers and ordering the Agents to seek out a new child by drawing lots from the golden urn. This decree was probably *ultra vires* and certainly illogical, for if the Chinese Government recognized the Lama as an incarnation, they could not, according to the accepted theory, replace him by another incarnation before his death. And if they regarded him as a false incarnation, they should have ordered the Agents to seek out not a child but a man born about the time that the last Grand Lama died. At any rate the Tibetans paid no attention to the decree.

The early deaths of Grand Lamas in the nineteenth century have naturally created a presumption that they were put out of the way and contemporary suspicion accused the regent in 1838. There is no evidence that the deaths of the other three were regarded as unnatural but the earlier Grand Lamas as well as the abbots of Tashilhunpo lived to a good age. On the other hand the Grand Lamas of Urga are said to die young. If the pontiffs of some lines live long and those of others die early, the inference is not that the life of a god incarnate is unhealthy but that in special cases special circumstances interfere with it, and on the whole there are good grounds for suspecting foul play. But it is interesting to note that most Europeans who have made the acquaintance of high Lamas speak in praise of their character and intelligence. So Manning (the friend of Charles Lamb) of the ninth Grand Lama (1811), Bogle of the Tashi Lama about 1778, Sven Hedin of his successor in 1907, and Waddell of the Lama Regent in 1904.

The above pages refer to the history of Lamaism in Tibet and Mongolia. It also spread to China, European Russia, Ladak, Sikhim and Bhutan. In China it is confined to the north and its presence is easily explicable by the genuine enthusiasm of Khubilai and the encouragement given on political grounds by the Ming and Manchu dynasties. Further, several Mongol towns such as Kalgan and Kuku-khoto are within the limits of the eighteen provinces.

The Kalmuks who live in European Russia are the descendants of tribes who moved westwards from Dzungaria in the seventeenth century. Many of them left Russia and returned to the east in 1771, but a considerable number remained behind,
chiefly between the Volga and the Don, and the population professing Lamaism there is now reckoned at about 100,000.

Buddhist influences may have been at work in Ladak from an early period. In later times it can be regarded as a dependency of Tibet, at any rate for ecclesiastical purposes, for it formed part of Tibet until the disruption of the kingdom in the tenth century and it subsequently accepted the sovereignty of Lhasa in religious and sometimes in political matters. Concerning the history of Bhutan, I have been able to discover but little. The earliest known inhabitants are called Tephu and the Tibetans are said to have conquered them about 1670. Lamaism probably entered the country at this time, if not earlier. At any rate it must have been predominant in 1774 when the Tashi Lama used his good offices to conclude peace between the Bhutiyas and the East India Company. The established church however is not the Gelugpa but the Dugpa, which is a subdivision of the Kar-gyu-pa. There are two rulers in Bhutan, the Dharmarâja or spiritual and the Debrâja or temporal. The former is regarded as an incarnation of the first class, though it is not clear of what deity.

The conversion of Sikhim is ascribed to a saint named Latsün Ch’embo, who visited it about 1650 with two other Lamas. They associated with themselves a native chief whom they ordained as a Lama and made king. All four then governed Sikhim. Though Latsün Ch’embo is represented as a friend of the fifth Grand Lama, the two sects at present found in Sikhim are the Nyingma-pa, the old unreformed style of Lamaism, and the Karmapa, a branch of the Kar-gyu-pa, analogous to the Dugpa of Bhutan. The principal monasteries are at Pemiongchi (Peme-yang-tse) and Tashiding.

1 In the List of the Bhutan Hierarchs given by Waddell (Buddhism, p. 242) it is said that the first was contemporary with the third Grand Lama, 1543–1580.

2 According to Waddell (Buddhism, p. 242) he appears to be a rebirth of Dugpani Sheptun, a Lama greatly respected by the Tibetan invaders of Bhutan. For some account of the religion of Bhutan in the early 19th century, see the article by Davis in T.R.A.S. vol. ii. 1880, p. 491.

3 The fullest account of Sikhimese Buddhism is given by Waddell in the Gazetteer of Sikhim, 1894. See also Rémy, Pèlerinage au Monastère de Pemmonitsi, 1890; Silacara, “Buddhism in Sikkim,” Buddhist Review, 1916, p. 97.
CHAPTER LI

TIBET (continued)

THE CANON

TIBET is so remote and rude a land that it is a surprise to learn that it has a voluminous literature and further that much of this literature, though not all, is learned and scholastic. The explanation is that the national life was most vigorous in the great monasteries which were in close touch with Indian learning. Moreover Tibetan became to some extent the Latin of the surrounding countries, the language of learning and religion.

For our purpose the principal works are the two great collections of sacred and edifying literature translated into Tibetan and known as the Kanjur and Tanjur. The first contains works esteemed as canonical, including Tantras. The second is composed of exegetical literature and also of many treatises on such subjects as medicine, astronomy and grammar. The two together correspond roughly speaking to the Chinese Tripitaka, but are more bulky. The canonical part is smaller but the commentaries and miscellaneous writings more numerous. There are also other differences due to the fact that the great literary epoch of Tibet was in the ninth century, whereas nearly three-quarters of the Chinese Tripitaka had been translated before that date. Thus the Kanjur appears to contain none of the Abhidhamma works of the Hinayana and none of the great Nikayas as such, though single sutras are entered in the catalogues as separate books. Further there is only one version of the Vinaya whereas the Chinese Tripitaka has five, but there

1 The Tibetan orthography is bKah-bgyur (the translated command) and bTan-bgyur (the translated explanation). Various spellings are used by European writers such as Kah-gyur, Kandjour, Bkahgyur, etc. Waddell writes Kah-gyur and Tan-gyur.

2 Though this distinction seems to hold good on the whole, yet it is not strictly observed. Thus the work called Udana and corresponding to the Dhammapada is found in both the Kanjur and Tanjur.

3 Nanjio's catalogue states that a great many Abhidharma works in Chinese agree with Tibetan, but their titles are not to be found in Cosma's analysis of the Kanjur. They may however be in the Tanjur, which is less fully analyzed.
are several important Tantras which are wanting in Chinese. The Tibetan scriptures reflect the late Buddhism of Magadha when the great books of the Hinayanist Canon were neglected, though not wholly unknown, and a new tantric literature was flourishing exuberantly.

The contents of the Kanjur and Tanjur are chiefly known by analyses and indices\(^1\), although several editions and translations of short treatises have been published\(^2\). The information obtained may be briefly summarized as follows.

The Kanjur in its different editions consists of one hundred or one hundred and eight volumes, most of which contain several treatises, although sometimes one work, for instance the Vinaya, may fill many volumes. The whole collection is commonly divided into seven parts\(^4\).

I. The Dulva\(^4\), equivalent to the Vinaya. It is stated to be the Mūla-sarvastivāda Vinaya, and so far as any opinion can be formed from the small portions available for comparison, it agrees with the Chinese translation of Kumārajiva and also (though with some difference in the order of paragraphs) with the Sanskrit Prātimoksha found at Kucha\(^5\). It is longer and more mixed with narrative than the corresponding Pali code.

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\(^2\) P. Cordier, *Catalogue du fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Beckh, *Verzeichnis der tibetischen Handschriften der K. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, 1 Abth., Kanjur, 1914. This is an analysis of the edition in 108 volumes, whereas Csoma de Körös and Feer analyzed the edition in 100 volumes. The arrangement of the two editions is not quite the same. See too Palliot’s review of Beckh’s catalogue in *J. A.* 1914, ii. pp. 111 ff. See also Waddell, “Tibetan Manuscripts and Books” in *Asiatic Quarterly*, July, 1912, pp. 80–113, which, though not an analysis of the Canon, incidentally gives much information.


\(^4\) It is also sometimes divided into three Pitakas. When this is done, the Dulva is the Vinaya P., the Šer-chin is the Abhidharma P., and all the other works whether Sūtras or Tantras are classed together as the Sūtra P.

\(^5\) Dul-ba.

II. The second division is known as Šer-chin¹, corresponding to the Prajñā-pāramitā and in the estimation of the Tibetans to the Abhidharma. It is said to have been first collected by Kāśyapa and to represent the teaching delivered by the Buddha in his fifty-first year. This section appears to contain nothing but versions, longer or shorter, of the Prajñā-pāramitā, the limit of concentration being reached by a text in which the Buddha explains that the whole of this teaching is comprised in the letter A. As in China and Japan, the Vajracchedikā (rDo-rJe-gCod-pa) is very popular and has been printed in many editions.

III. The third division is called Phal-chen, equivalent to Avatamsaka. Beckh treats it as one work in six volumes without subdivisions. Feer gives forty-five subdivisions, some of which appear as separate treatises in the section of the Chinese Tripitaka called Hua Yen².

IV. The fourth division called dKon-brtsegs or Ratnakūṭa agrees closely with the similar section of the Chinese Tripitaka but consists of only forty-eight or forty-five sūtras, according to the edition³.

V. The fifth section is called mDo, equivalent to Sūtra. In its narrower sense mDo means sūtras which are miscellaneous in so far as they do not fall into special classes, but it also comprises such important works as the Lalita-vistara, Lankāvatāra and Saddharma-puṇḍarīka. Of the 270 works contained in this section about 90 are prima facie identical with works in the Ching division of the Chinese Tripitaka and probably the identity of many others is obscured by slight changes of title. An interesting point in the mDo is that it contains several sūtras translated from the Pali⁴, viz. Nos. 13–25 of vol. xxx,

¹ Strictly Šer-phyin.
² Waddell in Asiatic Quarterly, 1912, xxxiv. p. 98, renders the title as Vata sangha, which probably represents Avatamsaka. Sarat Chandra Das, sub voce, says Phal-chen-sde-pa = Mahāsanghika.
³ The statements of Nanjio as to “deest in Tibetan” are not quite accurate as regards the edition in 108 volumes. Compare his catalogue with Beckh’s.
⁴ This statement made by such scholars as Feer (Anal. du Kanjou, p. 288) and Rockhill (Uddna, p. x) is of great weight, but I have not found in their works any quotation from the Tibetan translation saying that the original language was not Sanskrit and the titles given by Feer are in Sanskrit not in Pali. I presume it is not meant that the Tibetan text is a translation from a Sanskrit text which corresponds with the Pali text known to us. In Beckh’s catalogue of the edition in
nine of which are taken from the collection known as Paritta. The names and dates of the translators are not given but the existence of these translations probably indicates that a knowledge of Pali lingered on in Magadha later than is generally supposed. It will also be remembered that about A.D. 1000, Atiśa though a Tantrist, studied in Burma and presumably came in contact with Pali literature. Rockhill notes that the Tanjur contains a commentary on the Lotus Sūtra written by Prithivibandhu, a monk from Ceylon, and Pali manuscripts have been found in Nepal. It is possible that Sinhalese may have brought Pali books to northern India and given them to Tibetans whom they met there.

VI. The sixth division is called Myaṅg-ḥdas or Nirvāṇa, meaning the description of the death of the Buddha which also forms a special section in the Chinese Tripitaka. Here it consists of only one work, apparently corresponding to Nanjio 113.

VII. The seventh and last section is called rGyud or Tantra. It consists of twenty-two volumes containing about 300 treatises. Between thirty and forty are prima facie identical with treatises comprised in the Chinese Tripitaka and perhaps further examination might greatly increase the number, for the titles of these books are often long and capable of modification. Still it is probable that the major part of this literature was either deliberately rejected by the Chinese or was composed at a period when religious intercourse had become languid between India and China but was still active between India and Tibet. From the titles it appears that many of these works are Brahmanic in spirit rather than Buddhist; thus we have the Mahāgaṇapati-tantra, the Mahākāla-tantra, and many others. Among the better known Tantras may be mentioned the Ārya-maṇjuśrīmūla-tantra and the Śrī-Guhya Samaja, both highly praised by Csoma de Körös; but perhaps more important is the Tantra of 108 volumes the same titles occur in the Prajñā-pāramitā section, but without any statement that the works are translated from Pali. See Beckh, p. 12, and Feer, pp. 288 ff.

2 There is another shorter sūtra on the same subject in the mDo section of the Kanjur. Feer, p. 247. In the edition of 108 volumes, the whole section is incorporated in the mDo, Beckh, p. 33.
3 The word seems originally to mean string or chain.
on which the Kālacakra system is founded. It is styled Paramādibuddha-uddhrita-Śrī-kālacakra and there is also a compendium giving its essence or Hṛidaya.

The Tanjur is a considerably larger collection than the Kanjur for it consists of 225 volumes but its contents are imperfectly known. A portion has been catalogued by Palmyr Cordier. It is known to contain a great deal of relatively late Indian theology such as the works of Aśvaghoṣha, Nāgārjuna, Asanga, Vasubandhu, and other Mahāyānist doctors, and also secular literature such as the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa, together with a multitude of works on logic, rhetoric, grammar and medicine. Some treatises, such as the Udāna occur in both collections but on the whole the Tanjur is clearly intended as a thesaurus of exegetical and scientific literature, science being considered, as in the middle ages of Europe, to be the handmaid of the Church. Grammar and lexicography help the understanding of scripture: medicine has been of great use in establishing the influence of the Lamas: secular law is or should be an amplification of the Church’s code: history compiled by sound theologians shows how the true faith is progressive and triumphant: art and ritual are so near together that their boundaries can hardly be delimited. Taking this view of the world, we find in the Tanjur all that a learned man need know.

It is divided into two parts, mDo (Sūtra) and rGyud (Tantra), besides a volume of hymns and an index. The same method of division is really applicable to the Kanjur, for the Tibetan Dulva is little more than a combination of Sūtras and Jātakas and sections two, three, four and six of the Kanjur are collections of special sūtras. In both compilations the tantric section appears to consist of later books expounding ideas which are further from the teaching of Gotama than the Mahāyānist sūtras.

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1 See notices of these in four articles by Satīścandra Vidyābhūṣana in J.A.S. Beng. 1907.

2 I.e. the Dhammapada.

3 Huth’s analysis of vols. 117-124 of the Tanjur (Sitzungsber. Kôn. Preuss. Akad. Wiss. Berlin, 1895) shows that they contain inter alia eight works on Sanskrit literature and philology besides the Meghadūta, nine on medicine and alchemy with commentaries, fourteen on astrology and divination, three on chemistry (the composition of incense), eight on gnomic poetry and ethics, one encyclopaedia, six lives of the Saints, six works on the Tibetan language and five on painting and fine art. Cordier gives further particulars of the medical works in B.E.F.E.O. 1903, p. 604. They include a veterinary treatise.
To the great majority of works in both collections is prefixed a title which gives the Sanskrit name first in transcription and then in translation, for instance “In Sanskrit Citralakshana: in Tibetan Ri-moi-mthsan-ñid1.” Hence there is usually no doubt as to what the Tibetan translations profess to be. Sometimes however the headings are regrettably brief. The Vinaya for instance appears to be introduced with that simple superscription and with no indication of the school or locality to which the text belonged.

Although the titles of books are given in Sanskrit, yet all Indian proper names which have a meaning (as most have) are translated. Thus the name Drona (signifying a measure and roughly equivalent to such an English name as Dr Bushell) is rendered by Bre-bo, a similar measure in Tibetan. This habit greatly increases the difficulty of reading Tibetan texts. The translators apparently desired to give a Tibetan equivalent for every word and even for every part of a word, so as to make clear the etymology as well as the meaning of the sacred original. The learned language thus produced must have varied greatly from the vernacular of every period but its servile fidelity makes it possible to reconstruct the original Sanskrit with tolerable certainty.

I have already mentioned the presence of translations from the Pali. There are also a few from the Chinese2 which appear to be of no special importance. One work is translated from the Bru-za language which was perhaps spoken in the modern Gilgit3 and another from the language of Khotan4. Some works in the Kanjur have no Sanskrit titles and are perhaps original compositions in Tibetan. The Tanjur appears to contain many such.

But the Kanjur and Tanjur as a whole represent the literature approved by the late Buddhism of Bengal and certain resemblances to the arrangement of the Chinese Tripitaka

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1 See title in Laufer’s edition.

2 See Feer, I.c. for instance, pp. 287, 248.

3 See Feer, I.c. p. 344, and Laufer, “Die Bruza Sprache” in T’oung Pao, 1908. It is said that King Ru-che-tsan of Brusha or Dusha translated (? what date) the Mûla-Tantra and Vyâkhya-Tantra into the language of his country. See J.A.S.B. 1882, p. 12. Beckh states that four works have titles in Chinese, one in Bruza and one in Tartar (Hor-gyi-skad-du).

4 Laufer, ibid. p. 4.
suggest that not only new sūtras but new classifications of sūtras had replaced the old Pitakas and Āgamas. The Tibetan Canon being later than the Chinese has lost the Abhidharma and added a large section of Tantras. But both canons recognize the divisions known as Prajñā-pāramitā, Ratnakūṭa, Avatamsaka, and Mahāparinirvāṇa as separate sections. The Ratnakūṭa is clearly a collection of sūtras equivalent to a small Nikāya. This is probably also true of the voluminous Prajñā-pāramitā in its various editions, but the divisions are not commonly treated as separate works except the Vajracchedikā. The imperfectly known Avatamsaka Sūtra appears to be a similar collection, since it is described as discourses of the Buddha pronounced at eight assemblies. The Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra though not nominally a collection of sūtras (at least in its Pali form) is unique both in subject and structure, and it is easy to understand why it was put in a class by itself.

The translation of all this literature falls into three periods, (i) from the seventh century until the reign of Ralpachan in the ninth, (ii) the reign of Ralpachan, and (iii) some decades following the arrival of Atiśa in 1038. In the first period work was sporadic and the translations made were not always those preserved in the Kanjur. Thonmi Sanbhota, the envoy sent to India in 616 is said to have made renderings of the Karanda Vyūha and other works (but not those now extant) and three items in the Tanjur are attributed to him. The existence of early translations has been confirmed by Stein who discovered at Endere a Tibetan manuscript of the Šalistambhasūtra which is said not to be later than about 740 A.D. The version now found in the Kanjur appears to be a revision and expansion of this earlier text.

A few translations from Chinese texts are attributed to the reign of Khri-gtsug-lde-btsan (705–755) and Rockhill calls attention to the interesting statement that he sent envoys to India who learned Sanskrit books by heart and on their return reproduced them in Tibetan. If this was a common habit, it may be one of the reasons why Tibetan translations sometimes

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1 See Nanjio, No. 87, and Peer, L.c. pp. 208–212, but the two works may not be the same. The Tibetan seems to be a collection of 45 sūtras.

2 Rockhill, L.c. p. 212.

3 Stein, Ancient Khotan, pp. 426–9 and App. B. See also Pelliot in B.E.F.E.O. 1908, pp. 507 ff.
show differences in length, arrangement and even subject matter when compared with Sanskrit and Chinese versions bearing the same name. During the reign of Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan and the visit of Padma-Sambhava (which began in A.D. 747 according to the traditional chronology) the number of translations began to increase. Two works ascribed to the king and one to the saint are included in the canon, but the most prolific writer and translator of this period was Kamalaśīla. Seventeen of his original works are preserved in the Tanjur and he translated part of the Ratnakūṭa. The great period of translation—the Augustan age of Tibet as it is often called—was beginning and a solid foundation was laid by composing two dictionaries containing a collection of Sanskrit Buddhist terms.

The Augustus of Tibet was Ralpachen who ruled in the ninth century, though Tibetan and Chinese chronicles are not in accord as to his exact date. He summoned from Kashmir and India many celebrated doctors who with the help of native assistants took seriously in hand the business of rendering the canon into Tibetan. They revised the existing translations and added many more of their own. It is probable that at least half of the works now contained in the Kanjur and Tanjur were translated or revised at this time and that the additions made later were chiefly Tantras (rGyud). On the other hand it is also probable that many tantric translations ascribed to this epoch are really later. The most prolific of Ralpachen’s translators was Jinamitra, a pandit of Kashmir described as belonging to the Vaibhāśika school, who translated a large part of the Vinaya and many sūtras. Among the many Tibetan assistants Ye’ses-sde and Dpal-brTsegs are perhaps those most frequently mentioned. These Tibetan translators are commonly described by the title of Lo-tsa-va. As in China the usual procedure seems to have been that an Indian pandit explained the sacred text to a native. The latter then wrote it down, but whereas in China he generally paraphrased whatever he understood, in Tibet he endeavoured to reproduce it with laborious fidelity.

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1 The Mahāvṛtyutpatti edited by Minayeff in Bibl. Buddhica and an abridgement.
2 According to Feer (Analyse, p. 325) Tibetan historians state that at this epoch kings prohibited the translation of more than a few tantric works.
3 Numerous works are also ascribed to Sarvajñādeva and Dharmaka, both of Kashmir, and to the Indian Vidyākaraprabhā and Surendrabodhi.
The language of the translations, which is now the accepted form of literary Tibetan, appears to have been an archaic and classical dialect even in the early days of Tibetan Buddhism, for it is not the same as the language of the secular documents dating from the eighth century, which have been found in Turkestan, and it remains unchanged in the earliest and later translations. It may possibly have been the sacred language of the Bonpo\(^1\) priests.

As narrated in the historical section Buddhism suffered a severe reverse with the death of Ralpachen and it was nearly a century before a revival began. This revival was distinctly tantric and the most celebrated name connected with it is Atiśa. According to Csoma de Körös's chronology the Kālacakrā system was introduced in 1025 and the eminent translator bLo-ldan-shes-rab\(^2\), a follower of Atiśa, was born in 1057. It is thus easy to understand how during the eleventh century a great number of tantric works were translated and the published catalogues of the Kanjur and Tanjur confirm the fact, although the authors of the translations are not mentioned so often as in the other divisions. To Atiśa is ascribed the revision of many works in the Tantra section of the Kanjur and twenty others composed by him are found in the Tanjur\(^3\). It is said that the definitive arrangement of the two collections as we know them was made by Bu-ston early in the thirteenth century\(^4\). The Kanjur (but not the Tanjur) was translated into Mongol by order of Khutuktu Khagan (1604–1634) the last prince of the Chakhar Mongols but a printed edition was first published by the Emperor K'ang-Hsi. Though it is said that the Tanjur was translated and printed by order of Ch'ien-Lung, the statement is doubtful. If such a translation was made it was probably partial and in manuscript\(^5\).

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\(^2\) See Pander, Pantheon, No. 30.
\(^3\) Waddell, Buddhism, p. 36, gives a list of them.
\(^4\) It appears to me that there is some confusion between Brom-ston, a disciple of Atiśa, who must have flourished about 1060 and Bu-ston, who was born in 1288. Grünwedel says that the latter is credited with the compilations of the Kanjur and Tanjur, but Rockhill \(\text{Life of the Buddha, p. 227}\) describes Bu-ston as a disciple of Atiśa.

THE CANON

Manuscripts are still extensively copied and used in Tibet but the Kanjur has been printed from wooden blocks for the last 200 years. There are said to be two printing presses, the older at Narthang near Tashilhunpo where an edition in 100 volumes is produced and another at Derge in the eastern province. This edition is in 108 volumes. An edition was also printed at Peking by order of K’ang-Hsi in red type and with a preface by the Emperor himself¹.

Besides the canon the Tibetans possess many religious or edifying works composed in their own language². Such are the Padma-than-yig, or life of Padma-Sambhava, the works of Tsong-kha-pa, and several histories such as those of Bu-ston, Tāranātha, Sum-pa, and hJigs-med-nam-mkha³, biographies of Lamas without number, accounts of holy places, works of private devotion, medical treatises and grammars.

There are also numerous works called Terma which profess to be revelations composed by Padma-Sambhava. They are said to be popular, though apparently not accepted by the Yellow Church.

Although it hardly comes within the scope of the present study, I may mention that there is also some non-Buddhist literature in Tibet, sometimes described as scriptures of the Bön religion and sometimes as folklore. As samples may be cited Laufer’s edition and translation of the Hundred Thousand Nāgas⁴ and Francke’s of parts of the Kesar-saga⁵.

¹ See Laufer in Bull. de l’Acad. de S. Pétersbourg, 1909, pp. 507-574. There are some differences in the editions. That of Narthang is said to contain a series of sūtras translated from the Pali and wanting in the Red Edition, but not to contain two translations from Chinese which are found in the Red Edition. See the preface to Beckh’s catalogue. The MS. analyzed by him was obtained at Peking, but it is not known whence it came. An edition by Ch’ien Lung is mentioned by some authors. It is also said that an edition is printed at Punakha in Bhutan, and another in Mongolian at Kumbum.

² Some of these are probably included in the Tanjur, which has not been fully catalogued. See J. A. S. Beng. 1904, for a list of 85 printed books bought in Lhasa, 1902, and Waddell’s article in Asiatic Quarterly, July, 1912, already referred to.

³ Edited and translated by Huth as Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei, 1892.

⁴ Finnish Society of Helsingfors, 1898.

⁵ Same Society, 1900 and 1902, and J. A. S. B. 1906-7.
CHAPTER LII

TIBET (continued)

DOCTRINES OF LAMAISM

LAMAISM may be defined as a mixture of late Indian Buddhism (which is itself a mixture of Buddhism and Hinduism) with various Tibetan practices and beliefs. The principal of these are demonophobia and the worship of human beings as incarnate deities. Demonophobia is a compendious expression for an obsession which victimizes Chinese and Hindus to some extent as well as Tibetans, namely, the conviction that they are at all times surrounded by fierce and terrible beings against whom they must protect themselves by all the methods that religion and magic can supply. This is merely an acute form of the world-wide belief that all nature is animated by good and bad spirits, of which the latter being more aggressive require more attention, but it assumes startlingly conspicuous forms in Tibet because the Church has enlisted all the forces of art, theology and philosophy to aid in this war against demons. The externals of Tibetan worship suffer much from the idea that benevolent deities assume a terrible guise in order to strike fear into the hosts of evil. The helpers and saviours of mankind such as Avalokita and Tārā are often depicted in the shape of raging fiends, as hideous and revolting as a fanciful brush and distorted brain can paint them. The idea inspiring these monstrous images is not the worship of cruelty and terror, but the hope that evil spirits may be kept away when they see how awful are the powers which the Church can summon. Nevertheless the result is that a Lama temple often looks like a pandemonium and meeting house for devil-worship, an Olympus tenanted by Gorgons, Hydras and Furies. It is only fair to say that Tibetan art sometimes represents with success gods and saints in attitudes of repose and authority, and has produced some striking

1 The Shingon sect in Japan depict benevolent deities in a raging form, Funnu. See Kokka, No. 292, p. 58. The idea goes back to India where the canons of sacred art recognize that deities can be represented in a pacific (śānta or saumya) or in a terrific (ugra or raudra) form. See Gopinath Rao, Hindu Iconography, vol. I, p. 19, and vol. II of the same for a lengthy description of the aspects of Śiva.
DOCTRINES OF LAMAISM

portraits\(^1\), but its most marked feature (which it shares with literature) is a morbid love of the monstrous and terrible, a perpetual endeavour to portray fiends surrounded with every circumstance of horror, and still more appalling deities, all eyes, heads and limbs, wreathed with fire, drinking blood from skulls and trampling prostrate creatures to death beneath their feet. Probably the wild and fantastic landscapes of Tibet, the awful suggestions of the spectral mists, the real terrors of precipices, desert and storm have wrought for ages upon the minds of those who live among them.

Like demonophobia, the worship of incarnate deities is common in eastern Asia but here it acquires an extent and intensity unknown elsewhere. The Tibetans show a strange power of organization in dealing with the supernatural. In India incarnations have usually been recognized post-mortem and as incalculable manifestations of the spirit\(^2\). But at least since the seventeenth century, the Lamas have accepted them as part of the Church's daily round and administrative work. The practices of Shamanism probably prepared the way, for in his mystic frenzies the Shaman is temporarily inhabited by a god and the extreme ease with which distinguished persons are turned into gods or Bodhisattvas in China and Japan is another manifestation of the same spirit. An ancient inscription\(^3\) applies to the kings of Tibet the word \(\text{ḥphrul}\) which is also used of the Grand Lamas and means that a deity is transformed, or as we say, incarnate in a human person. The Yellow Church officially recognized\(^4\) the Emperor of China as an incarnation of Mañjuśrī and the Mongols believed the Tsar of Russia to be an incarnation of the White Tārā.

The admixtures received by Buddhism in Tibet are not alien to Indian thought. They received an unusual emphasis but India provided terrible deities, like Kāli with her attendant fiends, and also the idea that the divine embodies itself in human personalities or special manifestations. Thus Tibetan Buddhism is not so much an amalgam, as a phase of medieval Hindu

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\(^1\) E.g. Grinwedel, *Buddhist art in India*, fig. 149, *id. Mythologie*, fig. 54.

\(^2\) But there is still a hereditary incarnation of Ganeśa near Poona, which began in the seventeenth century. See *Asiatic Researches*, vii. 381.

\(^3\) See Waddell in *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 941.

religion disproportionately developed in some directions. The Lamas have acquired much the same status as the Brahmans. If they could not make themselves a hereditary caste, they at least enforced the principle that they are the necessary inter-
mediaries between gods and men. Though they adopted the monastic system of Buddhism, they are not so much monks as priests and ghostly warriors who understand the art of fighting with demons.

Yet Tibet like Japan could assimilate and transform as well as borrow. The national and original element in Lamaism be-
comes plain when we compare Tibet with the neighbouring land of Nepal. There late Indian Buddhism simply decayed under an overgrowth of Brahmanism. In Tibet it acquired more life and character than it had in its native Bengal. This new character has something monstrous and fantastic in government as well as art: the magic fortresses of the Snowland, peopled by priests and demons, seem uncanny homes for plain mortals, yet Lamaism has the strength belonging to all genuine expressions of national character and it clearly suits the Tibetans and Mongols. The oldest known form of Tibetan religion had some of the same characteristics. It is called Bön or Pön. It would be outside my province to discuss it here, but even when first heard of it was more than a rude form of animism. In the eighth century its hierarchy was sufficiently strong to oppose the introduction of Buddhism and it possibly contained a pre-
buddhist stratum of Iranian ideas\(^1\). In later times it adopted or travestied Buddhist dogma, ritual and literature, much as Taoism did in China, but still remained a repository of necro-
mancy, magic, animal sacrifices, devil-dancing, and such like practices, which have in all ages corrupted Tibetan Buddhism though theoretically disapproved.

Of Tibetan Buddhism anterior to 747 there is little to be said. It consisted in the sporadic introduction of books and images from India and did not assume any national character, for it is clear that in this period Tibet was not regarded as a Buddhist country. The first phase deserving the name of Lamaism begins with the arrival of Padma-Sambhava in 747.

\(^1\) See T'oung Pao, 1908, p. 13. For the Bön generally see also J.A.S. Bengal, 1881, p. 187; Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, pp. 217–218; and T'oung Pao, 1901, pp. 24–44.
The Nying-ma-pa or Old School claims to represent his teaching, but, as already mentioned, the various sects have interacted on one another so much that their tenets are hardly distinctive. Still it is pretty clear that what Padma-Sambhava brought with him was the late form of India Buddhism called Mantrayâna, closely allied to the Chên Yen of China, and transported to Japan under the name of Shingon and also to the Buddhism of Java as represented in the sculptures of Borobodecoer. The Far East felt shy of the tantric element in this teaching, whereas the Tibetans exaggerated it, but the doctrinal basis is everywhere the same, namely, that there are five celestial Buddhas, of whom Vairocana is the principal and in some sense the origin. These give rise to celestial emanations, female as well as male, and to terrestrial reflexes such as Sâkyamuni. Among the other features of Padma-Sambhava's teaching the following may be enumerated with more or less certainty: (a) A readiness to tolerate and incorporate the local cults of the countries where he preached. (b) A free use of spells (dhâranî) and magical figures (maṇḍala) for the purpose of subduing demons and acquiring supernatural powers. (c) The belief that by such methods an adept can not only summon a deity but assume his form and in fact become the deity. (d) The worship of Amitâbha, among other deities, and a belief in his paradise. (e) The presentation of offerings, though not of flesh, in sacrifice¹ and the performance of ceremonies on behalf of departed souls. (f) The worship of departed and perhaps of living teachers. His image is a conspicuous object of veneration in the Nying-ma-pa sect but he does not appear to have taught the doctrine of hierarchical succession by incarnation. Grünwedel² has pointed out that the later corruptions of Buddhism in northern India, Tibet and Central Asia are connected with the personages known as the eighty-four Mahâsiddhas, or great magicians. Their appearance as shown in pictures is that of Brahmanic ascetics rather than of Buddhist Bhikshus, but many of them bear names which are not Indian. Their dates cannot be fixed at present and appear

¹ The Lamas offer burnt sacrifices but it is not quite clear whether these are derived from the Indian homa adopted by Tantric Buddhism or from Tibetan and Mongol ceremonies. See, for a description of this ceremony, My Life in Mongolia, by the Bishop of Norwich, pp. 108-114.
² Mythologie des Buddhismus, p. 40.
to cover a period from the early centuries of our era up to about 1200, so that they represent not a special movement but a continuous tendency to import into Buddhism very various currents of thought, north Indian, Iranian, Central Asian and even Mohammedan.

The visit of Padma-Sambhava was followed by a period of religious activity which culminated in the ninth century under King Ralpachan, but it does not appear that the numerous translations from Indian works made in this reign did more than supplement and amplify the doctrine already preached. But when after a lengthy eclipse Buddhism was reinstated in the eleventh century under the auspices of Atiśa and other foreign teachers we hear of something new, called the Kālacakra¹ system also known as the Vajrayāna. Pending the publication of the Kālacakra Tantra², it is not easy to make definite statements about this school which presumably marks the extreme point of development or degeneration in Buddhism, but a persistent tradition connects it with a country called Śambhala or Zhambhala, translated in Tibetan as bDe-ṭbyun or source of happiness. This country is seen only through a haze of myth: it may have been in India or it may have been somewhere in Central Asia, where Buddhism mingled with Turkish ideas³. Its kings were called Kulika and the Tibetan calendar introduced by Atiśa is said to have come from it. This fact and the meaning of the word Kālacakra (wheel of time) suggest that the system has some connection with the Turkish cycle of twelve animals used for expressing dates⁴. A legend⁵ states that Śâkyamuni promulgated the Kālacakra system in Orissa (Dhânyakaṭaka) and that Sucandra, king of Śambhala, having miraculously received this teaching wrote the Kālacakra Tantra in a prophetic spirit, although it was not published until

¹ In Tibetan Dus-kyi-hkhor-lo. Mongol, Tsagun kûrdûn.
² Announced in the Bibliotheca Buddhica.
³ See Pelliot, Quelques transcriptions apparentées à Cambhala dans les textes Chinois (in Toung Pao, vol. xx. 1920, p. 73) for some conjectures. Kulika is translated into Tibetan as Rigs-Ldan. Tibetan texts speak of books coming from Śambhala, see Laufer in Toung Pao, 1913, p. 596.
⁴ See Laufer in Toung Pao, 1907, p. 402. In Sumpa’s chronology, J.A.S. Beng. p. 46, the reign of a Kulika Emperor seems to be simply a designation for a century.
⁵ See J.A.S.B. 82, p. 225. The king is also (but apparently incorrectly) called Candra-Bhadra.
965 A.D. This is really the approximate date of its compilation and I can only add the following disjointed data.\(^1\)

Tibetan authorities state that it was introduced into Nālandā by a Pandit called Tsilu or Chilu and accepted by Narotapa who was then head of the University. From Nālandā it spread to Tibet. Manjuśrīkirti, king of Śambhala, is said to have been an exponent of it and to have begun his reign 674 years after the death of the Buddha. But since he is also the second incarnation of the Panchen Lama and since the fourth (Abhayakara) lived about 1075, he may really have been a historical character in the latter part of the tenth century. Its promulgation is also ascribed to a personage called Siddha Pito. It must be late for it is said to mention Islam and Mohammed. It is perhaps connected with anti-mohammedan movements which looked to Kalkī, the future incarnation of Vishnu, as their Messiah, for Hindu tradition says that Kalkī will be born in Śambhulagāmā.\(^2\) We hear also of a Siddha called Telopa or Tailopa, who was a vigorous opponent of Islam. The mythology of the school is Vishnuite, not Sivaitic, and it is noticeable that the Pāncarātra system which had some connection with Kashmir lays stress on the wheel or discus (cakrā or sudarśana) of Vishnu which is said to be the support of the Universe and the manifestation of Creative will. The Kālacakra is mentioned as a special form of this cosmic wheel having six spokes.\(^3\)

The peculiar doctrine of the Buddhist Kālacakra is that there is an Ādi-Buddha, or primordial Buddha God, from whom all other Buddhas are derived. It is possible that it represents a last effort of Central Asian Buddhism to contend with Moslims, which instead of denying the bases of Mohammed's teaching tried to show that monotheism (like everything else) could be found in Buddhism—a method of argument frequent in India. The doctrine of the Ādi-Buddha was not however new or really

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\(^1\) See Grünwedel, *Mythologie*, p. 41. Sarat Chandra Das in *J.A.S. Beng.* 1882, p. 15, and *J.A.S. Beng.* 1912, p. 21, being reprints of earlier articles by Csoma de Körös.


\(^4\) See the article “Ādi Buddha” by De la Vallée Poussin in Hastings' *Encyc. of Religion and Ethics.*
important. For the Indian mind it is implied in the dogma of the three bodies of Buddha, for the Sambhogakāya is practically an Indian Deva and the Dharmakāya is the pantheos or Brahmā. Under the influence of the Kālacakra the Lamas did not become theists in the sense of worshipping one supreme God but they identified with the Ādi-Buddha some particular deity, varying according to the sects. Thus Samantabhadra, who usually ranks as a Bodhisattva—that is as inferior to a Buddha—was selected by some for the honour. The logic of this is hard to explain but it is clearly analogous to the procedure, common to the oldest and newest phases of Hindu religion, by which a special deity is declared to be not only all the other gods but also the universal spirit. It does not appear that the Kālacakra Tantra met with general acceptance. It is unknown in China and Japan and not well known in Nepal.

The Kālacakra adopted all the extravagances of the Tantras and provided the principal Buddhas and Bodhisattvas with spouses, even giving one to the Ādi-Buddha himself. Extraordinary as this is from a Buddhist point of view, it is little more than the Hindu idea that the Supreme Being became male and female for the purpose of producing the universe. But the general effect of the system on monastic and religious life was bad. Celibacy was not observed; morals, discipline and doctrine alike deteriorated. A striking instance is afforded by the ceremonies used by Pagspa when receiving Kublai into the Church. The Tibetan prelate presumably wished to give the Emperor what was best and most important in his creed and selected a formula for invoking a demoniac Buddha.

The latest phase of Lamaism was inaugurated by Tsong-kha-pa’s reformation and is still vigorous. Politically and socially it was of capital importance, for it disciplined the priesthood

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1 See, for a modern example of this, the Gaṇeśātharvāśrshpanishad (Anānd-ārasama edition, pp. 11 and 16) Tvam eva sarvam khalvidam Brahmāi...Tvam Brahmā Tvam Vishnu Tvam Rudra Tvam Indra Tvam Agnis Tvam Vāyus Tvam Sūryas Tvam Candramās Tvam Brahma. Here Gaṇeśa includes all the deities and the Pantheos. There is also a book called Gaṇeśadāraśanam in which the Vedanta sūtras are rewritten and Gaṇeśa made equivalent to Brahma. See Madras, Cat. of Sk. MSS. 1910–1913, p. 1030.

2 It is just mentioned in S. Lévi’s Nepal II, p. 385, but is not in Rajendralal Mitra’s Catalogue.

and enabled the heads of the Church to rule Tibet. In doctrine it was not marked by the importation of new ideas, but it emphasized the worship of Avalokita as the patron of Tibet, it systematized the existing beliefs about reincarnation, thereby creating a powerful hierarchy, and it restricted Tantrism, without abolishing it. But many monasteries persistently refused to accept these reforms.

Tibetan mythology and ceremonial have been described in detail by Grünwedel, Waddell and others. The pantheon is probably the largest in the world. All heaven and hell seem to meet in it. The originals of the deities are nearly all to be found in Nepalese Buddhism¹ and the perplexing multiplicity of Tibet is chiefly due to the habit of representing one deity in many forms and aspects, thus making him a dozen or more personages both for art and for popular worship. The adoration of saints and their images is also more developed than in Nepal and forms some counterpoise to the prevalent demonolatry.

I will not attempt to catalogue this fantastic host but will merely notice the principal elements in it.

The first of these may be called early Buddhist. The figure of Śākyamuni is frequent in poses which illustrate the familiar story of his life and the statue in the cathedral of Lhasa representing him as a young man is the most venerated image in all Tibet. The human Buddhas anterior to him also receive recognition together with Maitreya. The Pratimoksha is still known, the Upasatha days are observed and the details of the ordination services recall the prescriptions of the Pali Vinaya; formulæ such as the four truths, the eightfold path and the chain of causation are still in use and form the basis of ethics.

The later (but still not tantric) doctrines of Indian Mahayanaism are naturally prominent. The three bodies of Buddha are well known and also the series of five Celestial Buddhas with corresponding Bodhisattvas and other manifestations. I feel doubtful whether the table given by Waddell² can be accepted

¹ Nepalese Buddhism knows not only the Dhyāni Buddhas, Śaktis and Bodhisattvas including Vajrasattva and Vajradhara, but also deities like Hayagriva, Yamāntaka, Bhrikuti, Maraś, Kurukullā. In both Nepal and Tibet are found pictures called Thsogs-srīn in which the deities of the Pantheon (or at least the principal of them) are grouped according to rank. See for an example containing 138 deities the frontispiece of Getty’s Gods of Northern Buddhism.

² Buddhism, pp. 350–1.
as a compendium of the Lamaist creed. The symmetry is spoiled by the existence of other groups such as the Thirty Buddhas, the Thousand Buddhas, and the Buddhas of Healing, and also by the habit just mentioned of representing deities in various forms. For instance Amoghapāsa, theoretically a form of Avalokita, is in practice distinct. The fact is that Lamaism accepted the whole host of Indian Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, with additions of its own. The classifications made by various sūtras and tantras were not sufficiently dogmatic to become articles of faith: chance and fancy determined the prominence and popularity of a given figure. Among the Buddhas those most worshipped are Amitābha, Śākya and Bhaishajyaguru or the Buddha of Healing: among the Bodhisattvas, Avalokita, Maitreya and Mañjuśrī.

There is nothing in the above differing materially from Chinese or Japanese Buddhism. The peculiarities of Tibet are brought out by the tantric phase which those countries eschewed. Three characteristics of Tibetan Tantrism, which are all more or less Indian, may be mentioned. Firstly, all deities, even the most august, become familiar spirits, who are not so much worshipped as coerced by spells. The neophyte is initiated into their mysteries by a special ceremonial\(^1\): the adept can summon them, assume their attributes and attain union with them. Secondly, great prominence is given to goddesses, either as the counterparts of male deities or as independent. Thirdly, deities appear in various forms, described as mild, angry or fiendish. It is specially characteristic of Lamaism that naturally benevolent deities are represented as raging in furious frenzy.

Whether the superhuman beings of Tantrism are Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, or Hindu gods like Mahākala, it is correct to describe them as deities, for they behave and are treated like Indian Devas. Besides the relatively old and simple forms of the various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, there are many others which are usually accommodated to the system by being described as protecting spirits, that is virtuous and religious fiends who expend their ferocity on the enemies of the Church.

Of these Protectors there are two classes, which are not mutually exclusive, namely, the tutelary deities of individuals,

\(^1\) For an outline of the method followed by Tibetans in studying the Tantras, see *Journal Buddhist Text Society*, 1893, vol. i. part iii. pp. 25-8.
and the defenders of the faith or tutelaries of the whole Church. The former, who are extremely important in the religious life of the Lamas, are called Yi-dam and may be compared with the Ishṭa-devatās of the Hindus: the latter or Chos Skyon correspond to the Dharmapālas. Every Lama selects a Yi-dam either for life or for a period. His choice must remain a secret but he himself has no doubts, as after fasting and meditation the deity will appear to him. Henceforth he every morning repeats formule which are supposed to give him the appearance of his tutelary and thus scare away hostile demons. The most efficacious tutelaries are tantric forms of the Dhyāni Buddhas, especially Vajrasattva, Vajradhara and Amitāyus. The deity is represented not in the guise of a Buddha but crowned, robed, and holding a thunderbolt, and his attributes appear to be derived from those of Indra. In his arms he always clasps a Śakti.

A second class of tutelaries is composed of so-called Buddhhas, accompanied by Śaktis and terrific in aspect, who are manifestations of the Buddhahood for special purposes. I do not know if this description is theologically correct, for these fantastic figures have no relation to anything deserving the name of Buddhism, but Grünwedel has shown that they are comparable with the various forms of Śiva. This god does not become incarnate like Vishnu but manifests himself from time to time in many shapes accompanied by a retinue who are sometimes merely attendants and sometimes alternative forms of the Lord. Vīrabhadra, the terrible being created by Śiva from himself in order to confound Daksha’s sacrifice, is a close parallel to the demoniac Buddhas of Lamaism. Some of them, such as Mahākāla and Samvara, show their origin in their names and the rest, such as Hevajra, Buddhakapāla and Yamāntaka, are similar. This last is a common subject for art, a many headed and many limbed minotaur, convulsed by a paroxysm of devilish passion. Among his heads the most conspicuous is the face of an ox, yet this grotesque demon is regarded as a manifestation of the benign and intellectual Mañjuśrī whose images in other lands are among the most gracious products of Buddhist sculpture.

1 The deity may appear in an unusual form, so the worshipper can easily persuade himself that he has received the desired revelation.
2 A figure identified with Indra or Vajrapāni is found in Gandhara sculptures.
3 Mythologie, p. 97.
Most tutelary deities of this class act as defenders of the faith and each sect has one or two as its special guardians. The idea is ancient for even in the Pitakas, Sakka and other spirits respectfully protect the Buddha's disciples, and the Dharmapālas of Gandharan art are the ancestors of the Chos Skyon. But in Tibet these assume monstrous and manifold disguises. The oldest is Vajrapāṇi and nearly all the others are forms of Śiva (such as Acala or Mi-gyo-ba who reappears in Japan as Fudo) or personages of his retinue. Eight of them are often adored collectively under the name of the Eight Terrible Ones. Several of these are well-known figures in Hindu mythology, for though the Lamas usually give Buddhist titles to their principal deities, yet they also venerate Hindu gods, without any explanation of their status. Thus hjigs-med-nam-mkha' says that he composed his history with the help of Śiva. The members of this group vary in different enumerations but the following usually form part of it.

(a) Hayagrīva, the horse-necked god. In India he appears to be connected with Vishnu rather than Śiva. The magic dagger with which Lamas believe they can stab demons is said to be a form of him. The Mongols regard him as the protector of horses. (b) Yama, the Indian god of the dead, accompanied by a hellish retinue including living skeletons. (c) Mahākāla, the form of Śiva already mentioned. It was by his inspiration that Pagspa was able to convert Khubilai Khan. (d) Lha-mo, the goddess, that is Devī, the spouse of Śiva. (e) lCam-sraṅ, a war god of somewhat uncertain origin but perhaps a Tibetan form of Kārtikeya. Other deities frequently included in this group are Yamāntaka, mentioned above, Kubera or Vaiśravana, the Hindu god of wealth, and a deity called the White Brahma (Thṣangspa dKarlo). This last is an ordinary human figure riding on a white horse and brandishing a sword. He wears white clothes and a crown or turban. He is perhaps Kalkī who, as suggested above, had some connection with the Kālacakra. The Eight Terrible Ones and their attendants are represented by grotesquely masked figures in the dances and mystery plays enacted by Lamas. These performances are said to be still

1 The Dhyāni Buddhas however seem to be the Yi-dam of individuals only.
known among the vulgar as dances of the Red Tiger Devil, but in the hands of the Yellow Church have become a historical drama representing the persecution of Buddhism under King Lang-dar-ma and its ultimate triumph after he has been slain by the help of these ghostly champions.

Lamaist books mention numerous other Indian divinities, such as Brahmâ, the thirty-three Devas, the Kings of the four quarters, etc. These have no particular place in the system but their appearance in art and literature is natural, since they are decorative though not essential parts of early Buddhism. The same may be said of all the host of Nâgas, Yakshas, Rakshasas, etc. But though these multitudinous spirits have been rearranged and classified in conformity with Hindu ideas they are not an importation but rather part of the old folklore of Tibet, in many ways identical with the same stratum of thought in India. Thus the snake demigods or Nâgas¹ occupy in both countries a large place in the popular imagination. In the higher ranks of the Lamaist pantheon all the figures seem to be imported, but some indigenous godlings have retained a place in the lower classes. Such are rDo-rje-legs, at first an opponent of Buddhism as preached by Padma-Sambhava but honoured as a deity after making due submission, and the Five Kings², a group of fierce spirits, under the presidency of dPe-dkar.

It remains to say a word of the numerous goddesses who play an important part in Tibetan Buddhism, as in Hindu Tantrism. They are usually represented as the female counterparts or better halves of male deities, but some are self-sufficient. The greatest of these goddesses is Târâ³. Though Lamaist theology describes her as the spouse of Avalokîta she is not a single personality but a generic name applied to a whole class of female deities and, as in many other cases, no clear distinction is drawn between her attendants and the forms which she herself assumes. Originally benevolent and depicted with the attributes of Lakshmî she is transformed by a turn of Tibetan

¹ See Laufer, "Hundert Tausend Nâgas" in Memoire of Finno-Ugrian Society, 1898.
² Or Five Bodies, sKu-Lâs. dPe-dKar or Pe-har is by some authorities identified with the Chinese deity Wel-to. This latter is represented in the outer court of most Chinese temples.
³ In Tibetan gRol-ma, in Mongol Dara âkâ. For the early history of Târâ see Blonay, Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de...Târd, 1895.
imagination, with which the reader is now familiar, into various terrible shapes and is practically the same as the spouse of Śiva, celebrated in the Tantras under countless names. Twenty-one Tārās are often enumerated in a list said to be well known even to the laity\(^1\) and there are others. Among them are (a) the Green Tārā, the commonest form in Tibet. (b) The White Tārā, much worshipped by Mongols and supposed to be incarnate in the Tsar of Russia. (c) Bhṛikuṭī, a dark blue, angry, frowning form. (d) Uṣṇīṣhavijayā\(^2\), a graceful and benevolent form known to the Japanese. She is mentioned in the Horiuji palm-leaf manuscript which dates from at least 609 A.D. (e) Parṇaśavari, represented as wearing a girdle of leaves and also called Gandhārī, Piśācī and Sarva-Śavarāṇām Bhagavatī\(^3\). She is apparently the goddess of an aboriginal tribe in India. (f) Kurukullā, a goddess of riches, inhabiting caves. She is said to have given great wealth to the fifth Grand Lama, and though she might be suspected of being a native deity was known in Nepal and India\(^4\).

The Goddess Marīcī, often depicted with Tārā, appears to be distinct and in one form is represented with a sow’s head and known as Vajravarāhī. As such she is incarnate in the abbesses of several monasteries, particularly Samding on lake Yamdok\(^5\).

A notice of Tibetan Buddhism can hardly avoid referring to the use of praying wheels and the celebrated formula Om maṇi padme hum. Though these are among the most conspicuous and ubiquitous features of Lamaism their origin is strangely obscure\(^6\). Attempts to connect the praying wheel with the wheel of the law, the cakravartin and other uses of the wheel in Indian symbolism, are irrelevant, for the object to be explained is not really a wheel but a barrel, large or small, containing written prayers, or even a whole library. Those who turn the barrel

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\(^1\) Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 360.

\(^2\) Tibetan gTsug-tor-mam-par-rgyal-ma.

\(^3\) Cf. Whitehead’s statement (*Village Gods of S. India*, p. 79) that women worshipping certain goddesses are clad only in the twigs of the mimosa tree.


\(^5\) See Waddell. Grünwedel seems to regard Vajra-Varāhī as distinct from Marīcī.

\(^6\) As for instance is also the origin of Linga worship in India.
acquire all the merit arising from repeating the prayers or reading the books. In Tibet this form of devotion is a national mania. People carry small prayer wheels in their hands as they walk and place large ones in rivers to be turned by the current. In China, Japan and Korea we find revolving libraries and occasional praying machines, though not of quite the same form as in Tibet\(^1\), but, so far as I know, there is nothing to show that these were not introduced from Tibet into China and thence found their way further East. The hypothesis that they were known in India and thence exported to Tibet on one side and China on the other naturally suggests itself, but the total absence of praying machines in India as well as in the ruined cities of Central Asia and the general Hindu habit of regarding scriptures and spells as words rather than written documents lend it no support. It may be that when the illiterate Tibetans first became acquainted with written prayers, they invented this singular method of utilizing them without reading them.

Equally obscure is the origin of the formula Om mani padme\(^2\) hum, which permeates Tibet, uttered by every human voice, revolved in countless machines, graven on the rocks, printed on flags. It is obviously a Dhāraṇī\(^3\) and there is no reason to doubt that it came to Tibet with the first introduction of Buddhism, but also no record. The earliest passage hitherto quoted for its occurrence is a Chinese translation made between 980 and 1001 A.D.\(^4\) and said to correspond with the Kanjur and the earliest historical mention of its use is found in Willelm de Rubruk (1254) and in the writings of Bu-ston\(^5\). The first legend of its origin is contained in the Manikambum, a work of doubtful age and


\(^2\) Padme is said to be commonly pronounced pome.

\(^3\) Waddell quotes a similar spell known in both Tibet and Japan, but addressed to Vairocana. Om Amogha Vairocanamahāmudra mani padma jvalaprarvarthtaya hūm. *Buddhism*, p. 149.

\(^4\) Divyāvadāna (Cowell and Neil), pp. 613-4, and Raj. Mitra, *Nepalese Bud. Lit.* p. 98. See also the learned note of Chavannes and Pelliot, based on Japanese sources in *J.A.* 1913, t. 314. The text referred to is Nanjio, No. 782. It is not plain if it is the same as earlier translations with similar titles. A mantra of six syllables not further defined is extolled in the Divyāvadāna and the Guṇakārāpanvyāha.

\(^5\) Bu-ston was born in 1288 and the summary of his writings contained in the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, vol. 1. 1893, represents the formula as used in the times of Atiśa, c. 1030.
authorship but perhaps as old as the fifteenth century¹. The popularity of the prayer may date from the time when the pontiffs of Lhasa were recognized as incarnations of Avalokita. The first and last words are mystic syllables such as often occur in these formulæ. Mañi padme is generally interpreted to mean the jewel in the lotus², but Thomas has pointed out that it is more consonant with grammar and usage to regard the syllables as one word and the vocative of a feminine title similar to Padmapani, one of Avalokita's many names. The analogy of similar spells supports this interpretation and it seems probable that the formula was originally an invocation of the Šakti under the title of Mañipadmā, although so far as I know it is now regarded by the Tibetans as an address to the male Avalokita. It has also been suggested that the prominence of this prayer may be due to Manichæan influence and the idea that it contained the name of Mani. The suggestion is not absurd for in many instances Manichæism and Buddhism were mixed together, but if it were true we should expect to find the formula frequently used in the Tarim basin, but of such use there is no proof.

¹ See for this legend, which is long but not very illuminating, Rockhill's Land of the Lamas, pp. 326–334.

² J.R.A.S. 1906, p. 404, and Francke, ib. 1915, pp. 397–404. He points out the parallel between the three formulæ: Om vajśivarī mum: Om mañipadmē hum: Om taurāpdsi hum. The hymn to Durgā in Mahābhār. Bhishmapar, 796 (like many other hymns) contains a long string of feminine vocatives ending in e or i.
CHAPTER LIII

TIBET (continued)

SECTS

LAMAISM is divided into various sects, which concern the clergy rather than the laity. The differences in doctrine are not very important. Each sect has special tutelary deities, scriptures and practices of its own but they all tend to borrow from one another whatever inspires respect or attracts worshippers. The baser sort try to maintain their dignity by imitating the institutions of the superior sects, but the superior cannot afford to neglect popular superstitions. So the general level is much the same. Nevertheless, these sectarian differences are not without practical importance for each sect has monasteries and a hierarchy of its own and is outwardly distinguished by peculiarities of costume, especially by the hat. Further, though the subject has received little investigation, it is probable that different sects possess different editions of the Kanjur or at any rate respect different books\(^1\). Since the seventeenth century the Gelugpa has been recognized as the established church and the divinity of the Grand Lama is not disputed, but in earlier times there were many monastic quarrels and forced conversions. In the eighteenth century the Red clergy intrigued with the Gurkhas in the hope of supplanting their Yellow brethren and even now they are so powerful in eastern Tibet that this hope may not be unreasonable, should political troubles shake the hierarchy of Lhasa. In spite of the tendency to borrow both what is good and what is bad, some sects are on a higher grade intellectually and morally than others. Thus the older sects do not insist on celibacy or abstinence from alcohol, and Tantrism and magic form the major part of religion, whereas the Gelugpa or established church maintains strict discipline, and tantric and magical rites, though by no means prohibited, are at least practised in moderation.

Setting aside the earliest period, the history of Buddhism in Tibet is briefly that it was established by Padma-Sambhava

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\(^1\) See for instance the particulars given as to various branches of the Nying-ma pa sect in *J.A.S.B.* 1882, pp. 6–14.
about 750, reformed by Atiśa about 1040 and again reformed by Tsong-kha-pa about 1400. The sects correspond to these epochs. The oldest claims to preserve the teaching of Padma-Sambhava, those of middle date are offshoots of the movement started by Atiśa, and the newest represents Atiśa’s principal sect corrected by the second reformation. The oldest sect is known as Nying-ma-pa or rNyin-ma-pa, signifying the old ones, and also as the Red Church from the colour of the hats worn by the clergy. Among its subdivisions one called the sect of Udyāna¹, in reference to Padma-Sambhava’s birthplace, appears to be the most ancient and still exists in the Himalayas and eastern Tibet. The Nying-ma Lamas are said to have kept the necromancy of the old Tibetan religion more fully than any of the reformed sects. They pay special worship to Padma-Sambhava and accept the revelations ascribed to him. Celibacy and abstinence are rarely observed in their monasteries but these are by no means of low repute. Among the more celebrated are Dorje-dag and Mindolling: the great monastery of Pemiongchi² in Sikhim is a branch establishment of the latter.

Of the sects originating in Atiśa’s reformation the principal was the Kadampa³, but it has lost much of its importance because it was remodelled by Tsong-kha-pa and hence hardly exists to-day as an independent body. The Sakya sect is connected with the great monastery of the same name situated about fifty miles to the north of Mount Everest and founded in 1071 by Sakya, a royal prince. It acquired great political importance, for from 1270 to 1340 its abbots were the rulers of Tibet. The historian Tāranātha belonged to one of its sub-sects, and about 1600 settled in Mongolia where he founded the monastery of Urga and established the line of reincarnate Lamas which still rules there. But shortly after his death this monastery was forcibly taken over by the Yellow Church and is still the centre of its influence in Mongolia. In theology the Sakya offers nothing specially distinctive but it mixes the Tantras of the old and new sects and according to Waddell⁴ is practically indistinguishable from the Nying-ma-pa. The same is probably true of the Kar-gyu-pa⁵ said to have been founded by Marpa and

¹ Urgyen-pa or Dzok-chen-pa.
² bKah-gDams-pa.
³ bKah-brGyud-pa.
⁴ Or Pemnyangtse.
⁵ Buddhism, p. 70.
his follower Milarāpa, who set an example of solitary and wandering lives. It is sometimes described as a Nying-ma sect but appears to date from after Atiśa’s reforms, although it has a strong tendency to revert to older practices. It has several important sub-sects, such as the Karmapa found in Sikhim and Darjiling, as well as in Tibet, the Dugpa which is predominant in Bhotan and perhaps in Ladak, and the Dikung-pa, which owns a large monastery one hundred miles north-east of Lhasa. Milarāpa (or Mila), the cotton-clad saint who wandered over the Snow-land in the light garments of an Indian ascetic, is perhaps the post picturesque figure in Lamaism and in some ways reminds us of St Francis of Assisi. He was a worker of miracles and, what is rarer in Tibet, a poet. His compositions known as the Hundred Thousand Songs are still popular and show the same delicately sensitive love of nature as the Psalms of the Theragāthā.

The main distinction is between the Gelugpa or Yellow Church and all the other sects. This is merely another way of saying that Atiśa reformed the corrupt superstitions which he found but that his reformed church in its turn became corrupt and required correction. This was given by Tsong-kha-pa who belonged originally to the Kadampa. He collected the scattered members of this sect, remodelled its discipline, and laid the foundations of the system which made the Grand Lamas rulers of Tibet. In externals the Gelugpa is characterized by the use of the yellow cap and the veneration paid to Tsong-kha-pa’s image. Its Lamas are all celibate and hereditary succession is not recognized. Among the many great establishments which belong to it are the four royal monasteries or Ling in Lhasa; Gandan, Depung and Serra near Lhasa; and Tashilhunpo.

It has often been noticed that the services performed by the Gelugpa and by the Roman Catholic Church are strangely

1 Sandberg, Handbook of Tibetan, p. 207.
2 Authorities differ as to the name of the sect which owns Himis and other monasteries in Ladak.
3 See for some account of him and specimens of his poems, Sandberg, Tibet and the Tibetans, chap. XIII.
4 I do not know whether the ceremonies of the other sects offer the same resemblance. Probably they have all imitated the Gelugpa. Some authors attribute the resemblance to contact with Nestorian Christianity in early times but the resemblance is definitely to Roman costumes and ceremonies not to those of the
similar in appearance. Is this an instance of borrowing or of convergence? On the one hand it is stated that there were Roman missions in Amdo in Tsong-kha-pa's youth, and the resemblances are such as would be natural if he had seen great celebrations of the mass and taken hints. In essentials the similarity is small but in externals such as the vestments and head-dresses of the officiants, the arrangement of the choir, and the general mise-en-scène, it is striking. On the other hand many points of resemblance in ceremonial, though not all, are also found in the older Japanese sects, where there can hardly be any question of imitating Christianity, and it would seem that a ritual common to Tibet and Japan can be explained only as borrowed from India. Further, although Tsong-kha-pa may have come in contact with missionaries, is it likely that he had an opportunity of seeing Roman rites performed with any pomp? It is in the great choral services of the two religions that the resemblance is visible, not in their simpler ritual. For these reasons, I think that the debt of Lamaism to the Catholic Church must be regarded as not proven, while admitting the resemblance to be so striking that we should be justified in concluding that Tsong-kha-pa copied Roman ceremonial, could it be shown that he was acquainted with it.

The life and ritual of the Lamas have often been described, and I need not do more than refer the reader to the detailed account given by Waddell in his Buddhism of Tibet, but it is noticeable that the monastic system is organized on a larger scale and inspired by more energy than in any other country. The monasteries of Tibet, if inferior to those of Japan in the middle ages, are the greatest Buddhist establishments now existing. For instance Depung has 7000 monks, Serra 5500 and Tashilhunpo 3800; at Urga in Mongolia there are said to be 14,000. One is not surprised to hear that these institutions are veritable towns with their own police and doubtless the spirit of discipline learned in managing such large bodies of monks has helped the Lamaist Church in the government of the country. Also these monasteries are universities. Candidates for ordination study a course of theology and are not received

Eastern church. Is there any reason to believe that the Nestorian ritual resembled that of western catholics?

1 See also Filchner, Das Kloster Kumbum, 1906.
as novices or full monks unless they pass successive examinations. In every monastery there is a central temple in which the monks assemble several times a day to chant lengthy choral offices. Of these there are at least five, the first before dawn and the last at 7 p.m. Though the value of Lamas' learning and ritual may be questioned, it is clear that many of them lead strenuous lives in the service of a religion which, if fantastic, still expresses with peculiar intensity the beliefs and emotions of the Tibetans and Mongols and has forced men of violence to believe that a power higher than their own is wielded by intellect and asceticism.

There seems to be no difference between Tibetan and Mongolian Lamaism in deities, doctrines or observances1. Mongolian Lamas imitate the usages of Tibet, study there when they can and recite their services in Tibetan, although they have translations of the scriptures in their own language. Well read priests in Peking have told me that it is better to study the canon in Tibetan than in Mongol, because complete copies in Mongol, if extant, are practically unobtainable.

The political and military decadence of the Mongols has been ascribed by some authors to Lamaism and to the substitution of priestly for warlike ideals. But such a substitution is not likely to have taken place except in minds prepared for it by other causes and it does not appear that the Moslims of Central Asia are more virile and vigorous than the Buddhists. The collapse of the Mongols can be easily illustrated if not explained by the fate of Turks and Tartars in the Balkan Peninsula and Russia. Wherever the Turks are the ruling race they endeavour to assert their superiority over all Christians, often by violent methods. But when the positions are reversed and the Christians become rulers as in Bulgaria, the Turks make no resistance but either retire or acquiesce meekly in the new regime.

1 Almost the only difference that I have noticed is that whereas Tibetans habitually translate Indian proper names, Mongols frequently use Sanskrit words, such as Manjudri, or slightly modified forms such as Dar, Maidari (=Tar, Maitreyo). The same practice is found in the old Uigur translations. See Bibl. Buddh. xii. Tissattvastik. For an interesting account of contemporary Lamaism in Mongolia see Binstead, "Life in a Khalkha Steppe Monastery," J.R.A.S. 1914, 847-900.
CHAPTER LIV

JAPAN

This work as originally planned contained a section on Japanese Buddhism consisting of three chapters, but after it had been sent to the publishers I was appointed H.M. Ambassador in Tokyo and I decided to omit this section. Let not any Japanese suppose that it contained disparaging criticism of his country or its religions. It would, I hope, have given no offence to either Buddhists or Shintoists, but an ambassador had better err on the side of discretion and refrain from public comments on the institutions of the country to which he is accredited.

The omission is regrettable in so far as it prevents me from noticing some of the most interesting and beautiful developments of Buddhism, but for historical purposes and the investigation of the past the loss is not great, for Japanese Buddhism throws little light on ancient India or even on ancient China. It has not influenced other countries. Its interest lies not in the relics of antiquity which it has preserved but in the new shape and setting which a race at once assimilative and inventive has given to old ideas.

Though the doctrine of the Buddha reached Japan from China through Korea¹, Chinese and Japanese Buddhism differ in several respects. Lamaism never gained a footing in Japan, probably because it was the religion of the hated Mongols. There was hardly any direct intercourse with India. Whereas the state religion of China was frequently hostile to Buddhism, in Japan such relations were generally friendly and from the seventh century until the Meiji era an arrangement known as Ryō-bu Shintō or two-fold Shintō was in force, by which Shintō shrines were with few exceptions handed over to the custody of Buddhist priests, native deities and historical personages being declared to be manifestations of various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Again, Buddhism in Japan has had a more intimate connection with social, political and even military matters in various periods than in China. This is one

¹ The accepted date is A.D. 552.
reason for its chief characteristic, namely, the large number and distinct character of its sects. They are not merely schools like the religious divisions of India and China, but real sects with divergent doctrines and sometimes antagonistic to one another. It became the fashion in Japan to talk of the twelve sects, but the names given are not always the same.

One of the commonest lists is as follows:


This list is historically correct, but Nos. 1–4 are almost or quite extinct, and the number twelve is therefore sometimes made up as follows:

1. Hossō. 5. Yūzū Nembutsu. 9. Ōbaku.

Here Nos. 7, 8, 9 are subdivisions of the Zen and 5 and 12 are two small sects.

Taking the first list, we may easily distinguish two classes. The first eight, called by the Japanese Hashū, are all old and all imported from China. They represent the Buddhism of the Nara and Hei-an periods. The other four all arose after 1170 and were all remodelled, if not created, in Japan. Chronologically the sects may be arranged as follows, the dates marking the foundation or introduction of each:

(i) Seventh century: Sanron, 625; Jo-jitsu, 625; Hossō, 657; Kusha, 660.
(ii) Eighth century: Kegon, 735; Ritsu, 745.
(iii) Ninth century: Tendai, 805; Shingon, 806.
(iv) Twelfth and thirteenth centuries: Yūzū Nembutsu, 1123; Jōdo, 1174; Zen, 1202; Shin, 1224; Nichiren, 1253; Ji, 1275.

All Japanese sects of importance are Mahayanist. The Hinayana is represented only by the Kusha, Jo-jitsu and Risshu. The two former are both extinct: the third still numbers a few adherents, but is not anti-Mahayanist. It merely insists on the importance of discipline.

Though the Hossō and Kegon sects are not extinct, their survival is due to their monastic possessions rather than to the vitality of their doctrines, but the great sects of the ninth century, the Tendai and Shingon, are still flourishing. For some seven hundred years, especially in the Fujiwara period, they had great influence not only in art and literature, but in political and even in military matters, for they maintained large bodies of troops consisting of soldier monks or mercenaries and were a considerable menace to the secular authority. So serious was the danger felt to be that in the sixteenth century Nobunaga and Hideyoshi destroyed the great monasteries of Hieizan and Negoro and the pretensions of the Buddhist Church to temporal power were brought to an end.

But apart from this political activity, new sects which appeared in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries suited the popular needs of the time and were a sign of true religious life. Two of these sects, the Jōdo and Shinshū¹, are Amidist—that is to say they teach that the only or at least the best way of winning salvation is to appeal to the mercy of Amida, who will give his worshippers a place in his paradise after death. The Jōdo is relatively old fashioned, and does not differ much in practice from the worship of Amida as seen in China, but the Shinshū has no exact parallel elsewhere. Though it has not introduced many innovations in theology, its abandonment of monastic discipline, its progressive and popular spirit and its conspicuous success make it a distinct and remarkable type. Its priests marry and eat meat: it has no endowments and relies on voluntary subscription, yet its temples are among the largest and most conspicuous in Japan. But the hierarchical spirit is not absent and since Shinshū priests can marry, there arose the institution of hereditary abbots who were even more like barons than the celibate prelates of the older sects.

The Nichiren sect is a purely Japanese growth, without any prototype in China, and is a protest against Amidism and an

¹ As well as the smaller sects called Ji and Yūzūnembutsu.
attempts to restore Shaka—the historical Buddha—to his proper position from which he has been ousted. Nichiren, the founder, is one of the most picturesque figures of Japanese history. His teaching, which was based on the Lotus Sūtra, was remarkable for its combative spirit and he himself played a considerable part in the politics of his age. His followers form one of the most influential and conspicuous sects at the present day, although not so numerous as the Amidists.

Zen is the Japanese equivalent of Ch’an or Dhyāna and is the name given to the sect founded in China by Bodhidharma. It is said to have been introduced into Japan in the seventh century, but died out. Later, under the Hōjō Regents, and especially during the Ashikaga period, it flourished exceedingly. Zen ecclesiastics managed politics like the French cardinals of the seventeenth century and profoundly influenced art and literature, since they produced a long line of painters and writers. But the most interesting feature in the history of this sect in Japan is that, though it preserves the teaching of Bodhidharma without much change, yet it underwent a curious social metamorphosis, for it became the chosen creed of the military class and contributed not a little to the Bushido or code of chivalry. It is strange that this mystical doctrine should have spread among warriors, but its insistence on simplicity of life, discipline of mind and body, and concentration of thought harmonized with their ideals.

Apart from differences of doctrine such as divide the Shinshū, Nichiren and Zen, Japanese sects show a remarkable tendency to multiply subdivisions, due chiefly to disputes as to the proper succession of abbots. Thus the Jōdo sect has four subsects, and the first and second of these are again subdivided into six and four respectively. And so with many others. Even the little Ji sect, which is credited with only 509 temples in all Japan, includes thirteen subdivisions.
BOOK VII

MUTUAL INFLUENCE OF EASTERN AND WESTERN RELIGIONS