THE ARCHEOLOGY OF WORLD RELIGIONS
To aid readers making comparative studies of the archeological backgrounds of the ten religions contained in the casebound edition of The Archeology of World Religions, the publishers have retained the original page, chapter, and illustration numbers, and have included in each of the three paperbound volumes the complete index to all ten religions that appeared in the original edition.

Volume I
Primitivism, Zoroastrianism,
Hinduism, Jainism

Volume III
Shinto, Islam, Sikhism
THE ARCHEOLOGY OF WORLD RELIGIONS

Buddhism
Confucianism
Taoism

BY JACK FINEGAN

Vol. II

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
Preface

There are many living religions in the world today. In addition to the more prominent systems of belief and practice cherished by groups which have long recorded histories or political or numerical importance, there are the numerous forms of faith found among preliterate peoples in various parts of the earth. If the latter may be dealt with collectively under the heading of "primitivism" the major religions of the present world are at least twelve. They are Buddhism, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism, Islam, Jainism, Judaism, Primitivism, Shinto, Sikhism, Taoism, and Zoroastrianism.

The archaeological background of the Hebrew and Christian faiths was the subject of my Light from the Ancient Past (Princeton University Press, 1946), and it is the purpose of the present book to give a similar account relative to the ten others.

In a study primarily archaeological it is clear that the chief concern will be with the early history of the religions, rather than with their recent and contemporary aspects. A beginning of the entire inquiry will be made with Primitivism. Pertaining as the adjective primitive does to that which is earliest in time, this subject directs our attention to the first discernible evidences of religion, back in the mists of man's prehistory; but synonymous as the same adjective is with aboriginal, it also points to the faiths of native peoples still on earth today. Many of these may have been in existence for a very long time and even have had a history as long as that of men of literate cultures, but the facts that this history has not been recorded in writing and that these people have lived in relative isolation from advancing civilization, suggest that among them religion may be at least relatively simple and archaic. It will not be assumed in advance that the contemporary beliefs of such folks correspond with those of prehistoric men, but if similarities are actually observed they will be pointed out. Thus two glimpses will be had of Primitivism, one in prehistoric times, the other in the life of present-day preliterate peoples.

We shall then deal with the other religions, in an order suggested by both geographical and chronological considerations. As far as geography is concerned, the study will take us eastward from Iran to India, China and Japan, then westward to Arabia and back once more to India. Each of these lands will be described briefly when we
first come to it. In regard to chronology, it is of course often difficult or impossible to assign exact dates to the lives of the founders of religions or to crucial events in the history of religions. Evidence will be presented on such questions, however, and the order in which the various religions are considered will reflect at least to some extent the relative times of their emergence in world history. In each major geographical area the rise of human culture will be traced from the earliest times; in each religion the history of the faith will be followed from its origin to the point where its most distinctive emphases have come into view. Considerations of space as well as the archeological interest preclude any attempt to carry the history farther than such point as this. Inevitably the limitation means that a great many developments cannot be touched at all. In the case of Buddhism, for example, a relatively full story is told of its rise in India but to its later spread through many other lands only very brief references are made.

The archeological interest also determines the fact that attention is focused throughout upon the ancient monuments and documents of the various religions. The actual objects and manuscripts which archeology brings to light provide materials of tangible and fascinating sort for understanding the nature of the religions which produced them. Through the ancient writings and the monuments which are often far older than any written records, the religion speaks with its own authentic voice.

In order to make these fundamental materials known in as direct a way as possible, extensive quotations are given from the texts, and many of the monuments are reproduced in photographs. The work is based upon my own travel around the world, gathering of material from museums, libraries and other sources in Asia, Europe and America, and consultation of the literature cited. Except for books appearing in the List of Abbreviations, each work is listed fully upon its first mention.

I wish to express deep appreciation to various members of the staff of Princeton University Press, and especially to Miss Margot Cutter, Fine Arts Editor, for many courtesies.

Jack Finegan
Pacific School of Religion
Berkeley, California
Sources of photographs and quotations are given in the List of Illustrations and in the footnotes. In addition to these acknowledgments, appreciation is also expressed to the following for permission to make reproductions of pictures: to the American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, for Fig. 133; to the Director General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi, for Figs. 54, 61 and 65; to Ludwig Bachhofer for Figs. 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100 and 101; to Ernest Benn Limited, London, for Fig. 59; to the Bobbs Merrill Company, Indianapolis, for Fig. 187; to the Trustees of the British Museum, London, for Fig. 33; to W. Norman Brown for Figs. 82, 83, 84, 85, 86 and 87; to Avery Brundage for Fig. 141; to the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press for Fig. 115; to the Carnegie Institution of Washington for Fig. 46; to the Chicago Natural History Museum for Fig. 149; to the Clarendon Press, Oxford, for Fig. 238; to the Columbia University Library, New York, for Fig. 220; to Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy for Figs. 55, 56, 57, 62, 63, 64, 67, 72 and 114; to the John Day Company, Inc., New York, for Fig. 143; to Faber and Faber Limited, London, for Fig. 16; to the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, for Figs. 82 and 83; to Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, for Figs. 154, 158, 159, 162, 211 and 219; to George C. Harrap and Company Limited, London, for Fig. 183; to Harvard University Press, Cambridge, for Fig. 129; to the late Ernst E. Herzfeld for Figs. 23, 32, 41 and 42; to the High Commissioner for India, London, for Fig. 128; to the Institut de Paléontologie Humaine, Paris, for Figs. 11, 12 and 13; to the Macmillan Company, New York, for Fig. 136; to the Matson Photo Service, Jerusalem, for Fig. 227; to the Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, Santa Fe, for Fig. 19; to the National Geological Survey of China, Nanking, for Figs. 137 and 138; to the National Museum, Stockholm, for Figs. 180, 184, 185 and 186; to the New York Public Library for Fig. 208; to Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, for Figs. 124, 125 and 126; to Oxford University Press, London, for Figs. 37, 39, 40, 44, 45, 243, 244 and 250; to Oxford University Press, New York, for Fig. 23; to Pantheon Books Inc., New York, for Figs. 148 and 176; to Arthur Upham Pope for Figs. 37, 39, 40, 44, 45, 243, 244 and 250; to Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, for Fig. 237; to Princeton University Press, Princeton, for Fig. 181; to Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London, for Fig. 136; to the Society
of Antiquaries of London for Figs. 209 and 210; to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, for Fig. 164; and to Van Oest, Les Editions d’Art et d’Histoire, Paris, for Figs. 110, 118, 167, 202, 205 and 206.

Certain material reproduced in this book, namely, seven pictures, three figures, two plates, and the reproduction of the first page of a preface of a work (in Japanese), which material is specifically identified in the acknowledgments in the List of Illustrations, was taken from six German works and two Japanese works, originally published in Germany and Japan, respectively. The German and Japanese interests in the United States copyrights in these works were vested in the Attorney General of the United States in 1950, pursuant to law. The works involved and the particular material taken therefrom are listed below. The use of this material in the present book is by permission of the Attorney General of the United States under License No. JA-1482.

   (1) Picture on page 5, with title on page 4 (for my Fig. 102)
   (2) Picture on page 101, with title on page 100 (for my Fig. 132)

   (1) Figure 136, on page 115 (for my Fig. 105)

   (1) Figure 178 on Plate LXII (for my Fig. 130)

   (1) Picture on page 168 (for my Fig. 104)
   (2) Picture on page 247 (for my Fig. 77)

AKNOWLEDGMENTS

Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion M.B.H., Wildpark-Potsdam.”

(1) Figure 28 on page 51 (for my Fig. 50)

6. Heinrich Glück and Ernst Diez, Die Kunst des Islam. Propyläen-
    “Copyright 1925 by Der Propyläen-Verlag G.M.B.H., Berlin.”
    (1) Picture on page 186 (for my Fig. 241)
    (2) Picture between pages 188 and 189 (for my Fig. 242)
    (3) Picture on page 538 (for my Fig. 252)

7. Mizoguchi, Teijiro and Eikyu Matsuoka, eds., Nihon Emakimono
    (1) Vol. m, Plate 64 (for my Fig. 193)
    (2) Vol. iv, Plate 10 (for my Fig. 192)

8. Uematsu, Yasushi and Tatsuo Otsuka, annotators, Kojiki Zenshaku.
    (1) Facsimile in Japanese language of first page of Preface
    (for my Fig. 188)
Contents

Preface
Acknowledgments
List of Illustrations
List of Maps
List of Abbreviations

V. BUDDHISM

1. India in the Śiśunaga Period, c.642-c.413 B.C. 234
2. The Buddhist Scriptures
   Pali Writings. The Vinayapitaka. The Suttapitaka. The
   Abhidhammapitaka. Noncanonical Books in Pali. Sanskrit
   Writings. 236
3. The Life and Teachings of Gautama Buddha 248
4. Buddhism in the Maurya Period, c.322-c.185 B.C. 260
   Asoka.
5. Architecture and Sculpture in the Śunga (c.185-c.80 B.C.)
   and Early Andhra (c.70-c.25 B.C.) Periods
   Barhut, Buddh Gaya. Sanchi, Karli. 265
6. Northwest India under the Bactrian Greeks (second cen-
   tury B.C.) and the Kushans (A.D. c.50-c.320)
   Milinda. Kanishka. Hinayana and Mahayana. 276
7. Buddhist Art in the Kushan (A.D. c.50-c.320) and Later
   Andhra (first to third centuries A.D.) Periods
   Gandhara. Mathura. Amaravati. 282
8. The Gupta Period, A.D. c.320-c.600
CONTENTS

9. The Medieval Period, A.D. c.600-c.1200
   Hsiun Tsang.  

10. Buddhism in Other Lands.
    Tibet.  

VI. CONFUCIANISM

1. The Beginnings of Culture in China
   The Neolithic Age. The Hsia Dynasty.  

2. The Shang Period

3. The Chou Period
   Western Chou. Eastern Chou. Art in the Chou Period.
   Literature in the Chou Period. The Five Classics. The
   Four Books. Religion in the Chou Period.  

4. Early Confucianism
   The Life and Work of Confucius. The Teachings of
   Confucius. "Warring States" and Competing Philosophies.
   Mencius. Hsin Tzu.  

5. The Ch’in Period, 221-207 B.C.
   Shih Huang Ti.  

6. The Han Period, 202 B.C.-A.D. 220
   Writings on Wood and on Paper. Han Art.  

7. The Six Dynasties, A.D. 220-581  

8. The Sui (A.D. 581-618) and Tang (A.D. 618-906) Dynasties

9. The Five Dynasties (A.D. 907-960), the Sung (A.D. 960-1279)
    and Yuan (A.D. 1279-1368) Dynasties
    The Confucian Renaissance.  

VII. TAOISM

1. The Leaders and the Writings of Early Taoism

2. Popular Taoism in the Ch’in (221-207 B.C.) and Han (202
   B.C.-A.D. 220) Periods
   Alchemy and the "Isles of the Immortals." The Lieh-tzu.
   Chang Tao Ling.  

3. Taoism in the Six Dynasties Period (A.D. 220-581)

[ xii ]
4. Taoism in the Tang Period (A.D. 618-906)  
   Hsiian Tsung, Wu Tao Tzu. The Tai I Chin Hua Tsung Chih. Persecution as Proposed and as Practiced.  
   403

5. Taoism in the Sung (A.D. 960-1279) and Yuen (A.D. 1279-1368) Periods  
   409

General Index
List of Illustrations

88. Ceylon Manuscript on Silver Plates, with Text of the Dhammacakkappavattana
   Photograph, courtesy of the British Museum, London.

89. Column of Aśoka at Lauriya Nandangarh
   From Ludwig Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture. 1929, i, Pl. 4.

90. Capital of the Aśoka Column at Samath
   Photograph, courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

91. Yaksha and Yakshi on a Sculptured Pillar of the Stupa at Barhut
   From Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, i, Pl. 19, left.

92. Jataka Scenes on the Railing of the Stupa of Barhut
   From Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, i, Pl. 26.

93. Sculptured Medallions from the Stupa of Barhut
   From Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, i, Pls. 30, upper right; 31, upper right, lower left; 32, upper left.

94. Pasenadi-Post of the Southern Gate at the Stupa of Barhut
   From Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, i, Pl. 23.

95. Stone Railing at Buddh Gaya
   From Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, i, Pl. 35.

96. Northern Gate of the Great Stupa at Sanchi
   From Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, i, Pl. 48.

97. Pillars of the Eastern Gate at Sanchi
   From Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, i, Pl. 59.

98. Architraves of the Eastern Gate at Sanchi
   From Lepel Griffin, Famous Monuments of Central India. 1886, Pl. xiii.

99. Façade of the Chaitya Hall at Karli
   From Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, ii, Pl. 66.
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

100. Interior of the Chaitya Hall at Karli
     From Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, ii, Pl. 69.

101. Reliquary of King Kanishka
     From Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, ii, Pl. 148.

102. Standing Statue of Buddha from Gandhara
     From William Cohn, Buddha in der Kunstdes Osten. 1925, p.5.

103. Head of Buddha from the Gandharan School
     Photograph, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

104. Gautama as an Emaciated Ascetic
     From Fischer, Die Kunst Indiens, Chinas und Japans, Fig. 168.

105. Votive Relief from Gandhara
     From Ernst Diez, Die Kunst Indiens. 1925, Fig. 136.

106. Statue of a Bodhisattva from Gandhara
     Photograph, courtesy of the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco.

107. The Buddha as Sculptured at Mathura
     Photograph, courtesy of the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mutter.

108. Sculptured Slab from Amaravati
     Photograph, courtesy of the Government Museum, Egmore, Madras.

109. The Buddha as Sculptured at Sarnath
     Photograph, courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

110. Veranda of Cave I at Ajanta
     From Victor Goloubew, Documents pour servir à l'étude d'Ajanté, Les peintures de la première grotte (Ars Asiatica, x). 1927, Pl. vni.

111. Fresco of the Great Bodhisattva at Ajanta

112. Head of the Great Bodhisattva
     Detail of preceding picture.

113. Mingalazedi Pagoda at Pagan
     From Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, Fig. 318.

114. Seated Buddha from Anuradhapura
     Photograph, courtesy of the University Pints, Boston.

115. Model Stupa of the Sukhothai Period in Siam
     From Reginald Le May, A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam. 1938, Fig. 151.

[ xv ]
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

116. Bronze Head of Buddha of the Sukhothai Type  
      Photograph, courtesy of the National Museum, Bangkok.

117. Stone Head of Buddha of the Sukhothai Type  
      Photograph, courtesy of Gump’s, San Francisco.

118. Angkor Wat  
      From *Le Temple d’Angkor Wat* (Mémoires Archéologiques  
      publiés par l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient, 11), 1929-32, Part 1,  
      vol. 1, Pl. 56.

119. Air View of the Bayon  
      Photograph from Ewing Galloway, New York.

120. Sculptured Pillar from the Bayon  
      Photograph, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
      New York.

121. Tower of the Bayon  
      Photograph, courtesy of the Keystone View Company of  
      New York, Inc.

122. Cambodian Buddha Head  
      Photograph, courtesy of Gump’s, San Francisco.

123. Buddha Sheltered by the Serpent  
      Photograph, courtesy of the M. H. de Young Memorial  
      Museum, San Francisco.

124. Air View of Borobudur  
      From N. J. Krom and T. Van Erp, *Beschrijving van Bara-  
      budur* (Archaeologisch Onderzoek in Nederlandsch-Indie,  
      m.), 1920-31, Atlas m, Pl. 11.

125. Great Terrace of Borobudur  
      From Krom and Van Erp, *Beschrijving van Borobudur*,  
      Atlas m, Pl. 64.

126. Bas-Relief at Borobudur  
      From Krom and Van Erp, *Beschrijving van Borobudur*,  
      Atlas i, Pl. xlviii, No. 96.

127. Cave Painting at Qizil near Kucha  
      From Albert Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutsch, archäologische und  
      religionsgeschichtliche Forschungen an Tempera-Gemälden  
      aus buddhistischen Höhlen der ersten acht Jahrhunderte  
      nach Christi Geburt* (Veröffentlichung der Preussischen  
      Turfan-Expeditionen mit Unterstützung der Bässler-Instituts). 1920,  
      Pl. xlii-xliv.

128. Painting from Tun-hwang of the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha  
      From Aurel Stein, *The Thousand Buddhas, Ancient Bud-  
      dhist Paintings from the Cave-Temples of Tun-huang on  
      the Western Frontier of China*. 1921, Pl. xl.

129. Stone Statue of the Buddha in the Sokkulam Cave  
      From Andreas Eckardt, *Geschichte der koreanischen Kunst*.  
      1929, Fig. 178.
130. The Sukhavati Paradise of Amitabha as Painted at Wan Fo Hsia
   From Langdon Warner, Buddhist Wall-Paintings, A Study of a Ninth-Century Grotto at Wan Fo Hsia. 1938, Pl. xxiii.

131. Golden Hall, Middle Gate and Pagoda at Horyuji
   From Alexander C. Soper, III, The Evolution of Buddhist Architecture in Japan. 1942, Fig. 5.

132. Buddhist Trinity in the Golden Hall at Horyuji
   From Cohn, Buddha in der Kunst des Ostens, p. 101.

133. Wall Painting of the Paradise of Shaka, in the Golden Hall at Horyuji


136. Pottery of the Yang Shao Culture: A Li and a Ting
   From J. Gunnar Andersson, Children of the Yellow Earth, Studies in Prehistoric China. 1934, Pl. 21.

137. Sherds of Painted Pottery from Yang Shao Ts'ün
   From T. J. Arne in Palaeontologia Sinica (Geological Survey of China). Ser. d, i,2 (1925), Pl. iii.

138. Painted Mortuary Urns of the Yang Shao Period, from Kansu
   From Nils Palmgren in Palaeontologia Sinica. Ser. d, iii,1 (1934), Pl. xxxvi.

139. White Pottery Amphora of the Shang Period
    Photograph, courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington.

140. An Early Bronze Ting of the Shang Period

141. A Bronze Tsun of the Shang Period

142. A Bronze Yu of the Shang Period
    Photograph, courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington.

143. Shang Oracle Bones
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

144. A Shang Ceremonial Bronze Ax
   Photograph, courtesy of the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City.

145. A Bronze Kuei of the Western Chou Period
   Photograph, courtesy of the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City.

146. A Bronze Pilgrim’s Bottle in the Huai Style
   Photograph, courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago.

147. Bronze Statuette of a Kneeling Servant
   Photograph, courtesy of Raymond A. Bidwell.

148. Bronze Winged Dragon of Late Chou Period
   From Ludwig Bachhofer, A Short History of Chinese Art. 1946, Fig. 50.

149. Jade Pi of the Chou Period
   From Berthold Laufer, Archaic Chinese Jades Collected in China by A. W. Behr, Now in Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago. 1927, Pl. iv, 2.

150. Jade Ts’ung of the Chou Period
   Photograph, courtesy of the Chicago Natural History Museum.

151. Human Figure in Jade, Chou Period
   Photograph, courtesy of the Chicago Natural History Museum.

152. The Tomb of Confucius at Chufou
   Photograph from Ewing Galloway, New York.

153. The Tumulus of Shih Huang Ti near Si-an

154. The Great Wall of China
   Photograph from Ewing Galloway, New York.

155. Documents of the Han Period Written on Wood
   From Edouard Chavannes, Les Documents Chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan Oriental, publiés et traduits. 1913, Pl. r.

156. A Letter Written on Paper, from the Han Period
   From Aurel Stein, Serindia, Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China. 1921, iv, Pl. clxv, left.

157. Painted Pottery Vessel of the Han Period
   Photograph, courtesy of the University Prints, Boston.

158. Stone Horse in Front of the Tomb of Ho Ch’ü-ping
   From Segalen, de Voisins and Lartigue, Mission Archéologique en Chine, Atlas, 1, Pl. m.

[ xviii ]
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

159. A Sculptured Pillar at the Tomb of Shen
   From Segalen, de Voisins and Lartigue, Mission Archéologique en Chine, Atlas, 1, Pl. xvii, left.

160. Wu Liang Tz'u Relief with Scenes from History and Mythology
   Photograph, courtesy of the Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

161. Wu Liang Tz'u Relief Showing the Kingdom of the Air
   Photograph, courtesy of the Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

162. Colossal Monster of the Period of the Six Dynasties

163. Tomb Figures of the Six Dynasties Period
   Photograph, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

164. The Cross on the Nestorian Monument
   From A. C. Moule, Christians in China Before the Year 1550. 1930, Fig. 2.

165. War Horse of the Emperor T'ai Tsung
   Photograph, courtesy of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

166. Scene in the T'ang Copy of the Roll of Ku K'ai-chi
   From Laurence Binyon, L'Art Asiatique au British Museum (Sculpture et Peinture) (Ars Asiatica, vi). 1925, Pl. xiv, 2, upper.

167. Tomb Figures of the T'ang Period
   Photograph, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

168. Sung Painting of Scholars Collating Classic Texts
   Photograph, courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

169. Manuscript of the Tao Te Ching
   Photograph, courtesy of the British Museum, London.

170. Mirror with Taoist Deities
   Photograph, courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

171. Genii of the Five Holy Mountains
   From F. R. Martin, Zeichnungen nach Wu Tao-tze aus der Götter- und Sagengewelt Chines. 1913, Pl. 5.

172. The Court of Hades
   From Martin, Zeichnungen nach Wu Tao-tze aus der Götter- und Sagengewelt Chines, Pl. 32.

173. Bronze Statuette with Symbols of the Three Governors
   Photograph, courtesy of Frank G. Marcus.

[xix]
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

174. Portrait of Lü Tung-p'în
From Ernst Diez, Einführung in die Kunst des Ostens. 1923, Fig. 38.

175. A Temple among the Snowy Hills
Photograph, courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

176. Bare Willows and Distant Mountains
Photograph, courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

177. Summer
From Bachhofer, A Short History of Chinese Art, Fig. 103.

178. The Five-Colored Parakeet
Photograph, courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

179. Two Sages and an Attendant under a Plum Tree
Photograph, courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

180. Mountain Landscape with Blossoming Trees
From Osvald Sirén, Chinese and Japanese Sculptures and Paintings in the National Museum, Stockholm. 1931, Pl. 45.

181. Mountain Brook
Photograph, courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington.

182. Temple Overlooking the Sea
Photograph, Musée Guimet, Paris.

183. Taoist Magicians Preparing the Elixir of Life

184. Chung K'uei, the Exorciser of Demons
From Sirén, Chinese and Japanese Sculptures and Paintings in the National Museum, Stockholm, Pl. 42.

185. A Taoist Immortal Ascending to Heaven
From Sirén, Chinese and Japanese Sculptures and Paintings in the National Museum, Stockholm, Pl. 41.

186. A Taoist Immortal Seated on the Ground
From Sirén, Chinese and Japanese Sculptures and Paintings in the National Museum, Stockholm, Pl. 44.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>LIST OF MAPS</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Buddhist India</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Southeast Asia</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>322-323</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AJA</td>
<td>American Journal of Archaeology.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARE</td>
<td>James H. Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt. 5 vols. 1906-07.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BASOR</td>
<td>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEIS</td>
<td>Ludwig Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture. 2 vols. 1929.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHIIA</td>
<td>Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art. 1927.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAH</td>
<td>Nabih Amin Faris, ed., The Arab Heritage. 1944.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FHCP</td>
<td>Fung Yu-lan, A History of Chinese Philosophy, i, The Period of the Philosophers (From the Beginnings to circa 100 B.C.). tr. Derk Bodde. 1937.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCBD</td>
<td>Herbert A. Giles, A Chinese Biographical Dictionary. 1898.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCE</td>
<td>René Grousset, The Civilizations of the East. tr.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Catherine A. Phillips. i, The Near and Middle East. 1931; ii, India. 1931; iii, China. 1934; iv, Japan. 1934.


HHA Philip K. Hitti, History of the Arabs. 2d ed. 1940.


LCL The Loeb Classical Library.

MASI Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.

MHR George Foot Moore, History of Religions (International Theological Library). 1, China, Japan, Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, India, Persia, Greece, Rome. rev. ed. 1920; ii, Judaism, Christianity, Mohammedanism. 1919.

MPEW Charles A. Moore, ed., Philosophy—East and West. 1946.

OIC Oriental Institute Communications.


SJSCH G. B. Sansom, Japan, A Short Cultural History. rev. ed. 1943.

THE ARCHEOLOGY OF
WORLD RELIGIONS
CHAPTER V

Buddhism

Buddhism originated in India and spread from there to many other lands. Its world membership is estimated at over 155,000,000, but in the land of its birth it has today probably not more than half a million members.¹

1. INDIA IN THE SIŚUNAGA PERIOD, C.642-C.413 B.C.

The founder of Buddhism lived in the sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. during what is known in Indian history as the Siśunaga Period. This period and some of its kings have already become known to us in the chapters on Hinduism and Jainism, but because more detailed references are required in the present chapter a recapitulation and amplification of earlier notices of the historical situation is appropriate.

Numerous kingdoms and clans existed in northern India at the time. Of the kingdoms the four most important were those of Magadha, Kosala, Vamsa and Avanti.² Magadha, already described, lay along and south of the Ganges River, and was ruled by the dynasty from which this historical period takes its name. The most famous Siśunaga kings were Bimbisara (Šrenika), c.540-490 B.C., and his son Ajatasatru (Kumika), c.490-c.460 B.C., both of whom ruled at Rajagriha. Ajatasatru’s son Udaya established a new capital at Pataliputra. The Kosalas dwelt to the northwest, with their capitals at Savatthi (Sravasti) and Saketa. Their rulers included King Pasenadi and his son Vidudabha. The kingdom of the Vamsas lay to the southwest along the banks of the Jumna River. Their most important king was named Udena, and his capital was at Kausambi on the south bank of the Jumna. The Avantis were yet farther to the southwest, with their capital at Ujjeni. Their king was Pajjota, who was called “the Fierce.” Of these kingdoms that of Kosala was then the most

² T. W. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India. 1903, pp.1-41; and in curr, pp.172-191.
important, but that of Magadha was the most progressive and was
growing in power and size, and was ultimately to absorb the other
kingdoms including Kosala.

Among the most important clans and tribes which existed at the
same time were the following, each group being mentioned together
with its capital or chief city: the Sakyas (Sakiyas) of Kapilavastu
(Kapilavatthu), the Bulis of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Ramagama,
the Mallas of Pava, the Mallas of Kusinara, the Moriyas of Pipphali-
vana, the Licchavis of Vesali, and the Angas of Champa. Insofar as
they are exactly or approximately known, the geographical locations
of these groups and their towns are shown on Map 4. Most of the
groups were organized as republics, and carried out their administra-
tive and judicial business in public assemblies meeting in so-called
Mote Halls. Some of them enjoyed complete or partial independence,
while others such as the Sakyas, Bulis, Koliyas and Moriyas were
vassals under the more powerful states like Kosala.*

2. THE BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES

The literature of the Buddhist religion is very extensive and represents a process of compilation which was carried on over many years. Gautama Buddha himself was a native of Kosala and spent much of his ministry in Magadha; presumably, therefore, he taught in the contemporary dialect or dialects of those lands. Buddhaghosa, a celebrated Buddhist scholar and writer who flourished early in the fifth century A.D., makes explicit reference to "the language of the Magadhas spoken by the All-enlightened." The earliest written texts of Buddhism are composed in the Pali language, an Indic dialect descended from the Vedic Aryan. It may be that this is the same as the Magadhi language to which Buddhaghosa refers; on the other hand it may be that in the meantime the teachings had been rewritten in a new dialect. In the Kullavagga (v, xxxiii, 1. see xx, pp. 150f.) an incident is recorded where the monks desired to versify the teachings, doubtless as an aid to memory, but this request was refused. It was first in Ceylon under King Vattagamani Abhaya (c.29-c.17 B.C.) that the monks of that country caused the teachings and their commentaries to be written in books. This fact is recorded in the fourth and sixth century Ceylonese chronicles, the Dipavamsa and the Mahavamsa, in almost identical words. Speaking of the reign of King Vattagamani, the Dipavamsa says: "Before this time, the wise Bhikkus had orally handed down the text of the three Pitakas and also the Atthakathas. At this time, the Bhikkus who perceived the decay of created beings, assembled and in order that the religion might endure for a long time, they recorded [the above-mentioned texts] in written books." This was done in the Pali language.

PALI WRITINGS

The Pali canonical literature is known as the Tipitaka (Sanskrit, Tripitaka) or "Three Baskets." The word pitaka refers to a basket

* Ralph L. Turner in xx xvii, pp.145f.
* Sinhala C. Law, A History of Pali Literature. 1933, r. Selected passages from these scriptures are translated by Henry C. Warren, Buddhism in Translations. Passages Selected from the Buddhist Sacred Books and Translated from the Original Pali into English (Harvard Oriental Series, iii, 8th issue). 1922; and by Edward J. Thomas, Early Buddhist Scriptures. 1935.
containing manuscripts, and as the name of the entire collection suggests, the Pali scriptures comprise three major groups.

THE VINAYAPITAKA

The first is the Vinayapitaka or "Discipline Basket," which contains the rules and regulations for the Buddhist orders of monks and nuns. The Vinayapitaka consists of four books as follows: (1) Suttavibhanga. This means expositions of the Suttas, the word Sutta having the same meaning as the Sanskrit Sutra (p.160). The rules here explained are those contained in the Patimokkha, shortly to be mentioned. The Suttavibhanga is itself divided into two sections, Parajika and Pacittiya. Parajikas are offences for which the punishment is expulsion from the order; Pacittiyas are those for which some expiation is specified. (2) Khandhakas. Here again there are two sections, the larger being the Mahavagga, and the smaller the Kullavagga. The Mahavagga* records certain historical incidents in the life of the Buddha, and then lays down numerous regulations and gives various medical prescriptions as well. The Kullavagga* also contains anecdotes from the life of the Buddha and the history of the order, and sets forth numerous rules concerning legal and other matters. (3) Parivarapathap. This is a digest or learned review of the other parts of the Vinayapitaka. At the end it is said to have been composed by "the highly wise, learned, and skillful Dipa, after he had inquired here and there into the methods followed by former teachers." (4) Patimokkha. This is a long tabulation of offences requiring confession and expiation, composed for use in penitential assemblies of the members of the Buddhist orders.

THE SUTTAPITAKA

The second Pitaka is the Suttapitaka or "Discourse Basket," which contains sermons, sayings and dialogues of the Buddha and his disciples. According to their length or subject matter, these discourses are grouped into five Nikayas (or Agamas) as follows:* (1) Digha Nikaya. This is a collection of thirty-four long Suttas or discourses,

* tr. T. W. Rhys Davids and Hermann Oldenberg, see xiii, xvii.
* ibid., xvii, xx.
* Selected discourses from the Suttapitaka are translated by T. W. Rhys Davids in see xi as follows: Tovilla Sutta, Mahapurinibbana Suttanta and Mahasuddasan Suttanta, from the Digha Nikaya; Sabbasava Sutta, Akankheyya Sutta and Cetokhila Sutta, from the Majjhima Nikaya; and Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta, from the Samyutta Nikaya.
each dealing fully with certain matters of Buddhist doctrine. (2) Majjhima Nikaya. Here there are about one hundred and fifty medium-length Suttas, which, taken as a whole, treat almost all the points of the Buddhist religion. (3) Samyutta Nikaya. This is a collection of “Grouped Suttas,” and comprises fifty-six Samyuttas or groups of teachings, dealing mostly with psychological, ethical and philosophical problems. (4) Anguttara Nikaya. In this Nikaya the materials are grouped numerically and in ascending order, running from the “Book of the Ones” to the “Book of the Elevens.” The topics considered include such varied subjects as “energetic effort,” “punishments,” “fools,” “fears,” “the worthy man,” “earthquakes,” and “perfect purity.” (5) Khuddaka Nikaya. Here there are some sixteen independent books, written for the most part in verse, and containing all the most important works of Buddhist poetry. They are listed as follows: (i) Khuddakapatha, a selection of four short texts or Pathas, which include the Buddhist creed and ten commandments, and of five Suttas; (ii) Dhammapada, a compilation of the Buddha’s teachings in four hundred and twenty-three verses divided into twenty-six Vaggas or chapters; (iii) Udana, an arrangement of Buddhist stories and utterances in eight Vaggas; (iv) Itivuttaka, an anthology of the Buddha’s ethical teachings; (v) Sutta Nipata, one of the oldest books of the Pali canon, composed in five Vaggas.

**References:**


16 ibid.; also tr. by F. Max Müller in *SBE x*; and by Irving Babbitt, *The Dhammapada, Translated from the Pali with an Essay on Buddha and the Occident*. 1936.


and presenting the Buddhist faith from an ethical point of view; (vi) Vimanavatthu, a description in poetry of the abodes of blessedness and punishment which lie beyond this earth; (vii) Petavatthu, a series of stories about the spirits of the deceased; (viii) Theragatha, poems attributed to two hundred and sixty-four Theras or elders of the Buddhist order; (ix) Therigatha, poems attributed to seventy-three nuns; (x) Jatakas, a work containing five hundred and forty-seven birth stories, in which events in previous existences of the Buddha are narrated; (xi) Mahaniddesa and (xii) Cullaniddesa, commentaries on portions of the Sutta Nipata; (xiii) Patisambhidamagga, an analysis of various religious concepts; (xiv) Buddhavamsa, a history of the twenty-four Buddhas who preceded the historical Gautama Buddha; (xv) Cariyapitaka, thirty-five stories in verse, parallel to the Jataka tales in prose; (xvi) Apadana, tales in verse of the great deeds of five hundred and fifty monks and forty nuns.

THE ABHIDHAMMAPITAKA

The third Pitaka is the Abhidhammapitaka or “Basket of Higher Expositions,” which gives a scholastic treatment of the doctrines of the Suttapitaka. The material is largely in the form of catechetical questions and answers, and is arranged in seven works as follows: (1) Dhammasangani. This is a textbook on psychological ethics. (2) Vibhanga. Here there are eighteen chapters further analyzing the matters dealt with in the Dhammasangani. (3) Kathavatthu. This is a book of debates, discussions and refutations relating to con-

34 tr. Shwe Zen Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids, Points of Controversy or Subjects of Discourse, Being a Translation of the Katha-Vatthu from the Abhidhamma-Pitaka (Pali Text Society). 1915.
troversial points of doctrine. (4) Puggalapannatti. This work classifies the various types of individuals according to the qualities they possess and the perfections they have achieved. (5) Dhatukatha. Here a discussion is given, supplementary to the Dhammasangani, of the mental characteristics generally associated with persons of religious faith. (6) Yamaka. In this book an arrangement of pairs of questions provides the outline for an analysis of psychological matters. (7) Patthana. Here there is an analysis of the relations of things in twenty-four groups.

NONCanonICAL BOOKS IN PALI

In addition to the Pali canonical books just described there is an extensive noncanonical Buddhist literature in the same language. Among the works which were probably written in the period from c.20 B.C. to the end of the fourth century A.D., the most important include: (1) Nettipakarana and (2) Petakopadesa, methodical expositions of Buddhist texts; (3) Milinda Panha or the Questions of Milinda, a Pali translation of a book which may have been written originally in north India in Sanskrit, and which recounts the conversations on Buddhist subjects of King Milinda or Menander (first century B.C.) with Thera Nagasena; and (4) Dipavamsa, the oldest known Pali chronicle of Ceylon, which closes with an account of the reign of King Mahasena in the middle of the fourth century A.D. In or around the fifth century A.D. were written the extensive commentaries of Buddhadatta, Dhammapala, and Buddhaghosa. (1) Buddhadatta lived in south India, and was the author of various volumes of prose and metrical comments, several of which are known as Buddhadatta’s Manuals. (2) Dhammapala resided in Kanchipuram, and wrote commentaries on the Vimanavatthu, Petavatthu, Theragatha, and Cariyapitaka. (3) Buddhaghosa is said to have been born at Gaya in Magadha near the famous Bo tree. Later he went to the island of Ceylon when Mahanama was king there (first part of the fifth century A.D.), and dwelt at Anuradhapura to study

28 Law, A History of Pali Literature, ii.
and write. His name means the Voice of the Buddha, and was conferred on him because of his eloquence. Among his exceedingly voluminous writings, greatest fame attaches perhaps to the Visuddhimagga, which is a summary and veritable encyclopedia of the Buddhism of his time. His commentaries covered all the major parts of the Tipitaka, and include such works as the Atthasalini, which is an explanation of the Dhammasangani, and the Kathavatthu-athakatha, which is an exposition of the Kathavatthu. Doubtless the most important work of the sixth century was the Mahavamsa or Great Chronicle of Ceylon, a history written by a poet named Mahanama, and based upon the earlier Dipavamsa. At different times and by different authors a series of additions was made to the Mahavamsa. These are known collectively as the Culavamsa. Of yet later works we may mention only the Dathavamsa or history of the tooth-relic of the Buddha, an account which was probably translated into Pali in A.D. 1200 but written originally much earlier; and the Abhidhammattha-Sangaha, which was written by a teacher named Anuruddha sometime between the eighth and twelfth centuries A.D. and which has served as a basic primer of Buddhist psychology and philosophy in Ceylon and Burma ever since.

SANSKRIT WRITINGS

The Pali literature we have described belongs to the sect of Buddhism to which its own adherents gave the name Theravada or Song of the Elders, referring to the immediate disciples of the Buddha. The canon of the Theravadin was roughly paralleled by another canon which belonged to the Sarvastivada school of Buddhism.

**tr. Po Maung Tin, The Path of Purity, Being a Translation of Buddhaghosa’s Visuddhimagga (Pali Text Society). 3 vols. 1933-31.**


**tr. Bimala C. Law, The Debates Commentary (Kathāvatthupakaramo-Aṭṭhakathā), Translated into English for the First Time (Pali Text Society). 1940.**

**tr. Wilhelm Geiger, The Mahāvamsa, or The Great Chronicle of Ceylon Translated into English (Pali Text Society). 1912.**

**tr. Wilhelm Geiger, Cūḷavamsa, Being the More Recent Part of the Mahāvamsa (Pali Text Society). 2 vols. 1929-30.**


**tr. Shoey Zan Aung, Compendium of Philosophy, Being a Translation Now Made for the First Time from the Original Pali of the Abhidhammattha-Sangaha (Pali Text Society). 1910.**

**Maurice Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, ii, Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature. tr. S. Ketkar and H. Kohn. 1953, pp. 298-401.**
Whereas Ceylon provided a center of the Theravada, the Sarvastivadins were found in Gandhara and Kashmir and spread from there into central Asia, Tibet and China. The name of this school means "the all-is doctrine," referring to the teaching that everything exists permanently. The writings accepted as authoritative in this sect were composed in Sanskrit. Unlike the well-preserved Pali canon, this collection is known only from fragments of manuscripts, quotations in other Buddhist Sanskrit works, and translations into Tibetan and Chinese. From these remnants it is possible to ascertain that the wording and arrangement of texts in the Sanskrit canon was very similar in many points to the Pali canon but that there were also not a few differences. From this it is surmised that both canons derive from a common source, perhaps a lost Magadha canon, from which the Pali writings branched off in one part of India and, later, the Sanskrit in another region.

The Sanskrit texts of the Sarvastivadins, like the Pali literature of the Theravadins, belong to that major division of Buddhism called Hinayana, but most of the remaining Sanskrit works have either been influenced by or belong outright to the Mahayana form of the faith.

The following works may be described as representing an area of transition between the Hinayana and the Mahayana: (1) Mahavastu or the Great Story. This claims to be a Hinayana work but definitely exhibits features which resemble the Mahayana. It comes from the school of the Lokottaravadin who taught that the Buddha are "exalted above the world" (lokottara). In the maze and mass of legends which it contains is a miracle-embellished biography of Gautama Buddha. The nucleus of the book may date from the second century A.D.

(2) Lalita-vistara. The name of this work means "detailed account of the sports [of the future Buddha]," and it gives a narrative of the Buddha's life from his decision to be born down to the uttering of his first sermon. In part the account of the Buddha's life is in close agreement with the oldest Pali records such as those in the Mahavagga of the Vinayapitaka; again, however, there is a conspicuous exaggeration of the miraculous element and the Buddha appears as an exalted supernatural being. It is therefore surmised that we have here a recast of an older Hinayana text, perhaps a biography of

the Buddha once current in the Sarvastivada school, which has been revised in the spirit of the Mahayana. The date of the completed work may be in the third century A.D. In its final form the book is one of the most sacred Mahayana texts.

(3) Buddha-charita. This is a poetic Life of Buddha, written by Aśvaghosha. A contemporary of King Kanishka (second century A.D.), Aśvaghosha was one of the most prominent poets of Sanskrit literature and a pioneer of the Mahayana school. In the Buddha-charita old legends have been clothed in a new poetical garment and brought into an artistic arrangement which constitutes a truly magnificent epic. While many of the doctrines are still those of the Hinayana there is also not a little of the Mahayana. In about A.D. 420 this work was translated from the Sanskrit into Chinese by Dharmaraksha under the title Fo-sho-hing-tsang-ching.

(4) Sutralamkara. This work is ascribed to Aśvaghosha by Chinese authorities, but was probably written rather by his younger contemporary Kumaralata. Preserved only in a Chinese translation of the fifth century, it consists of a collection of Buddhist legends with moral teachings.

(5) Avadana literature. The Sanskrit word avadana (Pali, apadana) means a “noteworthy deed” or a “moral or religious feat.” In the sense in which it is used here it refers to a recital by the Buddha of a story of the present and a story of the past, together with a moral. Various Avadana books contain collections of such stories. Among these are the Avadana-Sataka or the Hundred Avadanas, the Karma-Sataka or the Hundred Karma Stories, and the Divyavadana or the Heavenly Avadanas.

Whereas the foregoing works have affinities with both the Hinayana and the Mahayana, those next to be mentioned belong entirely to the Mahayana. There is no Mahayana canon as such, since the Mahayana is not itself a unified movement. There are, however, a great many so-called Mahayana-Sutras and among these nine Dharmas or Vaipulya-Sutras, meaning “discourses of great extent,” take rank as of supreme importance. They are the following:

(1) Lalita-vistara, already mentioned above in connection with its early Hinayana materials but in its finished form accounted a

---

42 tr. Samuel Beal in SBE xix.
43 tr. Édouard Huber, Sūtrālāṅkāra, traduit en français sur la version chinoise de Kumārajīva. 1908.
Mahayana text. (2) Saddharma-pundarika or the Lotus of the True Law. This book probably dates from about A.D. 200, and is regarded as the most important and characteristic single work of Mahayana Buddhism. In it the Buddha is represented as an infinitely exalted being, a god above all gods. (3) Ashtasahasrika-Prajña-Paramita. A Prajña-Paramita is a "wisdom-perfection" or metaphysical treatise dealing with the "perfections" of a Bodhisattva, especially the highest perfection of "wisdom," which consists in the knowledge of Sunyata, "emptiness," i.e. the non-reality of all phenomena. This doctrine is usually elaborated in a series of dialogues between the Buddha and various of his disciples. In the Ashtasahasrika, probably the earliest of the books of this kind, there are thirty-two chapters of such dialogues.

(4) Gandavyuha. This work deals with the wanderings of a youth named Sudhana in search of enlightenment. His journeys throughout India are undertaken on the advice of the Bodhisattva Manjuśri, and finally he obtains the object of his quest through the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. At the end of the book is a beautiful prayer concerning the life of piety which has been much used in worship in all Mahayana Buddhist countries since the fourth century A.D. (5) Daśabhumiśvara. Here the Bodhisattva Vajragarbha expatiates on the ten steps (daśabhumi) by which Buddhahood may be attained. The work was translated into Chinese in A.D. 297. (6) Lankavatara, or more fully, Saddharma-Lankavatara-Sutra, the Revelation of the Good Religion in Lanka (Ceylon). This work discusses the tenets of a number of different philosophical schools of Mahayana Buddhism. Its own principal teaching is a modification of the Sunyavada or doctrine of emptiness, known as the Vījñanavada or doctrine of consciousness. Here the reality of the external world is still denied but the subjective reality of the phenomena of consciousness is recognized.

(7) Samadhiraṇa. Here it is shown how a Bodhisattva can attain to the highest knowledge by various meditations of which the supreme is the "king of meditations" to which the title of the work refers. (8) Suvarna-Prabhaha or Splendor of Gold. The contents of this work are partly philosophical and partly ethical. A fine passage

44 tr. H. Kern in SBE XXX.
in praise of love toward all beings is included. Tantric ritual is also emphasized and various female deities mentioned. A great deal of space is occupied with telling how much merit can be obtained by the reading of the book itself. Chinese translations were made in the fifth and later centuries. (9) Tathagataguhyaaka. As foreshadowed in the Suvarna-Prabhapa, the influence of Tantrism increasingly penetrated some sections of Mahayana Buddhism, and in the work here mentioned we have an actual Buddhist Tantra. The book was accepted as very authoritative as early as the seventh century.

Among other Mahayana-Sutras, not included in the nine Vaipulya-Sutras, may be mentioned: (1) Karanda-vyuha, or more fully, Avalokiteśvara-Gunakaranda-vyuha, the Detailed Description of the Basket of the Qualities of Avalokiteśvara. This is a glorification of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, the "Lord who looks down (i.e. with infinite pity on all beings)." As the typical Bodhisattva, Avalokiteśvara refuses to become a Buddha until all beings are redeemed, and in the performance of his task of redemption visits hell, converts cannibal witches and preaches to insects and worms. (2) Sukhavati-vyuha, or Detailed Description of the Blessed Land. The Blessed Land, Sukhavati, is the western paradise presided over by Amitabha, the Buddha of Boundless Light. This being is also the Buddha of Boundless Life in his form of Amitayus, and of Boundless Compassion in his Bodhisattva form of Avalokiteśvara. In the present work it is taught that those who think on Amitabha are reborn after death in his pleasant Buddha-land.

In listing the above works we have already met two individual authors of great renown, (1) Aśvaghosha, who lived in the time of King Kanishka (second century a.d.) and wrote the Buddha-charita, and (2) Kumaraśabha, his younger contemporary, who composed the Sutralamkara. Other important authors of Sanskrit Buddhist works include the following. (3) Nagarjuna. Likewise a contemporary of Aśvaghosha, Nagarjuna was reputed to be a great scientist and sorcerer as well as philosopher. He systematized the Śūnyavada doctrine of unreality found in the Prajñā-Paramitas, himself writing a large commentary called Maha-Prajñā-Paramita-Śastra and an important work named Madhyamika-Śastra. The Madhyamika school with its doctrine of the Void as its theory of the nature of ultimate

---

46 tr. F. Max Müller in SSE XLIX.
47 tr. Étienne Lamotte, Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nagarjuna (Madhprajñāparamitaśastra). Université de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste, Bibliothèque du Musée, 18, 1, 1944.
reality became one of the two most important sects of Mahayana Buddhism. (4) Aryadeva. This man was a pupil and successor of Nagarjuna, and in his writings, of which the most famous is the Catuḥ-Saṭaka, defended the doctrines of the Madhyamika school.

(5) Asanga and (6) Vasubandhu. These were two of a family of three brothers born in Purushapura in the fourth or fifth century A.D., all of whom became Sarvastivada monks. Asanga and Vasubandhu were converted to Mahayana Buddhism, however, and through their writings are recognized as the founders of the Yogachara school which ranks along with the Madhyamika as one of the two most important of the Mahayana. Their distinctive doctrine is essentially an elaboration of the Viśṇunāvada as found in the Lankavatara, involving a defense of the reality of pure consciousness. The Yogachara-Bhumi-Sastra contains the revelations made to Asanga by Maitreya, probably a historical teacher confused in later legend with the future Buddha of the same name. The Abhidharmakośa, the Viśṇupramatrata Trimśika and Vimśatika⁴⁴ are the most celebrated works of Vasubandhu. It may be said that Asanga and Vasubandhu occupy a place of as much importance in Mahayana Buddhism as Sankara in Hinduism and Thomas Aquinas in Roman Catholicism.

As has been noted frequently in the foregoing listings, the Sanskrit Buddhist works were often translated into other languages such as Chinese, and in many cases it is only the translations which are now extant. Also original Buddhist writings were often composed in lands such as Nepal, Tibet and Japan, as well as China, and were included in the Mahayana canons which came to prevail in these places. All together these scriptures are exceedingly voluminous, and the Chinese canon, to which the Tibetan and Japanese approximately correspond, contains more than sixteen hundred different works in over five thousand volumes.⁴⁵


⁴⁵ August K. Reischauer in Jōrōmaw p.110.
The following statement appears in the Mahavamsa: "Be it known, that two hundred and eighteen years had passed from the nibbana of the Master unto Asoka's consecration." The Pali word nibbana is the equivalent of the Sanskrit nirvana, and refers here to the death of the Buddha, an event which is described in terms of entering Nirvana in the Mahaparinibbana Suttanta. In the same Suttanta it is indicated that the Buddha was eighty years of age at the time of his death. The great emperor Asoka began to rule around 273 B.C., and his actual coronation followed four years later, or about 269 B.C. Reckoning, then, two hundred and eighteen years before this date, we arrive at 487 B.C. as the year of the Buddha's decease, and counting eighty years before this we come to 567 B.C. as the year of his birth. These dates for the life of the Buddha must be at least approximately correct, since in the Buddhist scriptures Kings Bimbisara (c.540-c.490 B.C.) and Ajatasatru (c.490-c.460 B.C.) figure as his contemporaries, and the latter is represented as on the throne at the time of the Buddha's death.

Three outstanding points in the life of Gautama Buddha are indicated in the Kathavatthu in these words: "Now the Exalted One

The personal name of the founder of Buddhism is given as Siddhattha, Siddhartha, or Sarvartasiddha, these variant forms all having some such meaning as "he whose aim is accomplished." Siddhartha's clan name was Gotama or Gautama, and non-Buddhists are commonly represented as referring to him by this name, or by the title Mahassamana signifying "the great ascetic." He was also frequently called Sakyanuni or "the sage of the Sakyas." After his enlightenment he received the title of Buddha or "the enlightened," and prior to that time he was a Bodhisattta or Bodhisattva, that is "a being destined for enlightenment." In his own discourse he often spoke of himself as Tathagata, a title which etymologically means "he who has come thus." His disciples referred to him as Bhagava or Bhagavat, this term meaning "lord" and being in common use among the Hindu sects to designate their founders or special deities. Thomas, The Life of Buddha as Legend and History, p.1 n.1, p.44.

v, 21. tr. Geiger, p. 27.

v, 8f. Digha Nikaya ii, xvi, 158. tr. Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, ii, pp. 173-175. There is a distinction in Buddhism between Nirvana attained at enlightenment and Nirvana at death, the latter being when the skandhas or parts which make up a human being finally fall apart. The two terms nirvana and parinirvana are often held to refer to these two types of Nirvana respectively, but according to E. J. Thomas (in India Antiqua, pp. 294f.) this is incorrect. Rather the distinction involved in these two words is purely grammatical: Nirvana expresses the state, Parinirvana the attaining of the state.


88 ii, iii, 8. tr. Aung and Rhys Davids, p.72.
was born in Lumbini, became supremely enlightened at the foot of the Bodhi Tree, and set turning the Wheel at Benares."

Giving our attention first to the birth and birthplace of the Buddha, we find that the place Lumbini is also mentioned in the Nalaka Sutta, where the gods inform the sage Asita: "The Bodhisatta, the excellent pearl, the incomparable, is born for the good and for a blessing in the world of men, in the town of the Sakyas, in the country of Lumbini." The identification of the site of Lumbini has been made possible by the discovery of a pillar which King Aśoka erected to commemorate his visit there, and which still stands in its original place. It is near the village of Padaria in the Tarai district of Nepal, and it has the following inscription: "By His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King when he had been consecrated twenty years, having come in person and reverence having been done—inasmuch as 'Here was born Buddha, the sage of the Sakyas'—a stone bearing a horse was caused to be made and a stone pillar was erected. Inasmuch as 'Here the Holy One was born,' the village of Lumbini was released from religious taxes and required to pay [only] one-eighth as land revenue." There can be no doubt that the village of Lumbini, as it was called by Aśoka, is the same as the place Lumbini, which the Buddhist scriptures name as the birthplace of Gautama.

In the quotations just given it was stated that the Buddha was a member of the Sakyas, a clan which, as we have noted, was a part of the kingdom of Kosala. Similarly in a conversation with King Bimbisara of Magadha, recorded in the Pabbajja Sutta of the Sutta Nipata, the Buddha said: "Flanking Himalaya, in Kosala, yonder extends a land both rich and brave. By lineage 'the Kinsmen of the Sun' are we, and Sakiyans by family.—Such was the stock I left behind me, sire, having no appetite for pleasure's toys." Since the Sakya claimed descent from an ancient Brahman rishi named Gotama, they were also known as Gotamas or Gautamas. It was because of these relationships, then, that the Buddha bore the name Gautama and was often called Sakyamuni, the Sage of the Sakya. The chief Sakya city was Kapilavastu, a place which must have been a few miles west of Lumbini, but whose exact location is debatable.---

---

Sutta Nipata iii, xi, 5 (683). tr. Fauböll, sast x, ii, p.125.
Vincent A. Smith, Aśoka. The Buddhist Emperor of India. 3d ed. 1920, pp.221f.
Bimala C. Law, Geography of Early Buddhism. 1932, pp.28-30.
BUDDHISM

According to the Mahapadana Suttanta⁶⁶ and the Buddhavamsa,⁶¹ the father of Gautama Buddha was named Siddhodana (Sanskrit, Siddhodana), and the mother Maya. The account of Gautama’s birth may be found in the Acchariyabbhutadhamma Sutta,⁶² in the form of a recital by the disciple Ananda to the Buddha, and also in the Nidanakathaka,⁶³ which forms an introduction to the Jataka. In the latter source it is narrated that Queen Maya was journeying from Kapilavastu to Devadaha, and tarried in the Lumbini grove where “at that time, from the roots to the topmost branches, it was one mass of fruits and flowers; and amidst the blossoms and branches swarms of various-colored bees, and flocks of birds of different kinds roamed warbling sweetly.” There in that beautiful place the Bodhisatta was born. Abundant marvels transpired at the birth, and in the Acchariyabbhutadhamma Sutta, Ananda relates: “As soon as he is born, the Bodhisatta firmly plants both feet flat on the ground, takes seven strides to the north, with a white canopy carried above his head, and surveys each quarter of the world, exclaiming in peerless tones: In all the world I am chief, best and foremost; this is my last birth; I shall never be born again. As soon as the Bodhisatta issues from his mother’s womb, throughout the entire world with its gods and Maras and Brahmans there appears, to all recluses and brahmans and to all gods and men, a measureless and vast effulgence—surpassing the gods’ own celestial splendor and penetrating even those vast and murky interspaces between worlds where gloomy darkness reigns and no light may enter of sun and moon for all their power and might—so that by this effulgence the denizens of those interspaces can behold one another and recognize that other creatures dwell with them there; and withal the ten thousand worlds tremble and shake and quake; and this too, sir, I hold to be—like all the foregoing—wonderful and a marvel in the Lord.”

Of the luxurious life he lived prior to his renunciation, the Buddha is represented in the Anguttara Nikaya⁶⁴ as giving the following account: “Monks, I was delicately nurtured, exceeding delicately nurtured, delicately nurtured beyond measure. For instance, in my father’s house lotus-pools were made thus: one of blue-lotuses, one of

⁶⁶ Digha Nikaya ii, xiv, 3-12 (2-7). tr. Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, ii, pp.5-7.
⁶¹ Law, A History of Pali Literature, i, p.290.
⁶² Majjhima Nikaya m, cxxiii, 118-124. tr. Chalmers, Further Dialogues of the Buddha, ii, pp.222-228.
⁶³ tr. Rhys Davids, Buddhist Birth-Stories, pp.153f.
red, another of white lotuses, just for my benefit. No sandal-wood powder did I use that was not from Kasi [Benares]: of Kasi cloth was my turban made: of Kasi cloth was my jacket, my tunic and my cloak. By night and day a white canopy was held over me, lest cold or heat, dust or chaff or dew, should touch me. Moreover, monks, I had three palaces: one for winter, one for summer, and one for the rainy season. In the four months of the rains I was waited on by minstrels, women all of them. I came not down from my palace in those months. Again, whereas in other men’s homes broken rice together with sour gruel is given as food to slave-servants, in my father’s home they were given rice, meat and milk-rice for their food.”

Doubts arose in the mind of Gautama, however, concerning the ultimate value of worldly enjoyments, and in the section of the Anguttara Nikaya from which we have just quoted he goes on to say: “To me, monks, thus blest with much prosperity, thus nurtured with exceeding delicacy, this thought occurred: Surely one of the uneducated manyfolk, though himself subject to old age and decay, not having passed beyond old age and decay, when he sees another broken down with age, is troubled, ashamed, disgusted, forgetful that he himself is such an one. Now I too am subject to old age and decay, not having passed beyond old age and decay. Were I to see another broken down with old age, I might be troubled, ashamed and disgusted. That would not be seemly in me. Thus, monks, as I considered the matter, all pride in my youth deserted me. Again, monks, I thought: One of the uneducated manyfolk . . . when he sees another person diseased, is . . . disgusted, forgetful that he himself is such an one. Now I too am subject to disease. Were I to see another diseased, I might be troubled. . . . That would not be seemly in me. Thus, monks, as I considered the matter, all pride in my health deserted me. Again, monks, I thought: One of the uneducated manyfolk . . . when he sees another person subject to death . . . is . . . ashamed, forgetful that he himself is such an one. Now I too am subject to death. . . . Were I to see another subject to death, I might be troubled. . . . That would not be seemly in me. Thus, monks, as I considered the matter, all pride in my life deserted me.”

Due to the rise of such thoughts in his mind, and, according to the Nidanakatha,68 to the actual sight of an old man, an ill man, and a dead man, and also of a mendicant friar who had renounced the world, Gautama decided upon his own great renunciation. Various

68 tr. Rhys Davids, Buddhist Birth-Stories, pp.166ff.
accounts of this event are found in the Buddhist scriptures. In some passages Gautama is described as having been "quite young" at the time, and again his age is more precisely indicated as having been twenty-nine years. In the Ariyapariyesana Sutta\textsuperscript{66} the Buddha recalls: "There came a time when I, being quite young, with a wealth of coal-black hair untouched by grey and in all the beauty of my early prime—despite the wishes of my parents, who wept and lamented—cut off my hair and beard, donned the yellow robes and went forth from home to homelessness on pilgrimage." And in a conversation with a certain Subhadda which took place shortly before his own death, and which is recorded in the Mahaparinibbana Suttanta,\textsuperscript{67} the Buddha says:

But twenty-nine was I when I renounced
The world, Subhadda, seeking after Good.
For fifty years and one year more, Subhadda,
Since I went out, a pilgrim have I been
Through the wide realm of System and of Law—
Outside of that no victory can be won!

A more detailed account, telling how Gautama gazed for the last time upon his sleeping wife and son, and then rode away in the night to the accompaniment of various miracles, appears in the Nidana-katha.\textsuperscript{68}

In the course of his search for truth, Gautama first sought the guidance of two religious teachers,\textsuperscript{69} and then for some six years practiced austerities together with five disciples. "I lived to torment and to torture my body," he afterward reported, according to the Mahasihanada Sutta.\textsuperscript{70} "I took up my abode in the awesome depths of the forest, depths so awesome that it was reputed that none but the passion-less could venture in without his hair standing on end. When the cold season brought chill wintry nights, then it was that, in the dark half of the months when snow was falling, I dwelt by night in the open air and in the dank thicket by day. But when there came the last broiling month of summer before the rains, I made

\textsuperscript{66} Majjhima Nikaya i, iii, 26 (163). tr. Chalmers, Further Dialogues of the Buddha, i, p.113. The same passage occurs also in the Mahasaccaka, Bodhisattvavasubha and Sangyava Suttas, Majjhima Nikaya i, iv, 26 (240); ii, iv, 85 (93); v, 100 (212). tr. Chalmers, ibid., i, p.173; ii, pp.48,122.


\textsuperscript{68} tr. Rhys Davids, Buddhist Birth-Stories, pp.172f.

\textsuperscript{69} Ariyapariyesana Sutta. Majjhima Nikaya i, iii, 26 (163-165). tr. Chalmers, Further Dialogues of the Buddha, i, pp.115-117.

\textsuperscript{70} Majjhima Nikaya i, ii, 12 (78f.). tr. Chalmers, ibid., i, pp.54f.
my dwelling under the baking sun by day and in the stifling thicket by night. Then there flashed on me these verses, never till then uttered by any:

Now scorched, now frore, in forest dread, alone, naked and fireless, set upon his quest, the hermit battles purity to win."

Finally concluding that such extreme austerities were no more profitable than his earlier extreme indulgence in luxurious living, Gautama then turned to a “middle way” of thought and action, and attained the great enlightenment. “Still in search of the right, and in quest of the excellent road to peace beyond compare,” he later narrated, according to the Ariyapariyesana Sutta,11 “I came, in the course of an alms-pilgrimage through Magadha, to the Camp township at Uruvela and there took up my abode. Said I to myself on surveying the place:—Truly a delightful spot, with its goodly groves and clear flowing river with ghats and amenities, hard by a village for sustenance. What more for his striving can a young man need whose heart is set on striving? So there I sat me down, needing nothing further for my striving. Subject in myself to rebirth—decay—disease—death—sorrow—and impurity, and seeing peril in what is subject thereto, I sought after the consummate peace of Nirvana, which knows neither rebirth nor decay, neither disease nor death, neither sorrow nor impurity;—this I pursued, and this I won; and there arose within me the conviction, the insight, that now my Deliverance was assured, that this was my last birth, nor should I ever be reborn again.”

The unnamed river in the foregoing account is identified in the Mahavagga12 as the Nerañjara. This is probably the same as the modern Nilañjan, and the ancient district of Uruvela must have extended along this river and have included the modern Buddh Gaya which is just to the west, and six miles south of the city of Gaya.13 In the same passage in the Mahavagga the Buddha is said, following his great experience, to have “sat cross-legged at the foot of the Bodhi tree uninterrupted during seven days, enjoying the bliss of emancipation”; and in the miracle-embellished account of the enlightenment in the Nidanaakathā14 he is likewise said to have been seated at the time at the foot of the Bo tree. The Bodhi tree means

11 Majjhima Nikaya 1, iii, 26 (167), tr. Chalmers, ibid., i, pp.117f.
12 Mahavagga 1, i, 1, tr. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, see xm, p.74.
13 Benimadhab Banerji, Gaya and Buddha’s Gaya, i (1931), pp.101f.
14 tr. Rhys Davids, Buddhist Birth-Stories, pp.169f.
the Tree of Enlightenment. In the Mahapadana Suttanta it is stated that the tree was an Assattha, this being a pipal tree or sacred fig (Ficus religiosa).

Although he was naturally reluctant to go forth and preach what he had won so hardly and what “men sunk in sin and lusts would find it hard . . . to grasp,” the Buddha now made his way to Benares, and in the Deer Park of Isipatana found the five disciples who had been with him in his austerities but who had deserted him when he had abandoned that extreme way. While three of them went abroad for alms he taught the other two, or while two went out he instructed the other three, and thus led them all at last to the same insight and conviction which he himself had attained.

In the Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta we have the sermon which the Buddha is supposed to have delivered to the five disciples at that time. The title of this Sutta includes the important Buddhist term Dhamma (Sanskrit, Dharma) meaning doctrine, norm, law, or righteousness, and may be translated as The Foundation of the Kingdom of the Norm (or of Righteousness). In the sermon the five disciples are addressed as Bhikkus, this being the regular designation (feminine, Bhikkunis) for members of the Buddhist monastic order. An outline is given of four noble truths and an eightfold path, which provides a clear-cut and convenient summary of Buddhist teachings. So important is the passage that it appears more than once in the canon. Here we give an extended quotation from the translation by T. W. Rhys Davids, which was made from a beautiful Ceylon manuscript on silver plates, now in the British Museum and shown in Fig. 88.

There are two extremes, O Bhikkus, which the man who has given up the world ought not to follow: the habitual practice, on the one hand, of those things whose attraction depends upon the passions, and especially of sensualities—a low and pagan way, unworthy, unprofitable, and fit only for the worldly-minded; and the habitual practice, on the other hand, of asceticism, which is painful, unworthy, and unprofitable.

There is a middle path, O Bhikkus, avoiding these two extremes, dis-

23 Diṣṭa Nikaya i, xiv, 3-12 (2-7). tr. Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, ii, p. 36.
27 sse xi, pp. 137-155.
covered by the Tathagata—a path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvana!

What is that middle path, O Bhikkus, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathagata—that path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvana? Verily, it is this noble eightfold path; that is to say:

Right views;
Right aspirations;
Right speech;
Right conduct;
Right livelihood;
Right effort;
Right mindfulness; and
Right contemplation.

This, O Bhikkus, is that middle path, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathagata—that path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvana!

Now this, O Bhikkus, is the noble truth concerning suffering. Birth is attended with pain, decay is painful, disease is painful, death is painful. Union with the unpleasant is painful, painful is separation from the pleasant; and any craving that is unsatisfied, that too is painful. In brief, the five aggregates which spring from attachment are painful. . . .

Now this, O Bhikkus, is the noble truth concerning the origin of suffering. Verily, it is that thirst, causing the renewal of existence, accompanied by sensual delight, seeking satisfaction now here, now there—that is to say, the craving for the gratification of the passions, or the craving for life, or the craving for success. . . .

Now this, O Bhikkus, is the noble truth concerning the destruction of suffering. Verily, it is the destruction, in which no passion remains, of this very thirst; the laying aside of, the getting rid of, the being free from, the harboring no longer of this thirst. . . .

Now this, O Bhikkus, is the noble truth concerning the way which leads to the destruction of sorrow. Verily, it is this noble eightfold path; that is to say:

Right views;
Right aspirations;
Right speech;
Right conduct;
Right livelihood;
Right effort;
Right mindfulness; and
Right contemplation.
Such was the essence of the sermon in which "the royal chariot wheel of the truth" was "set rolling onwards by the Blessed One."

Here then was the Buddha's answer to the religious problem of his time. Brahmanism was ancient and deeply entrenched, yet its priestly sacrifices and rituals and its many gods evidently appeared to him irrelevant to real salvation. Its proponents were often mired in a life of worldly pleasure. According to the Anguttara Nikaya, the Buddha once said to a certain Brahman, "One who is ablaze with lust, overwhelmed with lust, infatuated thereby, plans to his own hindrance, to that of others, to the hindrance both of self and others, and experiences mental suffering and dejection."\(^{30}\) The heretical orders which had arisen, like those of the Jains and the Aśvīvikas, and had resorted to an austere asceticism, were likewise to him a failure. In a characterization given by the Buddha of a typical ascetic, as found in the Anguttara Nikaya, we can scarcely mistake the features of a Jaina recluse or one much like unto him. "A certain one goes naked. . . . He is a beggar from one house only, an eater of one mouthful. . . . He is a plucker out of hair and beard. . . . He remains standing and refuses a seat. . . . In divers ways he lives given to these practices which torment the body."\(^{31}\) Neither the householder with his sacrificial ceremonies nor the ascetic with his mortification of the body could attain the goal. The one was a "hardened sensualist," the other a "self-tormentor."\(^{32}\)

To these two opposite types of practice the Buddha opposed his own "midway practice." It was a way which avoided both extremes and was characterized by intellectual, ethical and psychological discipline. To elucidate the condensed statement found in the foregoing sermon it may be said that the intellectual discipline consists in adoption of a true view of the nature of things and in resolve to renounce the world. The ethical discipline involves refraining from speaking falsely or maliciously, refraining from killing and stealing, and refraining from earning livelihood in an improper manner. The psychological discipline calls for exertion to cleanse the mind of evil thoughts, for constant awareness of all that is going on in the body and mind, and for sustained practice of meditation. This is the middle path.\(^{33}\)

\(^{30}\) m, vi, 53. tr. Woodward, The Book of the Gradual Sayings, i, p.140.

\(^{31}\) m, xvi, 151. tr. Woodward, ibid., i, pp.272-274.

\(^{32}\) ibid.

Afterward, the Buddha converted a noble youth of Benares named Yasa, and his father and mother and former wife, and fifty-four friends as well. These followers were then sent out to preach, with the charge, "Go ye now . . . and wander, for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the good, for the gain, and for the welfare of gods and men." They brought back many persons from different regions and different countries who desired to join the Sangha or Buddhist monastic order, and the Buddha gave instructions for their ordination as follows: "Let him [who desires to receive the ordination] first have his hair and beard cut off; let him put on yellow robes, adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet of the Bhikkus [with his head], and sit down squatting; then let him raise his joined hands and . . . say [three times]: 'I take my refuge in the Buddha, I take my refuge in the Dhamma, I take my refuge in the Sangha.'"

Later the Buddha went to Rajagriha (Rajagaha), the capital of Magadha, and met King Bimbisara. The king is reported to have said that five wishes which he had made earlier were then fulfilled, namely that he might become king, that the Buddha might visit his kingdom, that the king might pay his respects to him, that the Buddha might preach, and that the king might understand the doctrine. At Rajagriha the Buddha also converted two young Brahmans, named Sariputta (Sanskrit, Sariputra) and Moggallana (Sanskrit, Maudgalyayana) who became his foremost disciples.

Such were some of the chief events in the life of the Buddha during the year of his enlightenment. Before his death at the age of eighty, forty-five years of ministry ensued, the events of which are known to us in only a rather disconnected way. During the rainy season of each year it was his custom to reside in one place, and then during the dry season he would journey about the land. A principal place of his residence was at Sāvatthī, the capital of Kosala, a place some seventy miles northwest of modern Gorakhpur and now represented by the ruined city called Saheth-Maheth on the south bank of the Rapti River. Here King Pasenadi became his royal patron, as Bimbisara had been in Magadha, and the whole

84 Mahavagga i, vili-xii. tr. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, sxe xiii, pp.102-115.
86 Law, Geography of Early Buddhism, p.5 n.2; and in māss 50 (1935), p.1.
of the Kosala Samyutta of the Samyutta Nikaya\(^{87}\) is devoted to incidents concerning this king and his conversations with the Buddha. The Buddha also revisited Kapilavastu, and there is said to have won the members of his own family, and also such important disciples as Ananda and Devadatta. Ananda became the permanent attendant of the Buddha and has been called the “beloved disciple,” while Devadatta has been likened to the Judas of Christian history, since he later became the leader of a schismatic group and even plotted with Ajatasatru for the slaying of both the Buddha and Bimbisara.\(^{88}\) As a result of this plot, Bimbisara was finally killed by Ajatasatru, but the Buddha was only lightly wounded by Devadatta, and lived on to die at last a natural death.

The circumstances connected with the passing away of the Buddha are recounted at length in the Mahaparinibbana Suttanta or the Book of the Great Decease.\(^{89}\) Gautama was staying at the time in a sal tree grove at Kusinara in the land of the Mallas, and remained right there even though Ananda urged that he should not die in “a small wattle-and-daub town, a town in the midst of the jungle, a branch township,” but should proceed to one of the great cities such as Champa, Rajagriha, Savatthi, Saketa, Kosambi, or Benares. Kusinara is described as located “on the further side of the river Hiranyavati,” this probably being the river now called the Little Gandak. The site of the ancient city may possibly be represented by the present-day village of Kasin.\(^{90}\)

As the Buddha’s death drew near the monks were distressed to think that they would no longer be able to journey to some place where they could see and meet their master, but he told them that there were four spots which the believer could always visit with feelings of reverence, namely the place where the Tathagata was born, where he attained enlightenment, where he began to turn the Wheel of the Norm, and where he died or achieved complete Nirvana. Again as they were troubled by the thought that the word of their teacher would be heard no more, he said to them, “The truths, and the rules of the order, which I have set forth and laid down for you all, let them, after I am gone, be the teacher to you.”

---

\(^{87}\) Dll. ill, 1-3 (68-102). tr. Rhys Davids, The Book of the Kindred Sayings, i, pp.93-137.

\(^{88}\) Thomas, The Life of Buddha as Legend and History, pp.101-122f., 131-188.

\(^{89}\) Digha Nikaya ii, 124, 72-167. tr. Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, ii, pp.78-191.

\(^{90}\) Law, Geography of Early Buddhism, p.14.
Finally, as his last word, he said this: "Behold now, brethren, I exhort you, saying:—Decay is inherent in all component things! Work out your salvation with diligence!"

A funeral pyre was prepared by the Mallas of Kusinara to the east of their city, and the body of the great teacher was cremated there. Claims for a share in the relics were made by Ajataśatru of Magadha, by the Licchavis, by the Sakyaśas, by the Bulis, by the Koliyas, by a certain Brahman named Vethadipaka, by the Mallas of Pava and by the Mallas of Kusinara, and each of these erected a sacred cairn over the portion of the remains received. These cairns were put up in Rājagriha, Vesali, Kapilavastu, Allakappa, Ramagama, Vethadipa, Pava, and Kusinara. Another Brahman named Dona received the vessel in which the remains had been collected, and made a cairn over it; while the Moriyas of Pipphalivana received and similarly commemorated the embers of the fire. "Thus were there eight cairns for the remains," states the Mahāparinibbana Sutta in conclusion, "and one for the vessel, and one for the embers. This was how it used to be."
4. BUDDHISM IN THE MAURYA PERIOD, c.322-c.185 B.C.

It is clear that Buddhism had its origin in northeastern India, and that by the time of the death of Gautama Buddha it had won there a considerable following. The rapid and wide expansion of the faith began in the Maurya Period (c.322-c.185 B.C.) and in particular in the reign of King Asoka (c.273-c.232 B.C.). It has already been related (pp.142f.) that the Maurya dynasty was founded by Chandragupta Maurya (c.322-c.298 B.C.) in Magadha, and that this king was followed upon the throne by his son Bindusara (c.298-c.273 B.C.) and then by his grandson Asoka Maurya. From his capital at Pataliputra (modern Patna) Chandragupta held sway over territories which extended from the Nerbada River to the Himalaya Mountains and the Hindu Kush. This empire was preserved by Bindusara and then further extended by Asoka.

ASOKA

While Asoka\(^{21}\) acceded to the throne about 273 B.C., his solemn consecration or coronation seems not to have followed until four years later or around 269 B.C., and it is from this point that he dates his regnal years in his inscriptions. In the inscriptions he regularly refers to himself by official hereditary titles, which in fullest form are Devanampiya Piyadasi Raja, meaning something like His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King.

In his ninth regnal year (261 B.C.) Asoka undertook and accomplished the conquest of the kingdom of Kalinga in southeast India, thus extending the Maurya rule over almost the entire land with the exception of the extreme south. Two special edicts by the king, still preserved at Dhauli and Jaugada, stated the principles according to which the newly conquered provinces should be governed. It was immediately after the conquest of Kalinga that Asoka became a Buddhist, and a revulsion against the horrors of war was intimately connected with his acceptance of the faith. The king’s own statement concerning this is to be found in his Rock Edict XIII, which reads in part as follows:

The Kalingas were conquered by His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King when he had been consecrated eight years. One hundred and fifty

\(^{21}\) Vincent A. Smith, Asoka, The Buddhist Emperor of India. 3d ed. 1920; D. R. Bhandarkar, Asoka. 1925. For the emperor’s inscriptions see E. Hultzsch, Inscriptions of Asoka (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, i). New ed. 1925; Vincent A. Smith, The Edicts of Asoka, Edited in English with an Introduction and Commentary.
thousand persons were thence carried away captive, one hundred thousand were there slain, and many times that number perished.

Directly after the annexation of the Kalingas, began His Sacred Majesty's zealous protection of the Law of Piety, his love of that Law, and his giving instruction in that Law (dharma). Thus arose His Sacred Majesty's remorse for having conquered the Kalingas, because the conquest of a country previously unconquered involves the slaughter, death, and carrying away captive of the people. That is a matter of profound sorrow and regret to His Sacred Majesty.

Thus of all the people who were then slain, done to death, or carried away captive in the Kalingas, if the hundredth or the thousandth part were to suffer the same fate, it would now be matter of regret to His Sacred Majesty. Moreover, should any one do him wrong that, too, must be borne with by His Sacred Majesty, if it can possibly be borne with. Even upon the forest folk in his dominions His Sacred Majesty looks kindly and he seeks their conversion. . . . For His Sacred Majesty desires that all animate beings should have security, self-control, peace of mind, and joyousness.

And this is the chiefest conquest in the opinion of His Sacred Majesty—the conquest by the Law of Piety—this it is that is won by His Sacred Majesty both in his own dominions and in all the neighboring realms as far as six hundred leagues.

And, again, the conquest thereby won everywhere is everywhere a conquest full of delight. Delight is found in the conquests made by the Law. That delight, however, is only a small matter. His Sacred Majesty regards as bearing much fruit only that which concerns the other world.

And for this purpose has this pious edict been written in order that my sons and grandsons, who may be, should not regard it as their duty to conquer a new conquest. If, perchance, they become engaged in a conquest by arms, they should take pleasure in patience and gentleness, and regard as [the only true] conquest the conquest won by piety. That avails for both this world and the next. Let all joy be in effort, because that avails for both this world and the next.aa

For some two and one half years the king was a lay disciple in the Buddhist faith, without however exerting himself strenuously, as he puts it in his Minor Rock Edict I.aa Then in his eleventh regnal year (259 B.C.) he actually joined the Buddhist order as a monk, and began to perform vigorous religious works. He gave up his former "tours of pleasure" or hunting trips, and substituted "tours of piety" in which he visited holy persons and places and carried to the people instruction in the Buddhist law (Rock Edict VIII).bb He also organized preaching missions and sent out envoys to proclaim the faith. According to the names of places and kings mentioned in Rock

aa Smith, The Edicts of Asoka, pp.18-21.
bb Ibid., p.3.

[ 261 ]
Edicts II and XIII these missionaries went not only throughout all of India but also to Ceylon, Syria and Egypt. Through such works the great king “transformed the creed of a local Indian sect into a world-religion.”

The teachings which he was thus strenuously promoting were summarized by Aśoka in his Minor Rock Edict II in these words: “Father and mother must be hearkened to; similarly, respect for living creatures must be firmly established; truth must be spoken. These are the virtues of the Law of Piety which must be practiced. Similarly, the teacher must be reverenced by the pupil, and towards relations fitting courtesy should be shown. This is the ancient nature [of piety]—this leads to length of days, and according to this men must act.” As an even more concise and aphoristic statement the king composed the precept, “Let small and great exert themselves” (Minor Rock Edict I). While he thus most frequently stated the meaning of the Buddhist faith in his own words, in one edict Aśoka declared that “whatsoever . . . has been said by the Venerable Buddha all of that has been well said,” and then went on to recommend seven passages in the scriptures which he thought of special value for study and meditation (Bhabra Edict). Aśoka was also tolerant of other varieties of Indian religion. He said, “all denominations are reverenced by me with various forms of reverence” (Pillar Edict VI); and he carved out caves in the Barabar Hills near Gaya for the Ajīvika ascetics who were more like the Jains than like the Buddhists.

It was in his thirteenth regnal year (257 B.C.) that Aśoka first began to issue religious inscriptions such as these from which we have been quoting. In his Pillar Edict VI where he tells of the inauguration of this practice, he calls them “pious edicts,” and says that they were written in order to help mankind attain welfare and happiness. The first inscription composed was probably that now known as Minor Rock Edict I, and in it the king states his resolution that “this purpose must be written on the rocks, both afar off and here, and wherever there is a stone pillar it must be written on the stone pillar.” As this passage suggests, the king’s inscriptions were set up in two chief forms, as Rock Edicts and as Pillar Edicts. There

---

82 Ibid., pp.7,20.
83 Smith, Aśoka, The Buddhist Emperor of India, p.46.
84 Smith, The Edicts of Aśoka, p.5.
85 Ibid., p.3.
86 Ibid., pp.5,6.
87 Ibid., pp.31f.
88 Ibid., p.3.
89 Ibid., p.32.
were fourteen chief Rock Edicts, all published by 256 B.C., and seven chief Pillar Edicts, published in 243-242 B.C., in addition to other minor inscriptions. More or less complete copies of the Rock Edicts have been found at Shahbazgarhi, Mansahra, Kalsi, Sopara, Girnar, Dhauli, and Jaugada; and Pillar Edicts have been discovered at Delhi, Allahabad where the pillar probably came from Kausambi, Lau-
riya-Araraj, Lauriya-Nandangarh, and Rampurwa. The inscriptions are composed in one or another of the Aryan vernacular dialects known collectively as Prakrit, most of them being in the dialect of Magadha. The characters are those of the ancient Brahmi alphabet, from which most of the later Indian alphabets are descended; save that the inscriptions on the northwestern frontier are in the Kha-
roshthi script which was of Aramaic origin.

In his twenty-first regnal year (249 B.C.) Aśoka made a "pious tour" on which he visited traditional sites in the life of the Buddha. It was at this time that he erected a commemorative pillar at Lumbini where Gautama was said to have been born. Another pillar found some miles away indicates that on the same trip the king visited a stupa of Buddha Konakamana which he says he had enlarged for the second time six years before.105 The mention of Buddha Kon-
akamana shows that already at this time belief existed in previous Buddhas who had lived before Gautama Buddha. According to literary tradition Aśoka was guided on this journey by the saint Upagupta, and went to see not only the Lumbini garden where the Bud-

dha was born, but also Kapilavastu the scene of his youth, the Bodhi tree at Buddh Gaya where he attained enlightenment, Isipatana near Benares where he turned the wheel of the law, Kusinara where he died, Sravasti where he lived long in the Jetavana monastery, and the stupas of Vakkula and of Ananda. At the various places the king erected monuments and gave gifts. The benefaction at the stupa of Ananda, Gautama's faithful disciple, is said to have amounted to six million pieces of gold, but that at the stupa of Vakkula was only a single copper coin since this saint had had few obstacles to over-

come and had done little good to his fellows.106 Thus, even if the great king did not erect all the eighty-four thousand stupas which legend says he did,107 he made notable contributions to the monumental and architectural development of Buddhism as well as to its missionary expansion.

105 Smith, Aśoka, The Buddhist Emperor of India, p.224.
106 ibid., pp.40,252-254.
107 ibid., p.106.
BUDDHISM

Aśoka’s capital city of Pataliputra is buried beneath modern Patna, his palaces and monasteries are destroyed, and his stupas have generally been rebuilt in later structures; but, as already indicated, many of his widely scattered Rock Edicts and Pillar Edicts remain as original monuments of his time, while we also have other uninscribed pillars which he likewise put up. The pillars provide our finest known examples of Maurya art. 106

One of the uninscribed pillars stands at Bakhra, near the village of Besarh, which probably represents the ancient Vesali. The lower part of this column has been buried in the ground, and its base is even below the present water level down to which excavation has been carried. The height of the shaft above water level is thirty-two feet, and it is a monolith of polished sandstone, tapering from a diameter of about fifty inches to thirty-nine inches. It is surmounted by a bell-shaped capital with an oblong abacus or platform on which is a life-sized and realistic statue of a lion. The total weight of the monument must be about fifty tons. 107

One of the inscribed pillars is to be seen at Lauriya-Nandangarh (Fig. 89). It is designed like the column at Bakhra, but is thinner and lighter. The shaft is a single block of polished sandstone nearly thirty-three feet high, and tapering from a diameter of about thirty-five inches at the base to twenty-six inches at the top. There is a bell-shaped capital with a circular abacus ornamented with geese and surmounted by a statue of a lion. 108

The most magnificent capital was discovered near portions of its broken shaft at Sarnath, which is the ancient Deer Park of Isipatana by Benares. A photograph of it is shown in Fig. 90. On the abacus a bull, horse, lion and elephant, and wheels, are carved in relief. Above are the large figures of four lions, and they in turn once supported a stone wheel of which now only fragments remain. Such was the splendid sculpture with which Aśoka commemorated the place where the Buddha first turned the wheel of the law.

106 J. Ph. Vogel, Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon and Java. tr. A. J. Barnouw. 1936, pp.10f.
108 ibid., pp.72f.; Rms 1, Pl. 4.
EARLY in the second century B.C. the Maurya rule gave way to the Śunga dynasty (c.185-c.80 B.C.), while in the southeast and south Kalinga and Andhra became independent and in the northwest the Bactrian Greeks ruled in the Punjab (cf. p.147). Pushyamitra, the first king of the Śunga dynasty, may possibly have persecuted the Buddhists,¹⁰⁹ but the faith continued to live, and certain impressive monuments were produced which remain until today as evidences of its character.

The Stupa¹¹⁰ (Sanskrit stupa, Pali thupa or thupo, Singhalese dagaba or dagoba, English tope) was the most widely used kind of architectural monument in the Buddhist religion. Possibly in its remote origins a type of grave for a king or hero, the stupa now served either to mark some specially sacred spot or to enshrine some relic or other object of the faith. Thus the cairns traditionally said to have been erected over the relics of the Buddha were no doubt stupas, while the great king Aśoka was credited, as we have seen, with the erection of no less than eighty-four thousand such structures.

In its oldest preserved form in India the stupa was a massive, hemispherical mound, surrounded by a railing with from one to four gateways (toranas) at the cardinal points. Within this railing a processional pathway (pradakshina patha) encircled the stupa, while steps led up to a second such pathway, likewise protected by its own fence, on the terrace at the immediate base of the stupa. On the summit of the mound was an ornamental structure surmounted by one or more umbrellas. The exterior of the mound was generally covered with stucco and ornamented with paintings or reliefs. It was an act of devotion in the Buddhist faith to visit a stupa and walk around it three or more times, always keeping the mound on the right hand.

BARHUT

The remains of a stupa of the Śunga Period have been found at

BUDDHISM

Barhut near the town of Satna southwest of Allahabad. Most of the structure was destroyed by plunderers, but portions of the railing and gateways have survived and are now preserved in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. Inscriptions on two of the gateways state that they were erected “in the sovereignty (or within the dominion) of the Sungas.” The inscription on the eastern gateway also names a certain Dhanabhuti as the builder, and he may have been a feudal king subject to the overlordship of the Sunga monarchs. The gates and railing may therefore be dated around 150 B.C.

The railing was very massive, the pillars being some seven feet high and the coping stones about the same in length, while the gateways loomed high above. The whole was elaborately sculptured with floral decorations, with figures of animals and deities, and with scenes from Buddhist history and legend. In many cases inscriptions identify the persons or events portrayed.

One of the sculptured pillars is shown in Fig. 91. The large standing figures are a Yaksha and a Yakshi. The Yaksha, who stands upon a cast-down demon, is Kuvera, recognized in later Buddhism as one of the four guardians of the world. The Yakshi, who in characteristic gesture is holding the branch of a tree, is identified as Chanda.

The coping which crowned the entire circle of pillars had a total length of three hundred and thirty feet and was sculptured on both the inner and outer sides. Lotus and creeper designs adorn the outer side, while on the inner side the creepers frame panels in which are portrayed scenes from the former existences of the Buddha as narrated in the Jataka. Two sections of these beams are pictured in Fig. 92. On the upper beam the scene at the right has not yet been interpreted, but that at the left represents Story No. 400 in the Jataka. This tale concerns a time when the Bodhisatta (Sanskrit Bodhisattva), as the Buddha is called in his previous lives, was existing as the spirit of a tree standing on the banks of a river. At this

113 E. J. Rapson in CBIE, p.523.
114 BEHS I, Pl. 19, left.
117 Dabbhapeppha Jataka. ed. Cowell, m, pp.205-207.

[ 266 ]
time a jackal went out to get a fish for his jackal-wife. Two otters had just caught a fish together, and were arguing over its division. The jackal, asked to serve as arbiter, gave the head of the fish to one and the tail to the other, and made off with the middle portion as his own fee. The otters lamented the folly of their quarreling in this verse:

But for our strife, it would have long sufficed us without fail:
But now the jackal takes the fish, and leaves us head and tail.
And the jackal brought the portion of fish to his wife with these words:

By strife it is their weakness comes, by strife their means decay:
By strife the otters lost their prize: Mayavi, eat the prey.

Also on the lower beam shown in Fig. 92 the scene at the right remains uninterpreted, although accompanied by the inscription, "Vedhuka milks 'Katha,' on the mountain, Nadodha"; while the representation at the left is based upon Story No. 488 in the Jataka. In this narrative the Bodhisatta was born as the son of a rich man but gave away his inherited treasure and went with his six brothers and one sister to a hermitage in the Himalayas. Each brother in turn gathered fruit and lotus stalks and divided these into portions to supply the needs of all. In order to test the Bodhisatta, Sakka, king of the gods, made his share disappear for three days. The Bodhisatta summoned his brothers and sister to seek an explanation, and an elephant and a monkey who lived near by also came. All, including the animals, solemnly protested their innocence, and then Sakka appeared and returned the Bodhisatta's food with this confession:

Myself to test these sages stole away
That food, which by the lakeside I did lay.
Sages they are indeed and pure and good.
O man of holy life, behold thy food!

Of the numerous sculptured medallions on the Barhut railing, four are shown in Fig. 93. At the upper left is the Dream of Maya, the future mother of Gautama, who according to the Nidanakatha saw the Buddha descend in the shape of a white elephant. At the upper right is the Legend of the Jetavana Garden. As related in the Kullavagga a very rich industrialist named Anathapindika in-

---

118 Bhāsa Jataka. ed. Cowell, iv, pp.192-197.
119 REI, Pls. 30, upper right; 31, upper right, lower left; 32, upper left.
120 tr. Rhys Davids, Buddhist Birth-Stories, p.150.
121 see xx, pp.187-189.
vited the Buddha to Sravasti, and undertook to find a dwelling place for him. The garden of Prince Jeta seemed desirable, but the owner said that it was not for sale even for a sum so great that the pieces of money would cover the entire ground if laid side by side. "I take, Sir, the garden at the price," replied Anathapindika. When the court of justice ruled that an actual bargain had thus been made, Anathapindika brought cartloads of gold coins and covered the Jetavana with pieces laid side by side. Then he proceeded to erect an extensive monastery for the use of the Buddha. On our medallion Anathapindika appears twice, once superintending the laying out of the square pieces of gold, and once pouring water from a jug to consecrate the ground. The water is supposed to flow over the hands of the Buddha, and the latter is symbolized by the hedged-in tree.

At the lower left in Fig. 93 is an unidentified scene, evidently of comic character. Under the supervision of a group of monkeys, a man's tooth is being extracted by an elephant pulling an enormous forceps. Relative to this and other comical scenes on the stupa at Barhut, Vincent A. Smith remarks: ""The rollicking humour and liberty of fancy unchecked by rigid canons, while alien to the transcendental philosophy and ascetic ideals of the Brahmans, are thoroughly in accordance with the spirit of Buddhism, which, as a practical religion, does not stress the spiritual to the extinction of human and animal happiness."" Finally at the lower right in our illustration is a lotus medallion enclosing a royal head.

On the posts of the gateways at Barhut there were extremely detailed sculptures, some of which are of special historical interest. On the corner jamb of the western gate one of the scenes represents the coming of King Ajatasatru to Gautama in remorse after the slaying of his father King Bimbisara; and on a post of the southern gate is a portrayal of a visit of King Pasenadi (also called Prasenajit) of Kosala to the Buddha in the Jetavana cloister. While Pasenadi was never actually converted we know that he was very favorable to the new movement, and often called upon the Buddha for consultation or conversation. An entire book of the Samyutta Nikaya is devoted to the record of such talks. The reliefs on the southern gate post just mentioned are shown in Fig. 94. The three columns represent respectively the two sides and the edge of the pillar.

SUNGA AND EARLY ANDHRA

At the top of the left column is the Visit of Pasenadi, the Buddha being represented in the portrayal by the Dhammacakka (Dhammacakra) or Wheel of the Law. In the middle is the story of the Naga King Erapata who sought to have a mysterious inscription read as a clue to finding the Buddha; and at the bottom is, according to the accompanying legend, the fig tree Bahuhastika upon the Mountain Nadodha Bahuhastika, “where many elephants dwelt.” At the top of the center column is the Bodhi Tree at Buddh Gaya where the Enlightenment of the Buddha took place. The tree is shown with a throne at its base and an enclosing structure around it. This structure probably was a temple erected by Asoka at the sacred site. In the middle of the same column the Sudhavasa gods in the eastern quarter of heaven are represented, as is indicated by the accompanying inscription; and at the bottom is the Dance of the Apsarases, these being the celestial nymphs in the heaven of Indra. In the upper scene on the third column is the Adoration of a Stupa, and in the middle and bottom are pairs of donors or worshipers.

It may be noted that at this period in Buddhist art the Bodhisattva was portrayed in human form, but Gautama Buddha himself was represented only by symbols such as the tree and the wheel.

BUDDH GAYA

The sculptures at Barhut and also, as we shall see, those at Sanchi show a temple built around the Bodhi tree at Buddh Gaya, and it is very possible that such a temple was erected by King Asoka. The temple which now stands at this place is of modern date, but around it are the remains of a large rectangular stone fence which enclosed the area at an early time. This railing is adorned with sculptures the style of which is somewhat more advanced than that at Barhut and suggests a date in the first half of the first century B.C. Inscriptions on two of the pillars state that they were presented by the Queens of King Indramitra and King Brahmamitra respectively, but it is not known whether these kings were connected with the Sunga dynasty or not.

124 The Apsarases may have originated as personifications of mist and clouds. Chintamoni Kar, Classical Indian Sculpture 500 B.C. to A.D. 500. 1950, p.5.
125 Sivas, 1., pp.23f., Pl. 23.
126 Aminda K. Coomaraswamy, La sculpture de Bodhigaya (Ars Asiatica, xviii), 1935.
BUDDHISM

A portion of this railing is shown in Fig. 95. It carries on one pillar an inscription of Kurangi, wife of Indramitra. On the coping is a continuous band of flowers, on the crossbars are lotus medallions, and on the upright pillars are standing figures or medallions with busts, animals and various scenes.

SANCHI

We turn next to the vicinity of Bhilsa, which lies far to the southwest of Barhut. The modern town is near the ancient site of Vidisa, which was the capital of Eastern Malwa and was taken by the Andhras after the end of the Sunga dynasty. A large community of Buddhists must have existed here since there are numerous ruins of stupas and monasteries in the region. We are concerned with the Great Stupa on the hill of Sanchi, near the small village of the same name, about five and one-half miles southwest of Bhilsa.

The Great Stupa was probably built originally as a much smaller brick structure by King Asoka, and the lion-crowned capital of a column erected by the same king was found not far away. Perhaps a century later by the addition of a stone casing the stupa was enlarged to its present size with a diameter of over one hundred and twenty feet and a height of about fifty-four feet. Also a plain but massive stone railing was built around the base. Then probably in the Early Andhra Period (c.70-c.25 B.C.) the four magnificent ornamental gateways were constructed.

Stylistic and architectural considerations suggest that the Southern Gate was the first erected, and that it was followed in succession by the Northern, Eastern and Western Gates. All were built according to the same general design, the main features of which may be seen in Fig. 96 where the Northern Gateway, best preserved of the four, is pictured. Two massive square pillars are surmounted by capitals which in turn support a superstructure of three slightly arched horizontal beams placed one above the other. The capitals are carved with elephant, lion or dwarf figures, while Yakshis act as supports to the projecting ends of the lowest horizontal beam. Between and above the beams are other figures and dominating all at the top was the Wheel of the Law flanked by guardian Yakshas and trisul emblems. The surfaces of the pillars and beams both in the front and back are covered with the most intricate sculptures in bas-relief.

128 REIS 1, Pl. 35.
130 Rapson in CBI 1, p.533.
131 REIS 1, Pl. 48.
The nature of the Sanchi reliefs may be further illustrated by reference to the Eastern Gateway, the scenes on which have been the object of a special study by A. Foucher.\textsuperscript{182} The front sides of the two square pillars of this gateway are shown in Fig. 97.\textsuperscript{183} On the right column there are six panels each with pillars representing the front of a palace in which a god is seated with his attendants. These are the first six heavens or Devalokas of the Buddhist paradise, being dwelling places respectively for (1) the Four Great Kings who guard the four cardinal points; (2) the Thirty-three Gods ruled by Indra; (3) those over whom Yama reigns; (4) the Tushita or Satisfied Gods among whom the Bodhisattva lived before he descended again the last time to earth; (5) the gods who ordain for their own creations; and (6) the gods who ordain for the creations of others, and whose king is Mara, ruler also over the five lower heavens. Above these six panels there is yet another where two more gods and their attendants appear upon a balcony. This must be the lowest portion of the Brahmaloka or heaven of Brahma, one plane higher than the highest Devaloka, and just visible to human eyes.

On the left column we see in the lowest panel King Bimbisara coming forth from Rajagriha to visit the Buddha who is symbolized by an empty throne. An account of this visit is given in the Mahavagga (1, xxii, 2f. sbe xiii, pp.136f.).

According to the Mahavagga, Bimbisara’s visit to the Buddha took place just after the conversion of Kassapa. In order to accomplish this conversion the Buddha performed various miracles, and one of these is appropriately enough depicted in the next higher panel on our column. This miracle is narrated in the Mahavagga (1, xx, 16. sbe xiii, pp.130f.) as quoted below. It may be explained that the designation Gatila given Kassapa means a Brahmanical ascetic, and that the title “great Samana” with which he addresses the Buddha signifies Great Ascetic. The miracle story is as follows:

At that time a great rain fell out of season; and a great inundation arose. The place where the Blessed One lived was covered with water. Then the Blessed One thought: “What if I were to cause the water to recede round about, and if I were to walk up and down in the midst of the water on a dust-covered spot.” And the Blessed One caused the water to recede round about, and he walked up and down in the midst of the water on a dust-covered spot.

\textsuperscript{183} REIS 1, Pl. 59.
And the Cātīla Uruvela Kassapa, who was afraid that the water might have carried away the great Samana, went with a boat together with many Cātīlas to the place where the Blessed One lived. Then the Cātīla Uruvela Kassapa saw the Blessed One, who had caused the water to recede round about, walking up and down in the midst of the water on a dust-covered spot. Seeing him, he said to the Blessed One: “Are you there, great Samana?”

“Here I am, Kassapa,” replied the Blessed One, and he rose in the air and stationed himself in the boat.

In the panel under discussion on the Sānci column the flooded river is shown washing the branches of the trees where monkeys have taken refuge, while waterfowl are all about. Paddling in a canoe on the flood, Kassapa and two companions come to the rescue. Gautama is walking unharmed, however, in the midst of the water, as is indicated by showing his promenade. At the bottom of the picture Kassapa does homage to the Buddha, now represented by his seat or throne at the lower right-hand corner.

In the third panel from the bottom on the same left pillar of the Eastern Gate we have, as at Barhat, the Bodhi tree at Buddh Gaya symbolizing the Enlightenment of the Buddha. A throne is at the foot of the tree, and its branches grow out through the upper windows of the Aśokan temple by which it is enclosed. Above, in the two rows of the uppermost panel, are groups of deities looking on from their celestial realms.

The front panels of the three horizontal beams or architraves of the Eastern Gateway are shown in Fig. 98. In the center of the first beam we recognize again the Bodhi tree and temple at Buddh Gaya. At the right a king and queen dismount from an elephant and then do homage to the tree. At the left a procession advances to the sound of music, and its foremost members carry pitchers for the watering of the tree. This evidently represents the visit of Aśoka and his queen to the Bodhi tree. According to legend, Queen Tishyarakshita was jealous because of the king’s attentions to the tree, and cast a spell on it. The tree began to wither, but when Aśoka declared that he would not live longer than it did, the queen put a stop to her witchcraft. Then the king and queen came together to water and restore the sacred tree, as here depicted. It may also be noted that on the projecting ends of the beam with this scene there are pairs of peacocks, the peacock (Sanskrit mayura) being the symbol of the Mau-

134 Lepel Griffin, Famous Monuments of Central India. 1886, Pi. xiii.
On the middle horizontal beam the departure of Gautama from Kapilavastu in his great renunciation is portrayed. At the left is the city with its wall and moat, and coming forth from the gate is the horse Kanthaka, its hoofs supported by Yakshas lest any sound give the alarm.\textsuperscript{185} An embroidered rug serves as a saddle, and the attendant Chandaka (or Channa) holds up a parasol, but the figure of Gautama himself is not shown. To the right the same group is shown three more times to suggest the progress of the fleeing prince. Then at the extreme right Kanthaka and Chandaka take leave of their master, whose presence is symbolized by gigantic wheel-marked footprints\textsuperscript{186} surmounted by the parasol. Finally at the bottom at the right, horse and groom are shown going back to Kapilavastu, Chandaka carrying the jewels which Gautama has discarded. In the center of the composition is a jambo tree which suggests the young Bodhisattva’s first meditation, said to have taken place beneath such a tree, the shadow of which did not move while he sat under it.

On the highest horizontal beam of the Eastern Gate the seven last Buddhás are symbolized, the first and last by thrones beneath Bodhi trees, the others by stupas.

\textbf{KARLI}

As we have already seen, the stupa was the central object of interest in Buddhist architecture. Around important stupas other buildings naturally came to be erected, including chapels and monasteries. The customary designation for the chapel is chaitya hall.\textsuperscript{187} The word \textit{chaitya} is derived from a root meaning to heap up, and is properly applicable to the stupa itself, but is also used for structures connected with the stupa and for other objects of reverence. The chaitya hall as we are speaking of it was a chapel enclosing a stupa. Its characteristic plan was similar to that of an early Christian basilica. A long hall was divided by two rows of columns into a nave and two narrow side aisles, and at the end was an apse in which the stupa stood.

The early chaitya halls were built wholly or partly of wood, and have mostly perished although their remains are occasionally found

\textsuperscript{185} Nidanakatha, tr. Rhys Davids, \textit{Buddhist Birth-Stories}, p.174.

\textsuperscript{186} One of the thirty-two marks of a great man destined to be either a universal monarch or a supreme Buddha is that “on the soles of his feet, wheels appear with a thousand spokes, with tire and hub, in every way complete.” Digha Nikaya ii, xiv, 32 (17); iii, xxx, 1, 2 (143). tr. Rhys Davids, \textit{Dialogues of the Buddhas}, ii, p.14; iii, pp.137f.; Lalita-vistara vn. tr. Foucault, \textit{Le Lalita Vistara}, i (6), p.99.

as for example at Sanchi. The wooden buildings were, however, copied in the form of chapels hewn in the solid rock, and of such chaitya caves many are still in existence. The largest, finest and best preserved is at Karli, between Bombay and Poona, and dates probably from the first century B.C.

The exterior of the Karli chaitya cave is shown in Fig. 99. At the left we see a heavy sixteen-sided column surmounted by carved lions. A corresponding column doubtless stood originally at the right, where now a small modern temple is. Immediately beyond the lion column are the remains of the outer screen. It was composed of two octagonal pillars supporting a mass of rock, once adorned with wooden carvings, above which was a row of four short columns. The porch behind this screen was fifteen feet deep, over fifty feet high and equally wide. Three doorways gave entrance to the hall, the central one opening into the nave and the other two into the side aisles. Above is a great horseshoe-shaped window, containing a wooden framework. This window allowed light to fall into the nave and upon the stupa inside, but left the side aisles in comparative obscurity.

The interior is pictured in Fig. 100. On either side fifteen octagonal columns, with vaselike bases and with lotus capitals carrying animal and human figures, separate the nave from the side aisles. In the apse seven plain octagonal columns form a semicircle behind the stupa. The stupa is hewn out of the solid rock, like the rest of the hall, but is crowned with an umbrella of wood. The vaulted roof is ornamented with ribs of wood, and terminates in a semidome at the apsidal end of the hall. The hall is over one hundred and twenty-four feet long and forty-five feet wide, and the apex of the roof is forty-five feet high. The entire effect of this place of devotion is both solemn and grand.128

Like the chaitya halls the monasteries, too, were often hewn from the solid rock. They are technically called viharas or sangharamas.129 A vihara may be the “abiding place” of even a single monk, and when a series of such cells is ranged together it forms a sangharama or “community garden.” It is also customary, however, to call the entire cloister a vihara. When such a vihara was built in the open air it comprised a group of cells surrounding an open court, and

128 James Fergusson and James Burgess, The Cave Temples of India. 1880, pp.232-240; BHS II, Figs. 68, 69.
129 Diez, Die Kunst Indiens, p.37.
when it was hewn in the solid rock there was generally a veranda in front and one or more rows of cells behind. For an example of such a monastery we may recall the vihara at Bhaja, not far from Karli, which has already been mentioned (p.148) in connection with its non-Buddhist sculptures showing Surya and Indra.
6. NORTHWEST INDIA UNDER THE BACTRIAN GREEKS (SECOND CENTURY B.C.) AND THE KUSHANS (A.D. C.50-C.320)

MILINDA

Turning now to northwest India, we know that in the second century B.C. the Greco-Bactrian king Menander was ruling there (p.147). According to Strabo the monarch extended his power even farther east than Alexander the Great had done. There is no doubt that Menander is the same as Milinda, the king who figures in the Milinda Panha or Questions of Milinda, a Buddhist historical romance which must have originated not too long after Menander's death. According to this work, Milinda ruled in a city called Sagala, which is doubtless to be identified with the modern Sialkot. The city is described as fortified "with many and various strong towers and ramparts, with superb gates and entrance archways; and with the royal citadel in its midst, white walled and deeply moated," and it is said that it was "so full . . . of money, and of gold and silver ware, of copper and stone ware, that it is a very mine of dazzling treasures." The king himself was "learned, eloquent, wise, and able," and conversant with many arts and sciences including philosophy, arithmetic, music, medicine, astronomy, magic, war and poetry. "As a disputant he was hard to equal, harder still to overcome; the acknowledged superior of all the founders of the various schools of thought. And as in wisdom so in strength of body, swiftness, and valor there was found none equal to Milinda in all India. He was rich too, mighty in wealth and prosperity, and the number of his armed hosts knew no end."

It was the custom of the king, according to the Milinda Panha, to engage in conversations with the most learned men he could find, but when none could match him in disputation he thought to himself, "All India is an empty thing, it is verily like chaff! There is no one, either recluse or Brahman, capable of discussing things with me and dispelling my doubts." Then the venerable Nagasena, a Thera or Elder of the Buddhist order, came to Sagala. So remarkable was his scholarship in the Buddhist religion that at the age of twenty he had recited from memory the seven books of the Abhidhamma in

140 Geography, xi, xi, 1.
142 Law, India as Described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism, pp.69,58.
143 ii. 2. sbe xxxv, pp.2f.
144 i. 9. sbe xxxv, pp.6f.
full in seven months. King Milinda visited Nagasena at the hermitage where he was staying, and even at his first sight of the large assembly gathered around the famous teacher the king experienced the emotion of fear and "felt like an elephant hemmed in by rhinoceroses, . . . like a jackal surrounded by boa-constrictors, . . . like a snake in the hands of a snake charmer, or . . . like a man who has lost his way in a dense forest haunted by wild beasts." There followed then a long series of conversations, in which Milinda pro pounded all manner of religious and philosophical questions and Nagasena answered so successfully as to constrain the king again and again to say something like, "Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say."

For a single short example we may quote the following:

The king said: "Nagasena, is there any one who after death is not re-individualized?"
"Some are so, and some not."
"Who are they?"
"A sinful being is reindividualized, a sinless one is not."
"Will you be reindividualized?"
"If when I die, I die with craving for existence in my heart, yes; but if not, no."
"Very good, Nagasena."

Conversations such as this and others much longer and more complex make up the body of the Milinda Panha, the whole of which is introduced with this poem:

King Milinda, at Sagala the famous town of yore,
To Nagasena, the world famous sage, repaired.
(So the deep Ganges to the deeper ocean flows.)
To him, the eloquent, the bearer of the torch
Of Truth, dispeller of the darkness of men's minds,
Subtle and knotty questions did he put, many,
Turning on many points. Then were solutions given
Profound in meaning, gaining access to the heart,
Sweet to the ear, and passing wonderful and strange.
For Nagasena's talk plunged to the hidden depths
Of Vinaya and of Abhidhamma
Unraveling all the meshes of the Suttas' net,
Glittering the while with metaphors and reasoning high.
Come then! Apply your minds, and let your hearts rejoice,
And hearken to these subtle questionings, all grounds
Of doubt well fitted to resolve.  

146 i, 27. see xxxv, p.22.
147 i, 43. see xxxv, p.38.
148 e.g., iv, 28. see xxxv, p.225.
149 ii, 1. see xxxv, pp.1f. 
150 i, 6. see xxxv, p.50.

[ 277 ]
BUDDHISM

The Milinda Panha concludes with the conversion of the king to the Buddhist faith. According to Plutarch (A.D. c.46-c.120), Menander died on a campaign, and the different cities disputed about the honor of his burial until at last they agreed to divide the relics among them and severally erect monuments over them. This story is of course very similar to that of the disposition of the relics of the Buddha.

KANISHKA

Continuing now to the Kushan Period (A.D. c.50-c.320), we have to speak particularly of King Kanishka who ruled in the second century A.D. at Purushapura (modern Peshawar) in the district of Gandhara. Reference has been made earlier to his extant statue and also to his coins on which the Buddha as well as Hindu and western deities appear. Here we may also show the relic casket (Fig. 101) which was found in the ruins of his great stupa near Peshawar. It has a height of over seven inches, and is made of gilt copper alloy. On the lid is a figure of the Buddha seated on a lotus and with a nimbus around his head. On either side of him is a standing figure, and these are usually identified as Brahma and Indra. On the side of the lid is a frieze of geese, while on the main cylinder we see a seated Buddha, other deities, and a figure of Kanishka. Despite the syncretistic impression given by his coins and this memorial, the king was a convert to Buddhism and is claimed in Buddhist traditions as a great protector of the faith.

According to these traditions as preserved by the seventh century Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, Kanishka was in the habit of consulting the Buddhist scriptures frequently, and of having a Buddhist priest enter the palace daily to preach the law. There were, however, various schools of belief, and their different views were so contradictory that the king was filled with doubt and uncertainty. An honored Buddhist patriarch named Parśva explained to him, "Since Tathagata left the world many years and months have elapsed. The different schools hold to the treatises of their several masters. Each keeps to his own views, and so the whole body is torn by divisions."

The king thereupon resolved, as Hiuen Tsang reports: "I will

382 viii, viii, 20. See XXXVI, pp.373f.
384 BEAL, II, PI. 143.
384 Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, i, pp.151-156.
[ 278 ]
dare to forget my own low degree, and hand down in succession the teaching of the law unimpaired. I will therefore arrange the teaching of the three Pitakas of Buddha according to the various schools." To this end he summoned from far and near a holy assembly. After the elimination of those less fit for such deliberations, this body consisted of five hundred sages and saints, and met under the presidency of the venerable Vasumitra. As a place of gathering for the assembly the king founded a monastery.

The labors of these scholars resulted in three commentaries on the three Pitakas, which totaled no less than 300,000 verses. "There was no work of antiquity to be compared with their productions; from the deepest to the smallest question, they examined all, explaining all minute expressions, so that their work has become universally known and is the resource of all students who have followed them." For a permanent record King Kanishka had the discourses inscribed on copper sheets and enclosed in a stone receptacle, and over this he erected a stupa.

The council summoned by Kanishka is thus supposed to have ended the period of old quarrels between the sects, but actually at about this time the major cleavage in all Buddhist history comes into view. This is the division between Hinayanism and Mahayanism.

HINAYANA AND MAHAYANA

Hinayana means Little Vehicle, and refers to the earlier form of Buddhism in which the goal is for the individual to become a saint or Arhat and enter into the oblivion of Nirvana. The Theravadins, Sarvastivadins, Lokottaravadinis and other early sects all agreed in teaching that man should strive for such individual liberation. Since only a few could reach this objective, however, the doctrine appeared to others to be an inadequate vessel, insufficient to provide for the salvation of the many. Thus it was that the adherents of the later Mahayana disparagingly called the earlier kind of Buddhism the Hinayana, the Little Vehicle.

The Mahayana or the Great Vehicle, its followers believed, was capable of bringing all humanity to salvation. According to this teaching the ideal is not the "saint for himself" but rather the Bodhisattva, "one whose essence is enlightenment." Such a being is destined for Nirvana and thus is a "future Buddha." For the present, however, he voluntarily refrains from entering the final state in order to act as a helper of humanity and a savior to others who are seeking
Buddhism

salvation. It is in line with this doctrine that Gautama Buddha himself is designated as a Bodhisattva in his previous existences. By worshiping the Bodhisattvas, by practicing generosity and self-denial and by showing pity and kindness to all beings, even the ordinary man can make progress toward salvation.

The Hinayana thinkers themselves had believed in a number of Buddhas but the theologians of the Mahayana carried the multiplication of divine beings much farther. Thousands of Buddhas, myriads of Bodhisattvas, and numerous deities adopted from Hinduism as associates of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas came to fill the Mahayana pantheon. In the Hinayana, as represented by the Pali canon, the Buddha was described as a superhuman being, but it was through his enlightenment that he attained this status. According to the Lokottaravadins the Buddhas were supernatural personages who came down to earth for a time. Being actually far “exalted above the world,” any acts of everyday life which they performed were purely external adaptations. A Buddha would eat food, for example, but not because of any necessity, for hunger never touched him; he might use medicine, but in reality he suffered no illness. Finally in the Mahayana doctrine the Buddhas are completely divine beings, and their appearance on earth and entry into Nirvana are entirely illusory. A Buddha has three bodies (trikaya), it was taught. The dharma-kaya or dharma-body is the essential or ultimate form; the sambhoga-kaya or body of enjoyment is the superhuman body in which the Buddhas enjoy their glory and wisdom; and the nirmanakaya or transformation body is the assumed form in which they appear to do their work on earth.188

While such a sect as that of the Lokottaravadins was clearly a forerunner of the Mahayana, the two most important individuals in its rise were doubtless Asvaghosha and Nagarjuna, to whose literary productions reference has already been made. Both are connected in Buddhist traditions with the time of Kanishka. Asvaghosha, poetical author of the Buddha-charita and other works, and a pioneer of the Mahayana, is said to have lived and worked at the court of Kanishka; and Nagarjuna, first great philosophical systematizer of Mahayana doctrines, is supposed to have been born at the very time of the council convoked by the same king. Of later Mahayana thinkers, the greatest were Asanga and Vasubandhu, whose works have also been referred to above.

188 Edward J. Thomas, The History of Buddhist Thought. 1933, pp.242f.
Since Hinayanism prevails for the most part in such lands as Ceylon, Burma and Thailand, it is sometimes called Southern Buddhism; and since Mahayanism developed in north India and spread to countries like China and Japan it is sometimes called Northern Buddhism.\textsuperscript{158}

7. BUDDHIST ART IN THE KUSHAN (A.D. C.50-C.320) AND LATER ANDHRA (FIRST TO THIRD CENTURIES A.D.) PERIODS

The time of the reign of the Kushan kings in northwest India was approximately the same as that of the Later Andhras in the Deccan, namely the first, second and third centuries of the Christian era. We have now to speak of the achievements of Buddhist art in this period, and we shall find that the relevant materials are scattered all the way from the domain of the Kushans to the territory of the Andhras.

GANDHARA

The most important single fact is that whereas in the art of earlier periods the Buddha was represented only by symbols now he is portrayed in numerous statues and his figure is given a central and dominant place in many reliefs. An intimation of this development has already come before us in the reliquary of Kanishka, where we saw that the Buddha, seated on a lotus, was in the central position among the three figures on the lid. Our most numerous early Buddha figures come from Gandhara where Kanishka and the other Kushans ruled, and it seems probable that the school of art which produced them enjoyed the patronage of these kings. It is not usually possible to assign specific dates to individual sculptures but the first three centuries of the Christian era were certainly the time when the Gandharan school was flourishing. Since the Gandhara Buddha figures are the oldest extensive group of such figures we have, it is quite generally supposed that this type of representation actually originated here. At all events the same Buddha type is afterward found throughout India and all Asia wherever the Buddhist faith spread.

Gandhara was the region where Hellenism in its eastward course and Buddhism in its westward movement met. For this reason it is not surprising to find an unmistakable Hellenistic atmosphere about the art although its subject matter is thoroughly Buddhist, and it is generally recognized that a mingling has taken place here of Hellenistic art forms and Indian religious beliefs. In consequence the Gandharan school is often called Greco-Buddhist.²³⁷

KUSHAN AND LATER ANDHRA

At the same time there was a definite theological or philosophical reason for the transformation which is observed in Buddhist art at this time. In early Buddhism, which generally speaking was of the Hinayana type, the conception of Nirvana was expressed largely in terms of negations. Since through his Parinirvana the Buddha had entered a state completely transcending all that man experiences in this world, no positive concept could express the truth about him. Early Buddhist artists therefore represented the Buddha only by symbols connected with his earthly life, such as his footprints, the wheel of the law indicating the role he played as a great teacher, the empty throne, or the seat on which he sat when a teacher but which is now empty because the revered instructor has passed on into the great beyond. In later Buddhism, however, particularly in the Mahayana type in which the Bodhisattva becomes so prominent, it was equally natural that the Buddhist artists should represent not only the Bodhisattva but even the eternal Buddhas as ideal human figures. Though worthy to enter the Nirvana state, the Bodhisattva remains in the realm of human beings to save others, and therefore he can be represented as an ideal human figure in much the same way in which Greek art portrayed Greek deities, that is as ideal humans. Also in Mahayana Buddhism even the eternal Buddhas, though in their deepest nature completely transcending all that is human, are often thought of as manifesting themselves to man in terms of ideal human figures since the finite mind cannot grasp the nature of the Buddha as absolute being and he must be expressed in terms which the finite mind can grasp. Thus the artist of later Buddhism need have no hesitation in picturing the eternal Buddha as the perfect human. If the artist is also a philosopher he will realize that the chisel or brush can never adequately represent the nature of the divine, but he can at least indicate the direction in which the divine lies, namely through and beyond the ideal human. Even Hinayana Buddhism eventually began to represent the Buddha through pictures and statues of ideal humans instead of the older symbols, but at least at first this was with the Buddha in mind as he was before he experienced Parinirvana. They therefore drew rather heavily on the birth stories of the Pali canon which picture the Buddha in his many incarnations as a sort of Bodhisattva who comes again and again into this world to save others. Then further, the later Buddhist

artists, even in Hinayana Buddhism, under the influence of the Buddhism of the masses which made the Buddha himself into one of the popular gods, had little hesitation in representing the Buddha even after he had passed into the great beyond in terms of the ideal human.

In the time with which we are presently concerned, the most prominent objects of art are statues of the Buddha, either standing or seated, reliefs in which he is the chief figure, and figures of Bodhisattvas. The Hellenistic influence is particularly noticeable in the general plasticity of form, in the treatment of the garments and their folds, and in the pose of the standing Buddha who looks much like a Greek philosopher or teacher. Most of the details of the iconography, however, are Indian. Among the distinctive marks of the Buddha figure as they appear on different statues are the following:

(1) The uṣṇīṣa, or prominence on the top of the head. This occurs as early as the first century B.C. on a statue of Indra,\textsuperscript{158} and in the Buddhist scriptures is named as one of the thirty-two marks of a great man (see the references cited above, note 136). (2) The urna, a mole or tuft of hair between the eyebrows. This is also one of Buddhism’s thirty-two marks of a great man. (3) The hair cut short, lying close to the head and curling to the right. This accords with the description in the Nidanakatha of how Gautama cut his hair at the time of his great renunciation.\textsuperscript{159} (4) The elongated ear lobes. These presumably reflect the wearing of heavy earrings in Gau- tama’s princely days, but no earrings are shown because, as the Nidanakatha states,\textsuperscript{160} he gave all such ornaments to Channa as he left the world behind. (5) The mudras, or symbolic positions of the hands and fingers. According to Buddhist traditions these positions are: abhayā or assurance, where the right hand is raised in a gesture signifying “do not fear”; bhumiśparśa or earth-touching, where the right hand rests upon the right knee with the palm downward and the tips of the fingers touching the ground; dharmacakra or teaching, where both hands are raised against the chest and the thumb and forefinger are held together; dhyāna (samadhi) or meditative, where the hands lie upon the lap with palms open, one upon the other; varada or gift-bestowing, where the right hand is stretched forward.\textsuperscript{161} (6) The manner of sitting, which is in general like a yogi

\textsuperscript{158} Chma p.32 n.9. \textsuperscript{159} Tr. Rhys Davids, Buddhist Birth-Stories, p.177.
\textsuperscript{160} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{161} Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography Mainly Based on the Sādhanaśāstra and Other Cognate Tantric Texts of Rituals. 1924, p.2.
and harks back all the way to Mohenjo-daro (p.127). Specific modes are distinguished, as for example on a lion throne (in simhasana), or on a lotus seat (in padmasana). The lotus (padma) is of course a motif of great antiquity in Indian art and is often used as the seat or pedestal of a divine being in Hinduism as well as Buddhism.\textsuperscript{143} As for the nimbus which appears around the head of the Buddha in the Gandharan sculptures, we do not know if it was of Indian, Iranian or western origin.\textsuperscript{144}

A standing statue of the Buddha which was found at Pushkalavati or Peukelaotis, one of the ancient capitals of Gandhara about seventeen miles northeast of Peshawar,\textsuperscript{145} is shown in Fig. 102.\textsuperscript{146} Although the statue is somewhat damaged it may be presumed that the right hand was lifted in the gesture which signified “fear not” (abhaya mudra). On the base is portrayed the adoration of the alms bowl of the Buddha. A fine head of the Buddha, also of the Gandharan school, is pictured in Fig. 103. A seated statue from Gandhara is reproduced in Fig. 104.\textsuperscript{147} Here Gautama is shown in the condition of terrible emaciation to which he came through the practice of severe austerities in the early period of his search for truth.\textsuperscript{148} The hands are in the position of meditation (dhyana mudra). On the base of the statue, disciples are shown in attitudes of worship. Such a dreadful representation as this of the Buddha is very rare, however, and the prevailing characterization emphasizes his attainment of supreme peace.

A Gandharan votive relief is pictured in Fig. 105.\textsuperscript{149} Here the Buddha is seated upon a lotus which rises out of a body of water on which lotus blossoms are floating and in which fish are swimming. He is garbed in a close-fitting robe which leaves the right shoulder bare, and he exhibits the teaching position of the hands (dharmacakra mudra). Above his head a crown is held, while all around are more than thirty seated and standing figures including Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Devas. The man and woman standing

\textsuperscript{143} A. A. Macdonell and L. A. Waddell in \textit{Hense VIII}, pp.142-144.
\textsuperscript{144} \textit{China}, pp.41,57.
\textsuperscript{146} Cohn, \textit{Buddha in der Kunst des Ostens}, p.5.
\textsuperscript{149} Diez, \textit{Die Kunst Indiens}, Fig. 136.
on either side of the lotus are probably the donors of the relief. Finally a standing statue of a Bodhisattva from Gandhara is shown in Fig. 106.

MATHURA

An important school of sculptors also arose at the ancient city of Mathura (modern Muttra) in the central part of northern India. For the most part the work of these artists is readily recognizable from the distinctive red and black sandstone which they usually employed. The carving shown in Fig. 107 is of black sandstone and bears an inscription in characters of probably the second century A.D. The inscription contains a dedication "for the welfare and happiness of all beings," and calls the figure portrayed a Bodhisattva. Because the foliage above is that of a pipal tree, this must be Gautama before he attained the great enlightenment. He is seated on a lion throne (simhasana), and holds up his right hand in the gesture of reassurance (abhaya mudra). The symbol of the wheel is visible in the palm of his hand, and also appears on the soles of his feet. The vishnisha is in a spiral form, and the nimbus is adorned with scallops. On either side are attendants, and in the air above are two deities.189

AMARAVATI

Amaravati is a town of the present day near the site of an ancient center of Buddhism in southeast India. A large stupa stood in the vicinity until comparatively recent times, but has now been destroyed. Portions of its sculptures, probably dating from around A.D. 150-250, are preserved in the Museum at Madras and in the British Museum at London. The stupa was surrounded by a magnificent railing some six hundred feet in circumference and fourteen feet high. The surfaces of this structure had an area of about 18,000 square feet and were completely covered with sculptured reliefs. The stupa itself was over one hundred and sixty-two feet in diameter, and its lower part was covered with casings which were also richly carved. One of the slabs from this casing is shown in Fig. 108. The principal object depicted is a beautifully ornamented stupa together with its gateway and railing. No doubt this may be taken as a good representation of how a decorated stupa, like the one at Amaravati itself, originally looked. Intricate and elaborate sculptures fill the


[ 286 ]
rest of the slab, and the frieze at the top alone contains nearly fifty figures. In the central panel, seen through the gateway, and on the panels at the right and left the Buddha is represented only symbolically by his throne, but at the top in the scene of the Temptation by the Daughters of Mara, the Evil One, he is shown in bodily likeness, seated in fashion as a yogi.

8. THE GUPTA PERIOD, A.D. C.320-C.600

The Gupta Period, with its famous kings Chandragupta I (A.D. C.320-C.335) and Chandragupta II (A.D. C.385-C.414), was a splendid time in the history of Indian culture. A revival of Hinduism took place (p.159), and Buddhism also was strong.

FA HIEH

According to Fa Hien, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim who visited India in the time of Chandragupta II, there was enmity between the Brahmans and the Buddhists, and at Sravasti, for example, the former attempted to destroy certain Buddhist structures but were miraculously hindered: "The heretic Brahmans, growing jealous, wished to destroy them; whereupon the heavens thundered and flashed lightning with splitting crash, so that they were not able to succeed."⁷¹ In general, however, the Chinese visitor found Buddhism prospering. In the record of his travels we read concerning the Punjab: "The Faith is very flourishing under both the Greater and Lesser Vehicles"; and concerning the region of Mathura: "The Faith is here becoming very popular."⁷² Telling of the numerous Buddhist monasteries in Middle India, Fa Hien says: "From the date of Buddha's disappearance from the world, the kings, elders, and gentry of the countries round about, built shrines for making offerings to the priests, and gave them land, houses, gardens, with men and bullocks for cultivation. Binding title-deeds were written out, and subsequent kings have handed these down one to another without daring to disregard them, in unbroken succession to this day. Rooms, with beds and mattresses, food, and clothes, are provided for resident and traveling priests, without fail; and this is the same in all places. The priests occupy themselves with benevolent ministrations, and with chanting liturgies; or they sit in meditation."⁷³⁸

As a pious pilgrim Fa Hien journeyed to many sacred sites of Buddhism and he tells of the numerous shrines and pagodas which he saw, and of the various relics of the Buddha, such as his tooth or his alms bowl, which were preserved in different places. The region of Kapilavastu was described as frequented by dangerous white elephants and lions, and as "just like a wilderness, except for priests and some tens of families"; but a large number of pagodas still ex-

⁷² ibid., pp.19f.
⁷³⁸ ibid., pp.21f.
GUPTA PERIOD

isted to mark the spots where particular events in Gautama’s life transpired. The royal garden called Lumbini was said to be located fifty li to the east of the city. Fa Hien also found the city of Gaya “a complete waste within its walls”; but in the vicinity were pagodas and monasteries marking such places as where Gautama suffered self-mortification for six years and where he finally attained to Buddhahship. In the same region Fa Hien visited the cave where, prior to his enlightenment, Gautama was supposed to have sat and reflected, “If I am to become a Buddha, there should be some divine manifestation in token thereof.” Fa Hien reports: “At once the silhouette of a Buddha appeared upon the rock; it was over three feet in height and is plainly visible at the present day.”

An important objective of Fa Hien was to secure copies of the Buddhist scriptures to take back with him to China, “but in the various countries of Northern India these were handed down orally from one patriarch to another, there being no written volume which he could copy.” For this reason he extended his journey to central India, and there in a monastery of the Greater Vehicle he was successful in obtaining a copy. Also in Ceylon, where he went later, he was able to secure other manuscripts, and with these he returned at last to China.

SARNATH

In the Gupta Period Buddhist sculpture attained its high point. Among its most typical expressions are both seated and standing statues of the Buddha, who is usually shown garbed in a smooth, close-fitting robe. For a single example of outstanding importance we may turn to Sarnath where the Seated Buddha pictured in Fig. 109 was found. This world-famous carving, now in the Sarnath Museum of Archaeology, Benares, is of white sandstone, and is over five feet high. The Buddha is portrayed sitting upon a richly ornamented throne, and with a particularly beautiful nimbus behind his head. As is appropriate to Sarnath where his first sermon was preached, the hands of the Buddha are in the teaching position (dharma-cakra mudra). Above hover two Devas, while on the lower part of the throne is the wheel of the law, and the five disciples to whom Gautama first proclaimed his message. The woman with the child at the left may be the donor of the image. The entire compi-
Buddhism
tion expresses almost perfectly the attainment of cosmic peace and illumination on the part of the Enlightened One.

Bagh

The art of painting was practiced in India from ancient times, and the kings of Magadha and Kosala are said to have had houses adorned with painted figures and patterns. In the Gupta age this art was developed to a very high degree, and our finest known examples of Buddhist paintings come from about this time. We will speak here of the paintings preserved in the Buddhist caves at Bagh and Ajanta.

The Bagh caves are cut in a sandstone cliff in a valley on the southern slopes of the Vindhyā Mountains. There are nine caves all together, but several have already collapsed. They were elaborately decorated both with sculpture and with painting. Good statues of the Buddha and his attendants are found in Cave II, and the best remaining paintings are on the outer surface of the front wall of Caves IV and V. There was originally a continuous veranda, two hundred and twenty feet in length and with some twenty heavy pillars, in front of these two caves, but it is now destroyed. The paintings formed a great mural, the chief subject of which seems to have been some kind of city pageant or festival. A splendid procession is shown with finely depicted horses and elephants, and there are groups of dancers and musicians, and other persons. While these subjects seem secular, we shall see at Ajanta how comparable themes were suffused with religious feeling. According to a recently discovered inscription on a copper plate, the caves at Bagh date around the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

Ajanta

At Ajanta there are no fewer than twenty-nine caves, cut in the cliffs of a beautiful and secluded valley, which once served as monasteries and temples of the Buddhist faith. The walls, ceilings and

176 Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p.96.
180 It is possible but not certain that Huen Tsang was describing Ajanta when he wrote concerning the region of Maharashtra: "On the eastern frontier of the country is a great mountain with towering crags and a continuous stretch of piled-up rocks and scarped precipice. In this there is a sangharama constructed in a dark valley, its lofty halls and deep side-aisles stretch through the face of the rocks. Story above story they
pillars of nearly all of these were once decorated with paintings, and portions of the frescoes still remain in thirteen of the caves. In date the various paintings range all the way from before the Christian era to the seventh century A.D. The most excellent level of work was probably attained in the second half of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth centuries A.D.\textsuperscript{181}

The chief subjects of the frescoes are events in the historical life of the Buddha, including his birth, departure from Kapilavastu, enlightenment, miracles and death; and from his previous existences as related in the Jatakta tales in which he was, for example, a prince, a deer, a moose and an elephant. In addition there are portraits of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and various deities; scenes of court life and daily life; and decorative figures of mythological creatures and of animals, trees and flowers. Indeed, since in his various successive existences the Buddha is supposed to have passed through all the experiences of earth, the pictures in their entirety give us a veritable pageant of ancient Indian life in all its phases. The prevailing impression is not secular, however, but religious, and the great Bodhisattva who moves through the scenes seems to look upon the manifold life of the world with tenderness and compassion. As William Rothenstein says: “On the hundred walls and pillars of these rock-carved temples a vast drama moves before our eyes, a drama played by princes and sages and heroes, by men and women of every condition, against a marvelously varied scene, among forests and gardens, in courts and cities, on wide plains and in deep jungles, while above the messengers of heaven move swiftly across the sky. From all these emanates a great joy in the surpassing radiance of the face of the world, in the physical nobility of men and women, in the strength and grace of animals and the loveliness and purity of birds and flowers; and woven into this fabric of material beauty we see the ordered pattern of the spiritual realities of the universe.”\textsuperscript{182} And René Grousset sums up the “multifarious impressions” of Ajanta


\textsuperscript{182} In \textit{Ajanta Frescoes, Being Reproductions in Colour and Monochrome of Frescoes in Some of the Caves at Ajanta after Copies Taken in the Years 1909-1911 by Lady Herringham and Her Assistants, with Introductory Essays by Various Members of the India Society}. 1915, p.23. Quoted by permission of the India Society and the Oxford University Press, London.
"in a single formula," by saying that "the predominant feature of Ajanṭā is an intimate and harmonious fusion of the old Indian naturalism of Sānchī, with its youthful freshness, and the infinite gentleness of Buddhist mysticism. And it is this which makes Ajanṭā a complete expression of every side of the Indian soul."**182**

For specific illustration we will select Cave Number I.**184** It is situated at the southeast end of the valley and architecturally is considered one of the finest viharas in India. The porch which once stood in front has fallen and carried away part of the rock above, but the veranda still stands as shown in Fig. 110.**188** The dimensions of the veranda are sixty-four feet in length, over nine feet in width and thirteen feet in height. The columns and horizontal bands above are intricately sculptured. A large ornamental door leads into the great hall which is nearly sixty-four feet square and has a roof supported by a colonnade of twenty richly carved pillars. At the back of the hall an antechamber leads into a shrine, about twenty feet square, in which is a colossal statue of the Buddha. In the interior of the rock are also fourteen cells.

All the walls and ceiling of the cave were once adorned with paintings, and of these considerable portions still remain. While these decorations were probably executed between A.D. 600 and 650 at the height of the Chalukya dynasty, and thus belong strictly speaking to the beginning of the Medieval Period, it is proper to describe them as done in the Gupta style. The fresco on the back wall of the cave to the left of the antechamber is shown in Fig. 111.**188** The doorway which appears in the picture is that of the first cell to the left of the entrance to the antechamber. The principal figure in the painting is the Great Bodhisattva. A detail of the painting, showing the Bodhisattva's head, is reproduced in Fig. 112. He is depicted on a scale larger than life-size, is garbed in a dhoti of striped silk, and wears on his head a high jeweled crown. In his right hand he holds a blue lotus, and because of this symbol may probably be identified

**188** Coloumbew, Documents pour servir à l'étude d'Ajanta, Les peintures de la première grotte, Pl. viii.  
**188** Ajanta, The Colour and Monochrome Reproductions of the Ajanta Frescoes Based on Photography, with an Explanatory Text by G. Yezdani, Part I, Pl. xxiv.

[ 292 ]
Gupta Period

as the Bodhisattva Padmapani, "the lotus-handed," or Avalokiteshvara. Elsewhere in the picture are a dark-skinned princess, a mace-bearer, human couples, heavenly musicians, flying figures, peacocks and monkeys.

As shown by the artistic monuments just described, Buddhism reached a high point in its influence in the Gupta Period. After that it began to decline. Weakened by its own divisions, and facing increased competition from a Hinduism strengthened by such notable teachers as Sankara and Ramanuja, Buddhism gradually lost ground. Finally upon the onslaught of Islam, it disappeared almost completely from the land of its origin.

HIUEN TSANG

It was just at the beginning of this long period of decline that the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Huien Tsang visited India (A.D. c.630-c.645). His writings will provide us with the last glimpse, for which there is space in this chapter, of Buddhism in its own homeland.

Huien Tsang mentions numerous Buddhist monasteries, and writes as follows concerning their manner of building: "The sangharamas are constructed with extraordinary skill. A three-storied tower is erected at each of the four angles. The beams and the projecting heads are carved with great skill in different shapes. The doors, windows, and the low walls are painted profusely; the monks' cells are ornamental on the inside and plain on the outside. In the very middle of the building is the hall, high and wide. There are various storeyed chambers and turrets of different height and shape, without any fixed rule. The doors open toward the east; the royal throne also faces the east."

Of the various divisions of Buddhism the Chinese observer says: "The different schools are constantly at variance, and their contending utterances rise like the angry waves of the sea. The different sects have their separate masters, and in various directions aim at one end. There are eighteen schools, each claiming pre-eminence. The partisans of the Great and Little Vehicle are content to dwell apart. There are some who give themselves up to quiet contemplation, and devote themselves, whether walking or standing still or sitting down,

---

138 For Huien Tsang's visit to Harsha, and his public disputation on behalf of the Great Vehicle, see Beal, The Life of Huien-Tsang by the Shaman Huwi Li, pp.171-181. Fa Hien and Huien Tsang were admired and emulated by yet a third Buddhist pilgrim from China, I-Ts'ing, who visited India toward the end of the seventh century and wrote an extensive account of Buddhist customs. See J. Takakusu, A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671-695), by I-Ts'ing. 1898.

139 n. 5. tr. Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, i, p.74.
to the acquirement of wisdom and insight; others, on the contrary, differ from these in raising noisy contentions about their faith. According to their fraternity, they are governed by distinctive rules and regulations, which we need not name."

Many cities which figure in Buddhist history were visited by Hsiun Tsang in his travels, and of these we will select Benares and Kusinara for mention. Having quoted already from Fa Hien’s description of Kapilavastu and Gaya, this will give us from the pens of the two pilgrims eyewitness accounts of the four most sacred regions of Buddhism, namely where the Buddha was born, attained enlightenment, began to preach, and passed away. In Benares itself Hsiun Tsang learned that the Buddhists were far outnumbered by their rivals, but at the famous Deer Park near by he found a great monastery in which fifteen hundred priests were studying the Little Vehicle. In its enclosure was a vihara about two hundred feet high. On its sides were a large number of niches in each of which was a golden figure of Buddha, and in the middle was a life-size copper statue representing the Buddha as turning the wheel of the law. "To the southwest of the vihara," Hsiun Tsang continues, "is a stone stupa built by Aśoka-raja. Although the foundations have given way, there are still 100 feet or more of the wall remaining. In front of the building is a stone pillar about 70 feet high. The stone is altogether as bright as jade. It is glistening, and sparkles like light; and all those who pray fervently before it see from time to time, according to their petitions, figures with good or bad signs. It was here that Tathagata, having arrived at enlightenment, began to turn the wheel of the law."

Concerning Kusinara, Hsiun Tsang writes: "The capital of this country is in ruins, and its towns and villages waste and desolate. The brick foundation walls of the old capital are about ten li in circuit. There are few inhabitants, and the avenues of the town are deserted and waste. At the northeast angle of the city gate is a stupa which was built by Aśoka-raja. . . . To the northwest of the city three or four li, crossing the Ajitavati [Hiranyavati] river, on the western bank, not far, we come to a grove of sal trees. . . . In this wood are four trees of an unusual height, which indicate the place where Tathagata died. There is here a great brick vihara, in which is a figure of the Nirvana of Tathagata. He is lying with his head to the north as if asleep. By the side of this vihara is a stupa built by Aśoka-raja;
although in a ruinous state, yet it is some 200 feet in height. Before it is a stone pillar to record the Nirvana of Tathagata; although there is an inscription on it, yet there is no date as to year or month.”

192 vi, 4. tr. Beal, ibid., ii, pp.31-33.
10. BUDDHISM IN OTHER LANDS

Long before the period of its decline and virtual disappearance in India, and largely due as we will remember to the initial impetus of the missionary zeal of Asoka. Buddhism had gone out from the land of its birth and become a vital faith in many other countries. Within the limits of the present chapter it will be possible only very briefly to indicate the chief of these other lands into which Buddhism went and to mention a few of the earliest or most significant archeological sites and monuments of this faith, in them.

SOUTHERN LANDS

The countries first to be mentioned are all in southeast Asia and adjacent regions. In some of them, as for a notable example in Cambodia, it was at one time the Mahayana form of Buddhism which was in the ascendency, but in most of them it is now the Hinayana school which prevails.

CEYLON

According to the Mahavamsa\textsuperscript{198} and the record of Hiuen Tsang,\textsuperscript{199} the chief work in the conversion of Ceylon (which was called Lanka or Sinhala) to the Buddhist faith was done by Mahinda (or Mahendra), son (or younger brother) of King Asoka. The king of Ceylon at that time was named Tissa, and he became the great protector of the new religion on the island. At his capital city of Anuradhapura, Tissa erected various sacred structures, including the Mahavihara or Great Monastery where a portion of the Bodhi tree brought from Gaya was planted.\textsuperscript{200} In the same city at the beginning of the first century B.C. the great king Dutthagamani built the large Ruanweli dagoba which is described in detail in the Mahavamsa;\textsuperscript{201} and toward the end of the same century King Vattagamani Abhaya constructed the Abhayagiri vihara.\textsuperscript{202} The ruins or rebuilt remains of these and other ancient structures are still to be found at Anuradhapura; and on the platform of the Ruanweli dagoba there stood until modern times several colossal statues dating probably from around A.D. 200. In the forest not far away was the statue of the Buddha pictured in

\textsuperscript{198} xxii-xiv. tr. Geiger, pp.88-96.
\textsuperscript{199} xx, 1. tr. Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, ii, pp.246f.
\textsuperscript{200} Mahavamsa xxv-xxix. tr. Geiger, pp.97-135.
\textsuperscript{201} Mahavamsa xxxviii-xxxvi. tr. Geiger, pp.217-219.
\textsuperscript{202} Mahavamsa xxxii, 81. tr. Geiger, p.295.
Fig. 114. This figure is larger than life-size, and probably belongs to the third century A.D. It is now in the Museum at Colombo.

In the ninth century A.D. the kings transferred their residence to Polonnaruwa, where medieval dagobas, temples and viharas still stand; and in the sixteenth century the capital was moved to Kandy, where the most famous sanctuary is the Dalada Maligawa or Temple of the Tooth. This temple dates in its present form from the eighteenth century, and is the repository of a supposed tooth-relic of the Buddha. According to the Dathavamsa, when the relics of the Buddha were distributed after his cremation this tooth was given to Brahmadatta, king of Kalinga, and then later in time of war it was sent by King Guhasiva to Ceylon where it was given to King Kittisirimegha. This was in the latter part of the fourth century A.D., and when Fa Hien visited Ceylon in the early fifth century he found that the tooth was kept in a specially built shrine and brought forth at regular intervals to be carried in a procession and made the object of homage in extended ceremonies. After being kept first at Anuradhapura and then at Polonnaruwa, it is said to be the same tooth that is now at Kandy. At any rate the Temple of the Tooth at Kandy is of importance as having probably been built on much the same plan as the ancient temples of Anuradhapura.

BURMA

Burma was in the circle of influence of India from the beginning of the Christian era on, and probably by the fifth century A.D. the cities of Prome on the Irrawaddy River and Thaton on the southern coast were centers of Hindu and Buddhist culture. The oldest epigraphic records in Burma were found at the village of Hmawza, six miles north of modern Prome. They belong probably to the sixth century A.D., and contain extracts from Pali Buddhist texts. Thaton was a royal capital, but in the eleventh century A.D. was conquered by Anawrahta of Pagan, the king who first achieved the unification of all Burma. The latter king returned to Pagan with valuable Buddhist relics and scriptures, and devoted himself to spreading the religion of Buddhism throughout his realm. Pagan remained a great center of Buddhism from that time on until it was destroyed by a

291 Nihar-ranjan Ray, Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma. 1936, pp.3f.
Chinese army in A.D. 1287. The ruins of the ancient city and its environs extend over an area about twenty miles in length and five miles in breadth along the Irrawaddy River, and in this district the remains of more than five thousand pagodas and monasteries can be traced. Some of the pagodas were cylindrical or hemispherical like the stupas with which we are already familiar; others like the thirteenth century Mingalazedi (Fig. 113) anticipated the modern type which is best known from the famous Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon. Among the decorations of these structures were stone reliefs, wall paintings, and bronze figures.

THAILAND

The introduction of Buddhism into Thailand at some time in the early centuries of the Christian era is attested by a small bronze statue of the Buddha found, along with the ruins of an ancient temple, at Pong Tük, and by a similar figure discovered at Korat, both of which are judged from their style to have come from Amarakata in India. During the second half of the first millennium the land was inhabited by people of the Mon race, who practiced the Buddhist religion according to the Hinayana school and carved statues of the Buddha which are very similar in appearance to those of the Gupta Period in India. Then for a time the Khmer people dominated Siam, but were gradually displaced by the Thai. The latter were a Mongoloid race who are believed to have come from south China. By the last part of the thirteenth century A.D. a united state was in existence under the rule of a certain Ram Khamheng who takes rank as the first great Thai king of Siam.

The capital city of Ram Khamheng was at Sukhothai, near modern Thani. Among the ancient ruins of Sukhothai are the temples of Maha-Tat and Sri Chum. The former is said to have comprised originally no less than a hundred and eighty-nine different structures, of which the chief were a stupa with its annexes and a huge vihara. The ruined stupa and the lower portions of the columns which supported the roof of the vihara are still to be seen, as is also an enormous standing statue of the Buddha. The temple of Sri Chum is later in date than that of Maha-Tat, and probably belongs to the reign of Dhar-maraja I, grandson of Ram Khamheng, in the middle of the fourteenth century. It was built of brick and stucco, and had a rectangular

---

206 Chia Fig. 513.
sanctuary in which there is still a gigantic image of the seated Buddha.

Near the temple of Maha-Tat an obelisk was discovered with an inscription of Ram Kambeng written in the earliest form of Thai script. In it the king told how he and all his people without any distinction of rank or sex followed the observances of the Buddhist religion devoutly; how in the midst of Sukhothai there were temples and statues of the Buddha, some of the latter being as much as thirty feet in height; and how he built a monastery for a renowned teacher of Buddhism who came from the Malay Peninsula. Another inscription found at Sukhothai belongs probably to the reign of Dharma-raja I, and tells among other things of the coming of another famous Buddhist teacher, a venerable monk who had studied in Ceylon.

The style of architecture and sculpture which was developed at Sukhothai spread throughout the land, and the Sukhothai school is recognized as representing the ideal of Siamese art. The general type of stupa or pagoda which was built may be indicated by the twelve-inch-high bronze model with ivory pinnacle shown in Fig. 115.\(^{284}\) Representations of the Buddha characteristic of the Sukhothai school may be seen in a bronze head (Fig. 116) in the National Museum at Bangkok and a stone head (Fig. 117) at Gump's in San Francisco. Notable aspects of this type of portrayal include the elongated head, the sharply defined, aristocratic features, the half-closed eyes, gentle smile and calm, meditative expression.\(^{285}\)

CAMBODIA

Present-day Cambodia is but the remnant of a once much larger kingdom. In the first centuries of the Christian era this kingdom, which included Cochin China, Laos and southern Siam in addition to Cambodia, was known as Funan. In Funan the cults of both Siva and Buddha were practiced, and the art was definitely Indianesque. In about A.D. 540 the power of Funan was destroyed and their kingdom passed into the hands of the Khmer people. The latter were of Sino-Tibetan origin, and in their legends claimed descent from an Apsaras (or celestial nymph) named Mera, or from a Nagini (the feminine of Naga, a half-human, half-serpentine being) called Soma.

\(^{284}\) Reginald Le May, A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam. 1938. Fig. 151.\(^{285}\) George Coedès, Les collections archéologiques du Musée National de Bangkok (Ars Asiatica, xx). 1928, p.32; Le May, A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam, pp.13-20,21ff.,120-134; cf. Kenneth E. Wells, Thai Buddhism, Its Rites and Activities. 1939.
BUDDHISM

As far as religion is concerned, both Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism flourished in the kingdom of the Khmers, and the Hinayana school must also have been known since eventually it prevailed over the Mahayana. In about A.D. 802 Angkor became the Khmer capital, and from that date to the end of the thirteenth century is the classic period of Cambodian art, an art which was devoted to the service of both Hinduism and Buddhism.\(^{206}\)

Angkor is the Cambodian form of the Sanskrit word nāgara, meaning "capital," and Angkor Thom, as the full name now runs, signifies "the great capital." The ancient name of the city was Yasodharapura. Angkor Wat, as the temple about a mile south of the city is called, means "the temple of the capital."

The site of Angkor is on the right bank of the Siem Reap River which flows into the Tonle Sap or Great Lake. If we approach from the south we come first to Angkor Wat.\(^{207}\) It is the best-preserved example of Khmer architecture, and shows impressively the type of temple construction developed by this people. The entire structure is surrounded by a large moat, across which on the west side a paved bridge protected by Naga parapets leads to the main monumental entrance. Within, a paved causeway likewise guarded by a Naga balustrade leads on to the temple proper. Here a double gallery, richly sculptured with scenes of Hindu mythology, encloses the inner terraces. These rise one above the other to the innermost court where five great towers loom up, the highest reaching a total elevation of over two hundred and ten feet above the level of the ground. A view of the temple from the inner causeway is shown in Fig. 118.\(^{208}\)

Proceeding to Angkor Thom, we find that the ancient city had large reservoirs or artificial lakes on either side, and that it was itself surrounded by a moat three hundred feet wide and by walls which enclosed a practically perfect square some two miles long on each side. Within the city was also a sort of inner city, itself protected by moats now dry. The royal palace which probably once stood in this area has been destroyed, but other monuments are still to be seen, including the pyramidal temple called Phimeanakas, and the royal terrace with its procession of elephants, almost natural size, sculptured in relief.

\(^{206}\) Von Glassenapp, Der Buddhismus in Indien und im Fernen Osten, pp.122f.; CHIKA pp.180-186.

\(^{207}\) Le Temple d'Angkor Wat (Mémoires archéologiques publiés par l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient, n.), 7 vols. 1929-32.

\(^{208}\) ibid., Part I, vol. I, Pl. 50.
IN OTHER LANDS

At the very center of the entire city square rose the enormous Bayon temple, shown in Fig. 119 in an air view. It was built on much the same general plan as Angkor Wat, with encircling galleries and successive stories. Contributing a great deal to the impressiveness of the temple are its approximately fifty towers and one hundred and seventy-two great sculptured human faces. The faces are thought to represent the Bodhisattva Lokesvara or Avalokitesvara, and if this is correct the Bayon probably originated as a Buddhist temple. Other decorations include a great variety of relief scenes which depict trees, flowers, animals, fishes, festivals, processions, naval combats, events in daily life, ordinary men and women, princes and princesses, gods and goddesses. A sculptured pillar from the Bayon, with two dancing figures on lotuses, is pictured in Fig. 120. In Fig. 121 one of the mighty towers is shown, with its colossal faces looking out, eyes half closed and an enigmatical, elusive smile upon the lips. This is the “smile of Angkor,” doubtless intended as a mysterious and mystic reflection of the inward blessedness of enlightenment. 209

A similar facial expression appears upon many of the Buddha statues characteristic of classic Khmer art. This may be seen, for example, in the case of the Buddha head pictured in Fig. 122. Particularly interesting and typical of Cambodian art also is the type of statue shown in Fig. 123. Here the Buddha is seated upon a coiled serpent which raises its seven heads protectingly behind the Buddha’s head. The literary reference which illuminates the conception may be found in various sources including the Lalita-Vistara. 211

There it is narrated that in the fifth week after his enlightenment the Buddha was staying in the house of the king of the Nagas, Musilinda. At this time there was very bad weather, and the serpent king protected the Buddha from the cold winds by enveloping him with seven coils and sheltering him with his heads. 211

---


Both Hinduism and Buddhism must have been introduced into Java in the early centuries of the Christian era. As far as Buddhism is concerned it was the creed of the Hinayana which gained the most adherents at first, but in the eighth century A.D. the Mahayana school gained the ascendancy. Finally in the fifteenth century the faith of Islam spread over the entire island.

From about A.D. 750 to 850 Middle Java was ruled by the Sailendra dynasty whose center was at Palembang in Sumatra. It was at this time that Mahayanism flourished and it is from this time that the chief Buddhist monuments of Java come. Of these the greatest is Borobudur.

Borobudur114 is the common native name of a mighty structure which stands on an eminence in the plain of Kedu commanding a striking panorama of green fields and lofty conical volcanoes. A rounded hill was terraced to support the construction and was veritably clothed in a mantle of stone. The six lower terraces are square, while the upper three are circular. Each of the lower terraces provides a gallery of which the walls are richly adorned with reliefs which illustrate the life of Buddha according to the Lalita-vistara and scenes from other Buddhist literature; while on the upper platforms no fewer than seventy-two small perforated stupas are arranged in three concentric circles around a larger central stupa. All together the monument constitutes a sort of mystic diagram in stone. As the pilgrim walks around the terraces the teachings of Buddhism are spread before his eyes in the long succession of sculptured reliefs. As he climbs toward the summit he comes up to levels where figured representations are left behind and there are only the “pure forms” of the stupas. Thus is symbolized the progress of the follower of Buddhist teachings who rises out of the world of appearances into perfect enlightenment.

An air view of this remarkable monument is shown in Fig. 124; and a portion of its broad base terrace and elaborately ornamented wall is pictured in Fig. 125. Also, from the series of reliefs on the first gallery which gives scenes from the life of Gautama Buddha according to the Lalita-vistara, we show in Fig. 126 the Attainment of the

Highest Wisdom. Since the immediately preceding reliefs have depicted the final attacks upon Gautama by Mara and his daughters, there can be no doubt that this scene represents the actual achievement of the Great Enlightenment by the Buddha. The relevant passage in the Lalita-vistara reads in part as follows: "In the late watch of the night when the day began to break, the Bodhisattva, with such lofty comprehension, according to an insight that absorbed in unity of thought and time all that could be known, thought, achieved, seen and contemplated, attained the highest and most perfect Wisdom, and acquired the threefold knowledge. Thereupon the gods spake: 'Strew flowers, O friends, Bhagavat hath attained the Wisdom.' Then the sons of the gods strewed divine flowers over the Tathagata till a knee-deep layer of the blossoms was formed." In the relief showing this scene the Buddha is seated upon a throne while the Bodhi tree bends over him to form a round niche and on either side stands a flowering plant. The gods sit to the right and left, some holding bowls of flowers, and others hover above, also with flowers and vases to honor the Enlightened One with a rain of blossoms.

NORTHERN LANDS

In its remarkable missionary expansion Buddhism went also into the lands of northern Asia, and in these regions it is the Mahayana which now chiefly prevails.

SINKIANG

Of the routes of intercourse between India and the north none is more interesting than that marked out by the pilgrim feet of Fa Hien who, in about A.D. 399 journeyed overland from China to seek Buddhist documents in the land of that faith’s origin. Departing from Ch’ang-an, Fa Hien and his party went by way of Changyeh to Tung-wang at the end of the Great Wall, and then set out across a fearsome desert which is described in his record as follows: "In this desert there are a great many evil spirits and also hot winds; those who encounter them perish to a man. There are neither birds above nor beasts below. Gazing on all sides as far as the eye can reach in order

Krom and Van Erp, Beschrijving van Barabudur, Atlas III, Pls. 11, 64; Atlas I, Pl. XLVIII, No. 96.

to mark the track, no guidance is to be obtained save from the rotting bones of dead men, which point the way.\footnote{213}

Fa Hien was here journeying across a portion of the Gobi desert, and heading toward and across what today is called Sinkiang. Two chains of oases mark and make possible the caravan routes which lead on to the west and southwest. The route skirting the central waste on the north touches Turfan, Qara Shahr, Kucha and Kashgar; while the other route on the south goes through Lop Nor, Niya, Khotan and Yarkand. Of these places the following are mentioned in the record of Fa Hien: the region of Lop Nor, Qara Shahr, Turfan, Khotan and Kashgar. Beyond Sinkiang the pilgrims crossed mountains where there was snow in both winter and summer alike, and where according to their record there were "also venomous dragons, which, if provoked, spit forth poisonous winds, rain, snow, sand, and stones." "Of those who encounter these dangers," says Fa Hien, "not one in ten thousand escapes." Finally they followed "a difficult, precipitous, and dangerous road, the side of the mountain being like a stone wall ten thousand feet in height. On nearing the edge, the eye becomes confused; and wishing to advance, the foot finds no resting-place."\footnote{214} Below, however, they saw the Indus River, and descending at last from the terrible hills found themselves in the land which was their goal.

At this point in our study we are dealing with the northward spread of Buddhism, and we note with interest that Fa Hien reports the existence of the faith in the form of either the Little or the Great Vehicle at most of the places he visited in Sinkiang. There is also archeological evidence from the same region in the form of Buddhist sculptures and paintings, and in sufficient abundance that it is possible to distinguish the contributions of varied schools of art such as the Gandharan, the Gupta and the Sasanian.\footnote{215}

For a single concrete example of this Buddhist art of central Asia we will turn to the region of Kucha. In this vicinity there is a series of caves with Buddhist paintings dating from around the fourth to the eighth centuries A.D. The painting reproduced in Fig. 127 is from a cave at Qtizil near Kucha, and dates probably from the seventh century A.D. There are several copies of this scene at Kucha, and on the edge of one the name of Ajatasatru was scratched as a tiny in-
scription. This was doubtless to assist the memory of some monk who guided pilgrims to see the pictures, and it also gives the clue to the identification of the following curious and little-known legend as that represented in the scene. According to Tibetan tradition, at the time when Gautama Buddha died and the accompanying earthquake took place, the important disciple Kassapa (Kasyapa) the Great was staying at Rajagriha. He feared that the shock of the Buddha's death might be too much for King Ajataśatru unless the news were broken to him with certain precautions. Kassapa therefore told a nobleman of Magadha named Varshakara of the danger and instructed him how to proceed. Varshakara was to prepare a picture which depicted the chief events of the life of Gautama including his Parinirvana in death at Kusinara. Also he was to make ready seven large jars full of fresh ghee, and one of pulverized sandalwood. Then, said Kassapa to Varshakara, "when the king comes to the gate of the park, you must ask him if he would not like to see the picture; and when he looks at the scenes you will explain them to him beginning with the first. When he hears that the Enlightened One is dead, he will fall to the earth. You must then place him in one of the jars filled with fresh ghee, and when the butter begins to melt you must put him in the jar of powdered sandalwood, and he will recover."

In our painting we see in the lower right hand corner a large circle enclosing a sea and mountain. The mountain is breaking apart and falling down, while the sun and moon roll to the ground. This represents the earthquake which was concomitant with the death of the Buddha. In the upper left-hand corner two royally attired persons are seated upon thrones, accompanied by attendants, and in earnest conversation with a young man who sits on a near-by stool. This must be King Ajataśatru and his queen talking with Varshakara. At the right is a second and subsequent scene. We note a number of large jars in the foremost of which is the figure of the king, still wearing his crown, but wrapped now in bandages and lifting his arms in fear. Before him stands Varshakara, holding up a large cloth roll covered with pictures. On this, four scenes may be distinguished. At the lower left is the Nativity, with Queen Maya and a body of light descending at her side. At the upper left is the attack of the hosts of Mara upon Gautama just before his Enlightenment. At the lower right is the preaching of the Buddha in the Deer Park at Benares; at the upper right is his death. In many of the graceful
figures we recognize the Gupta style of painting which we first met at far-away Ajanta.\textsuperscript{218}

**CHINA**

Buddhism was known in China at least as early as A.D. 61 when according to legend the later Han emperor Ming Ti was supposed to have been led by a dream to send to India for Buddhist statues, writings, and teachers. Probably it was there even earlier. The routes by which the Buddhist faith came to China must have been various, and doubtless included the way of the sea from south India to Tonkin and south China, and the mountain passes from Burma to Yunnan and southwest China, as well as the caravan routes across the wastes of Sinkiang to west China of which we have just been speaking. Despite the formidable mountains and deserts which might have barred less devoted pilgrims and missionaries, this last way was the most important in the whole history of the introduction of Buddhism to China.\textsuperscript{219} We will continue on it, therefore, in our own presentation, and enter China at the western frontier city of Tunhwang whence long ago Fa Hien departed.

Tunhwang was not only on the great east-west trade route across Asia but also at the intersection point with it of the high road between Mongolia in the north and Tibet in the south. This location exposed the city to not infrequent attacks, and it was probably some such incursion which led to the hiding away of the treasure of which we are about to speak. This is a quantity of Buddhist paintings on silk, all crumpled up as if thrust away hurriedly, which were recovered from a recess in one of the Ch'ien Fo Tung or Caves of the Thousand Buddhas at Tunhwang.\textsuperscript{220} While the caves themselves are of much interest for their frescoes and sculptures,\textsuperscript{221} special attention may be given to the paintings just mentioned, along with which

\textsuperscript{218} Albert Grünwedel, Alt-Kutsch, archäologische und religiongeschichtliche Forschungen an Tempera-Gemälden aus buddhistischen Höhlen der ersten acht Jahrhunderte nach Christi Geburt (Veröffentlichung der preussischen Turfan-Expeditionen mit Unterstützung des Bössl-Instituts). 1920, Pls. XLIII-XLIV; ii, pp.101-107; A. von Le Coq, Bilderschau zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens. 1925, p.82, Fig. 157.

\textsuperscript{219} O. Franke in slm n, pp.229f.

\textsuperscript{220} Aurel Stein, Serindia, Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China. 1921, ii, pp.791-894; and The Thousand Buddhas, Ancient Buddhist Paintings from the Cave-Temples of Tun-huang on the Western Frontier of China. 1921.

some paintings on linen and on paper, and also a few specimens of embroidered pictures, were likewise found. For the importance of such pictures we may recall the illustrated cloth which we have just seen Varshakara holding up before King Ajatasatru in the wall painting at Kucha.

The Tunhwang paintings were probably hidden away soon after the close of the tenth century A.D., and the period of their execution is believed to have been the Tang Period, seventh to tenth centuries A.D., when Chinese art reached great heights. In the style of the paintings Indian, Tibetan and Chinese traditions are recognizable, and in their subjects special prominence is given to various ones of the Bodhisattvas who are such important objects of devotion in Mahayana Buddhism.

Of all the Bodhisattvas the most beloved is Avalokiteśvara, the incarnation of Pity and the spiritual son of Amitabha, ruler of the blessed Western Paradise. Avalokiteśvara is known to the Chinese as Kwan-yin (and to the Japanese as Kwannon) and may appear in either male or female form. In later art the female representation is almost universal, but at Tunhwang the male is still predominant. Next in popularity to Avalokiteśvara is Kshitigarbha, known in China as Ti-tsang (and in Japan as Jizo), and recognized as breaker of the powers of hell and illuminator of its darkness, and as patron of travelers. Other Bodhisattvas are Manjuśri, embodiment of the spirit of wisdom; Samantabhadra, representative of the power of the Church; Bhaisajyagaraja, lord of medicine; and Maitreya, the Buddha who is yet to come. All of these are portrayed on the Tunhwang paintings, as well as Gautama Buddha himself, the Guardians of the Four Quarters of the World, and the blessed inhabitants of the Happy Land of Amitabha.

We select for illustration in Fig. 128 an attractive picture of the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha as the Patron of Travelers. The painting is on pale green silk, and the other chief colors are brownish red, yellow and black. The Bodhisattva is seated upon an open lotus and holds a pilgrim’s staff in the right hand and a ball of crystal in the left. The head and shoulders are draped in a traveler’s shawl. Below

---

\[309\]

222 For the various forms of Avalokiteśvara, see Alice Getty, The Gods of Northern Buddhism, Their History, Iconography and Progressive Evolution through the Northern Buddhist Countries, 2d ed. 1928, pp.55-107. For Kwan-yin as the goddess of mercy and the most popular deity of China see Lewis Hodous, Folkways in China (Probsthain’s Oriental Series, xvii). 1929, pp.68-74.

223 Stein, The Thousand Buddhas, Ancient Buddhist Paintings from the Cave-Temples of Tun-huang on the Western Frontier of China, Pl. xl.
in the left corner is the figure of the donor of the painting. The whole atmosphere of the work is that of serene beatitude.

For one other illustration of Buddhist art in China we may continue to Wan Fo Hsia, three days' march east of Tunhwang, where a ninth century cave is adorned with wall paintings. One of these is pictured in Fig. 130. The scene is the Sukhavati or Western Paradise of Amitabha. Amitabha is seated in the center upon a throne which is on a platform built on piles over the Sukhavati Lake, and on either side is a Bodhisattva seated upon a lotus. The one on Amitabha's left is Avalokiteshvara, who holds a flask with lotus flowers; the one on his right is Mahasthamaprapta, who is his other customary attendant. Around each of the side figures are five smaller Bodhisattvas, while two kneeling figures present offerings at the throne of Amitabha. On the smaller pier in front of the throne platform an Apsaras is dancing to the accompaniment of seated musicians, while on either side at the front are terraces with seated Buddhas. Behind and above these various deities are the Palaces of Delight, with their verandas overlooking the lake. 254

Tunhwang and Wan Fo Hsia of course bring us only barely within the frontiers of China and give us only early glimpses of Buddhism in that land. They do provide us, however, with the type of material which it is the primary purpose of this book to notice. Beyond that, to follow the expansion of Buddhism throughout China's vast reaches and to note the wealth of monuments which mark its later history there, would far exceed the necessary limits of the present chapter and is a task which cannot be undertaken here. This does not mean that the tremendous role played by Buddhism in the life of the Chinese people is to be minimized. 255

KOREA

The geographical location of Korea made it the natural recipient of Buddhism from China and in turn the mediator of that faith to Japan. According to Korean legend the kingdom of Tjoson (Japanese, Chosen) was first founded prior to 2000 B.C. Throughout much

of the first millennium A.D. three kingdoms existed in the land. These were: Silla (Japanese, Shiragi), which was located in the southeast, had its capital at Kyongju (Keishu), and lasted from 57 B.C. to A.D. 935; Pekche (Kudara), which was in the southwest, and endured from 37 B.C. to A.D. 663; and Kokuryo (also called Kokurai, Kokuli or Kuma), which was in the north, had its capital at Pyonyang (Heijo), and existed from 17 B.C. to A.D. 668. From A.D. 918 to 1392 the whole land was ruled by the Koryo dynasty, with the capital at Songto (Kaesong or Kaijo). From Koryo (Japanese, Korai), meaning Land of Beautiful Mountains, comes the name “Korea.” In 1392 the I (Yi) dynasty arose which ruled until modern times. Under this dynasty the capital was at Seoul (Kyongsong, Keijo), and the country was once more known as Tjoson, the Land of Morning Cool.

It was in the fourth century A.D., according to Korean traditions, that Buddhism was first introduced into the land.\textsuperscript{289} In A.D. 369 a priest named Sundo is said to have come to the northern kingdom of Kokuryo from a small Chinese kingdom on the upper border of Korea bringing Buddhist idols and sacred texts. In A.D. 384 when the people of Pekche learned of the new faith which was being practiced in Kokuryo they asked the Emperor of China to send them a famous priest named Marananda, and he and other priests who soon followed from China spread the faith in the southwestern kingdom. Finally around A.D. 424 a priest from Pyonyang named Mukocha came to Silla and preached Buddhism to the southeastern kingdom.

The story is that Mukocha first hired himself out as a plowman to a farmer who concealed him upon occasion in a cave. Later in Kyongju the priest was able to accomplish the cure of the illness of the king’s daughter by burning incense and offering prayer before a Buddhist image. Soon after that the king acceded to a request from Mukocha to bring artists from China to carve figures in the rock walls of his cave in order to make it into a chapel. In these labors the artists are said to have spent forty years.

For a single impressive monument of Buddhism in Korea we may speak of the Sokkulam or Temple of the Rock Cave not far southeast of Kyongju.\textsuperscript{297} Some would identify this cave with that of Mukocha,

\textsuperscript{289} Frederick Starr, Korean Buddhism. 1918, pp.4-11; Charles A. Clark, Religions of Old Korea. 1932, pp.271f.
\textsuperscript{297} P. Andreas Eckardt, Geschichte der koreanischen Kunst. 1929, pp.48-51,106, 114-117.
BUDDHISM

but in certain ancient chronicles there is mention of the building of the Sokpulsa or Temple of the Rock-Buddha near Kyongju in the tenth year of King Kyongtowon, and if this is to be identified with the Sokkulan it would date this work in A.D. 752.

The Sokkulan is constructed according to a remarkably symmetrical plan and is adorned with masterly reliefs and statues. The approach to the cave is flanked by life-sized granite figures of guardians of the Buddhist law, while the open entrance, over eleven feet wide, is protected by two carved doorkeepers. Next there is an antechamber with reliefs on both sides portraying the four kings of heaven, and beyond this there is a portal with massive columns and an arched beam through which access is gained to the innermost shrine or rotunda. Here the walls are lined with more granite relief slabs showing four Bodhisattvas and ten Arhats or Lohans, as the enlightened saints were known in Chinese, and, at the back of the rotunda, an eleven-headed Kwannon. On either side above the reliefs of the Bodhisattvas and Lohans are niches with small seated figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. In the center of the rotunda on a high pedestal is a colossal and majestic statue of the Buddha as shown in Fig. 129. 238

JAPAN

In the preceding section we have learned of the kingdom of Pekche in southwest Korea into which Buddhism was introduced from China in the latter part of the fourth century A.D. It was a king of Pekche who was instrumental in transmitting the faith to Japan. Under attacks from Kokuryo and Silla, Pekche turned to Japan for assistance and frequently received help from that source. In recognition of this aid and in hope of its continuation in the future, King Sungwong of Pekche sent emissaries to the court of Emperor Kimmui of Japan in the year A.D. 552. As the most valuable gifts he could present, the king of Pekche sent to his ally an image of the Buddha and certain Buddhist books.

For many years it was a question whether the new faith thus made known to Japan would be accepted or rejected. It was favored by the influential Soga family, but opposed by the conservative families of Mononobe and Nakatomi. After protracted controversy the opposition was at last overcome in an actual battle in A.D. 588 and Buddhism was free to spread unhindered. In the same year another mis-

238 ibid., Fig. 178.
sion from Pekche brought monks and also expert builders, including temple architects, tilers, a caster of pagoda spires and a painter, to Japan. It was no doubt with their assistance that the first large Buddhist monasteries were erected, the Shitennoji in Osaka, and the Hokoji in Asuka. Of this introduction of Buddhist architecture into Japan in the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. it has been said that it "was at the same time a first introduction to monumental architecture in general. More than this, it was the beginning of Japanese architectural history."[219]

The earliest monastery of which the buildings remain substantially intact today is the Horyuji near Nara. The first completion of Horyuji is dated by an inscription in A.D. 607, and the majority of important structures still standing date either from that time or from a rebuilding sometime within the following century. As revealed at Horyuji the nucleus of a monastery of this period was a group of buildings enclosed in a four-sided walled colonnade (Horo). Entrance was through a middle gate (Chumon) on one side of the rectangle, and within were two chief structures, a pagoda or To, and a Buddha hall or Kondo, the last name literally meaning a "golden" hall. Other buildings in the entire complex must have included an assembly hall, dining hall and sleeping quarters. A photograph of the nucleus of original buildings at Horyuji taken from the inner courtyard is shown in Fig. 131. The Golden Hall is at the left, the Pagoda at the right, and the Middle Gate in the center at the back.[220]

From the sculptures which crowd the Golden Hall we show in Fig. 132 a group in bronze, once covered with gold, which was probably executed in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. by the famous sculptor Kuratsukuri no Obito Tori. Sakyamuni is seated in the center, with his robes descending in wide-spreading folds. On either side stands an attendant Bodhisattva, while behind the heads are enormous nimbes with a decoration of flames.[221]

The Golden Hall is also splendidly decorated with wall paintings which probably date from the beginning of the eighth century.[222] Their style reveals a tradition derived from Ajanta (particularly

---

220 ibid., pp.23f.,297, Fig. 5.
Cave I), by way of Kucha and Tunhwang, and after Ajanta these paintings are regarded as the greatest masterpieces of the Buddhist world.\textsuperscript{224} The pictures at Horyuji include four paradise scenes on four large wall sections and eight Bodhisattvas on eight small wall sections. The four paradises are the realms in which four great Buddhas reside and into which they receive faithful believers.\textsuperscript{224} In each of the four scenes the respective Buddha is seated in the center surrounded by Bodhisattvas, saints and disciples, while celestial beings, clouds and flowers also adorn the picture. The painting reproduced in Fig. 183 is from the large east wall section and represents the Paradise of Shaka (Sakyamuni).\textsuperscript{224} The Bodhisattvas who stand on either side of the Buddha are portrayed in the Indian style, as may be seen for example by comparing the head of the Bodhisattva at Sakyamuni's right with the head of the Bodhisattva Padmapani in Cave I at Ajanta and noting that the treatment of such a detail as the eyebrows is absolutely identical. While in his compassion the Bodhisattva at Ajanta bends near to humanity, the Bodhisattvas of Horyuji retain a transcendental detachment even though they too are the incarnation of refuge and salvation.

As in China, so too in Japan the necessary concentration of our attention upon only a very few of the earliest monuments must not be taken to minimize the importance of the long history and wide spread of the Buddhist faith in the land. In Japan no less than a dozen sects of Buddhism arose, or thirty if subsects be counted. Of these six attained the greatest importance: Tendai, Shingon, Zen, Jodo, Shin, and Nichiren. To study them, however, and to catalogue later objects of Buddhist art in Japan would lead far beyond the limits necessarily imposed upon the present chapter.\textsuperscript{224} That which has been recorded here provides at all events at least a glimpse of the introduction of the faith into the land in which it still plays an important part in the lives of the inhabitants.

Finally a word will be said concerning Tibet, where the prevailing

\textsuperscript{224} OCE IV, p.56.

\textsuperscript{224} M. Anesaki, Buddhist Art in Its Relation to Buddhist Ideals with Special Reference to Buddhism in Japan. 1915, p.15.

\textsuperscript{224} Naito, The Wall-Paintings of Horyuji, pp.127ff., Pl. 5.

\textsuperscript{224} SCH I, pp.115-141; K. Florenz in SCH I, pp.348-422; OCE IV, pp.15ff.; Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, Zen Buddhism and Its Influence on Japanese Culture (The Ataka Buddhist Library, 9). 1938; Anesaki, Buddhist Art in Its Relation to Buddhist Ideals with Special Reference to Buddhism in Japan.
religion of Lamaism represents an amalgamation of elements from the aboriginal demonistic animism called Bon with the later introduced Buddhism.\textsuperscript{287} The Buddhist faith was brought to Tibet during the reign and through the leadership of King Srong-btsan-sgam-po who reigned from about A.D. 630 to 650. This important king who made Lhasa the capital of his realm, married both a Nepalese and a Chinese princess and thus symbolized the relationship of his country with its neighbors on both sides, a relationship which was clearly influential in the development of Tibetan Buddhist art.

In the eighth century a celebrated Indian monk named Padmasambhava was brought to Tibet from Magadha. He taught Buddhism in a strongly Tantric form which was full of sorcery and magic, and was similar to Saivite Hinduism in the worship of the Saktis or feminine principles of the gods. Such teachings were widely acceptable in a land long accustomed to demonolatry, and were never entirely eliminated despite the later reforms of such monks as Atisha (eleventh century) and Tsong-kha-pa (a.d. 1357-1419) through whom the ancient "Red" sects were partially suppressed and the "Yellow" church established as the dominant ecclesiastical organization.

The spiritual successors of Tsong-kha-pa were the Dalai Lamas who were able to establish a kind of papacy which had its center at Lhasa and which ruled both church and state. All the more exalted members of the hierarchy were called lamas or "superior persons," and were regarded as earthly manifestations of higher powers, while the Dalai Lama was considered the incarnation of no less a being than Avalokiteśvara.

Tibetan art finds its chief expressions in the architecture of palaces, temples, monasteries, and stupas which are known as Chortens; in sculpture, much of which is in bronze; and in painting, which is largely directed toward the production of votive banners for the temples. While most of the painted banners which are known date only from the eighteenth century or later, the painters have usually worked under the strictest requirements for the exact reproduction of earlier designs and hence the scenes themselves may be regarded

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{287} J. E. Ellam, The Religion of Tibet, A Study of Lamaism (The Wisdom of the East Series). 1927; W. Y. Evans-Wentz, The Tibetan Book of the Dead or the After-Death Experiences on the Bardo Plane, According to Lama Kazi Dawa-Samdup's English Rendering. 1927; and Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines or Seven Books of Wisdom of the Great Path, According to the Late Lama Kazi Dawa-Samdup's English Rendering, Arranged and Edited with Introductions and Annotations to Serve as a Commentary. 1935; Li An-che in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. 1948, pp.142-163; and in Ferm, ed., Forgotten Religions, pp.253-269.}
as of much greater antiquity. The subjects include events in the life of Gautama Buddha or portraits of the latter with other scenes grouped around him; representations of other Buddhas, tutelary deities (Yi-dams), Bodhisattvas, female deities among whom the most important is the Sakti of Avalokiteśvara named Tara, and Guardians of the Religion (Dharmapalas) who are demons of terrifying aspect; pictures of local saints and heroes such as Padmasambhava; and scenes of Tantric character employing a symbolism based on terror and mystic sensuality.\footnote{\textit{CCE} IV, pp.264-300; W. J. G. Van Meurs, \textit{Tibetsansche Tempelschilderingen}. Eng. tr. May Hollander. 1924; George Roerich, \textit{Tibetan Paintings}. 1925.}

In the painting shown in Fig. 134 the central place is occupied by Gautama Buddha. Standing below his ornate throne are his two most eminent disciples, Sariputta and Moggalana. At the top are three tutelary deities, Sang-dui, the Master of Secrets; Yamantaka, the Conqueror of Yama, the Lord of Death; and Samvara, or Best Happiness. Beneath the throne the personage riding on the lion is Kubera, who is the Lord of Riches and one of the Defenders of the Faith. At the bottom the two elephant-headed figures are two forms of Ganeśa. The remaining scenes illustrate events in the life of Gautama. Reading up from the bottom at the left, across, and down the right side, they depict: (1) Buddha in the Tushita heaven, waiting to descend to earth in the shape of a white elephant; (2) the dream of Maya; (3) the birth of Gautama; (4) his marriage and life in the pleasure palace; (5) his leaving home; (6) the cutting of his hair; (7) his life as an ascetic; (8) his preaching to the Nagas; (9) the temptation by Mara; (10) the enlightenment; (11) the first preaching; and (12) the entrance into Nirvana.

The painting reproduced in Fig. 135 is a mandala or ritual diagram which is used in making invocations to the deities. Here the central figure is Amitayus, the Buddha of Infinite Life, surrounded by eight facsimiles of himself. Around the outer rim of the large circle are the Eight Emblems and the Seven Jewels of Buddhism. The Eight, along the upper edge of the circle, are the umbrella, conch, covered vase, canopy, two fish, lotus, endless knot, and wheel of the law; the Seven, below, are the jewel, wheel, wife, elephant, horse, minister, and military leader. Across the top of the painting are Sitatapatra, Manjuśrī, Amitabha, Sadakshari, and Ushnisha-vijaya; and across the bottom are Jambhala, Sitajambhala, Hayagriva, Kalajambhala, and Vasudhara.\footnote{Antoniette K. Gordon, \textit{The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism}. 1939, pp.27f.}
CHAPTER VI

Confucianism

China is a vast land stretching back from its four thousand miles of Pacific coast line to the remote plateaus and deserts of Tibet, Sinkiang and Mongolia. Between the ocean and the outlying regions, three great river valleys mark out the three major areas of China proper. These are the basins of the Hwang, Yangtze, and Si, in north, central, and south China respectively. The Hwang Ho originates among the western mountains and flows approximately twenty-five hundred miles to empty into the Yellow Sea. The name of the stream literally means Yellow River and is derived from the valuable loess or yellow earth with which its waters are so heavily laden. Sometimes swift and again shallow and meandering, and in its lower reaches often altering its course, the Hwang has been of little value for commerce but has often devastated the land with terrible floods. The Yangtze Kiang rises in the high country between Tibet and Sinkiang, and has a course estimated at over three thousand miles in length before it pours into the sea not far from Shanghai. Known also as Ch’ang Kiang (Long River) or Ta Kiang (Great River), this river is navigable for sixteen hundred miles above its mouth, and provides China’s chief natural artery of commerce. The Si Kiang starts on the plateau of Yunnan and flows east and south for some twelve hundred and fifty miles to enter the South China Sea not far from Hong Kong. It, too, is of major commercial importance.

There are eighteen provinces in the region of the three river valleys just described, and although they occupy only about two-fifths of the entire area of the country they contain the bulk of its population or over four hundred million persons. When the estimated number of inhabitants in the outlying provinces and sections is also added in, the grand total is nearer five hundred million.

---


4 Anhwei, Chekiang, Fukien, Honan, Hopeh, Hunan, Hupeh, Kansu, Kiangsi, Kiangsu, Kwangsi, Kwangtung, Kweichow, Shansi, Shantung, Shensi, Szechwan, Yunnan.

---


[ 317 ]
1. THE BEGINNINGS OF CULTURE IN CHINA

The life of man in the region of China began in the Paleolithic Age as we know from the discovery of skeletal remains of Sinanthropus pekinensis near Chou K’ou Tien (p. 25), and it is thought possible that the modern Chinese are directly descended from these remote ancestors.  

THE NEOLITHIC AGE

In the Neolithic Age the remains of human life and culture are more abundant. Like the Paleolithic site at Chou K’ou Tien, the Neolithic sites now known are for the most part in the great basin of the Hwang Ho. They reveal a culture which in general was similar to that of other Neolithic peoples elsewhere in the world. That is to say, the men of this age practiced agriculture as well as hunting and fishing, they made weapons and tools of polished stone, and they manufactured much pottery.

The first discovery of a settlement of this period was made by J. G. Andersson in 1921 near Yang Shao Ts’un in western Honan. The oldest pottery at this place was a coarse, gray ware, with simple designs which had been pressed into the wet clay. Typical shapes included pots with pointed bottoms, and two kinds of “tripod” pots. The first of the tripod vessels is technically known as a li. This has three hollow, bulging legs, and it is surmised that it originated from leaning three pots with pointed bottoms together over the fire, and then later merging these in one vessel. The second tripod, known as a ting, is simply a bowl supported on three relatively thin, solid legs. It may also have originated in two stages from placing a clay vessel on three stones, and then replacing the stones with attached clay legs. While vessels more or less like the ting may also be found in other lands, the li seems to be a peculiarly characteristic invention of the Chinese area. Vessels are still made in both of these shapes in China today. Examples of the two typical forms from the Yang Shao

---

culture are shown in Fig. 136 with the \textit{li} on the left and the \textit{ting} on the right.\textsuperscript{10}

A later pottery likewise found at Yang Shao Ts’un and related sites is of much finer quality than the coarse ware just mentioned, and is also much advanced in its decoration. This is a painted pottery with attractive designs in various colors. Several of the sherds unearthed at Yang Shao Ts’un illustrate its character in Fig. 137.\textsuperscript{11} Similar pottery has also been found abundantly at sites out in the province of Kansu, and mortuary urns from that region are pictured in Fig. 138.\textsuperscript{12} This geographical distribution of the finds suggests that the Yang Shao painted pottery may have been an introduction into China from somewhere in the west. The time when the Yang Shao culture flourished has not yet been determined with any accuracy. Dates suggested for it range all the way from early in the third millennium to early in the second millennium B.C.\textsuperscript{13}

Yet a third type of Neolithic pottery represents still further technical advance. It is a very fine ware, made on a wheel, and finished with a glossy black surface. This was found first at Ch’eng Tzu Yai in Lung Shan Hsien, where excavations were conducted in 1930 and 1931 by the National Research Institute of History and Philology. Along with the black pottery were found other wares in white, pink, red and brown. This Lung Shan culture appears to have been simply an outgrowth of the Yang Shao culture, and the direct line of development is indicated by the continued and frequent occurrence of the \textit{li} and \textit{ting} types of vessels. The people of Ch’eng Tzu Yai, it may be added, lived in a large rectangular city, surrounded by walls of pounded earth more than thirty feet wide at the base and still standing in places to a height of ten feet.

THE HSIA DYNASTY

From many similarities, not the least of which are the common use of the “tripod” vessels and of the technique of building with pounded earth, the Neolithic cultures just dealt with and the Shang civilization shortly to be described may be regarded as standing in a continuous line of evolution. The question has not been solved, however,

\textsuperscript{10} Andersson, \textit{Children of the Yellow Earth}, pp.218-223, Pl. 21.
\textsuperscript{11} T. J. Arne in \textit{Palaeontologia Sinica} (Geological Survey of China). Ser. v, t, 2 (1925), Pl. m.
\textsuperscript{12} Nils Palmgren in \textit{Palaeontologia Sinica}. Ser. v, m, 1 (1934), Pl. xxxvii.
as to where the Hsia dynasty belongs in this development. This is a
dynasty spoken of in Chinese literary traditions as preceding the
Shang dynasty. It has not yet been possible to substantiate the exis-
tence of such a dynasty by archeological discoveries, and so it may
be surmised that the Hsia kings were little more than the headmen
of some of the Neolithic villages and towns. Perhaps they were able
to form some sort of a state, but it does not appear that they con-
stituted a dynasty in the usual sense of the word. The traditions
suggest that if such a state existed its location was in the region of
the lower Hwang Ho valley.\textsuperscript{14}

The literary sources also profess to provide us with dates for the
Hsia dynasty. The traditional chronology of ancient China, it may be
explained, is based upon a table found in the second part of the
twenty-first chapter of the Ch‘ien Han Shu, or History of the Former
Han Dynasty, written by Pan Ku who died in A.D. 92.\textsuperscript{15} Another
chronology is given in the Chu Shu Chi Nien, or Annals of the Bam-
boo Books, a work which was found in a tomb in A.D. 280 or 281 and
is believed to have been compiled in the state of Wei in the early part
of the third century B.C.\textsuperscript{16} Yet a third chronological system is based
upon a critical reconstruction of the text of the Bamboo Books just
mentioned, made by Wang Kuo-wei.\textsuperscript{17} All of the authorities are in
general agreement concerning the dating of events from 841 B.C. on,
but the farther one goes back of that date the more there is diver-
gence. Thus the Hsia dynasty is dated 2205-1765 B.C. in the tradi-
tional chronology; 1989-1558 B.C. in the system of the Bamboo Books
in their current text; and 1994-1523 B.C. in the scheme based upon a
reconstitution of the supposed ancient text of the Bamboo Books.

\textsuperscript{14} cscec pp.97-131.
\textsuperscript{15} For the traditional chronology see Mathias Tchang, Synchronismes chinois, Chron-
ologie complète et concordance avec l'ère chrétienne de toutes les dates concernant
l'histoire de l'Extrême-Orient (Chine, Japon, Coree, Annam, Mongolie, etc.) (2337 av.
\textsuperscript{16} On the chronology in the Bamboo Books see C. W. Bishop in JAOS 52 (1932),
\textsuperscript{17} For these dates reduced to terms of the Christian era, see cscec, p.xvii.
2. THE SHANG PERIOD

Out of the prehistoric cultures glimpsed by archeology as thus far indicated, emerged the first historic Chinese civilization, that of the Shang Period. In the traditional chronology the Shang dynasty is dated 1765-1122 B.C.; in the chronology of the current text of the Bamboo Books it is placed at 1538-1050 B.C.; and in the chronology of the revised text of the Bamboo Books it is 1523-1027 B.C.

According to later literary tradition, the founder of the Shang dynasty was a hero called T’ang. In the T’ang Shih, probably written in the Chou Period, he is pictured as a vassal of the last Hsia king, who rose up in rebellion against the latter because of the wickedness of his reign. “It is not I, the little child,” T’ang is reported to have said, “who dare to undertake a rebellious enterprise; but for the many crimes of the sovereign of Hsia, Heaven has given the charge to destroy him. . . . The sovereign of Hsia is guilty, and, as I fear God, I dare not but punish him.”

In the time of a later Shang king named P’an Keng it is possible to correlate the traditional history with actual archeological discovery. P’an Keng ruled from 1401 to 1374 B.C. according to the traditional chronology (or 1315-1288 B.C. according to the Bamboo Books), and is said to have moved his people to a new capital city. The move is narrated in a literary work called the P’an Keng, in which we read of this king, “P’an Keng wished to remove [the capital] to Yin.” This document probably dates from the Chou Period, in which time the ancient Shang capital evidently was known as Yin. Another later writing, the Hsiang Yu Pen Chi of the Shih Chi, indicates the location of the city by stating that certain events transpired “on the site of the ruins of Yin, south of the Huan River.”

ANYANG

The geographical position just indicated agrees with that of an ancient city excavated since 1928 at Anyang in northern Honan. The excavations have been done by the National Research Institute of History and Philology in collaboration with the Freer Gallery of Art, and there can be little doubt that the result is the rediscovery of the one-time capital of P’an Keng. From inscriptions on oracle bones

18 Shu King iv, i. see iii, p.85.
19 Shu King iv, vii, i. see iii, p.104.
20 Shih Chi vii, 10b. Quoted in csecc p.64.
found there and shortly to be described in more detail, we learn that
the ancient name of the place was "the great city Shang." 21

The city was on a level plain, and utilized a bend in the river for
natural protection. Probably there were also earthen walls, but the
remains of these have not yet been found. The houses and buildings
of the city were constructed with foundations of pounded earth and
superstructures of wood. The roofs seem to have been gabled, and
to have been supported on three rows of pillars. The base of each
pillar was usually set upon a large rock, sunk into the earthen foun-
dation platform. The wooden portions of these buildings have of
course vanished almost entirely, but the foundation terraces and pil-
lar bases remain to show their outlines clearly. The structural prin-
ciples, it may be added, are essentially the same as those of modern
Chinese houses, save that now the middle row of supports for the
roof no longer comes down to the floor as pillars but rests upon hori-
izontal beams supported by the side pillars. Interestingly enough, one
of the characters in the inscriptions on the oracle bones is 和 and
this is probably a pictograph of one of the large buildings, perhaps
a temple, seen from the end. 22

While the people of the Great City Shang still practiced hunting,
they also possessed domesticated animals including cattle and horses,
and their principal source of livelihood was agriculture. In the realm
of ceramics, the Shang people made a white pottery which seems to
have been directly descended from the white pottery of the Lung
Shan culture. While the Lung Shan ware was left a plain white, how-
ever, the Shang pottery was adorned with an elaborate ornamen-
tation. The fundamental pattern in this decoration is technically known
as the angular volute or meander. Sometimes this is worked out in
purely geometrical designs, but again it takes on a theriomorphous
character, that is, it represents animals or at least suggests them in
a highly stylized way. An illustration may be seen in Fig. 139 where
a white pottery amphora, now in the Freer Gallery, Washington,
D.C., is shown. The decoration around the body of the jar is geo-
metrical but in the frieze about the neck the motif of an eye with
bands going off from it on either side is introduced.

RITUAL BRONZES

In the excavations at Anyang many objects of bronze were brought
to light, and other bronzes of comparable character and date are

21 csce p.63.
22 cnc pp.62,67.
known from many other sources. Thus it is shown that the people of the Shang Period had already made the very important transition from the Stone Age to the Bronze Age. As far as we know, the Lung Shan culture was the direct predecessor of the Shang civilization, and in the strata representing that culture at Ch'eng Tzu Yai and elsewhere, no metal whatsoever was found. In the Shang Period, immediately following, bronze was well known, and bronze casting was practiced with a technique equal to the best that can be done today. This suggests the hypothesis that the art of bronze working had been introduced into China from the outside and at a relatively advanced stage of development. Even if the Shang people derived this art from others, however, there is no question that they themselves raised it to very great heights. Indeed it is generally recognized that Shang bronzes are of a distinctive excellence which is unsurpassed and has seldom even been attained anywhere else in the world.  

The bronze objects of the Shang Period include weapons, tools, ornaments, helmets and chariot fittings, but most important are the many vessels known as ritual bronzes. These vessels were cast in a variety of shapes. Among them we recognize at once the bowl supported on three legs, which was familiar as a clay vessel in Yang Shao times and has now been translated into bronze. It appears in the form of a li, a ting, and also a li-ting where the two types of tripods have been combined. Similar to the ting is the chia, also a three-legged bowl but with a pair of short, capped columns on the rim to facilitate its removal from the fire. The ting now also may have handles on the rim, and both the ting and the chia are sometimes found with four legs rather than three. Another three-legged vessel is the chüeh, the bowl of which looks like an inverted helmet, and which has a handle and a spout as well as the capped columns on the rim. The hsien is a steamer made out of a li with a large pot on top of the tripod. The p'ou is a round container with sloping shoulders and a body which gives the appearance of sagging. The lei is a large p'ou, and the kuei looks like the same vessel with a very wide mouth. The ku is a tall vase shaped like a trumpet; and the tsun is a large vase of more ordinary form and much stouter than the ku. The yu is a potlike container with a cover, and often with a handle.

In the decoration of the Shang bronzes the first main style was

24 Phyllis Ackerman, Ritual Bronzes of Ancient China. 1945; Charles F. Kelley and Ch'en Meng-Chia, Chinese Bronzes from the Buckingham Collection. 1946.
adornment with incised representations, the grooves of which were probably filled originally with red or black pigment. The prevailing motifs were much the same as those already noted on the Shang white pottery. For an illustration we show in Fig. 140 an early Shang ting, which may be compared with the pottery amphora in Fig. 139. The body of the bowl carries a complex meander pattern, and under the rim is the same arrangement of lines on either side of an eye as was found on the amphora. In some cases there are naturalistic representations of animals, for example of frogs or fish, on the bronzes, but more often it is the highly conventionalized figures which prevail. These may include combinations of various animals, real and imaginary; often the conceptions are so very abstract that if it were not for the eyes they might be taken for purely geometric patterns.

A very characteristic representation shows a monster with one head and two bodies, or, otherwise expressed, with a severed body the two halves of which are laid out symmetrically on either side. To this figure it has become customary to give the name t'ao-t'ieh meaning "ogre mask." Such a t'ao-t'ieh may be seen on the body of the fine tsun pictured in Fig. 141. On the same vessel there are dragons on the foot, other animals and raised heads on the shoulder, serpents on the neck, and standing triangles on the outside of the mouth. Small notched flanges delimit the main areas of decoration.

The second main style of decoration employed the same theriomorphic motifs but rendered them in bold relief. A fine example may be seen in the yu pictured in Fig. 142. As usual, the t'ao-t'ieh occupies the most prominent position. Specially notable are the curved horns of the monster, with pointed tips turned upward. The flanges on the vessel are very pronounced and serve to emphasize its structure.

To what use were these vessels put? It is possible that some of them were employed for ordinary household purposes, but as their customary designation, "ritual bronzes," implies, it is believed that for the most part they were intended for religious purposes. Already at this time, as so persistently thereafter, the Chinese people seem to have worshiped the spirits of the elements and of their ancestors. To do proper reverence to these spirits was deemed of great importance, and customary practices included the making of offerings of food and drink. The ritual bronzes, according to the most probable interpretation of their character, were the necessary vessels for use in these ceremonies. Thus, for example, a jug like the yu may have
held the sacrificial wine; a bowl like the ting may have contained an offering of food or liquid; a cup like the chūeh may have been used to pour out a libation; and a beaker such as the ku may have been employed to drink from in symbolical communion with the deities.

That such an interpretation is not entirely hypothetical is shown by the inscriptions which are frequently found on the bronzes. These may say, for example, “For Father Ting”; or again they may express the wish that sons and grandsons may value and employ the vessels for ten thousand years. This is clear proof that such objects were used in the ancestor cult. While most of the bronzes now known came from tombs, it is surmised that many of them were kept in ancestral temples before they were placed in the graves.  

What then was the significance of the decoration on the bronzes? It must have had an ornamental purpose, of course, as we recognize in the very fact of calling it decoration. But the persistent appearance of the many fantastic creatures including the t'ao-t'ieh suggests some deeper meaning as well. The character of the figures is scarcely such as to justify their identification with the elemental and ancestral spirits to whom the cult worship was chiefly addressed. Indeed, as far as we otherwise know, there was no tendency at this time to portray the deities in either animal or human form. Rather, the nature of the forms makes us think that they are intended for demons, and in that case the primary purpose of placing them on the sacred vessels must have been to ward off evil and safeguard the consecrated contents. When we also recall the geometrical but elusive manner of the portrayal, in which the component parts of the creatures are so placed that an animal form seems to materialize before our eyes and then almost dissolve again into purely angular patterns, we may go further and say with MM. Charles Vignier and René Grousset that the decorations convey a “haunting suggestion” of “that omnipresent mystery which was always ready to resolve itself into terror.” Thus “the Chinese race was already uncompromisingly practical, though intensely impregnated with a sense of mystery.”

ORACLE BONES

The Shang Period not only marks the transition from the epoch of stone to that of bronze, but also from the era of illiteracy to that

---

26 o.c.c. iii, pp.31-33. Quoted by permission of the publisher, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York and London. See also Carl Hentze, Objets rituels, croyances et dieux de la Chine antique et de l'Amérique. 1936, pp.101f.

[ 327 ]
CONFUCIANISM

of writing. Our knowledge of this last fact is based upon the famous oracle bones which have come to light in the vicinity of Anyang. These are pieces of oxbone, and also of tortoise shell, which were employed for purposes of divination, and on some of which inscriptions are found. Many of them are from the reign of Wu Ting, who ruled at Anyang from 1324 to 1266 B.C. according to the traditional chronology; others may go back to the time of Pan Keng. A group of the inscribed bones is shown in Fig. 143, although the specimen in the upper left-hand corner is an example of a forged inscription in imitation of the ancient ones. These inscriptions provide us with the earliest known examples of Chinese writing, and it is interesting to learn that all of the important principles in the formation of modern Chinese characters were already employed, at least to some extent, at that time. More than two thousand different characters appear upon the oracle bones as now known.

The use to which the bones were put is of significance for our study. As already intimated, they were employed as a means of obtaining the counsel of the deities and the ancestral spirits in answer to questions. The essential part of the method consisted in the application of heat to the bone or shell, thus producing a T-shaped crack, the specific character of which was interpreted as giving either an affirmative or a negative answer.

Occasionally, say about one time in ten to judge from the examples at hand, the question to which an answer was sought was actually written out on the bone. The question was often as simple as, "Will it rain tonight?" and on one bone where this interrogation was recorded there was also a later notation, "It really didn't rain." Other queries concerned sacrifices, trips, wars, hunting, farming, illness and all kinds of miscellaneous subjects.

From the inscriptions additional information has been derived concerning the deities worshiped at this time. Most important, of course, were the spirits of ancestors, sometimes going back for many generations. Then there were the elemental spirits such as of the earth, of the wind, of a river, of east, west and south, of below and above [of earth and heaven?]. Yet other deities were named the Dragon Woman, the Eastern Mother, the Western Mother, and Ti or Shang Ti. The last named, Ti or Shang Ti, is of obscure character at this time, though connected in the inscriptions with such things as war,

[ 328 ]
rain, and fortune or misfortune in general. Later this god was to attain great importance.

The oracle bone inscriptions seem also to mention human sacrifice, and the discovery of mass burials of decapitated persons at Anyang is taken to substantiate the existence of this practice. The pictograph on the oracle bones which is interpreted as sometimes signifying human sacrifice (and again, attack as in war), is clearly that of a man who is laying the blade of a dagger-ax across the neck of another. This pictograph may be seen on the oracle bone in the upper right-hand corner of Fig. 143. It also appears at the top of the left side of the Shang bronze ax in Fig. 144. On the same instrument at the right is the picture of a hsien or steamer, which is used in the bone inscriptions with the meaning "to sacrifice." It is supposed therefore that this ax was a ceremonial weapon used for such sacrifices.

The inscriptions furthermore testify to the existence in their time of written books. They employ a pictograph meaning "book," and showing several vertical lines joined by a loop. The vertical lines represent strips of wood or bamboo, and the loop is the cord with which these were tied together. Books made in exactly this fashion, with each wooden strip containing a column of characters running from top to bottom, and the whole resembling a miniature picket fence, are known from the Han Period, but all those of the ancient Shang Period have doubtless long since perished.
3. THE CHOU PERIOD

The Shang Period came to an end and the Chou Period was inaugurated in 1122 B.C. according to the traditional chronology; or 1050 B.C. according to the figures given in the Bamboo Books; or 1027 B.C. according to the revised scheme growing out of the critical reconstruction of the text of the Bamboo Books. It is possible but not certain that the Shang capital had remained at Anyang (Yin) until the end. The genuine text of the Bamboo Books states: "From the time when P'an Keng moved to Yin down to the fall of Chou [the last Shang king] . . . the capital was not again moved."²⁸ Supporting this statement in part is the fact of the existence of inscribed oracle bones doubtless found at Anyang and dating from the reign of Ti I (traditionally dated in 1191-1155 B.C.), the next to the last Shang king; whether any bone inscriptions are to be ascribed to the reign of the last Shang ruler is uncertain.²⁹

The last ruler of the Shang people was Ti Hsin, ordinarily called Chou. He was notorious, at least in the later literary traditions which took form under his conquerors, for misrule, cruelty and immoderation in every way. He was supposed to have been the first to use ivory chop sticks, and one of his ministers named Kitsu is reported to have remarked: "Today it was ivory chop sticks, tomorrow it will be jade cups. The eating of bears' paws will follow. Such extravagance and covetousness will bring the empire to ruin."³⁰

WESTERN CHOU

This corrupt representative of the great Shang dynasty was overthrown by a confederation of western barbarians under the leadership of the Chous.³¹ The tribe or tribes known by the name of Chou lived in the valley of the Wei River over three hundred and fifty miles west and south of Anyang. Their capital city was at Feng, and shortly after the conquest of Shang was moved to Hao. They seem to have been descended from the same Neolithic ancestors as the Shangs, but to have had a more primitive civilization until their contact with the latter. Then they learned rapidly and soon adopted many elements of Shang writing, art, architecture, religion and divination. Through their own extensive conquests they spread the Shang culture widely.

²⁸ Quoted in csccc p.12 n.24. ²⁹ csccc pp.133f.
³¹ cscc pp.219-245.
CHOU PERIOD

The conquest of Shang is supposed to have been planned by the Chou king Wen, whose name means "the Accomplished." The plan was carried out successfully by his son, King Wu, "the Martial." A very considerable part of north China seems to have submitted to the new conqueror. In order to maintain a form of control over this large area, many of the lands were apportioned to various chiefs and rulers, and the result was the establishment of a feudal system of government.

After the death of King Wu, traditionally dated in 1116 B.C., his young son King Ch'eng succeeded to the throne, but actual authority was exercised for a number of years by the Duke of Chou, brother of the Martial King. Some of the Shang people had hitherto been allowed to remain under the vassal rule of a son of Ti Hsin, and they rebelled at this time. The revolt was suppressed by the Duke of Chou, and K'ang Shu, another brother of the Martial King, was made ruler of a newly created State of Wei in the area of Anyang. His capital was at Ch'ao Ke, about thirty miles south of the Great City Shang.

When King Ch'eng became old enough to rule for himself, the Duke of Chou retired from direction of the government. Although the Chou capital remained in the Wei valley, a new city and sort of secondary capital was built at this time farther east at Loyang.

Of the early centers of the Chous, Feng and Hao can be at least approximately located in the Wei basin, and present-day villages near the two sites still have Feng and Hao as part of their names; the site of the city at Loyang was just to the northwest of modern Loyang, while a second Chou city ten miles east of Loyang is still marked by its walls standing in places fifteen feet high. As for Ch'ao Ke, just a few miles north of this site at Hsin Hsien more than eighty tombs of Chou date have been excavated by the Honan Archaeological Research Association in cooperation with the National Research Institute. These were subterranean burial places, filled up with pounded earth, and left level with the surrounding ground. They contained not only ritual bronzes but also chariots, armor, weapons and other objects. It is believed that they were the tombs of the rulers of the State of Wei. Furthermore the tombs of Kings Wen, Wu, Ch'eng and K'ang and of the Duke of Chou still exist on the plateau of Pi about four miles north of the present city of Hsien Yang. Each is surmounted by a lofty tumulus or artificial mound of earth, relatively well preserved after all the centuries.15

15 cbc pp.246-253.

[ 331 ]
The establishment of the Chou dynasty has now been related in sufficient detail for our purposes. From the inauguration of the dynasty down to 771 B.C. the royal capital remained in the west, and this time is therefore known as the Western Chou (or Early Chou) Period. It is neither necessary nor indeed possible to recount the political history of this period in full. The essential point is that in this time the Chou rulers were able to maintain their supreme sovereignty in fact. The general trend of events, however, was toward the destruction of a centralized authority. On the one hand, weaker kings succeeded the vigorous founders of the dynasty; on the other hand, the various vassal states grew in power and their princes became more and more independent in attitude. There were also threats and attacks from barbarian peoples on the frontiers of the land.

For two examples of the increasing misfortunes of the Chou rulers we may recall that King Chao did not come back from a military expedition to the Yangtze River in 1002 B.C.; and that King Li, who took the throne in 878 B.C., suppressed his people severely but was driven from the throne and spent the last fourteen years of his life as a refugee.

The last of the Western Chou monarchs was King Yu. According to the stories about him, he reigned both foolishly and feebly. In 771 B.C. he was killed in a barbarian attack, and the days when the House of Chou could claim to really rule the land were at an end. The vassal princes established Yu's heir on the throne as King P'ing, but he and his successors were little more than petty chiefs and often quite powerless in the hands of their erstwhile subordinates. Since the capital was now moved to Loyang, this was known as the Eastern Chou dynasty.

**EASTERN CHOU**

The Eastern Chou dynasty endured from 771 to 256 B.C., and it was not until 221 B.C. that the next great dynasty, the Ch'in was inaugurated. It is customary to divide the Eastern Chou Period into two parts. Recalling that the time of the Western Chou dynasty was the Early Chou Period, these may be named the Middle and the Late Chou Periods; or, using the names of books of the time as Chinese scholars do, they may be designated the Period of "Spring and Autumn Annals" (Ch'un Ch'iu) and the Period of "Warring States" (Ch'an Kuo). In either case the dividing point between the

---

two parts of the Eastern Chou Period falls not far from the time of
the death of Confucius, 478 B.C.

China was now divided into a large number of states. In the sev-
enth century B.C. five of these were most important: Ch‘i in the
northeast in what are now the provinces of Shantung and Hopei;
Chin in the north in present day Shansi; Ch‘in in the west in modern
Shensi; Sung in the center in the vicinity of Honan; and Ch‘u in the
south in the region of Hupch. In the sixth century much power was
attained by the State of Wu in what is now Kiangsu; in the fifth
century, Yüeh in modern Chekiang became very strong. Chou itself
was only one of the smaller and less important states; and so too was
Lu, the state which had been founded by the Duke of Chou in south-
ern Shantung, where later Confucius was born.

In the “Warring States” Period seven chief states contended for
mastery. These were Ch‘i, Ch‘in and Ch‘u, with which we are already
familiar; Han, Wei (or Liang), and Chao, which were fragments of
the former Chin; and Yen, a state with its capital where Peiping now
is. The struggle for power among these groups narrowed gradually
to a contest between Ch‘u in the south and Ch‘in in the west, Chou
meanwhile being entirely eliminated with the death of its last king
in 256 B.C. Ch‘u finally was overcome too, and in 221 B.C. all of China
was unified in the empire of the Ch‘in.

ART IN THE CHOU PERIOD

As in the Shang Period, so too throughout the entire Chou Period
the making of ritual bronzes continued to be the most important
task toward which artistic effort was directed. The brilliance of the
achievements, however, was now somewhat diminished. There was
a sharp reduction in the number of types of vessels produced as well
as in the variety of their decorative motifs. Around 1000 B.C. the
‘ao-t‘ieh virtually disappeared, and of the many animals both real
and imaginary which were on the Shang bronzes, only the dragon
and the bird were frequently used. The kuei shown in Fig. 145 will
provide an example of the relatively severe but yet attractive style
of the Western Chou Period. This vessel has an inscription which
dates it in the third year of a ruler who was probably King Hsüan
(827-781 B.C.), the immediate predecessor of King Yu.

In the Eastern Chou Period several artistic styles were developed.
Of these we will select for illustration only one, namely the Huai
Style, which is so designated from the Huai River in the vicinity of
which the first vessels so decorated were discovered. The nature of
the style at its best may be seen in the pilgrim's bottle in Fig. 146.
The body of the bottle is flat, and divided by bands into recessed,
rectangular areas, in which the characteristic Huai pattern appears.
The particular interest of this style for us lies in the fact that it pre-
vailed during the last seventy-five years of the Period of "Spring and
Autumn Annals," which is almost exactly the time of the life of Con-
fucius.

At about the time just mentioned, another development comes into
view, namely the sculptured representation of man in isolated figures.
An example probably contemporary with the period of the Huai Style
(end of the sixth or beginning of the fifth century B.C.) is shown in
Fig. 147. This is a bronze statuette nearly ten inches high. The small
tube in front of the knees and that in the hands were probably in-
tended to hold something like a torch, and the figure is generally
identified as a "kneeling servant" or a "torchbearer."

From the late Chou Period, probably, we have also the large
bronze dragon pictured in Fig. 148. This is a winged figure covered
with fine spiral ornaments, and so sculptured as to portray a remark-
able degree of menace and of watchfulness.44

In the Chou Period not only bronze but also jade seems to have
been in quite common use for objects of art. Among the jade objects
which probably come from this period are ceremonial disks and
tubes; knives, daggers, chisels and ax-heads; representations of in-
sects, animals and animal heads; ornaments; and human statuettes.
For the most part it is supposed that these were employed in various
ceremonies, sacrifices and funeral rites. The ceremonial disks called
pi, like the one pictured in Fig. 149, are interpreted as emblems of
the sun or of heaven; the hollow tubes (ts'ung) cylindrical on the
inside but square on the outside, like the one in Fig. 150, are thought
to have symbolized the earth or the four cardinal points. An ex-
tremely interesting human figure in jade, also ascribed to the Chou
Period by Berthold Laufer, is shown in Fig. 151. Simple slits indicate
the eyes and mouth, and incised lines mark the pointed, triangular
beard. The body is enveloped in a long robe which completely hides
both hands and feet. Perhaps this is the conventionalized figure of
a sage.45

44 Bachhofer, A Short History of Chinese Art, Fig. 50.
45 Berthold Laufer, Archæological Jades Collected in China by A. W. Bahr, Now
in Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago. 1927, pp.9f.,16,28,48, Pl. iv, 2, xvi,
xxxi; Una Pope-Hennessy, Early Chinese Jades. 1923, pp.29-42,133f.; see also

[334]
Although it was a time of feudalism and warfare, the Chou Period was, as we have just seen, also a time of important artistic achievement. Yet more significant was the development of literature in this epoch. So intense was the activity in this regard, that the era is commonly known as the Classical Age of Chinese history. Even in early Chou times, it is estimated, the number of documents written must have amounted to tens or hundreds of thousands. So numerous were the literary works prior to Confucius, that he and his disciples are supposed to have devoted much of their time to collecting, editing and interpreting these books.

As time went on there came to be so many compilations and commentaries that it is now difficult to disentangle the component parts and ascertain which truly belong to a given period. The inscriptions on the oracle bones and ritual bronzes provide important materials for comparison, however, and by the use of these and other standards it is possible to check on the authenticity and antiquity of the documents. In brief it may be said that by such tests no books now survive from the Shang Period although several purport to be of such date; that not a few ascribed to Chou times are actually yet later; but that many important writings still extant are authentic representatives of the Chou Period.  

The works regarded as most important were ultimately assembled in the so-called “Confucian canon.” These comprised the Wu Ching or Five Classics, which were probably brought together in the time of the Han dynasty (202 B.C.-A.D. 220); and the Ssu Shu or Four Books, which were first collectively designated by this name in the Sung period (A.D. 960-1279). It has been commonly held that Confucius was the compiler of the first four of the Classics and the author of the fifth; while the Four Books are attributed to the work of his disciples and descendants. Modern criticism of these opinions will be reflected below, where the chronological notations will at all events indicate that most of these books originated in the Chou Period. Certain related works will also be mentioned in addition to the nine canonical books.

Berthold Laufer, Jade, A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion (Field Museum of Natural History Publication 154, Anthropological Series, x). 1912; Paul Pelliot, Jades archéologiques de Chine appartenant à M. C. T. Loo. 1925.

** CBC pp.254-275.

** Lewis Hodous in JCMW p.2.

** MIC 1, p.5.
CONFUCIANISM

THE FIVE CLASSICS

(1) I Ching (Yi King),"" or Book of Changes." Speaking of course of the original text and not of the appended commentaries, this is regarded as the first complete work in Chinese literature, among extant productions, to have reached its present form. One tradition ascribes the work to the Accomplished King, and it is probable that it does belong to the very beginning of the Chou Period. The I Ching is a book of divination. It is based upon sixty-four diagrams which represent various possible combinations of six lines either whole or broken. Evidently the diviner manipulated sticks to form one of these diagrams, and then consulted the text to ascertain its explanation.

Here, for one example, is the tenth diagram in the book, called the Li Hexagram, and the accompanying text:

This suggests the idea of one treading on the tail of a tiger, which does not bite him. There will be progress and success.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject treading his accustomed path. If he go forward, there will be no error.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject treading the path that is level and easy—a quiet and solitary man, to whom, if he be firm and correct, there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, divided, shows a one-eyed man who thinks he can see; a lame man who thinks he can walk well; one who treads on the tail of a tiger and is bitten. All this indicates ill-fortune. We have a mere bravo acting the part of a great ruler.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject treading on the tail of a tiger. He becomes full of apprehensive caution, and in the end there will be good fortune.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows the resolute tread of its subject. Though he be firm and correct, there will be peril.

6. The sixth line, undivided, tells us to look at the whole course that is trodden, and examine the presage which that gives. If it be complete and without failure, there will be great good fortune.41

(2) Shu Ching, or Document Classic; also called Shang Shu, or Preserved Books; and commonly known in English as the Book of

---

28 The word ching (or king, as it is also spelled in English) is usually translated "classic." It means originally the warp of a web, and hence signifies what is a rule, and is applicable to a canonical book.

39 tr. James Legge in cxxi.

History.\textsuperscript{42} This is a compilation of many different documents. Of these the T'ang Shih, Pan Keng, Kao Tsung Yung Jih, Hsi Po K'an Li, and Wei Tzu have been attributed to the Shang Period, but careful comparison with the indisputably genuine language and ideas in the inscriptions of the Shang oracle bones indicates that they are actually fabrications of later date.\textsuperscript{44} Of the entire book perhaps one fourth can be assigned to a time before 600 B.C., while the other parts are yet later, in some cases as late as the third century A.D. The older parts include speeches, proclamations and communications by various rulers and military leaders, as well as documents concerning the building of the city at Loyang.

(3) Shih Ching, or Book of Poetry.\textsuperscript{42} This was an anthology of three hundred and eleven poems of which three hundred and five still exist. They are traditionally supposed to have been selected by Confucius from three thousand pieces, but it is now questioned if the great sage actually made the collection. Many of the poems probably date from around 800 to 600 B.C., and were used by Confucius and his followers as texts for moral instruction. One section, known as the Shang Sung, has been attributed to a time as early as the Shang Period, but this is probably not correct.\textsuperscript{45} For the most part the poems of the Shih Ching are lyric rather than epic in character, and a variety of subjects is dealt with including courtship, marriage, war, agriculture, hunting, feasting and sacrifice. Many of the poems were doubtless once set to music, but this has been lost.

For one example, we quote here a portion of a sacrificial song as translated by Arthur Waley:

\begin{quote}
In due order, treading cautiously,
We purify your oxen and sheep.
We carry out the rice-offering, the harvest offering,
Now baking, now boiling,
Now setting out and arranging,
Praying and sacrificing at the gate.
Very hallowed was this service of offering;
Very mighty the forefathers.
The Spirits and Protectors have accepted;
The pious descendant shall have happiness,
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{42} tr. James Legge in ibid. i, pp.1-272; and in The Chinese Classics, with a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes. iii (1885).
\textsuperscript{44} csecc pp.55-89.
\textsuperscript{43} tr. James Legge in ibid. iii, pp.273-446; and in The Chinese Classics. iv (1871); Arthur Waley, The Book of Songs, Translated from the Chinese. 1937.
\textsuperscript{45} csecc pp.49-54.
They will reward him with great blessings,
With span of years unending.

We mind the furnaces, treading softly;
Attend to the food-stands so tall,
For roast meat, for broiled meat.
Our lord's lady hard at work
Sees to the dishes, so many,
Needed for guests, for strangers.
Healths and pledges go the round,
Every custom and rite is observed,
Every smile, every word is in place.
The Spirits and Protectors will surely come
And requite us with great blessings,
Countless years of life as our reward.44

(4) Li Chi, or Ceremonial Records.45 Here we have a large collection of treatises on the rules of propriety. Instructions are given for ceremonial procedure in connection with such things as weddings, funerals, mourning, sacrifices, banquets, appearances at court, war, education, and capping, which was the rite signalizing the passage of a youth from immaturity into manhood. The keynote of the book is struck in its opening sentence, "Always and in everything let there be reverence." In its present form, the work may have been completed in the second century A.D.46 Another book of similar character was the Chou Li, or Ceremonies of Chou, which may date from the first century A.D. or earlier.47 Older still was yet a third manual of ceremonial procedure, called the I Li, or Book of Etiquette and Ceremony.48 This book may have appeared in the second century B.C., and it probably contains materials from and reflects practices of the Chou Period.

(5) Ch’un Ch’iu, or Spring and Autumn Annals.49 This work is supposed to have been written by Confucius, although the attribution is questioned by some modern scholars. At any rate it is a chronicle of events in the Sage's native state of Lai, extending from 721 to 478 B.C. It notices such events as beginnings of seasons, eclipses, deaths of prominent persons, state covenants and wars.

45 tr. James Legge in see xxvii, xxviii.
46 Legge in see xxvii, p.2.
47 K. S. Latourette, The Chinese, Their History and Culture. 2d ed. 1934, i, p.67.
CHOU PERIOD

Many other historical chronicles were of course written at various times, and we have already mentioned (p.320) in connection with the chronological framework of Chinese history the Ch’ien Han Shu, or History of the Former Han Dynasty, and the Chu Shu Chi Nien, or Annals of the Bamboo Books. Here we may also note two other treatises. The first is the Tso Chuan, which is traditionally regarded as a commentary on the Ch’un Ch’iu but is probably of independent origin. It contains chronicles covering the time from 722 to 468 B.C. The second is the Chan Kuo Ts’e, or Documents of the Warring States. It is a collection of historical episodes dealing with the last troubled years of the Chou Period.

Mention of one other classic may also be inserted here, although it is not one of the five accorded highest place. This is the Hsiao Ching, or Classic of Filial Piety. It is a relatively brief book, and its essential character is indicated by its title. It is traditionally connected with the name of Tseng Shen, a pupil of Confucius, but that he was actually the author is now regarded as improbable.

THE FOUR BOOKS

(1) Lun Yü, or Analects. This is a collection of the sayings of Confucius and a record of conversations in which he engaged. A variety of themes are discussed, among which the most prominent are ethics and government. For the most part the teachings contained may be regarded as deriving authentically from Confucius, although in their formulation they may have undergone a long process of smoothing and polishing. The compilation of the work is thought to have been done by a second generation of Confucian scholars, that is by pupils of the first followers of the great sage. Since Book VIII refers to the last illness of Tseng-tzu who died in 437 B.C., and since Mencius (372-289 B.C.) quotes several passages in language virtually identical with the present text, it may be reasonably

---

85 Latourette, The Chinese, Their History and Culture, i, p.68.

[ 339 ]
CONFUCIANISM

surmised that the work was written around 400 B.C. A manuscript found in the house of Confucius in 150 B.C., and probably hidden there around 213-211 B.C. when Shih Huang Ti was trying to destroy the classical writings, is the chief authority for the text in its present form.\textsuperscript{58}

It may be added in this connection that another work entitled Chia Yü, or the School Conversations, existed at the time of the burning of the books by Shih Huang Ti, and was also rediscovered later. The present-day book of the same title, however, was probably not written or published until the beginning of the third century A.D. It contains numerous anecdotes and conversations, but represents a later stratum of tradition than the Lun Yü.\textsuperscript{59}

(2) Ta Hsüeh, or the Great Learning.\textsuperscript{59} This work is ordinarily supposed to have been written by Tseng-tzu, who was mentioned just above. There is some evidence in its style and philosophy, however, for a later date, say about the middle of the fourth century B.C., in which case it would have to be attributed to an unknown Confucianist.\textsuperscript{60} The book calls for the cultivation of the individual self through the extension of knowledge, and then for the consequent ordering in harmony of family, state, and all society.

(3) Chung Yung, or the Doctrine of the Mean (also rendered, the Mean-in-action).\textsuperscript{62} Tradition uniformly ascribes this book to Tzu Ssu (also called K'ung Chi), the grandson of Confucius. Such an authorship seems probable for the body of the work, but it is possible that certain sections are from a later unknown writer of the second half of the third century B.C.\textsuperscript{63} The theme is the harmonious development of human nature through right action and the practice of the principle of reciprocity. While the Ta Hsüeh and Chung Yung were thus singled out for special emphasis they are both actually sections of the Li Chi.

(4) Meng Tzu Shu, or the Book of Mencius.\textsuperscript{64} This work is made

\textsuperscript{58} Lyall, The Sayings of Confucius, p.xii.
\textsuperscript{59} Wilhelm, Confucius and Confucianism, pp.134-136.
\textsuperscript{60} tr. Legge, The Chinese Classics, i, pp.355-381; E. R. Hughes, The Great Learning and the Mean-in-Action. 1943.
\textsuperscript{61} Hughes, op.cit., p.105.
\textsuperscript{63} Hughes, The Great Learning and the Mean-in-Action, pp.99f.
\textsuperscript{64} tr. J. Legge, The Chinese Classics. ii (2d ed. 1895); Leonard A. Lyall,
CHOU PERIOD

up of seven sections, and contains in a fairly authentic form the teachings of the philosopher Mengius, who lived around 372-289 B.C. He set forth the doctrines of Confucius in his own way and gave them a somewhat more popular tone. As might be expected, the main topics of discussion are ethics and politics.

RELIGION IN THE CHOU PERIOD

Before proceeding to tell about Confucius and his philosophy in particular, we will say a word concerning the kind of religion in general which prevailed at this time. In its main aspects, religion in the Chou Period was a development of the beliefs and practices with which we already have some familiarity from Shang times. As before, the basic belief was in elemental and ancestral spirits. Now, however, one of the spirits has attained preeminent position and is generally recognized as the chief deity. This is Shang Ti, who will be remembered as mentioned on the Shang oracle bones in connection with such things as war and rain. Not only does Shang Ti now figure as the highest spirit, but an identification has also evidently taken place between Shang Ti and another deity called Tien or Heaven. It may be supposed that the latter was a chief god among the Chou people, and that when they found Shang Ti occupying a somewhat similar place among the Shangs they merged the two. At any rate both names are now used for the same deity, and Tien occurs even more frequently than Shang Ti. Furthermore the Chou kings customarily used Tien Tzu, “the Son of Heaven,” as their title.

The spirits of the dead were of course still as important as ever. They were generally thought of as living in the heavens, but the idea also occurs that they dwell beneath the earth at a place named the Yellow Springs. The maintenance of sacrifices to the deceased was deemed of the greatest significance, and the inscriptions on the ritual bronzes express again and again some such wish as, “May my sons and grandsons for ever treasure and use this vessel.”

The twin centers of religion were the ancestral temple and the “altar of the land.” Each family was united around its own ancestral temple, and the whole land looked toward the ancestral temple of

55 Cse pp.332-345.

[ 341 ]
the king as a focal point. Wooden tablets bearing the names of the ancestors were placed in the temples, and the spirits were believed to answer the summons to come there upon ceremonial occasions. The “altar of the land” was a mound of earth which first had symbolized the soil as a deity, and now stood in each community as a focus of its religious activity. Various officials and servants maintained the temples, and wizards and witches were available to assist in communication with the spirits.

It was supposed that both benefit and harm came from the spirits, and that they sometimes manifested themselves as ghosts to accomplish their purposes. Prayers were naturally offered both for protection from danger and for positive blessings. Longevity, numerous descendants, the necessities of daily life, and qualities of calmness and wisdom, were things for which supplication was made. The prayers were commonly written out, recited in connection with a sacrifice, and then burned, all in order to bring them to the attention of the deities. Oracles were still sought by the divinatory methods used by the Shangs as well as by the procedure for which the I Ching provided a handbook.
The history of China has now been sketched briefly to the end of the Chou Period, and the general framework of contemporary political events, artistic achievements and religious beliefs has been outlined. This was the setting within which the work of China’s two great teachers, Confucius and Lao Tzu, was done. We are concerned with Confucius and Confucianism in this chapter, and will deal with Lao Tzu and Taoism in the next. As a modern religion, Confucianism is estimated to have 250,000,000 adherents.

THE LIFE AND WORK OF CONFUCIUS

The earliest chronologically arranged account of the life of Confucius is found in Chapter xlvi and of the Shih Chi, or Historical Records, of Ssu-ma Ch’ien. Ssu-ma Ch’ien was a court official who lived about 140-80 B.C., and his book, based largely upon earlier documents and works, covers the history of China and the lives of many of its important personages from the beginning down to his own day. While not all the details of Ssu-ma Ch’ien’s biographies are considered reliable by Sinologists, the record about to be quoted provides the basis of all the later lives of the great sage. The section concerning Confucius begins as follows: “Confucius was born in the State of Lu, in the District of Ch’ang P’ing, in the city Chou [or Tsou]. His ancestor was from the State of Sung and was called K’ung Fang-shu. Fang-shu begat Po-hsia. Po-hsia begat Shu-Liang Ho. Late in life, Ho was united in matrimony with the daughter of the man, Yen, and begat Confucius. His mother prayed to the hill, Ni, and conceived Confucius. It was in the twenty-second year of Duke Hsiang of Lu that Confucius was born [551 B.C.].” At his birth, he

---

68 Confucius is the Latinized form of the Chinese K‘ung-fu-tzu, meaning Master K‘ung, or K‘ung the philosopher. As appears in the quotation given above, K‘ung was the family name; Tzu is the usual designation for Master, or Philosopher.

69 The Shih Chi is translated in part by Edouard Chavannes, Les mémoires historiques de Se-Ma Ts‘ien, traduits et annotés. 5 vols. 1895-1905. Chapter xlvi, with which we are here concerned, is found in vol. v, pp.383-433, of the work by Chavannes; and is translated into English in Wilhelm, Confucius and Confucianism, pp.3-70, from which source the present quotations are taken.


72 According to other sources the date was 552 B.C. Richard Wilhelm, Kung-tse, Leben und Werk. 1925, p.185 n.1; cf. James Legge, The Life and Teachings of Conf-
CONFUCIANISM

had on his head a bulging of the skull, whence he is said to have received the name Hill (Ch’iu). His style of appellation was Chung Ni, his family name K’ung. When he was born, his father, Shu-Liang Ho, died.”

The child, even in early years, manifested special religious interest. “Confucius was always wont to set up sacrificial vessels in his childish play,” Ssu-ma Ch’ien relates, “and to imitate ceremonial gestures.” Being of a poor family, he entered into employment as soon as he was old enough. His work was done with punctilious care, and matters in his charge prospered. “Confucius was poor and of low estate, and when he grew older he served as a petty official of the family Chi, and while he was in office his accounts and the measures were always correct. Thereupon, he was made Chief Shepherd; then the beasts grew in numbers and multiplied.” He is said to have married at the age of nineteen.

By the time he was in his thirties, Confucius was a scholar of such repute as to attract the attention of the Minister of Lu, Meng Hsí-tze. As the latter was dying, he advised his son, I-tze, and his nephew, Nan-Chung Ching-shu, to take Confucius as their teacher in decorum. 22 It was in company with Nan-Chung Ching-shu that Confucius made a memorable journey to the imperial capital of Loyang in Honan. The purpose of the trip was to study the ancient ceremonial rites of the land. The Prince of Lu provided the two young travelers with a chariot, two horses, and a servant. “Thus they went together to Chou [the residence of the Emperor at Loyang],” the Shih Chi narrates, “and inquired about the rites.”

The Shih Chi also indicates that Confucius made the acquaintance of Lao Tzu while on this journey, but this portion of the account is almost certainly apocryphal. When Confucius took leave of Lao Tzu, the latter, in parting, is stated to have addressed him as follows: “I have heard that rich and noble persons make parting gifts; but good people give words in farewell. I am neither rich nor noble, but I am held a good man, so I should like to give you these words upon your way: Shrewd and clever people are near to death, for they love to pass judgment on others. Those who know a great deal and do things


22 Ssu-ma Ch’ien dates this event in the seventeenth year of Confucius’ life, but this is a mistake based upon faulty use of a source. The true date, verified by calculation of the time of an eclipse of the sun which is mentioned in another source, was almost certainly 518 B.C. Wilhelm, Confucius and Confucianism, pp.76f.
EARLY CONFUCIANISM

on a large scale endanger their persons, for they disclose the mistakes of mankind. He who is the son of another has nothing for himself; he who is the official of another has nothing for himself."

The fame of Confucius was enhanced by this journey, and after his return to Lu he gradually attracted more pupils to himself. Duke Ching of Ch'i also became interested in him, and for a time Confucius took service in that state. When the Duke questioned him regarding government, Confucius gave this succinct advice: "Let the prince be prince, the servant servant, the father father, the son son." On another occasion he pronounced this aphorism on the same subject: "Governing consists in being sparing with the resources." Despite the evident wisdom in these counsels, opponents of Confucius spoke against him to the Duke. They said: "Scholars are smooth and sophisticated; they cannot be taken as a norm; they are arrogant and conceited; they cannot be used to guide the lower classes... Confucius splendidly forms the rules of behavior, increases the ceremonies of reception and departure, and the customs in walking and in bowing, so that many generations would not be enough to exhaust his teachings. Years would not suffice to plumb his rules of decorum. If you wish to use him to change the manners of Ch'i, this is not the correct way to lead the common people." So at last Duke Ching dismissed him, and Confucius went back to Lu.

In his own state, conditions were now far from favorable. "From the highest dignitaries down, every one was grasping of power, and all had departed from the true way." Therefore," states Ssu-ma Ch'ien, "Confucius accepted no office. He lived in retirement, and arranged the odes, the records, the rites and music. And his pupils grew ever greater in number, while from all sides, from far distant regions, disciples flocked to him."

It was not until he was fifty years old, and Duke Ting was on the throne of Lu, that Confucius' great opportunity for public service came. The Duke appointed him ruler of the middle district known as Chung Tu, and within a year "his neighbors on all sides took him as a model." From the management of this district he was soon advanced to the position of Minister of Public Works, and then to that of Minister of Justice. In his last year of public service he received the post of Acting Chancellor. So successful was his administration of affairs that it is written in the Shih Chi, "After Confucius had conducted the government of the state for three months, the sellers of lambs and of suckling pigs no longer falsified their prices, and men
and women walked on different sides of the road. Lost objects were not picked up on the streets. Strangers who came from all sides did not need to turn to the officials when they entered the city, for all were received as if they were returning to their own homes."

Such success made the people of the neighboring state of Ch'i fear that Lu would become dominant over all, and they contrived the scheme of presenting Duke Ting with eighty beautiful dancing girls and a hundred and twenty magnificent horses in order to divert his mind from politics to pleasure. The plan worked as they desired, and when Confucius saw that his prince was neglecting the government and the all-important ceremonial sacrifices, he himself regretfully took his departure. He was now fifty-six years old, having been in public service in the State of Lu for six years (501-495 B.C.).

Fourteen years of wandering and hardship ensued. While many details of this period are given in the Shih Chi, we may content ourselves with quoting the summary statement in the same source. "Finally he left Lu, was abandoned in Ch'i, was driven out of Sung and Wei, suffered want between Ch'en and Ts'ai." Thereupon he returned to Lu. Confucius was nine feet six inches tall. All the people called him a giant and marveled at him. Lu again treated him well; so he returned to Lu."

"But finally it turned out that they could not make use of Confucius in Lu. And neither did Confucius strive for official position." For the rest of his days he devoted himself to his literary work and teaching. Although his methods of instruction were severe, he gathered about him some three thousand pupils whom he instructed in the odes, records, rites and music. "He gave no help to him who was not zealous. If he presented one corner of a subject as an example, and the pupil could not transfer what he had learned to the other three corners, Confucius did not repeat."

Of his habitual demeanor the following description is given in the Shih Chi: "In everyday life, Confucius was altogether modest, as though he were not able to speak. In the ancestral temple and at court, he was eloquent, yet his speeches were always cautious. At court, he conversed with the upper dignitaries in exact and definite terms; with the lower dignitaries he was free and open. Whenever he entered in at the Duke's door, he walked as though bowed over, with quick steps; he approached as if on wings. Whenever the

---

"Ch'en and Ts'ai were small states just south of Sung. Herrmann, Historical and Commercial Atlas of China, pp.14f.
Prince commanded his presence at a reception of guests, his appearance was serious. Whenever a command of the Prince summoned him, he left his house without waiting for the horses to be put to his chariot."

Such was the relative obscurity in which he passed his last years that he once drew a deep sigh and said, "Alas, no one knows me!" Upon being questioned about this, he continued, however: "I do not murmur against Heaven. I do not grumble against man. I pursue my studies here on earth, and am in touch with Heaven above. It is Heaven that knows me!"

The same melancholy was with him in his last illness. It is reported that he sighed and sang:

The Sacred Mountain\textsuperscript{78} caves in,
The roof beam breaks,
The Sage will vanish.

Then he wept and said to Tze Kung, one of his disciples: "For a long time the world has been unregulated; no one understood how to follow me. The people of Hsia placed the coffin upon the east steps, the people of Chou placed it on the west steps, the people of Yin placed it between the two pillars. Last night I dreamed that I was sitting before the sacrificial offerings between the two pillars. Does that mean that I am a man of Yin?" Seven days later Confucius passed away, having attained an age of seventy-three years (478 B.C.).\textsuperscript{76}

"Confucius was buried north of the city, on the bank of the River Szu," Ssu-ma Ch'ien states as he brings to a close his chapter on the life of the great teacher. "All the disciples mourned him for three years. When the three years of the mourning of the heart were over, then they separated and went their ways, and once more each one wept bitter tears wrung from his heart. Some there were who remained even longer. Tze Kung alone built himself a hut by the grave mound. He remained, in all, six years before he departed. There were over a hundred families of the disciples of Confucius and of the people of Lu who went thither and built houses by the grave. So they called the place the Hamlet of Confucius. In Lu, the custom was handed down from generation to generation to offer sacrifices at the grave of Confucius at fixed times of the year. And the scholars

\textsuperscript{78} T'ai Shan in Shantung.

\textsuperscript{76} Other calculations make this date 479 B.C. See Legge, The Life and Teachings of Confucius, p.37; Wilhelms, Kung-tse, Leben und Werk, p.63.
also practiced the rites of a communal banquet and held a great archery contest at the grave of Confucius. The burial place of Confucius is one hundred acres in extent. The Hall in which the pupils of Confucius dwelt was later turned into a temple in which the clothes, hats, lute, chariots, and books of Confucius were preserved. All of this was kept for over two hundred years, until the Han period. When the first emperor of the Han Dynasty came through Lu, he offered a great sacrifice to Confucius. When princes, dignitaries, and ministers come, they always first visit the temple, before they go about their business.

"The Chief Historian says: In the Book of Odes it is written:

The high mountain, he looked toward it;
The distant road, he walked along it."

"Even if a person does not reach his goal, yet his heart ever seeks to attain it. I read the writings of Confucius, and I pictured to myself what sort of man he had been. I went to Lu, and in the temple of Chung Ni I contemplated his chariot, his garments, and his ceremonial implements. At a fixed time, scholars performed the rites of his house. So I remained there, full of reverence, and could not tear myself away. There were on earth many princes and sages who, in their lifetime, were famous, but whose names were no longer known after their death. Confucius was a simple man of the people. But after more than ten generations, his doctrine is still handed down, and men of learning honor him as Master. From the Son of Heaven, and from kings and princes on, all who practice the six free arts in the Middle Kingdom take their decisions and their measure from the Master. That can be designated the highest possible sanctity."

While the native place of Confucius was at Tsou (or Chou), he lived afterward at Chufou (also spelled Ch’ü-fou, Kufow) and it was in the vicinity of the latter place that he was buried." There the tomb of the great sage is still to be seen, as shown in Fig. 152. The burial mound itself is covered with plants and shaded by trees. In front of it stands an inscribed stone tablet which forms the back for a stone table of sacrifice, with its candelabra and incense vessels. The inscription reads simply, "Ancient, Most Holy Teacher."

THE TEACHINGS OF CONFUCIUS

Within the framework of our study it will suffice to deal briefly

17 Chavannes, Les mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien, v, p.283 n.2.
with the teachings of Confucius. Indeed some idea of the nature of his interests and outlook has already been given in telling of his life and work. As far as religion in the sense of reference to the supernatural is concerned, it may be said that he simply took for granted the general framework of ideas which prevailed in his time. He was not primarily a religious leader but he did believe in the spirits and had a sense of personal relationship to Heaven. An expression of this sense of relationship has already come before us in his remark that although no man knew him, Heaven knew him. He believed in the importance of sacrifices and stood for a dignified fulfillment of one’s proper duties to the supernatural.

One of his sayings in particular has been taken to show that Confucius was fundamentally agnostic in religion. This is found in the Lun Yü (vi, 20) where, according to a quite literal and frequently encountered translation, he advised men to “keep aloof” from the spirits. The meaning is rather, however, that men should “maintain the proper distance” in relations with the spirits, that is not fawn upon them for the sake of personal advantage but always act toward them in the manner prescribed by custom and courtesy. As translated by Ku Hung-ming, the entire statement means: “To know the essential duties of man living in a society of men, and to hold in fear and awe the Spiritual Powers of the Universe, while keeping aloof from irreverent familiarity with them, that may be considered as understanding.”

“The essential duties of man living in a society of men,” was of course the subject of deepest interest to Confucius. His major attention was devoted to the problem of the organization of society in accordance with ethical principles. As far as these principles were concerned, he believed that they came down out of an immemorial past and that he himself was not their originator but only their transmitter. The following quotations from several of the oldest sources

18 e.g. Lyall, The Sayings of Confucius, p.25.
19 cf. tr. in csc p.338.
21 Discourses and Sayings of Confucius, quoted by Creel, ibid., p.90 n.1.

[ 349 ]
will reveal the basic attitude of Confucius and state some of the 
fundamental thoughts advanced by him and his early followers.

From the Lun Yü, or Analects, we give these sayings of Confucius:

The Master said, I have "transmitted what was taught to me without 
making up anything of my own." I have been faithful to and loved the 
Ancients. . . . I have never grown tired of learning nor wearied of teaching 
others what I have learnt.

The Duke of She asked Tzu-lu about Master K'ung. Tzu-lu did not 
reply. The Master said, Why did you not say "This is the character of the 
man: so intent upon enlightening the eager that he forgets his hunger, 
and so happy in doing so, that he forgets the bitterness of his lot and does 
not realize that old age is at hand. That is what he is."

The Master said, I for my part am not one of those who have innate 
knowledge. I am simply one who loves the past and who is diligent in 
investigating it.

The Master said, At fifteen I set my heart upon learning. At thirty, I 
had planted my feet firm upon the ground. At forty, I no longer suffered 
from perplexities. At fifty, I knew what were the biddings of Heaven. At 
sixty, I heard them with docile ear. At seventy, I could follow the dictates 
of my own heart; for what I desired no longer overstepped the boundaries 
of right.

The Master said, It is Goodness that gives to a neighborhood its beauty. 
One who is free to choose, yet does not prefer to dwell among the Good—
how can he be accorded the name of wise?

The Master said, Without Goodness a man 
    Cannot for long endure adversity,
    Cannot for long enjoy prosperity.

The Good Man rests content with Goodness; he that is merely wise purs-
sues Goodness in the belief that it pays to do so.

Of the adage "Only a Good Man knows how to like people, knows how 
to dislike them," the Master said, He whose heart is in the smallest degree 
set upon Goodness will dislike no one.

The Master said, In the morning, hear the Way; in the evening, die 
content.

The Master said, In the presence of a good man, think all the time how 
you may learn to equal him. In the presence of a bad man, turn your 
gaze within!

The Master said, He who will not worry about what is far off will soon 
find something worse than worry close at hand.

The Master said, The gentleman who takes the right as his material to 
work upon and ritual as the guide in putting what is right into practice, 
who is modest in setting out his projects and faithful in carrying them to 
their conclusion, he indeed is a true gentleman.

The Master said, A gentleman is distressed by his own lack of capacity; 
he is never distressed at the failure of others to recognize his merits.
The Master said, A gentleman has reason to be distressed if he ends his
days without making a reputation for himself.

The Master said, The demands that a gentleman makes are upon him-
self; those that a small man makes are upon others.

The Master said, A gentleman is proud, but not quarrelsome, allies him-
self with individuals, but not with parties.

The Master said, A gentleman does not

Accept men because of what they say,
Nor reject sayings, because the speaker is what he is.

Tzu-kung asked saying, Is there any single saying that one can act upon
all day and every day? The Master said, Perhaps the saying about con-
sideration: "Never do to others what you would not like them to do to you."[84]

From the Ta Hsüeh, or Great Learning, we quote a famous pas-
sage on how to order all society aright through the cultivation of the
self. The first paragraph was supposed to be by Confucius and the
second, with its amplified and logically articulated statement of the
same idea, by the later author of the book.

The Way of learning to be great consists in shining with the illustrious
power of moral personality, in making a new people, in abiding in the
highest goodness. To know one's abiding place leads to fixity of purpose,
fixity of purpose to calmness of mind, calmness of mind to serenity of life,
serenity of life to careful consideration of means, careful consideration of
means to the achievement of the end.

Things have their roots and branches, human affairs their endings as
well as beginnings. So to know what comes first and what comes after-
ward leads one near to the Way. The men of old who wished to shine with
the illustrious power of personality throughout the Great Society, first
had to govern their own states efficiently. Wishing to do this, they first
had to make an ordered harmony in their own families. Wishing to do
this, they first had to cultivate their individual selves. Wishing to do this,
they first had to put their minds right. Wishing to do this, they first had
to make their purposes genuine. Wishing to do this, they first had to ex-
tend their knowledge to the utmost. Such extension of knowledge consists
in appreciating the nature of things. For with the appreciation of the
nature of things knowledge reaches its height. With the completion of
knowledge purposes become genuine. With purposes genuine the mind
becomes right. With the mind right the individual self comes into flower.
With the self in flower the family becomes an ordered harmony. With the
families ordered harmonies the State is efficiently governed. With states
efficiently governed the Great Society is at peace. Thus from the Son of

[84] viii, 3f., 13f.; ii, 4; iv, 1-4, 8, 17; xv, 11, 17-23; tr. Waley, The Analects of Confucius,
pp.102, 127, 88, 109f., 105, 197f. Quoted by permission of the publishers, George Allen
and Unwin Ltd., London.
Heaven down to the common people there is unity in this: that for everybody the bringing of the individual self to flower is to be taken as the root.\textsuperscript{55}

From the Chung Yung, or Doctrine of the Mean, we give three sections. The first is plainly set forth as a quotation from Confucius, the second seems to mingle the thoughts of Confucius and Tzu Ssu, and the third is probably a summary or interpretation by a later editor.

The Master said: "The Way is not far removed from men. If a man pursues a way which removes him from men, he cannot be in the Way. . . . The treatment which you do not like for yourself you must not hand out to others."

The true ruler must not fail to cultivate his self; and, having it in mind to do this, he must not fail to serve his parents; and having it in mind to do this, he must not fail to have knowledge of men; and, having it in mind to have this knowledge, he must not fail to have knowledge of Heaven.

There are five things which concern everybody in the Great Society, as also do the three means by which these five things are accomplished. To explain, the relationship between sovereign and subject, between father and son, between husband and wife, between elder and younger brother, and the equal intercourse of friend and friend, these five relationships concern everybody in the Great Society. Knowledge, human-heartedness, and fortitude, these three are the means; for these qualities are the spiritual power in society as a whole. The means by which this power is made effective is unity.

That which Heaven entrusts to man is to be called his nature. The following out of this nature is to be called the Way. The cultivation of the Way is to be called instruction in systematic truth. The Way, it may not be abandoned for a moment. If it might be abandoned, it would not be the Way. Because this is so, the man of principle holds himself restrained and keyed up in relation to the unseen world. Since there is nothing more manifest than what is hidden, nothing more visible than what is minute, therefore the man of principle is on guard when he is alone with himself.

To have no emotions of pleasure and anger and sorrow and joy surging up, this is to be described as being in a state of equilibrium. To have these emotions surging up but all in tune, this is to be described as a state of harmony. This state of equilibrium is the supreme foundation, this state of harmony the highway, of the Great Society. Once equilibrium and harmony are achieved, heaven and earth maintain their proper positions, and all living things are nourished.\textsuperscript{56}

\textsuperscript{55} Taken from \textit{The Great Learning and the Mean-in-Action}, tr. by E. R. Hughes, published by E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., New York. Copyrighted by E. R. Hughes, 1943. By permission of the publishers.

\textsuperscript{56} \textit{ibid.}, pp.111,119f.,109f.
EARLY CONFUCIANISM

"WARRING STATES" AND COMPETING PHILOSOPHIES

The period following the death of Confucius was that of the "Warring States," in which the various political units of China struggled for supremacy. It was also a time in which numerous other philosophies arose to compete with that of Confucius for followers. As a matter of fact, for a hundred years or more Confucianism seemed to grow weaker rather than stronger. Of this course of events Ssu-ma Ch'ien says in the Shih Chi: "After the death of Confucius, his seventy disciples scattered and traveled among the feudal lords. The important ones became teachers and ministers [of the feudal lords]. The lesser ones became friends and teachers of the officials or went into retirement and were no longer seen. . . . During this period there was fighting everywhere throughout the empire between the Warring States, and Confucianism declined. Only in the states of Ch'i and Lu did learning still continue."

So many divergences of thought came into existence that within little more than a century after the death of Confucius reference was made to "the doctrines of the Hundred Schools." We of course cannot discuss all of these. We will, however, tell of Taoism and its leaders such as Lao Tzu, Yang Chu, and Chuang Tzu, in the next chapter; and at this point we will give a brief description of one other philosophy as a single example out of the many schools. It is the remarkable system of thought originated by Mo Tzu and known as Mohism.

Mo Tzu, or Master Mo, was also known by the personal name of Ti. Concerning him there is this brief statement in the Shih Chi: "Mo Ti seems probably to have been a great officer in the state of Sung. He was skillful in maintaining military defenses, and taught economy of use. Some say that he was contemporary with Confucius, others that he was after him." According to recent research the latter alternative suggested by Ssu-ma Ch'ien as to the date of Mo Tzu is the more probable, and his life fell within the century after the death of Confucius (somewhere between 478 and 381 B.C.).

The central interest of Mo Tzu was the welfare of man. He once said, "The purpose of the magnanimous lies in procuring benefits for the world and eliminating its calamities"; or, more concisely trans-
lated, "Promote general welfare and remove evil"; and this utterance has been called the motto of his entire movement.\footnote{Chan Wing-tsit in MPW, p.38.}

In order to accomplish this end Mo Tzu advocated frugality, universal love, and the condemnation of offensive war. Extravagance was to be avoided, he thought, both in government and in personal life, and only those expenditures made which really brought benefit to the people. Concerning the realm of government he said, "To cut out useless expenditures is the way of the sage-kings and a great blessing to the world."\footnote{tr. Yi-pao Mei, The Ethical and Political Works of Mote, p.119.} In personal affairs he suggested avoiding lavish funerals and shortening the period of mourning.

Universal love, likewise, was seen as necessary by Mo Tzu if universal well-being were to be achieved. The great evils of the world, he held, were caused by the absence of such love. He said: "Mutual attacks among states, mutual usurpation among houses, mutual injuries among individuals; the lack of grace and loyalty between ruler and ruled, the lack of affection and filial piety between father and son, the lack of harmony between elder and younger brothers—these are the major calamities in the world." Whence do such calamities arise? "They arise out of want of mutual love." What, then, is the way of universal love and mutual aid? "It is to regard the state of others as one's own, the houses of others as one's own, the persons of others as one's self."\footnote{ibid., pp.81f.}

The condemnation of offensive war grew naturally out of the foregoing analysis. War brings no benefit to Heaven, nor to the spirits, nor to men. "Now to capture a state and to destroy an army, to disturb and torture the people, and to set at naught the aspirations of the sages by confusion—is this intended to bless Heaven? But the people of Heaven are gathered together to besiege the towns belonging to Heaven. This is to murder men of Heaven and dispossess the spirits of their altars and to ruin the state and to kill the sacrificial animals. It is then not a blessing to Heaven on high. Is it intended to bless the spirits? But men of Heaven are murdered, spirits are deprived of their sacrifices, the earlier kings are neglected, the multitude are tortured and the people are scattered. It is then not a blessing to the spirits in the middle. Is it intended to bless the people? But the blessing of the people by killing them off must be very meager. And when we calculate the expense, which is the root of the calamities to living, we find the property of innumerable people is
exhausted. It is then not a blessing to the people below either.” Therefore the conclusion is inescapable: “Now if the rulers and the gentlemen of the world sincerely desire to procure benefits and avert calamities for the world—if they desire to do righteousness and be superior men, if they desire to strike the way of the sage-kings on the one hand and bless the people on the other—if so, the doctrine of condemnation of offensive war should not be left unheeded.”

In all of this the strongly practical and utilitarian emphasis of Mo Tzu is evident. Hate harms the people; love benefits everybody, not least of all the one who practices it. “Whoever loves others is loved by others.” “How can there be anything that is good but not useful?” asks this pragmatic thinker.

Religion itself was approached by Mo Tzu from this same kind of interest in its usefulness. “If all the people in the world believed that the spirits are able to reward virtue and punish vice,” he asked, “how could the world be in chaos?” Because of its practical effectiveness as the sanction of right order in the world, religion was strongly championed by Mo Tzu. Also in his religious thinking he set forth a more personal conception of Shang Ti than had been known before. Here is the famous passage in which he set forth his quaint reasons for his sublime belief that “Heaven loves the people”:

How do we know Heaven loves the people? Because it teaches them all. How do we know it teaches them all? Because it claims them all. How do we know it claims them all? Because it accepts sacrifices from them all. How do we know it accepts sacrifices from all? Because within the four seas all grain-eating [i.e., civilized] people feed oxen and sheep with grass, and dogs and pigs with grains, and prepare clean cakes and wine to do sacrifice to Supreme God [Shang Ti] and the spirits. Claiming all the people, why will Heaven not love them? Moreover, as I have said, for the murder of one innocent individual there will be one calamity. Who is it that murders the innocent? It is man. Who is it that sends down the calamity? It is Heaven. If Heaven should be thought of as not loving the people, why should it send down calamities for the murder of man by man? So, I know Heaven loves the people.

** MENCIUS **

In the Period of the “Warring States,” then, there was not only contention among political groups but also rivalry among philosophi-
Confucianism

cal schools. The ultimate victorious emergence of Confucianism as the most widely accepted philosophy in China was due largely to the work of Mencius and Hsün Tzu. Continuing the statement from which we quoted above (p.353), Su-ma Ch‘ien speaks of these two teachers as follows: “During the reigns of Kings Wei [357-320 b.c.] and Hsüan [319-301 b.c.] of Ch‘i there were such persons as Meng Tzu [Mencius] and Hsün Ch‘ing [Hsün Tzu], who followed the teachings of the Master [Confucius] and developed them, becoming famous in their generation for their learning.”

The biographical statement of the same historian concerning Mencius is this: “Meng K‘o was a native of Tsou. He received his education from the disciples of Tzu Ssu [the grandson of Confucius]. When his learning had become comprehensive, he traveled to serve King Hsüan of Ch‘i, but the latter was unable to employ him. He then went to the state of Liang, but King Hui of Liang [370-319 b.c.] was insincere in his words and considered [Mencius] as pedantic and far from reality. . . . The empire was then engaged in forming vertical [north-to-south] and horizontal [east-to-west] alliances [among the states], and held fighting as something worthy. Whereas Meng K‘o was [intent on] transmitting the virtues of . . . the Three Dynasties, so that those whom he visited were not willing to listen to him. So he retired and together with his disciple, Wan Chang, and others, put the Shih and Shu into order, transmitted the doctrines of Confucius, and composed the Mencius in seven books.”

As the passage just quoted indicates, the birthplace of Mencius was in Tsou, a tiny state on the border of Lu in the present Shantung, and like Lu a center of Confucianism. The dates of his life were probably 372-289 b.c. As also stated in the foregoing quotation, the writings of Mencius took the form of seven books customarily known by his own name.

In this work Mencius describes the confusion of argument in his time, and tells how he has made it his task to defend Confucianism and to oppose Yang Chu and Mo Ti, the leaders of Taoism and of Mohism respectively. “Sage-kings cease to arise, and the feudal lords give rein to their lusts. Unemployed scholars indulge in unreasonable discussions. The words of Yang Chu and Mo Ti fill all below heaven. The words of all below heaven come home to Mo, if they do not come home to Yang. Yang’s school is for self. It has no lord.

100 tr. in Science p.107.
101 For the translations of his work see above, p.340 n.64.
102 tr. in Science p.132.
Mo's school loves all alike. It has no father. Without father and without lord we are birds or beasts... If the ways of Yang and Mo are not stopped, if the way of Confucius is not seen, crooked words will bewitch the people, and choke love and right. When love and right are choked, beasts are led to eat men, and men will eat each other. I am afraid, therefore. I defend the way of bygone holy men, withstand Yang and Mo, stop the rise of crooked speakers, and banish wanton words. Working in man's heart they hurt his business; working in his business they hurt his conduct. When a holy man rises again he will not change my words.\textsuperscript{109}

From the above we learn that the objection of Mencius to Yang's school was that it was centered in selfishness; his criticism of the school of Mo was that it taught love for all alike. As for himself, Mencius advocated the principle of benevolence, but believed that there were necessary levels of love. He distinguished liking for animals, love for mankind, and devotion to kinsfolk as successively higher levels of attachment. He said, "A gentleman likes living things, but he does not love them. He loves the people, but not as he loves his kinsmen. He is a kinsman to his kin, and loves the people. He loves the people and likes living things."\textsuperscript{106}

Furthermore, Mencius took issue with the utilitarianism of Mo. He himself believed that human nature was essentially good, and therefore taught the practice of virtue as a necessary expression of that nature, quite apart from the material benefits which might also result. To illustrate Mencius' belief in the fundamental goodness of human nature we may recall the famous saying in which he argued that man tends to seek good just as water tends to run downhill. The statement was made in opposition to a contrary statement by a little-known philosopher named Kao Tzu. "Kao Tzu said, Our nature is like a whirlpool: if a breach is made to the east, the water flows east; if a breach is made to the west, it flows west. As water does not discern between east and west, so man's nature does not discern between good and evil. Mencius said, Truly water does not discern between east and west, but does it not discern between up and down? Man's nature is good, as water flows down. No man but is good, no water but flows down. Hit water and make it leap, you can send it above your forehead; force it, and you can bring it up a
hill. But is that the nature of water? It is done by force; and when
man is brought to do evil, the same is done to his nature."

For an expression of his advocacy of doing good regardless of ex-
pectation of profiting thereby, we may turn to a conversation which
Mencius had with King Hui of Liang. The king asked what gain the
counsel of Mencius might be expected to bring, and Mencius replied:
"Why must you speak of gain, King? There is love too and right, and
they are everything. When the king says, What gain can I get for
my land? the great men say, What gain can I get for my house?
the knights and common men say, What gain can I get for myself?
then high and low fight one another for gain, and the kingdom is
shaken. . . . When gain is put before right, only robbery can fill the
maw. Love never forsakes kinsmen, right never puts his lord last.
You too, King, should speak of love and right and of nothing else;
why must you speak of gain?"

Two more brief quotations must suffice to complete our sampling
of the teachings of this penetrating thinker:

Mencius said, The great man is he that does not lose the child heart.
Mencius said, Man’s heart is love, man’s road is right. To leave the road
unfollowed, [to] let the heart stray and not know where to seek it, is sad
indeed!
If a man’s dog or hen strays, he knows where to seek it; but when his
heart strays he knows not where to seek it! The scholar’s way is no more
than seeking our stray heart.

HSÜN TZU

Mencius may be called the developer and Hsün Tzu the systemat-
izer of Confucianism. The latter, known also as Hsün Ch’ing, lived
probably around 320-235 B.C., in other words near the close of the
Period of the "Warring States." The Shih Chi says of him: "Hsün
Ch’ing was a native of Chao. When he was fifty, he first came to
spread his teachings abroad in Ch’i. . . . Tien P’ien and the other
scholars associated with him were already all dead in the time of
King Hsiang of Ch’i [283-265 B.C.], and Hsün Ch’ing was the most
eminent [surviving] learned scholar. Ch’i was still repairing the gaps
in the ranks of the ‘great officers,’ and Hsün Ch’ing was three times

108 ibid., pp.184f.
107 ibid., pp.1f.; cf. pp.188f.; Liang Chi-chao, History of Chinese Political Thought
During the early Ts’u Period. 1930, pp.54f.
107 tr. Lyell, Mencius, pp.122,178.
108 Homer H. Dubs, Hutse, The Moulder of Ancient Confucianism (Phoebus’s
officer for the sacrificial wine offering. Among the people of Ch’i were some who slandered Hsün Ch’ing, and he thereupon went to Ch’u, where Prince Ch’un-shen made him magistrate of Lan-ling.\(^{109}\) When Prince Ch’un Shen died [238 B.C.], Hsün Ch’ing lost his Lan-ling position. Li Ssu, who later became Prime Minister of Ch’in, was his disciple. Hsün Ch’ing hated the governments of his corrupt generation, its dying states and evil princes, who did not follow the Way (Tao), but gave their attention to magic and prayers and believed in omens and luck. It was a generation of low scholars who had no learning. [Thinkers] such as Chuang Chou [Chuang Tzu], on the other hand, were specious and threw the customs into disorder. Therefore he expounded the prosperity and decay that come from putting into practice the Confucian and Mohist doctrines and virtues. By the time of his death he had written and arranged in order several tens of thousands of words. He was buried in Lan-ling.”\(^{110}\)

In the “several tens of thousands of words” which Hsün Tzu has left behind,\(^ {111}\) we can see that he undertook to give a well-rounded and consistent expression to the fundamental Confucian philosophy. In doing so he paid high tribute to Confucius, but sharply criticized Mencius. His most striking difference from the latter was that whereas Mencius believed human nature was fundamentally good, Hsün Tzu regarded it as basically bad. On this point Hsün Tzu formulated his opinion very concisely: “The nature of man is evil; his goodness is only acquired training.”\(^ {112}\)

If this is correct, then virtue cannot be just the development of innate impulses as Mencius would lead one to suppose. Rather, Hsün Tzu argues, for the proper training of human nature in goodness, standards of action are needed which can only come from an external authority. These norms are to be found in the rules of propriety which were enunciated by the sage-kings of the past and should be enforced by the wise ruler of the present. “Anciently the sage-kings knew that man’s nature was evil, that it was partial, bent on evil, and corrupt, rebellious, disorderly, without good government, hence they established the authority of the prince to govern man; they set forth clearly the rules of proper conduct and justice to reform him; they established laws and government to rule him; they

\(^{109}\) A place in southern Shantung.
\(^{110}\) Tr. in FKCP p.279.
\(^{112}\) Ibid., p.301.
made punishments severe to warn him; and so they caused the whole country to come to a state of good government and prosperity, and to accord with goodness. This is the government of the sage-kings, the reforming influence of the rules of proper conduct and justice.\textsuperscript{114}

With this strong emphasis upon authority it may be said that the most splendid age of Chinese thought came to its downfall.\textsuperscript{114} The spirit of intellectual emancipation which had fostered a variety of inquiries into the nature of reality, gave way to the authoritarianism which always thereafter remained characteristic of Confucianism.

Hsün Tzu may also be seen as completing the development of Confucianism into a thoroughly naturalistic humanism. In the thought of Confucius, Heaven seems to have been a ruling and personal providence, and the spirits were actual beings toward whom a gentleman should maintain a bearing full of respect. With Hsün Tzu, Heaven was depersonalized and conceived as naturalistic law, while the very existence of the spirits was denied. Man was therefore cast upon his own resources and challenged to do his utmost to achieve advance through his own unaided efforts. The following words will give some of Hsün Tzu’s own statements on the matter, and will conclude our consideration of this philosopher: “Heaven has a constant regularity of action. . . . The fixed stars make their round; the sun and moon alternately shine; the four seasons come in succession; the Yin and Yang\textsuperscript{115} go through their great mutations. . . . The results of all these changes are known, but we do not know the invisible source—this is what is meant by the work of Heaven. . . . Prosperity and calamity do not come from Heaven. . . . Therefore the superior man is anxious about what is within his power, and does not seek for what comes from Heaven—this causes daily progress. . . . If a person neglects what men can do and seeks for what Heaven does, he fails to understand the nature of things.”\textsuperscript{116}

With the systematization of its doctrines and the explicit statement of its implicit authoritarianism and naturalism by Hsün Tzu, early Confucianism may be said to have attained its henceforth most characteristic form. We will now follow more briefly the developments in later periods.

\textsuperscript{114} Hu Shih, The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China. 1923, p.168.

\textsuperscript{115} The negative and positive cosmic principles which were so important in medieval Chinese philosophy. See Alfred Forke, The World-Conception of the Chinese, Their Astronomical, Cosmological and Phyisico-Philosophical Speculations (Probsthain’s Oriental Series). 1925, pp.163-223.

\textsuperscript{116} tr. Duls The Works of Huëntse, pp.173,175,177,179,183.
5. THE CH’IN PERIOD, 221-207 B.C.

SHIHK HUANG TI

The story of the Ch’in dynasty is virtually that of a single man, Shih Huang Ti. This remarkable leader was a prince of Ch’in, the state from the name of which our word China is probably derived. He succeeded in overcoming all of the other Chinese states and bringing them together into a single unified empire with himself as the absolute ruler. Shih Huang Ti was king of Ch’in from 246 to 221 B.C., and emperor of all China from 221 to 210. His imperial capital was at Kwan-chung, modern Si-an (or Si-an-fu), in the same plain of the River Wei where the Western Chou capitals had been and where later the capitals of the Former Han, Sui and T’ang dynasties would be. The title assumed by the new master of China in 221 B.C. may be translated First Emperor, Shih meaning “first,” and Huang and Ti being royal titles out of the legendary past. It was intended that following rulers should be called Erh Huang Ti, San Huang Ti, etc., meaning Second Emperor, Third Emperor, etc. In view of the fact that the Chinese empire thus founded lasted in substantially the same form, although under different dynasties, for over two thousand years—from 221 B.C. to A.D. 1911—the work of Shih Huang Ti may properly be described as “the most enduring political achievement ever wrought by man.” With him,” it has also been said, “the ancient history of China closes and a new era begins.”

Since many of the scholars, who were devoted to the past, preferred the ancient feudal ways to the new autocracy, and since freedom of philosophic discussion was conducive to criticism of the government, Shih Huang Ti undertook drastic repressive measures against these apparently subversive forces. He caused many of the literati to be killed, and ordered the collection and burning of the ancient literature (213 B.C.). In this act, as in his entire career, he was encouraged and guided by his chief minister, Li Ssu, who had learned as a pupil of Hsün Tzu to believe in the absolute power of the prince.

120 Leo Wieger, China throughout the Ages. tr. E. C. Werner. 1928, p.305.
121 Derk Bodde, China’s First Unifier, A Study of the Ch’in Dynasty as seen in the Life of Li Ssu (280?-208 B.C.) (Sinica Leidensia, 31). 1938, pp.10ff.
Against external enemies, particularly the Hsiung Nu (probably the same as the Huns of European history) in the northwest, Shih Huang Ti built the Great Wall of China. The feudal kingdoms in the north had already erected various lines of defense against the barbarians, and Shih Huang Ti was able to utilize these scattered ramparts in the completion of his more extensive barrier. As established in 214 B.C. his wall ran from Shan-hai-kuan on the Gulf of Liao-tung to Lin-t’ao in southern Kansu. As it stands today the Great Wall is the result not only of the work of Shih Huang Ti but also of enlargements, restorations and even alterations of its course made during many centuries since his time. This present wall is a parapet of earth and stone faced with brick, some twenty or thirty feet high, with square watch towers at intervals, and stretching across northern China for fourteen hundred miles. The photograph reproduced in Fig. 154 shows the Great Wall in the vicinity of the Nan-k’ou Pass.

Shih Huang Ti died in 210 B.C. and the great earthen mound or tumulus where he was buried (Fig. 153) may still be seen some distance east of Si-an. The following account of his burial is found in the Shih Chi of Ssu-ma Ch’ien:

In the ninth moon the First Emperor was buried in Mount Li, which in the early days of his reign he had caused to be tunnelled and prepared with that view. Then, when he had consolidated the empire, he employed his soldiers, to the number of 700,000, to bore down to the Three Springs [that is, until water was reached], and there a foundation of bronze was laid and the sarcophagus placed thereon. Rare objects and costly jewels were collected from the palaces and from the various officials, and were carried thither and stored in vast quantities. Artificers were ordered to construct mechanical crossbows, which, if any one were to enter, would immediately discharge their arrows. With the aid of quicksilver, rivers were made, the Yangtze, the Hwang Ho, and the great ocean, the metal being poured from one into the other by machinery. On the roof were delineated the constellations of the sky, on the floor the geographical divisions of the earth. Candles were made from the fat of the man-fish [walrus], calculated to last for a very long time.

The Second Emperor said, "It is not fitting that the concubines of my late father who are without children should leave him now"; and accordingly he ordered them to accompany the dead monarch to the next world, those who thus perished being many in number.


When the interment was completed, some one suggested that the workmen who had made the machinery and concealed the treasure knew the great value of the latter, and that the secret would leak out. Therefore, so soon as the ceremony was over, and the path giving access to the sarcophagus had been blocked up at its innermost end, the outside gate at the entrance to this path was let fall, and the mausoleum was effectually closed, so that not one of the workmen escaped. Trees and grass were then planted around, that the spot might look like the rest of the mountain.\textsuperscript{124}

It was not long after the death of Shih Huang Ti that a period of anarchy ensued out of which was established the Han dynasty. The founder of the new house was Liu Pang (also called Kao Tsu) and the name of the dynasty was that of his own native state, Han. The period may be divided into two parts, Former Han (202 B.C.-A.D. 9) and Later Han (A.D. 25-220), the dividing point between the two being the time early in the first century A.D. when a usurper named Wang Mang held the throne. Since the Later Han capital was at Loyang this period is also called Eastern Han. The greatest Han emperor was doubtless Wu Ti who reigned during the Former Han Period from 140 to 87 B.C.; the emperor of most interest to us in the Later Han Period was Ming Ti (A.D. 58-76).

As the Han empire reached its apex under Wu Ti it was not far from the size of the realm which Rome was contemporaneously mastering in the west, and next to that domain it was the greatest power on earth. Largely through the western explorations of Chang Ch’ien, minister of Wu Ti, the east and west were brought into contact, and the silks of China began to go by way of the caravan routes of Sinkiang to Rome.

In order to protect this highway of trade as it stretched out into central Asia, Wu Ti extended China’s “Great Wall” to the northwest and pushed a line of fortifications into the forbidding desert beyond Tunchwang. As explored in this remote region by Aurel Stein, the remains of the wall show that it was built with bundles of sticks placed crosswise in layers alternating with layers of stamped clay and gravel. This type of construction was planned to withstand the destructive effects of the wind-driven sand of the desert. Behind the wall and not far from it was a long chain of square brick watchtowers, with adjacent quarters for the military detachments posted there.

As far as religion is concerned, Taoism was favored by Liu Pang and his immediate successors as it had been by Shih Huang Ti; Buddhism attracted the attention of the court by the time of Ming Ti; but Confucianism was, under Wu Ti, elevated to the religion of state, a position it retained until A.D. 1912.

There is a story, indeed, that already in the last year of his reign Liu Pang himself visited the tomb of Confucius at Chufou and

---

128 Stein, Serindia, ii, pp.578-790.

[ 364 ]
offered sacrifice, but the historicity of this account has been questioned, and if the event did take place it was probably at most a political gesture.\textsuperscript{127} Wu Ti, however, gave Confucianism his strong patronage. The reasons leading to the official adoption of Confucian doctrines included the following, according to the analysis of the situation by John K. Shryock: Experience had shown that some of the principles followed by Shih Huang Ti, although apparently successful in time of war, were inadequate as a basis for a lasting government, since the Ch’in dynasty had collapsed so soon after the death of its founder. The burning of the Confucian books by Shih Huang Ti and Li Ssu had actually had an opposite effect from that intended; interest in this literature had increased and Confucian sentiment had grown stronger, while the differences between the scholars and the emperor had grown less. Wu Ti himself was credulous by nature and when certain ominous portents were experienced at the close of his predecessor’s reign readily concluded that a radical change was called for. He loved ceremony and ritual too, and naturally turned to the Confucians as authorities in such things.\textsuperscript{128}

In line with the renewed and increased interest in Confucianism, a great deal of effort was given at this time to recovering the writings of the past, so many of which had suffered in the earlier “burning of the books.” Much historical work likewise was done. Of the ancient texts the following were now included in the list of canonical books: the I Ching, Shu Ching, Shih Ching, Li Chi, Chou Li, I Li, Ch’ün Ch’iu, Hsiao Ching, Lün Yü, Meng Tzu Shu, and Erh Ya, the last often being called the oldest Chinese dictionary. In the compilation of historical records a leading part was played by Ssu-ma Ch’ien who was active under the reign of Wu Ti, and from whose work we have already quoted frequently. He is often referred to as the father of Chinese history. Another work of importance for its graphic description of the social order of the time is the Yen T’ieh Lun, a treatise on economic and political problems, written by Huan K’uan in the first century B.C.\textsuperscript{129}

**WRITINGS ON WOOD AND ON PAPER**

Hundreds of written documents dating from the first century B.C.

\textsuperscript{127} John K. Shryock, The Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius. 1932, p.97.

\textsuperscript{128} ibid., pp.34-38.

\textsuperscript{129} tr. Esson M. Gale, Discourses on Salt and Iron, A Debate on State Control of Commerce and Industry in Ancient China, Chapters I-XIX, Translated from the Chinese of Huan K’uan with Introduction and Notes (Societät Leidens, n). 1931.
to the middle of the second century A.D. have been recovered by Aurel Stein from the ruins of the "Great Wall" in the region of Tun-hwang, and from these we can learn what books of the Han Period were like, and verify the surmise already made on other grounds (p.329) as to the appearance of ancient Chinese books. A collection of portions of such books is shown in Fig. 155. These are slips of wood approximately nine inches (or one foot in the reckoning of the Han Period) in length, containing writing in vertical columns. It will be convenient first to look at the fifteen pieces of practically uniform width which fill the whole central part of the plate, all of which belong to a single "book." Upon close inspection each piece is seen to have three small notches, uniformly spaced, in its left edge. Furthermore there is no text on the reverse side of these slips. It is almost certain, therefore, that the slips were tied with strings so that they could be folded together, blank back to blank back, for carrying and storage, and opened out, like the bellows of an accordion, for perusal. Such was the customary wooden "book" of that time and of earlier times.

The fifteen pieces just dealt with, it may be explained further, were found by Aurel Stein at the station on the "Great Wall" which he labels T. vi. b. i. Upon decipherment it was learned that the "book" to which they belonged was an elaborate calendar for the year 63 B.C., probably used by the officer in command at this post for the correct dating of his official correspondence.

The two panels at the extreme left of our same illustration are the two sides, both inscribed, of a single slip of wood. In this case we have an administrative record, in which is noted the issue in the year 60 B.C. of a linen tunic to a soldier by the captain of a certain company, together with the price of the garment.

The two panels at the extreme right likewise represent two views of the same object, in this case a prismatic, triangular-shaped piece of wood, with writing on its three faces. This was found at the station of the Wall which Stein labels T. xv. a. i. In this document we have the complete opening paragraph of a lexicographical text, named the Chi Chiu Chang, which was composed originally in the period 48-33 B.C. The slip itself was found in company with another piece dated in the year A.D. 67, and may doubtless be assigned to a com-

---

180 Stein, Serindia, ii, pp.844-851,672,698-706; Édouard Chavannes, Les documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan oriental, publiés et traduits. 1913, pp.61,10-14,20, Pl. 1.
parable date. While there might be some question as to whether the calendar and the administrative record should be described as "books," here there is no doubt but that we are dealing with a portion of a book properly so called. This then is one of the oldest known manuscripts of a Chinese book.

The Han Period and the desert ruins of the "Great Wall" give us tangible examples not only of China's ancient wooden books, but also of that important invention, paper, which the same country also contributed to the literary work of the world. According to the Hou Han Shu or Later Han Annals, written by Fan Yeh (d. A.D. 445), the invention of paper was made by Ts'ai Lun in A.D. 105. "In ancient times," writes Fan Yeh, "writing was generally on bamboo or on pieces of silk, which were then called chih. But silk being expensive and bamboo heavy, these two materials were not convenient. Then Ts'ai Lun thought of using tree bark, hemp, rags and fish nets. In the first year of the Yii-hsing Period [A.D. 105] he made a report to the Emperor on the process of paper making, and received high praise for his ability. From this time paper has been in use everywhere and is called the 'paper of Marquis Ts'ai.'"

That paper was actually in use in China not long after the time when tradition affirms it to have first been invented, is shown by Aurel Stein’s discovery of documents written on this material as well as on wood in the ruins of the western "Great Wall." Some eight letters, written on paper and carefully folded, were recovered, at the station known as T. xii. a. The paper was found upon microscopic analysis to have been made from rags which had been reduced to a pulp by a rough process of stamping. The script in which the letters were composed is identified as Early Sogdian. Since the definitely dated documents found in the various stations of the "Great Wall" do not go later than A.D. 137 (or possibly A.D. 153), these letters are doubtless also not later than the middle of the second century. A photograph of one of the letters (now labeled T. xii. a. ii. 2) is reproduced in Fig. 156. The size of the sheet is about nine by sixteen inches, and it was enclosed in an envelope also bearing writing, probably an address, on the outside.

181 This character is now the ordinary word for paper.
183 The Sogdians were an East Iranian people.
184 Stein, Serindia, iv, Pl. clv, left.
As in preceding ages, so too in the Han Period there was artistic expression in objects of clay, bronze and jade. Without dealing with these in detail it may be said that in form and decoration they reveal an elegant simplicity of line and sense of movement expressive of released force.\[1\]

For a single example we show in Fig. 157 a painted pottery vessel of the period, adorned with ferocious winged dragons.

The desire to provide the finest possible burials for the deceased is responsible for giving us some further very interesting glimpses of the times. The customary arrangement of an important tomb included not only the large tumulus or earthen mound above the burial place proper, but also a chapel or chapels immediately in front of the grave for the making of sacrifices to the dead, and a ceremonial approach lined with pillars or animal statues.

Such a tomb was that of Ho Ch‘ü-ping (or Ho K‘iu-ping) at Hsü-ping-hsien near modern Si-an. Ho Ch‘ü-ping was a brilliant general who warned successfully against the Hsiung Nu, and died at the age of twenty-four in 117 B.C.\[2\] His tomb was erected at the command of the emperor. As shown in Fig. 158, one of the figures of the guardian animals of the tomb is still standing in place. This is a relatively primitive and more than life-size granite statue of a horse. Prostrate on his back and trampled beneath the feet of the horse is the figure of a man. This man represents the Hsiung Nu against whom Ho Ch‘ü-ping had warred, and the entire sculpture doubtless has some of the same magical connotation as the similar portrayals in the Sasanid rock reliefs.\[3\]

One of two gateway pillars of another tomb, that of Shen (second century A.D.) at Ch‘ü-hsien in remote Szechwan, is pictured in Fig. 159. It is adorned with elegant relief carvings: on the front face a “red bird,” the symbol of the south; above that a t‘ao-t‘ieh; yet above that a funeral cavalcade; and on the inner face a sinuous “white tiger” and above, a barbarian archer.\[4\]

There were also relief sculptures in the chapels and chambers of the graves. A fine group of these was found in the burial chambers of the Wu family at Chia-hsiang-hsien in Shantung, often referred to from the name of one of the sons as the Wu Liang Tz‘u, or sanctuary

\[1\] 殷墟甲骨文, pp.48-68.
\[2\] 殷墟甲骨文, pp.157-158; Atlas, i Pl. xi.
\[3\] 殷墟甲骨文, p.157; Atlas, i Pl. xvi, left.
\[4\] 殷墟甲骨文, pp.260f.
of Wu Liang. Inscriptions here belong to the years from 147 to 167 A.D. To make the reliefs at Wu Liang Tz'u the artists hollowed out the stone around the design and let the figures appear with perfectly flat surfaces. The result has been called “paintings with the chisel,” and it is very possible that the reliefs in the tombs were in fact copies of contemporary paintings which adorned the homes of the living.

The Wu Liang Tz'u reliefs contain scenes from history and mythology, and in them a variety of fantastic creatures appears. The relief reproduced in Fig. 160 shows, in the first panel, a charioteer protecting his wounded master by holding above him the top from the chariot; in the second panel, the attempt of Ching K'o to assassinate the Prince of Ch'in who later became Shih Huang Ti; and in the third panel, the two mythical founders of civilization, Fou-hsi (on the right) and his sister Niu-kua, represented with bodies terminating in intertwined serpents' tails.

Another relief portrays the mythological kingdom of the waters. Here we see a deity proceeding in a car drawn by fishes, while around him are frogs, tortoises, fish armed with weapons, men riding on fish, and gnomes with bodies ending in fish tails. Yet another relief (Fig. 161) represents the kingdom of the air, and in this it is evident that the very clouds of heaven have become living things, endowed with the attributes of animals and gods. In the first panel of this relief there are winged quadrupeds with heads of birds and tails of serpents, some ridden by winged gnomes; in the second panel Fou-hsi and Niu-kua appear again; in the third panel winged horse-dragons are pulling cars or ridden by winged gnomes; and in the bottom panel there are swirling, spiraling clouds with heads of birds and tails of serpents.

139 Otto Fischer, Die chinesische Malerei der Han-Dynastie. 1931, pp.33-36.
140 Bodde, Statesman, Patriot, and General in Ancient China, Three Shih Chi Biographies of the Ch'in Dynasty (255-206 B.C.), Translated and Discussed, pp.34f.,51f.
The period from A.D. 220 to 581 is known as that of the Six Dynasties. In this time China broke up again into a multiplicity of kingdoms and also suffered invasion by the northern barbarians. The most characteristic artistic monuments of the period, aside from those of Buddhism, are doubtless the large stone sculptures of lions and monsters which guarded the approaches to the tombs. The fearsome and fantastic character of these beasts is another expression of the "art of terror" which was almost as old as China.\textsuperscript{142} For a single example we show in Fig. 162 the head of one of the winged lions which guard the tomb of Duke Hsiao Ching (d. A.D. 528) near Nanking. With his upraised head, cavernous mouth and lolling tongue, this monster is indeed a fear-inspiring apparition.\textsuperscript{143}

In the tombs, funeral statuettes were often placed. These figures were probably intended to guarantee to the deceased the companionship and the services of the persons or creatures represented.\textsuperscript{144} From the Six Dynasties Period comes the group of tomb figures shown in Fig. 163. There are three girls playing musical instruments, three with harvesting implements.

In these troubled times the refuge offered by the monasteries and the philosophy of Buddhism proved increasingly attractive, and that faith attained an integral and influential place in the life of China. The relative lack of learning and prevalence of ignorance also conduced to the spread of the superstitions which had more and more become a part of Taoism. Confucianism was at a low ebb, yet not without influence. Liu Shao, who lived at the beginning of this period, claimed the inspiration of Confucius in the composition of his own Jen wu chih (A.D. 240-250). Remarking that "if Chung Ni had not examined his disciples, he could not have improved them," the author proceeds to a detailed and systematic "study of human abilities," and sets forth an applied psychology of character which

\textsuperscript{142} GEE III, pp.119-122.


\textsuperscript{144} G. Hentsch, Chinese Tomb Figures, A Study in the Beliefs and Folklore of Ancient China. 1928, p.17.
is still of importance and value. 144 A growing degree of veneration was also directed toward the person of Confucius. In A.D. 442 a temple was erected to the sage at Chufou, where his tomb was, and in A.D. 505 a temple was built at the capital. 145

145 Hodous in johmw p.11.
After the four centuries of chaos and convulsion just alluded to, a new and brilliant period ensued. The unity of the land was restored by the Duke of Sui who founded the short-lived Sui dynasty (A.D. 581-618), and this in turn was followed by the T'ang dynasty which reigned in splendor for three centuries (A.D. 618-906).144

T'AI TSUNG

Of the T'ang rulers, T'ai Tsung (A.D. 627-649) was without doubt the greatest. He extended the Chinese empire to boundaries even more extensive than those of Han times, and he ruled wisely at home. The empire was divided in his time into ten tao or provinces, and these were divided into chou or prefectures, and hsien or sub-prefectures. In A.D. 639 there were 358 chou in all.

The family of T'ai Tsung claimed to be descended from Lao Tzu, and the emperor therefore had a natural leaning toward Taoism. Nevertheless he did much to strengthen Confucianism. In A.D. 630 he commanded the erection of a temple to Confucius in each of the chou and hsien in the empire, and he also ordered sacrifices to be made in them by scholars and officials of the government. Not only Confucius but also noteworthy disciples and Confucian scholars were objects of veneration in these temples where at this time, perhaps as a result of Buddhist influence, they were customarily represented by actual statues. These images were made of wood but in A.D. 960 clay figures were ordered to be substituted. Thus for all practical purposes Confucius was treated as a god and his cult was scarcely distinguishable from that addressed to any other deity. In 1530, however, the appearance of idolatry was eliminated by the removal of the clay images, and wooden tablets, bearing the names of the respective worthies, were set up in the temples.147

For the most part T'ai Tsung and the other early T'ang rulers were not only friendly toward all three of the faiths already deep-rooted in Chinese life, namely Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, but were also tolerant toward other foreign religions which were becoming known in the land at this time. These included Judaism, Zoroas-


trianism, Islam, Manicheism and Nestorian Christianity. The introduction of the last-named faith took place in A.D. 635 under the reign of T'ai Tsung, as is attested by the famous and interesting Nestorian stone inscription.

THE NESTORIAN MONUMENT

The monument just mentioned is an inscribed stone tablet which was discovered beneath ground some thirty or forty miles from Si-an in A.D. 1625 and afterward set up in Ch'ang-an near Si-an.\textsuperscript{148} The upper part of the entire stone is carved with entwined dragons on either side of a plaque which carries the title of the monument. The top of this plaque is triangular in shape, and adorned with the cross as shown in Fig. 164. The lower part of the stone, over three feet wide and six feet high, is covered on the front and sides with the inscription and lists of names.

The title reads, "A monument of the diffusion through the Middle Kingdom of the Brilliant Teaching of Ta-ch'\textquoteleft in." Ta-ch'\textquoteleft in was the Chinese name for the Near East, and is used here in reference to the place whence the Christian teaching had come. The inscription continues with a very lengthy text from which we quote the following excerpts:

\textit{Behold! The unchanging in perfect repose, before the first and without beginning; the inaccessible in spiritual purity, after the last and wonderfully living; he who holds the mysterious source of life and creates, who in his original majesty imparts his mysterious nature to all the sages; is this not the mysterious Person of our Three in One, the true Lord without beginning, A-lo-he. . . .}\textsuperscript{148} He made and perfected all things; he fashioned and established the first man. He gave him special goodness and just temperament, he commanded him to have dominion over the ocean of creatures. . . . It came to pass that So-tan [Satan], propagating falsehood, borrowed the adornment of the pure spirit. He insinuated [the idea of] equal greatness [with God] into the original good. . . .

In consequence of this three hundred and sixty-five sects followed side by side crossing one another's tracks, vying one with another in weaving the web of religion. . . . For all their activity they attained nothing, being consumed by their own feverish zeal. They deepened darkness on the road of perdiction, and wandered long from the [way of] return to happiness.

Upon this the divided Person of our Three in One, the brilliant and reverend Mi-shih-he [Messiah], veiling and hiding his true majesty, came to earth in the likeness of man. An angel proclaimed the good news; a

\textsuperscript{148} P. Y. Saeki, \textit{The Nestorian Monument in China}. 1916; A. C. Moule, \textit{Christians in China Before the Year 1850}. 1950, pp.27-32, Fig. 2.

\textsuperscript{148} The name is probably the Chinese transcription of the Syriac word for God.
CONFUCIANISM

virgin gave birth to the sage in Ta-ch’in. A bright star told of good fortune; Persians saw its glory and came to offer gifts. He brought to completion the letter of the ancient law of the twenty-four sages, regulating the state on the great principle; he founded the new teaching unexpressed in words of the most holy Spirit of the Three in One, modeling the practice of virtue on right faith. . . . He disclosed life and abolished death. He hung up a brilliant sun to take by storm the halls of darkness; the wiles of the devil were then all destroyed. He rowed the boat of mercy to go up to the palaces of light; those who have souls were then completely saved. His mighty works thus finished, he ascended at midday to the spiritual sphere.

Of scriptures there were left twenty-seven books which explain the great reformation to unlock the barriers of the understanding. The water and the Spirit of religious baptism wash away vain glory and cleanse one pure and white. . . .

The true and eternal way is wonderful and hard to name; its merits and use are manifest and splendid, forcing us to call it the brilliant teaching. Yet the way without a prophet will not flourish; a prophet without the way will not be great. When way and prophet match and tally all under the sky is civilized and enlightened.

When T’ai Tsung, the polished Emperor, was beginning his prosperous reign in glory and splendor, with light and wisdom ruling the people, there was in the land of Ta-ch’in one of high virtue called A-lo-pen, who, auguring by the blue clouds, carried the true scriptures; watching the harmony of the winds, hastened to meet difficulties and dangers. In the ninth Cheng-kuan year [A.D. 635] he came to Ch’ang-an. The Emperor sent the Minister of State, Duke Fang Hsüan-ling, to take an escort to the west suburb to meet the guest and bring him to the palace. When the books had been translated in the library and the doctrine examined in his private apartments, [the Emperor] thoroughly understood their propriety and truth and specially ordered their preaching and transmission. . . .

Near the close of the inscription the date is given when the monument was erected. It is equivalent to February 4, A.D. 781.

ART

As far as art inspired by religion is concerned, the T’ang Period is the great Buddhist age of Chinese history. Since the Buddhist works do not concern us here, we can speak briefly of other artistic expressions of the time. The keynote of T’ang art may be said to be realism, and the subjects chosen often reflected the military aspect of the day. From the tomb of T’ai Tsung at Li Ch’üan-hsien in Shensi, a burial place begun by the emperor himself in A.D. 636, we have six reliefs showing his own war horses. One of these is reproduced in

130 tr. Moule, Christians in China Before the Year 1550, pp.34-39.
131 cce iii, pp.147f.,178-218.
Fig. 165. The animal has been wounded in battle, but is standing patiently while the commander K'iou Sing-kung extracts the arrow which has penetrated his chest.

Funeral statuettes, such as we have already noticed in the Period of the Six Dynasties, are particularly numerous in the T'ang Period. From this time come the figures of a lady carrying a drum and a lady carrying a ball shown in Fig. 167.

National schools of painting now flourished, and the names of a number of famous painters are preserved in literary sources. Perhaps the most interesting work is an illustrated scroll, now in the British Museum, by an unknown artist. Although his identity is not known, it is believed certain that he based his paintings upon a lost original which had been produced by a notable artist of the time of the Six Dynasties named Ku K'ai-chi (A.D. 321-379). The roll is entitled "The Admonitions of the Instructress to Court Ladies," and consists of pictures which illustrate short didactic sayings written beside them. The text was composed by a certain Chang Hua (A.D. 232-300). In general, it may be said that the admonitions are intended to promote proper conduct in the midst of a refined society. The painting reproduced in Fig. 166 is from this source. It portrays a family group and has the purpose of emphasizing counsel on harmonious life.182

Other artistic productions of the time included bronze mirrors, cups of crystal, silver and gold, beautiful polychrome glazed pottery, and objects of porcelain.183 Before the end of the period, also, block printing was invented.184

183 R. L. Hobson, Chinese Art, One Hundred Plates in Colour Reproducing Pottery and Porcelain of All Periods, Jades, Lacquer, Paintings, Bronzes, Furniture, etc., etc., Introduced by an Outline Sketch of Chinese Art. 1927, pp.96.

The "refined" society of the T'ang dynasty was supported upon a substratum of peasant poverty, and collapse came ere long. There followed an extended period of disintegration and eventual conquest by invaders. In the half century from A.D. 907 to 960, "Five Dynasties" succeeded one another swiftly at Loyang, while yet other houses were practically sovereign in outlying provinces. Then a new national dynasty called Sung was established which endured for some three centuries, though it was under a succession of threats from the north to which it finally succumbed. One of the most notable statesmen of the times was Wang An Shih (A.D. 1021-1086), who foresaw the coming disasters and as Prime Minister endeavored to forestall them by radical economic and political reforms. These failed, however, and in A.D. 1125 the northern Sung capital, K'ai-feng in Honan, was abandoned to the invaders, a Tartar people known as the Juchén. After that the Sung emperors continued to rule in the south with their capital at Hangchow. In the north the Juchên (or Kin) kingdom centered in the city later named Peking (Peiping). Finally came the Mongols. They attacked northern China within the lifetime of their leader Jenghiz Khan (d. 1227) and soon afterward (1234) succeeded in conquering the Kin kingdom; in 1279, with Kublai Khan (d. 1294), grandson of Jenghiz Khan, at their head, they overwhelmed the Sung empire. The Yüan dynasty which Kublai Khan founded ruled China from then on until 1368.

Troubled as these times were politically, culturally and religiously they were far from lacking in brilliance and importance. Indeed, even when the Mongols came, the conquerors adopted the civilization of the conquered and regarded themselves as its patrons.

Ancestor worship continued of course to be a very strong factor in the lives of the people, and the proper burial of the dead occupied much attention. Two graves of the Sung dynasty came to light in 1941 during excavation in the refugee campus of Fukien Christian University at Shaowu. Stone tablets still stood in front of the graves, with inscriptions revealing that this was the last resting place of a scholar named Li Yung Shih and his wife. The date was probably in the second half of the twelfth century. On each side of each tablet

was an earthen jar. These contained some grains of rice and both paper and genuine money. Fifty-eight pieces of money for the man and sixty-two for his wife indicated their respective ages at the time of death. The grave itself was an underground chamber built of bricks with slabs of stone for roofing. The wood of the coffin was in a state of decay but pieces were recovered bearing a brilliant red varnish made of tung oil and pigment. Inside the coffin were three lacquer bowls and saucers, black and dark brown in color. Both varnish and lacquer were of high quality.

Of outstanding distinction was the painting of the Sung Period. Portraiture and especially landscape painting were emphasized. At this point we will show only a single example, the picture reproduced in Fig. 168. This painting dates probably from the eleventh century, and the subject is of interest for our study since it portrays a group of scholars of Chi at work upon the collation of the classical texts. The Sung landscapes will be discussed in our next chapter.

THE CONFUCIAN RENAISSANCE

After the previous ascendency of Buddhism during the T'ang Period, Confucianism experienced a strong revival in the periods here dealt with. The Confucian renaissance was ushered in by the printing of the nine classical books and their commentaries in a text carefully edited by the scholars. This was done under the administration of Feng Tao (A.D. 881-954), a remarkable minister who served under no less than ten sovereigns of four houses of the Five Dynasties. The work was proposed in a memorial issued in A.D. 932 and reading in part as follows: "During the Han Dynasty, Confucian scholars were honored and the Classics were cut in stone... In T'ang times also stone inscriptions containing the text of the Classics were made in the imperial school. Our dynasty has too many other things to do and cannot undertake such a task as to have stone inscriptions erected. We have seen, however, men from Wu and Shu who sold books that were printed from blocks of wood. There were many different texts, but there were among them no orthodox Classics. If the Classics could be revised and thus cut in wood and published, it would be a very great boon to the study of literature. We, therefore, make a memorial to the throne to this effect." The labors of

[377]
CONFUCIANISM

editing and printing thereupon inaugurated lasted for twenty-one years and were completed in A.D. 953 when a hundred and thirty volumes of the classics and their commentaries were presented to the emperor.

The renewed interest thus manifested in Confucian antiquity in the Period of the Five Dynasties was an even more conspicuous feature of the Sung Period. A vigorous Neo-Confucian school (as it is now called) arose in this time which maintained that the solution of social and political problems was to be found by a return to the teachings of classical antiquity. Among the leaders of this movement were Ssu-ma Kuang (A.D. 1019-1086), opponent of the “innovator” Wang An-shih,188 and author of the Tzu Chih T'ung Chien, a famous history of China from the fifth century B.C. to the tenth century A.D.;189 and Chu Hsi (A.D. 1130-1200), who revised the history of Ssu-ma Kuang and wrote extensive commentaries on the Confucian classics.189

As Chu Hsi was doubtless the greatest of the Neo-Confucianists, we may give the following brief statement of his philosophy. The universe, he believed, came into being because of one supreme principle called Li or Ultimate Reason. From this principle the two forces of Ying, the Negative, and Yang, the Positive, developed. The ceaseless interaction of these two forces produces all matter and life, and the endless process of creation which is thus going on may be called Chi or Activating Energy. While Li is the metaphysical element in creation, Chi is the physical. The same two elements are present in an individual, Li being responsible for his innate goodness, and Chi being represented by his powers of action, emotion and thought. The secret of life, then, is to place one’s abilities and desires under the guidance of Ultimate Reason so that the inner self may be developed in harmony with the purpose of creation. “From the Li within us,” Chu Hsi wrote, “can be traced the origin of our saintly inclination to be good. And from the human faculties within us are developed all of our earthly wants. Thus, the saints entertain human desires such as hunger and thirst in the same manner that villains

189 CCWB pp.689-671.
189 Dark Bodde has translated the section on Chu Hsi from the second volume of the History of Chinese Philosophy by Fung Yu-lan in the Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies. 7 (1942-43), pp.1-51. See also J. Percy Bruce, Chu Hsi and His Masters, An Introduction to Chu Hsi and the Sung School of Chinese Philosophy (Probsthain’s Oriental Series). 1923.
can be expected to show such saintly inclination as sympathy. The
teaching of our Sage is to have Li, our saintly inclination within us,
to be our master, and to subject our earthly wants to its direction.”
Again he said: “Heaven and Earth [i.e., the supernatural] has for
its purpose the creation of matter. All matter, including human be-
ings, have in them the same purpose as that of Heaven and Earth.
... This purpose, to summarize, is Love. Love is behind all creation.
Were we able to recognize its meaning and keep it, we would be in
possession of the source of goodness and the foundation of living.”

The Sung Period may be regarded as the climactic point for the
survey undertaken in this chapter. It was the period which saw the
“definitive establishment of the Chinese canon of art,” and the rise
of the Neo-Confucian school of philosophy which has continued its
work until modern times. The Yüan Period has already been men-
tioned, and it will suffice in addition to state that the two dynasties
which followed were the Ming (A.D. 1368-1644), under which Peking
became the national capital and the Altar of Heaven at that place
the center of national worship; and the Ch'ing (A.D. 1644-1912),
when the Manchus maintained a rule that was ended only by the
Revolution of 1911-1912.

162 CCC III, p.279.
163 Chan Wing-tsit in MPEW pp.54-68. For Wang Yang-ming (A.D. 1472-1529),
doubtless the most eminent Neo-Confucianist after Chu Hsi, see F. G. Henke, The
Philosophy of Wang Yang-ming, Translated from the Chinese. 1916.
CHAPTER VII

Taoism

In the Six Dynasties Period (A.D. 220-581) the phrase arose which is frequently translated "the three religions" but which might better be "the three doctrines," since the Chinese word involved means basically "to teach." The three schools of thought thus singled out as of chief importance among the many which had flourished in China were Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. Confucianism has been dealt with in the preceding chapter, Buddhism’s entry into the land was described briefly in the chapter on that faith, and now we turn to Taoism. The number of adherents of Taoism at the present time is sometimes given as 40,000,000, but actually it is very difficult to say who is or is not a Taoist, and any such figure must be taken as only a very broad approximation and as a testimony to the fact that Taoism has been widely influential in Chinese life.

1. THE LEADERS AND THE WRITINGS OF EARLY TAOISM

LÃO TŻU

The rise of Taoism is traditionally associated with the name of Lao Tzu. The Shih Chi of Ssu-ma Ch’ien (145-86 B.C.) gives an account concerning this philosopher which contains the following statements:

"Lao Tzu was a native of Ch’ü-jen hamlet, in Lihsiang, in the district of K’u, in the state of Ch’u. His given name was Erh, his style was Tan, and his family name was Li. He was a clerk in the Chamber for Preserving and Storing [Records] of the Chou [kings].

"Confucius visited the Chou [capital] in order to question Lao Tzu about the rules of propriety. [When Confucius, speaking of propriety, praised reverence for the sages of antiquity], Lao Tzu said: ‘The men of whom you speak, Sir, have, if you please, together with their bones moldered. Their words alone are still extant. If a

noble man finds his time he rises, but if he does not find his time he drifts like a roving plant and wanders about. I observe that the wise merchant hides his treasures deeply as if he were poor. The noble man of perfect virtue assumes an attitude as though he were stupid. Let go, Sir, your proud airs, your many wishes, your affectation and exaggerated plans. All this is of no use to you, Sir. That is what I have to communicate to you, and that is all.' Confucius left. He addressed his disciples, saying: 'I know how birds can fly, fish swim, and animals run. But the runner may be snared, the swimmer hooked, and the flyer shot by the arrow. But there is the dragon: I cannot tell how he mounts on the wind through the clouds, and rises to heaven. Today I have seen Lao Tzu, and can only compare him to the dragon.'

"Lao Tzu practiced the Way (Tao) and the Power (Te). His doctrine aimed at self-effacement and namelessness. Lao Tzu resided in Chou most of his life. When he foresaw the decay of Chou, he departed and came to the frontier. The custom-house officer Yin Hsi said: 'Sir, since it pleases you to retire, I request you for my sake to write a book.' Thereupon Lao Tzu wrote a book of two parts consisting of five thousand and odd words, in which he discussed the concepts of the Way and the Power. Then he departed. No one knows where he died.

"Some say that Lao Tzu was also a man of Ch'ü. He wrote fifteen sections of writings, speaking for the use of Taoists. He was a contemporary of Confucius.

"It seems that Lao Tzu lived to be more than one hundred and sixty years old, and some say more than two hundred years, because he cultivated the Way and nourished his old age. One hundred twenty-nine years after the death of Confucius, the histories record that the historian Tan of the House of Chou had an interview with Duke Hsien of Ch'in [384-362 b.c.]. . . . Some say that this Tan was the same as Lao Tzu, and others say he was not. No one in the world knows if it is correct or not.

"Lao Tzu was a superior man who lived a retired life [or, a recluse gentleman]. His son was named Tsung. Tsung became a general of the state of Wei, and was enfeoffed [as a noble, with his fief] at Tuan-kan. Tsung's son was Chu and Chu's son was Kung. Kung's great-great-grandson was Chia, who held office under Hsiao Wen-ti [179-157] of the Han dynasty. Chia's son, Chieh, became grand tutor to An, prince of Chiao-hsi, and so moved his home to Ch'i."
The circumstantial details given in the first and last paragraphs from Ssu-ma Ch’ien above, would seem to guarantee the actual historicity of Lao Tzu. Accepting Ssu-ma Ch’ien’s statements as they stand, we learn that Lao Tzu’s combined family and personal name was Li Erh or Li Tan. The appellation by which he is more commonly known, Lao Tzu, means “Old Master,” or “Old Philosopher,” and may have been given him later as a title; on the other hand it is possible that Lao was actually an inherited family name. Evidently due to similarity in names, Lao Tzu was sometimes confused with Lao Lai Tzu, a Taoist teacher who was a contemporary of Confucius; and with Tan, a historian who lived in the fourth century.

The tiny village that was the birthplace of Lao Tzu was in the district of K’u, which was probably at or near modern Lu-yi in eastern Honan. Later Lao Tzu went to the Chou capital, Loyang, where he was an official in the imperial library.

In mentioning the book which Lao Tzu composed before disappearing beyond the frontier, Ssu-ma Ch’ien was no doubt giving the current belief as to the origin of the Taoist scriptures known as the Lao-tzu, or popularly the Tao Te Ching (Tao Teh King).

The date of Lao Tzu remains uncertain. Traditionally he is placed in the sixth century B.C., and the account given by Ssu-ma Ch’ien of a visit by Confucius to Lao Tzu of course agrees with this dating. The story may be only apocryphal, however, and intended to increase the prestige of Taoism in its controversies with Confucianism. Abandoning the traditional date, some scholars have put Lao Tzu around 300 B.C. or 240 B.C. The latter date, for example, rests upon the argument that the grammar and style of the Tao Te Ching are such as prevailed at the end of the “Warring States” Period. On the other hand the type of reasoning used to establish these late dates has itself been subjected to criticism, and it may be felt that the evidence is not yet sufficient to require this large shift in the dating of Lao Tzu and the Tao Te Ching.

THE TAO TE CHING

Although we are uncertain whether the Tao Te Ching dates from

---

2 Richard Wilhelm, Lao-Tse und der Taoismus. 1925, p.15.
3 Dubs in JAOS 61 (1941), p.217.
4 Wilhelm, Lao-Tse und der Taoismus, p.16.
5 Dubs in JAOS 61 (1941), pp.215-221.
7 Hu Shih in Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies. 2 (1937), pp.373-397; Erwin Rouselle in Sinica. 16 (1941), p.120; Herrymon Mesaror, The Old Fellow. 1943, pp.290ff.
the sixth century or the third B.C., and for that matter whether it was composed by Lao Tzu himself or by a later writer or writers, it is still our most important literary source for early Taoism, and probably may be safely regarded as embodying to a greater or lesser degree the teachings of Lao Tzu. The Tao Te Ching* means the Classic of the Tao and the Te. It is written in about five thousand Chinese characters, and is usually divided into two parts, i, "Concerning Tao" (chapters 1-37), and ii, "Concerning Te" (chapters 38-81). A photograph of a T'ang manuscript of the work, found at Tunhwang and now in the British Museum, is shown in Fig. 169.

It is clear that the two words Tao and Te are of crucial importance for the teaching contained in this work. The word tao in the Chinese language has the primary meaning of "road" or "way." Then it may also be used metaphorically to signify the "Way of man," that is, human conduct and morality; and metaphysically to mean the "Way of the universe," that is, the course of nature and the immanent principle of the cosmos. It is chiefly with these philosophical connotations of an ultimate way of nature and of an ethical way for man, that the word Tao is used in the Tao Te Ching. Hence we may render it as "Way."

The word te may be translated as "power" or "virtue." It is essentially the efficacy or the principle which is inherent in an individual thing. In the teaching of Lao Tzu, the Te is the outcome of the Tao. Rendering this term as "Power," we may translate the title of the Tao Te Ching as the Classic of the Way and the Power.

One other expression should be explained before we proceed to give quotations from the Tao Te Ching. This is wu wei, which means "not to do anything for," and which is generally translated as "inaction." Lao Tzu uses the phrase, however, for an unassertive, effortless behavior which actually accomplishes much more than blus-

---


*** FHCJP p.179.
tering, violent effort. Hence wu wei really signifies something like simplicity, spontaneity, or naturalness.\textsuperscript{11}

Now we may quote a number of passages from the Tao Te Ching in which the characteristic doctrines of early Taoism will appear. Concerning the nature and manner of working of the Tao it is stated:

The Way that can be told of is not an Unvarying Way;
The names that can be named are not unvarying names.
It was from the Nameless that Heaven and Earth sprang;
The named is but the mother that rears the ten thousand creatures,
each after its kind.\textsuperscript{12}

There was something formless yet complete,
That existed before heaven and earth;
Without sound, without substance,
Dependent on nothing, unchanging,
All pervading, unfailing.
One may think of it as the mother of all things under heaven.
Its true name we do not know;
"Way" is the by-name that we give it. . . .
The ways of men are conditioned by those of earth. The ways of
earth, by those of heaven. The ways of heaven by those of Tao, and
the ways of Tao by the Self-so [the "what-is-so-of-itself"].\textsuperscript{13}
Great Tao is like a boat that drifts;
It can go this way; it can go that.
The ten thousand creatures owe their existence to it and it does not
disown them;
Yet having produced them, it does not take possession of them.
Tao, though it covers the ten thousand things like a garment,
Makes no claim to be master over them,
And asks for nothing from them.
Therefore it may be called the Lowly.
The ten thousand creatures obey it,
Though they know not that they have a master;
Therefore it is called the Great.\textsuperscript{14}
Tao never does;
Yet through it all things are done.
If the barons and kings would but possess themselves of it,


\textsuperscript{12} This quotation and those following are from the translation by Waley, The Way and Its Power, and are made by permission of the publishers, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, and Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. The reference here is chapter 1 of the Tao Te Ching, and p.141 of the book by Waley. In each case the chapter of the Tao Te Ching is cited by a Roman numeral, while the page number gives the reference to Waley's translation.

\textsuperscript{13} xxv; p.174.

\textsuperscript{14} xxxiv; p.185.
EARLY TAOISM

The ten thousand creatures would at once be transformed.\textsuperscript{15}
When there is not Tao in the empire
War horses will be reared. . . . \textsuperscript{16}

Concerning the way of life which is patterned after the silent, ceaseless working of the Tao, we read:

The highest good is like that of water. The goodness of water is that it benefits the ten thousand creatures; yet itself does not scramble, but is content with the places that all men disdain. It is this that makes water so near to the Way.\textsuperscript{17}
Nothing under heaven is softer or more yielding than water; but when it attacks things hard and resistant there is not one of them that can prevail. . . . That the yielding conquers the resistant and the soft conquers the hard is a fact known by all men, yet utilized by none.\textsuperscript{18}

How did the great rivers and seas get their kingship over the hundred lesser streams?
Through the merit of being lower than they; that was how they got their kingship.
Therefore the Sage
In order to be above the people
Must speak as though he were lower than the people.
In order to guide them
He must put himself behind them.
Only thus can the Sage be on top and the people not be crushed by his weight.
Only thus can he guide, and the people not be led into harm.
Indeed in this way everything under heaven will be glad to be pushed by him and will not find his guidance irksome. This he does by not striving; and because he does not strive, none can contend with him.\textsuperscript{19}

Here are my three treasures. Guard and keep them! The first is pity; the second, frugality; the third: refusal to be “foremost of all things under heaven.”

For only he that pities is truly able to be brave;
Only he that is frugal is truly able to be profuse.
Only he that refuses to be foremost of all things
Is truly able to become chief of all Ministers.\textsuperscript{20}

Without leaving his door
He knows everything under heaven.
Without looking out of his window
He knows all the ways of heaven.
For the further one travels
The less one knows.
Therefore the Sage arrives without going.

\textsuperscript{15} xxxvii; p.183. \textsuperscript{16} xlvii; p.199. \textsuperscript{17} v; p.151.
\textsuperscript{18} lxxvii; p.238. \textsuperscript{19} llxvii; p.224. \textsuperscript{20} llxvii; p.225.
Sees all without looking,
Does nothing, yet achieves everything.\textsuperscript{21}

The same quiet, plain, secluded way of life is proposed as ideal for the entire state. The author describes what a wise ruler would do with even a tiny state:

Given a small country with few inhabitants, he could bring it about that though there should be among the people contrivances requiring ten times, a hundred times less labour, they would not use them. He could bring it about that the people would be ready to lay down their lives and lay them down again in defense of their homes, rather than emigrate. There might still be boats and carriages, but no one would go in them; there might still be weapons of war but no one would drill with them. He could bring it about that “the people should have no use for any form of writing save knotted ropes, should be contented with their food, pleased with their clothing, satisfied with their homes, should take pleasure in their rustic tasks. The next place might be so near at hand that one could hear the cocks crowing in it, the dogs barking, but the people would grow old and die without ever having been there.”\textsuperscript{22}

The more prohibitions there are, the more ritual avoidances,
The poorer the people will be.  
The more “sharp weapons” there are,
The more benighted will the whole land grow.  
The more cunning craftsmen there are,  
The more pernicious contrivances will be invented.  
The more laws are promulgated,  
The more thieves and bandits there will be.  
Therefore a sage has said:  
So long as I “do nothing” the people will of themselves be transformed.  
So long as I love quietude, the people will of themselves go straight.  
So long as I act only by inactivity the people will of themselves become prosperous.\textsuperscript{23}

War is naturally abhorrent to the adherent of Tao.

He who by Tao purposes to help a ruler of men
Will oppose all conquest by force of arms;  
For such things are wont to rebound.  
Where armies are, thorns and brambles grow.  
The raising of a great host  
Is followed by a year of dearth.\textsuperscript{24}

Fine weapons are none the less ill-omened things. . . . The slaying
of multitudes is a matter for grief and tears; he that has conquered in
battle is received with rites of mourning.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{21} XLVII; p.200.  
\textsuperscript{22} LXXX; pp.241ff.  
\textsuperscript{23} LVIII; p.211.  
\textsuperscript{24} XXX; p.180.  
EARLY TAOISM

Even while the national and international implications of Taoist teachings are thus set forth, the primary appeal of the Tao Te Ching remains a call to the individual. He must follow the Way, treating all kinds of people alike, and ultimately this will bring all into harmony with the Tao.

Of the good men I approve,
But of the bad I also approve,
And thus he gets goodness.
The truthful man I believe, but the liar I also believe,
And thus he gets truthfulness.26

A profound paradox attaches to the teaching of the Great Way, and it is at once extremely simple and extremely difficult to apprehend. Therefore Lao Tzu (if it is really he speaking) declares:

My words are very easy to understand and very easy to put into practice. Yet no one under heaven understands them; no one puts them into practice . . .

Few then understand me; but it is upon this very fact that my value depends. It is indeed in this sense that "the Sage wears hair-cloth on top, but carries jade underneath his dress."27

YANG CHU

Another early leader of Taoism was Yang Chu, who probably lived around 440-366 B.C.28 If Lao Tzu lived in the sixth century B.C., Yang Chu was one of his successors; if Lao Tzu is to be dated around 300 B.C., Yang Chu was his predecessor and possibly the first leader of the Taoist movement.

Concerning Yang Chu our information is relatively scanty. As we have already seen (pp.356ff.), Mencius opposed him vehemently, and it may therefore be that the statements concerning Yang Chu from this source are not entirely free of polemical bias. We have already quoted Mencius in the declaration that "Yang's school is for self." In another passage the same authority stated: "The principle of Yang Tzu is, 'Each one for himself.' Though he might have benefited the whole world by plucking out a single hair, he would not have done it."29

Another statement which casts additional light upon the teaching of Yang Chu occurs in the Huai-nan-tzu, a miscellaneous compilation of the second century B.C. concerning various schools of thought.

27 LXX; p.230.  
28 Chan Wing-tsit in MEFW p.34.  
29 tr. in WHCP p.133; cf. Lyall, Mencius, p.213.

[ 387 ]
There the positions of Confucius, Mo Tzu, Yang Chu, and Mencius are referred to in succession as follows: "The orchestra, drum and dance for the performance of music; obeisances and bowing for the cultivation of good manners; generous expenditures in funerals and protracted mourning for the obsequies of the dead: these were what Confucius established and were condemned by Mo Tzu. Universal love, exaltation of the worthy, assistance to the spirits and anti-fatalism: these were what Mo Tzu established, and were condemned by Yang Tzu. Completeness of living, preservation of what is genuine, and not allowing outside things to entangle one’s person: these were what Yang Tzu established, and were condemned by Mencius."

The teachings of Yang Chu as well as Mo Ti were also discussed from much the same point of view as that of Mencius by Wang An Shih (A.D. 1021-1086), the Sung Period statesman and author. His essay on the subject declares: "The doctrines of Yang and Mo may be said to attain to the teachings of Confucius in one point, but to fall short of them in a hundred others. Anyway, the doctrines of Confucius embrace the teachings of Yang and Mo, and are applicable to all times and circumstances.

"The teachings of Mo Ti are summarized in the sentence, that ‘if by rubbing his body smooth he could benefit his fellows he would do so.’ The teachings of Yang Chu are likewise summarized in the sentence, ‘He would not pluck so much as a hair out of his head for the benefit of his fellows...’

"The main tenet of Yang Chu’s teachings is ‘self-interest.’ But ‘self-interest’ is but the first principle of the Confucian doctrine. The summum bonum of Mo Ti’s teachings is ‘altruism.’ But ‘altruism’ in the Confucian system is only of secondary importance. . . .

"The conclusion of the whole matter is that Yang Chu’s teaching is relatively nearer to the doctrine of Confucius, and that of Mo Ti relatively remote from orthodoxy. They are both different from Confucianism, but distinctions should be made between them in regard to the reason why they offend the Confucianists."

The positive conclusion to be extracted from these statements is that Yang Chu must have taught simplicity of life even as Lao Tzu, and that he specially regarded personal integrity as of greater worth than material things and worldly profits.

90 tr. in RHCPE p.134. For the Huai-nan-tzu see ibid., p.395; Wieger, China throughout the Ages, p.409.
EARLY TAOISM
CHUANG TZU

Chuang Tzu (or Chuang Chou) was the third of the three thinkers who formulated the characteristic doctrines of early Taoism. He probably lived around 369-286 B.C., and the following account of his life is found in the Shih Chi:

"Chuang Tzu was a native of Meng."²² His personal name was Chou. He held a small post at Chi-yüan, in Meng. He was a contemporary of Kings Hui of Liang [370-319 B.C.] and Hsüan of Ch'î [319-301 B.C.]. His erudition was most varied, but his chief doctrines were based upon the sayings of Lao Tzu. His writings, which run to over 100,000 words, are for the most part allegorical. His literary and dialectic skill was such that the best scholars of the age were unable to refute his destructive criticism of the Confucian and Mohist schools."²³ His teachings were like an overwhelming flood which spreads unchecked according to its own will, so that from rulers and ministers downward, none could apply them to any practical use.

"King Wei of Ch'u [339-329 B.C.], hearing good of Chuang Tzu, sent messengers to him, bearing costly gifts, and inviting him to become Prime Minister. At this Chuang Chou smiled and said to the messengers: 'A thousand taels of gold is valuable indeed, and to be Prime Minister is an honorable position. But have you never seen the sacrificial ox used for the suburban sacrifice? When after being fattened up for several years, it is decked with embroidered trappings and led to the altar, would it not willingly then change place with some uncared-for pigling? Begone! Defile me not! I would rather disport myself to my own enjoyment in the mire than be slave to the ruler of a state. I will never take office. Thus I shall remain free to follow my own inclinations.'"²⁴

From this biographical sketch it is clear that Chuang Tzu belonged to the same tradition as Lao Tzu and Yang Chu. It is explicitly stated that he based his main teachings upon the utterances of Lao Tzu, and a description is given of his attitude toward wealth and position which reminds one at once of the determination of Yang Chu to avoid any entanglements with "outside things."

The Shih Chi also states that Chuang Tzu wrote extensively, and a body of writings has come down connected with his name and

²² Meng was a place in the state of Sung, now in modern Honan.
²³ cf. the mention of Chuang Tzu in another passage from the Shih Chi, quoted above, p.359.
²⁴ tr. in FHCP p.221.
called the Chuang-tzu. We may turn to these texts now for further
texts on the doctrines of this philosopher and his school. At
once we perceive that the basic concept of the Tao is the same with
Chuang Tzu as it was with Lao Tzu. "Tao has reality and evidence,
but no action and form. It may be transmitted, but cannot be re-
ceived. It may be attained, but cannot be seen. It exists by and
through itself. It exists prior to heaven and earth, and indeed for
all eternity. It causes the gods to be divine, and the world to be
produced. It is above the zenith, but it is not high. It is beneath the
nadir, but it is not low. It is prior to heaven and earth, but it is not
ancient. It is older than the most ancient, but it is not old."

It is when we ask how the Tao can be apprehended that we come
to the most distinctive emphases of Chuang Tzu. At this point we
find that he is the exponent of a mysticism centered in nature. The
mystical way by which oneness with the Tao may be attained is de-
scribed in the Chuang-tzu as "the fast of the mind," and as "sitting
in forgetfulness." These terms are introduced in a series of apoc-
ryphal conversations between Confucius and his disciple, Yen Hui.
The first method is outlined by Confucius in the following words:
"Maintain the unity of your will. Do not listen with ears, but with the
mind. Do not listen with the mind, but with the spirit. The func-
tion of the ear ends with hearing; that of the mind, with symbols or
ideas. But the spirit is an emptiness ready to receive all things. Tao
abides in the emptiness; the emptiness is the Fast of the Mind."
The second description of the experience is reported by Yen Hui
like this: "I have abandoned my body and discarded my knowledge,
and so have become one with the Infinite. This is what I mean by
Sitting in Forgetfulness."

On the road toward the union with Tao, the contemplation of the
silent vastnesses of nature is of extreme importance. "How does the
sage sit by the sun and moon, and hold the universe in his arm? He
blends everything into a harmonious whole. . . . He blends together

38 tr. James Legge in sbe xxxix, pp.125-392; xl, pp.1-232; Herbert A. Giles,
Chuang Tzu, Mystic, Moralist, and Social Reformer, Translated from the Chinese. 2d
ed. 1928. (Selections from the first edition of the same translation appear in Lionel
Giles, Musings of a Chinese Mystic, Selections from the Philosophy of Chuang Tzu.
Wisdom of the East. 1906); Fung Yu-lan, Chuang Tzu, A New Selected Translation
with an Exposition of the Philosophy of Kuo Hsing. 1931. Most of our quotations
are from the translation by Fung Yu-lan, permission to use which has been granted by
The Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai. For the quotations from Giles, acknowledg-
ment is made to Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai.

39 tr. Fung Yu-lan, Chuang Tzu, p.117.

40 ibid., pp.79f.,128 (cf. FHC P.241; SBE xxxix, pp.209,257).
ten thousand years, and stops at the one, the whole, and the simple.”

“The universe is very beautiful, yet it says nothing. The four seasons abide by a fixed law, yet they are not heard. All creation is based upon absolute principles, yet nothing speaks. And the true sage, taking his stand upon the beauty of the universe, pierces the principles of created things. Hence the saying that the perfect man does nothing, the true sage performs nothing, beyond gazing at the universe.”

How tremendous is this great universe, and how tiny is man in comparison with it! “The Four Seas—are they not to the universe but like puddles in a marsh? The Middle Kingdom—is it not to the surrounding ocean like a tare-seed in a granary? Of all the myriad created things, man is but one. And of all those who inhabit the land, live on the fruit of the earth, and move about in cart and boat, an individual man is but one. Is not he, as compared with all creation, but as the tip of a hair upon a horse’s skin?

To realize his true place in the infinite system of nature brings the sage a sense of calmness and of trust with regard to death as well as life. “Wherever a parent tells a son to go, east, west, south, or north, he simply follows the command. Nature, the Yin and Yang, is no other than a man’s parent. If she bid me die quickly, and I demur, then I am obstinate and rebellious; she does no wrong. The universe carries me in my body, toils me through my life, gives me repose with old age, and rests me in death. What makes my life a good makes my death a good also.”

Indeed, in the great process of the universe death is nothing more than a transition from one form of existence to another. If, therefore, we find that this life is a goodly thing we may assume that the next will be, too. “To have attained to the human form is a source of joy. But, in the infinite evolution, there are thousands of other forms that are equally good. What an incomparable bliss it is to undergo these countless transitions!”

Perhaps the next life will so far surpass the present one, that to attain it may be compared to coming home after being long lost, or to awakening after being in the unreal world of dreams. “How do I know that the love of life is not a delusion? How do I know that he who is afraid of death is not like a man who was lost from his home when young and therefore does not want to return?”

---

28 ibid., p.61.
30 ibid., pp.116f.
31 tr. Fung Yu-lan, Chuang Tzu, p.122.
32 tr. Giles, Chuang Tzu, pp.279f.
... Those who dream... do not know that they are dreaming. ... Only when they are awake, they begin to know that they dreamed. By and by comes the Great Awakening, and then we shall find out that life itself is a great dream."

When Chuang Tzu himself was about to die, it is said that his disciples wished to prepare a splendid funeral for him, but he turned again to the thought of the majesty of nature, and replied: "With Heaven and Earth for my coffin and shell; with the sun, moon, and stars, as my burial regalia; and with all creation to escort me to the grave—are not my funeral paraphernalia ready to hand?"

This exaltation of nature is perhaps the greatest contribution of Chuang Tzu, and at the same time it reveals the fundamental divergence of Taoism from Confucianism. Confucianism's main interest and center was in man; but such humanism loses its importance when man's small place in the universe is realized as it is in Taoism. Then it becomes appropriate for him to center his attention not upon himself, but upon that vaster natural order by which he is sustained and in which at last he may perceive the great Tao.

2. POPULAR TAOISM IN THE CH’IN (221-207 B.C.) AND HAN (202 B.C.-A.D. 220) PERIODS

In terms of historical periods, the story told thus far of Taoism has fallen within the limits of the epoch called Eastern Chou (771-256 B.C.). We will speak now of Taoism in the Ch’in (221-207 B.C.) and Han (202 B.C.-A.D. 220) Periods. At this time the religion came into imperial favor. Shih Huang Ti, who burned many of the books of Confucian antiquity because they supported resistance to his innovations, adopted the Taoist faith because its doctrine of “inaction” seemed likely to make the people submissive to his domination; and the first Han kings likewise gave their support to this religion. At the same time, Taoism had already to a large extent degenerated from its original lofty philosophical speculations into a mass of popular superstitions.

This state of affairs is described concisely in a fourteenth century work on religion, written by Wu Wei and entitled Ts’ing Yen Ts’ung Lu: “From the time of the Former Han Dynasty on, when Wen Ti" was emperor and Ts’ao Ts’an minister, this [system of the] Tao was utilized for purposes of government, and thereby the people were kept quiet and united. Thus it was actually possible to support the administration and the empire by the help of this Tao [system]. Then, however, this system of knowledge was transformed into an art of dealing with genii and magical practices, and beyond that into a doctrine of rice-magic and wine-offering. These things developed to the extent of constituting a heresy. The art of dealing with genii and magical practices was divided into two parts, one part having to do with the preparation of the elixir of immortality and the other with the proper use of food. These two comprise today the teaching of Perfect Truth. The doctrine of rice-magic and wine-offering likewise was divided into two parts, talismans and secret signs. These two comprise today the teaching of Right Unity.”

ALCHEMY AND THE “ISLES OF THE IMMORTALS”

As Wu Wei indicates, this decadent or popular Taoism was much concerned with the concocting of an “elixir of immortality” and with the “proper use of food.” We have already seen that the union with the Tao which Chuang Tzu taught, brought with it an assurance

45 Wen Ti, also known as Liu Heng, was the fourth ruler of the Han dynasty, and occupied the throne from 180 to 157 B.C. OCBO pp.500,573.
46 tr. O. Franke in s/l 1, p.223.
of life after death. It was now believed that this immortality could be obtained by the use of certain foods and medicines in which the vital forces of the universe particularly resided. A great deal of effort was therefore directed toward the determination of regimens and the preparation of mixtures which would prolong life and eventually produce immortality, and it is to these alchemical and dietary procedures that Wu Wei refers.

In this connection we may also note the widespread belief of the time in the existence of the "Isles of the Immortals," where, if only they could be reached, the food of immortality would be readily available. These wonderful islands were described as follows by Su-ma Ch'ien: "It is reported that in the midst of the Eastern Sea, there are three supernatural islands. Their names are Peng Lai, Fang Chang, and Ying Chou... They are not far removed from human beings, but unfortunately, at the very time when one is on the point of arriving at the islands, one's boat is blown back by the wind and one finds one's self at a distance. In ancient times—to tell the truth—there were people who succeeded in reaching the islands. It is there that the immortals may be found, and the drug which prevents death. There, all beings—even birds and quadrupeds—are white. The palaces are made of gold and silver. People have not succeeded in reaching the islands a second time. They see the islands from a distance, like a cloud, but when they approach, the islands are submerged in the water, and when they come quite near, the wind suddenly forces their boat into the open sea. In short, no one has been able to land." 47

Shih Huang Ti, whose adherence to Taoism we have already noted, was particularly interested in the effort of this religion to obtain the means of immortality. Since the "drug which prevents death" was to be found on the Isles of the Immortals, the emperor was persuaded to send a naval expedition to search for these islands. According to the history of Su-ma Ch'ien, this was at the request of the celebrated magician Hsü She. "Hsü She and his companions tendered the following request: 'We make supplication that we be permitted—after we have purified ourselves—to depart with a company of youths and maidens, to seek these islands...'. The emperor was well pleased. He gave to Hsü She seeds of the five grains and dispatched him upon his voyage with three thousand young men and women, and laborers for all kinds of work. Hsü She sailed away,

47 This translation of Su-ma Ch'ien and those immediately following are from Obed S. Johnson, A Study of Chinese Alchemy. 1928, pp.66-68.

[ 394 ]
and discovered a locality noted for its peace and fertility. There he tarried, was made king, and did not return."

Despite the failure of this expedition, Shih Huang Ti still sought ways of obtaining the wonderful drug. "When the emperor had re-united the empire," states Ssu-ma Ch'ien, "he set his face toward the seashore. At that time, magicians in numbers too numerous to be estimated gave expression to their views concerning the immortal islands. The emperor feared that were he himself to make trial of the sea, he might not succeed. . . . The following year, he returned to make his pilgrimages along the seashore. Three years later he be-took himself to Chieh Shih and made a series of inquiries among the magicians who navigate the sea. . . . Five years later he journeyed southward and made ascent of the lofty Huai Chi Mountain. It was his custom to promenade up and down the seashore, in the hope that he might in some manner obtain the wonder-working drug of the three sacred islands in the midst of the sea—but he never obtained it. He returned to Sha Ch'iu—and there he died."

**THE LIEH-TZU**

Further light is cast upon the Taoism of the time by the Lieh-tzu.48 This is a book which bears the name of a legendary Taoist, Lieh Tzu (or Lieh Yu-k'ou), who was supposed to have lived in the fourth century B.C. While it may contain some older materials, the book as we have it probably comes from the Han Period.49

Lieh Tzu was thought to have been a man who made remarkable achievements in the Taoist faith. Chuang Tzu used him as an illustration of one who had attained a pure experience of the Tao and thereby come to enjoy absolute freedom. "He could ride upon the wind," said Chuang Tzu of Lieh Tzu, "and travel whithersoever he wished staying away as long as fifteen days."50 In the Lieh-tzu he is represented as giving this account of his achievement in the ninth year of his Taoist studies: "Internal and external were blended into unity. After that, there was no distinction between eye and ear, ear and nose, nose and mouth: all were the same. My mind was frozen, my body in dissolution, my flesh and bones all melted together. I

48 tr. Lionel Giles, Taoist Teachings from the Book of Lieh Tzu, Translated from the Chinese, with Introduction and Notes (Wisdom of the East). 1912.
49 Wieger, China throughout the Ages, p.475; ccear p.483.
50 tr. Giles, Chuang Tzu, p.5. Although the Taoists called this "absolute" freedom, Lieh Tzu still had to have the wind in order to get around. Chuang Tzu noted this: "Yet although Lieh Tzu was able to dispense with walking, he was still dependent upon something"; and made the point that all happiness is dependent upon something.
TAOISM

was wholly unconscious of what my body was resting on, or what was under my feet. I was borne this way and that on the wind, like dry chaff or leaves falling from a tree. In fact, I knew not whether the wind was riding on me or I on the wind."

Other stories in the Lieh-tzu, which show the kind of interest then prevailing, tell of a man who emerged out of a solid rock cliff and hovered in the air amidst flames and smoke; of a magician who carried a king of Chou high into the sky to see his aerial palace; and of another wonder-worker who successfully constructed an automaton which could walk and sing."

As for the Isles of the Immortals, the Lieh-tzu is able to give this report on conditions there: "The vegetation is miraculous, the flowers are sweet-scented, and if the fruits of these islands are eaten, they will preserve the eater from old age and death." Of the inhabitants of the Isles it is said: "They do not eat the five grains, but inhale air and drink dew.""

CHANG TAO LING

A famous Taoist of the Later Han Period was Chang Tao Ling. Gaining prestige by his proficiency in magical practices, he acquired a sufficient following to inaugurate the Yellow Turban Rebellion of A.D. 184. Deriving its name from the headdress worn by the rebels, this uprising so weakened the Han rule that anarchy ensued and the dynasty eventually fell."

The traditional history of his life places his birth in A.D. 34 in Chekiang, and makes him a descendant of Chang Liang, minister of Liu Pang, the founder of the Han dynasty. Dwelling first in Kiangsi and later in Szechwan, Chang Tao Ling is said to have devoted his life to the study of alchemy and magic and to the search for the elixir of immortality. It is reported that a compound known as "Blue Dragon and White Tiger" was at last developed, and that upon tasting it Chang Tao Ling, then already sixty years of age, regained his youth. He supported himself by the practice of medicine, his fee for each case being five bushels of rice, for which reason he was later called "Rice-thief." He lived to an advanced age and then ascended to heaven after having bequeathed to his son, Chang Heng, his magical formulas and equipment. "Take these precious gifts," he

---

81 tr. Giles, Taoist Teachings from the Book of Lieh Tzu, p.42.
82 ibid., pp.59,53-61,90-92.
83 tr. in Johnson, A Study of Chinese Alchemy, pp.53,55.
84 Teng Šu-yü in MacNair, ed., China, pp.78f.
CH’IN AND HAN PERIODS

said, "kill demons, chase off hobgoblins, protect the kingdom, bring peace to the people and let my dignity pass from father to son without ever leaving the family." 

The words just quoted reflect the historical fact that the descendants of Chang Tao Ling assumed a spiritual headship of Taoism which was ultimately accorded imperial recognition. In A.D. 748 the T'ang emperor, Hsiian Tsung (712-756), confirmed the hereditary privileges of the family, and bestowed posthumously upon Chang Tao Ling and all his successors the title of Master of Heaven, or Celestial Teacher. A Taoist society still exists, with a head living at the Dragon-Tiger Mountain in Kiangsi, who claims descent from Chang Tao Ling.

**Henry Doré, Researches into Chinese Superstitions.** ex, tr. D. J. Finn. 1931, pp.89-88.
3. TAOISM IN THE SIX DYNASTIES PERIOD (A.D. 220-581)

With the fall of the Han dynasty there was a general revolt against the customs of the past and in particular a reaction against Confucianism. Under these circumstances Taoism experienced a revival. Among leaders of the early Six Dynasties Period (A.D. 220-581) who criticized Confucianism and emphasized Taoist doctrines were Wang Pi and Ho Yen. The former is dated A.D. 226-249, and the latter must have lived about the same time. Both men wrote commentaries on the Tao Te Ching, but when Ho Yen read that written by Wang Pi he admired it so much that he destroyed his own. The two teachers founded a school which was known as the T' an Hsüan Chia or "the school which discusses profundity." They regarded the doctrine of wu wei or "inaction" as the fundamental principle of the universe.

Another school which appeared a little later in the same century was that of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove. This was a group of young noblemen who held meetings in a grove of bamboo, and comporting themselves in ways at variance with the established standards of correct and ceremonial conduct. Among their number were Chi K'ang (A.D. 223-262), who practiced alchemy and took exercises in breathing in order to attain immortality; and Hsiang Hsiu, who prepared a commentary on Chuang Tzu.

The Period of the Six Dynasties was not only marked by the revolt against custom, particularly Confucian custom, but was also characterized by a general neglect of learning. This, too, was conducive to the spread of Taoism or at least of the superstitions which had increasingly tended to attach themselves to this ancient philosophy.

FENG SHUI

The pseudo-science known as Feng Shui, literally meaning Wind and Water, was not unknown hitherto in China but was now, at the hands of a third century Taoist, given its definitive development particularly as applied to graves. In the system of Feng Shui, ever afterward so pervasive a part of Chinese life, wind and water are regarded as the visible signs of Yin and Yang, the negative and positive principles of the universe. It is believed that these forces act in different ways in different localities, depending upon such factors as the forms of the hills, the directions of the streams, the nature

---


[ 398 ]
of man-made objects, and the relationships to the heavenly bodies. On such presuppositions it is obviously important that houses, temples and graves be so placed as to take advantage of favorable configurations of cosmic influence, and it is toward the ascertaining of such propitious locations that the calculations of Feng Shui are directed.\textsuperscript{27}

The working out of this system with regard to ascertaining proper places of burial was the achievement of Kuo P'o. Born in Wen-hsi in Shansi, Kuo P'o lived from A.D. 276 to 324. He was a scholar of attainment and became famous as an exponent of the doctrines of Taoism. The biography of Kuo P'o, contained in the history of the Tsin dynasty, under which he lived, narrates that in his youth he received from another teacher "a Book on the Contents of the Blue Bag, in nine chapters," and that from this "he thoroughly understood the arts relating to the five elements, astrology and divination, knowing how to expel calamities, how to avert disasters, and how to bring complete succour in hopeless cases."

As an example of his skill in the proper location of a grave, we read in the same source: "Having lost his mother, he resigned his office, and with a tortoise shell sought out a burial place for her in Ki-yang. The spot being not farther from the borders of the water than some hundred paces, there was much gossip abroad about its being too near; but P'o declared that the water would soon become dry ground. Afterwards sand was flooded up over an area of several tens of miles from the grave, and entirely converted into orchards and fields."

Kuo P'o was an author of repute, and the Book on Burial, a standard Feng Shui treatise, is attributed to him, though perhaps incorrectly. At any rate his successors in the so-called geomantic art have continued to look upon him as the patriarch of their profession and indeed as its patron divinity.

\textbf{XO HUNG}

With its elixirs of everlasting life, Isles of Immortality, and geomantic procedures about burials, Taoism was far removed from the system of speculative thought it had been in its origin. Indeed it was being transformed from a mystic philosophy into a popular re-


\textsuperscript{28} tr. ibid., pp.1001f.
ligion. With this transformation, Ko Hung, a Taoist of the fourth century, had much to do.36

Known also as Pao P’u Tzu, Ko Hung was born in Kiangsu. As a youth he was very poor, but earned money by cutting firewood to buy paper and ink for his studies, in which he was very zealous. In A.D. 326 he was appointed to an official post and was able to journey to Cochinchina to secure cinnabar for alchemical researches in which he was engaged.

A written work of his known as the Pao-p’u-tzu contains a discussion, in the first part, of the transmutation of metals, the preparation of elixirs of immortality, and the ascetic rules by which life may be prolonged; in the second part, it goes on into matters of government and politics. Here is a sample of the prescriptions contained in this source: “Take three pounds of genuine cinnabar, and one pound of white honey. Mix them. Dry the mixture in the sun. Then roast it over a fire until it can be shaped into pills. Take ten pills the size of a hemp seed every morning. Inside of a year, white hair will turn black, decayed teeth will grow again, and the body will become sleek and glistening. If an old man takes this medicine for a long period of time, he will develop into a young man. The one who takes it constantly will enjoy eternal life, and will not die.”37

THE TAOIST PANTHEON

Another work by Ko Hung was called Biographies of the Gods. As the title indicates, the Taoism promulgated by this authority gave full recognition to divine beings. Having begun as a naturalistic philosophy, from the fourth century A.D. on, Taoism developed a multiplicity of gods. Some of these were nature and astral deities, as is understandable when we recall how much attention was given to dealing with the spiritual forces supposedly at work in earth and heaven. Others were adopted from Buddhism, or invented in imitation of the numerous divine beings recognized in that faith. Yet others were genii, immortals, and deified personages. Lao Tzu himself was elevated to the rank of a deity in A.D. 666.38

To bring order out of confusion, a hierarchical grouping was eventually established. At the head of the pantheon was the triad of the Three Pure Ones, evidently formed in imitation of Buddhist ideas, dwelling in the three heavens. The highest of the three was Yuan

36 Shryock, The Study of Human Abilities, p.10; o ciné p.372.
37 tr. in Johnson, A Study of Chinese Alchemy, p.93.
38 Franke in slr i, p.225.

[ 400 ]
SIX DYNASTIES

Shih T'ien Tsun (or Yuan Shih Tien Wang), the "Original Beginning, Honored of Heaven," who appeared as the First Principle of the universe in the cosmogony set forth by Ko Hung. Later this deity had his place taken by, or was himself merged in the character of the god Yu Huang Shang Ti. The name of this divinity means the Jade Emperor, or, since jade is the symbol of purity, the August Pure One. The highest heaven in which he resides is called Yuh Ts'ing or "Pearly Azure," and his throne is there placed upon the Jade Mountain.

The god of second rank was Tao Chün or "Honorable Tao," also known as Ling Pao T'ien Tsun or "Mystic Jewel, Honored of Heaven." His heaven was Shang Ts'ing or "Upper Azure," and he was in control of the relationships of Yin and Yang. The third deity was Lao Tzu, who dwelt in the heaven of T'ai Ts'ing or "Supreme Azure," and expounded the doctrine emanating from Honorable Tao. In the three heavens presided over by these three great deities were arranged many other divine beings. These included the Saints in the highest heaven, the Perfect or Elevated in the second heaven, and the Immortals or Genii in the lowest heaven.

There was also a hierarchy of deities in Hades. Here the chief ruler was T'ai Shan. T'ai Shan was originally the sacred mountain of that name in the province of Shantung, the most famous of all such places in China. Considered as a god, T'ai Shan ruled over the destinies of men not only on earth but also after death. His court is held in the seventh division of Hades, where terrible penalties are meted out to evildoers.

Almost innumerable other gods had a place in the fully developed pantheon. These included, for example, deities of city, kitchen, fire, pestilence, medicine, north star, happiness, office, and age. Three Mandarins, or Three Governors as they were called, were also much worshiped. Of these the first ruled heaven, the second earth, and the third the seas, lakes, rivers and canals.

The Genii or Immortals, mentioned above as being represented in the third heaven, and alluded to by Wu Wei (p.393) as having a prominent place in the Taoist religion, deserve special mention. As Taoist beliefs were eventually elaborated, there are no less than five classes of these supernatural beings: (1) Demon Immortals, dis-

---

62 ibid., p.221.
embodied spirits without a resting place; (2) Human Immortals, men who have attained freedom from the troubles of the spirit and the infirmities of the flesh; (3) Earthly Immortals, human beings who have achieved immortality in this world; (4) Deified Immortals, spirits which have gone to live on the three islands of the blessed; and (5) Celestial Immortals, glorified beings who enjoy everlasting life in heaven.

At least in the Yuán Period (A.D. 1279-1368), there was a group of Eight Immortals about whose names many legends had gathered and to whom much veneration was paid. They were: (1) Chung-li Ch'üan, pictured with a fan as his symbol, believed to have lived in the Han dynasty, to have transmuted metals and obtained the formula for immortality, and thus to have become the first and greatest of the Eight Immortals; (2) Lü Yen (or Lü Tung-pin), an eighth century A.D. scholar and recluse, represented with a sword; (3) Chang Kuo, a magician of the seventh or eighth century A.D., who rode on a donkey which he was supposed to be able to fold up like a piece of paper when not in use; (4) Lan Ts'ai Ho, generally pictured as a woman, with a flute as a symbol; (5) Han Hsiang, a nephew of the celebrated scholar Han Yu (ninth century A.D.), portrayed with a basket of peaches, supposedly a fruit of immortality; (6) Ts'ao Kuo-chiu, said to have lived in the ninth or tenth century A.D., and usually pictured with castanets as his emblem; (7) Ho Hsien Ku, the daughter of a shopkeeper, seventh century A.D., shown in pictures with a lotus flower; (8) Li T'ieh-kuai, represented as a beggar with an iron staff.  

The bronze mirror shown in Fig. 170 is attributed to the period of which we have been speaking, perhaps as early as the third century A.D. As may be seen, the back is elaborately ornamented with figures in relief, and these are believed to represent Taoist deities.  

64 Peter C. Ling in Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 49 (1918), pp.53-75; see ccanu under the respective names.  
4. TAOISM IN THE T’ANG PERIOD (A.D. 618-906)

It has already been noted in the chapter on Confucianism that the great T’ang ruler, T’ai Tsung (A.D. 627-649), claimed descent from Lao Tzu himself, and therefore manifested a natural inclination toward Taoism. His later successor, the sixth emperor of the T’ang Dynasty, Hsüan Tsung* (A.D. 712-756), was also very favorably disposed toward the faith.

HSUAN TSUNG

According to texts dealing with his reign, Hsüan Tsung experienced dreams which moved him to favorable actions with regard to the Taoist religion. In the most remarkable of these dreams the Emperor saw a statue of Lao Tzu which was duly found and set up as an object of reverence. The place of the discovery was at Chou-chih, west of Ch’ang-an, where one tradition placed the tomb of Lao Tzu. Not far away was supposed to be the house of the customs officer to whom Lao Tzu had given the Tao Te Ching, before he rode away on his ox over Western Pass, never to return. As Duyvendak has pointed out, Hsüan Tsung’s experience looks like an imitation of that of Ming Ti, the Later Han emperor, whose dream of a statue of the Buddha, afterward discovered in India, played an important part in the introduction of Buddhism into China.†

WU TAO TZU

Superstitious and dissolve as he was, Hsüan Tsung was a patron of literature and art and surrounded himself with poets and artists. Among these was Wu Tao Tzu, whom he raised from an insignificant post in Shantung to the court position of Imperial Artist-in-chief. Becoming one of the most famous personages in Far Eastern art, Wu Tao Tzu was named the Prince of Painters of all generations. Possessed of an original and powerful style, he drew human and animal forms as well as pictures of buildings and foliage with great skill. Particularly noteworthy in his compositions were heroic and demoniac figures, and the spirits, gods and demons of Taoism provided him with almost inexhaustible materials.‡

No original works of Wu Tao Tzu are known to be in existence

* Also known as Li Lung-chü or Ming Huang.
† J. J. L. Duyvendak in Indica Antiqua, pp.102-108.
now, but there are recognized copies both in the form of engravings on stone and drawings on paper, while his influence has been traced widely. An album of fifty drawings is extant, most of the pictures in which probably are actually copies of his works. The first twenty-six pictures depict genii, planetary spirits and other heavenly beings of the Taoist pantheon. The next fourteen drawings have to do with the Taoist Hades, where the king of the underworld sits upon his throne, attended by various demons, and passes judgment upon the people who are brought before him. The last ten pictures in the album, although of a style not unrelated to the first, appear to be clearly from a different artist.

In Fig. 171 we show from this collection the drawing of the genii of the five holy mountains (Wu Yo) of China: the holy mountain of the east, T'ai Shan in Shantung; of the south, Heng Shan in Hunan; of the center, Sung Shan in Honan; of the west, Hua Shan in Shensi; and of the north, Heng Shan in Shansi. In Fig. 172 we reproduce one of the scenes from the underworld. The ruler of Hades sits upon his throne, stern of countenance, while a man kneels before him, guarded by an ax-bearing demon. Another demon at one side reads the man's record from a scroll. Elsewhere in the picture are other figures, including two women at the lower left with chains about their necks, also watched by demons.

Another interesting object of art, probably of T'ang date, is the bronze statuette pictured in Fig. 173. The base is the upturned head of a fish; in the mouth of the fish is a snake; and on the neck of the snake sits a bird, perhaps a pheasant. These figures are believed to symbolize the Taoist Three Governors of water, earth and heaven respectively.

THE T'AI I CHIN HUA TSUNG CHIH

The influence of Buddhism was very evident in the Taoist thought of the T'ang Period. A striking example of the amalgamation which resulted may be seen in the book called the T'ai I Chin Hua Tsung Chih or The Secret of the Golden Flower. This work is supposed

---

71 Martin, Zeichnungen nach Wu Tao-tse aus der Götter- und Sagenwelt Chinas, Pls. 5,32.
72 Alfred Salmony in Gazette des beaux-arts. 8th Series. 25 (1944), pp.315-317.
to embody the teachings of Lü Yen, or Lü Tung-pin as he is also named, a Taoist recluse and teacher born about A.D. 755 and accounted one of the Eight Immortals. A portrait of Lü Tung-pin, painted according to the later added inscription by Teng Tschang-yeu in the latter part of the ninth century, is shown in Fig. 174.\textsuperscript{15}

The special form of faith which Lü Tung-pin promulgated was known as Chin Tan Chiao or the Golden Elixir of Life. While this name suggests the same kind of magical practices with which we have already become familiar, the movement of Lü Tung-pin was in fact somewhat of a reformation in which the old language of alchemy was employed to symbolize psychological processes. It was in the elaboration of its psychology that the T'ai I Chin Hua Tsung Chih drew extensively upon the resources of Buddhist thought. Buddhist writings are quoted from time to time, and a specifically Buddhist type of meditation is recommended.

This way of meditation is called “fixating contemplation” (Chih Kuan), and is described in the book as follows: “Fixating contemplation is a Buddhist method which by no means has been handed down as a secret. One looks with both eyes at the end of the nose, sits upright and in a comfortable position, and holds the heart to the center in the midst of conditions [on the fixed pole in the flight of phenomena]. In Taoism it is called the yellow middle, in Buddhism the center in the midst of conditions. The two are the same. It does not necessarily mean the middle of the head. It is only a matter of fixing one’s thinking on the point which lies exactly between the two eyes. Then all is well. The Light is something extremely mobile. When one fixes the thought on the mid-point between the two eyes, the Light streams in of its own accord.”\textsuperscript{16}

As shown in the concluding part of the preceding quotation, the purpose of the practice of contemplation is to cause the mystic Light of the universe to flow into the being of the devotee. When this is done a spirit-body is formed which is capable, upon the death of the individual, of attaining immortality and becoming part of the great Tao. In the not always wholly lucid words of the book:

The Golden Flower is the Light. . . . When the Light circulates, the powers of the whole body arrange themselves before its throne, just as when a holy king has taken possession of the capital and has laid down the fundamental rules of order, all the states approach with tribute; or,

\textsuperscript{15} Ernest Diez, \textit{Einführung in die Kunst des Ostens}, 1922, pp.143f., Fig. 38.
just as when the master is quiet and calm, men-servants and maids obey his orders of their own accord, and each does his work.

Therefore you only have to make the Light circulate: that is the deepest and most wonderful secret. The Light is easy to move, but difficult to fix. If it is allowed to go long enough in a circle, then it crystallizes itself: that is the natural spirit-body. This crystallized spirit is formed beyond the nine Heavens. It is the condition of which it is said in the Book of the Seal of the Heart: Silently in the morning thouliest upward.

In carrying out this fundamental truth you need to seek for no other methods, but must only concentrate your thoughts on it. The book Leng Yen\(^7\) says: By collecting the thoughts one can fly and will be born in Heaven. Heaven is not the wide blue sky, but the place where the body is made in the house of the creative. If one keeps this up for a long time, there develops quite naturally in addition to the body, yet another spirit-body.

The Golden Flower is the Elixir of Life. All changes of spiritual consciousness depend upon the Heart. Here is a secret charm, which, although it works very accurately, is yet so fluent that it needs extreme intelligence and clarity, and complete absorption and calm. People without this highest degree of intelligence and understanding do not find the way to apply the charm; people without this utmost capacity for concentration and calm cannot keep fast hold of it.\(^8\)

PERSECUTION AS PROPOSED AND AS PRACTICED

While the position of Taoism in the T'ang Period was, on the whole, favorable, it was the increasing effort of Confucianism to stamp the mark of heresy upon it as well as upon Buddhism, both of which religions were held to be foreign to the classical traditions of China. An example of the attack which was made may be found in the essay, "On the True Faith of a Confucianist," written by the celebrated poet and statesman, Han Wen Kung, who lived from A.D. 768 to 824. This leader wrote: "The followers of Lao Tzu say, 'Confucius was a disciple of our Master.' The followers of Buddha say, 'Confucius was a disciple of our Master.' And the followers of Confucius, by dint of hearing this so often, have at length fallen so low as themselves to indulge in such random talk, saying, 'Our Master also respected Lao Tzu and Buddha.' Not only have they uttered this with their tongues, but they have written it down in books; and now, if a man would cultivate morality, from whom should he seek instruction? Great is the straining of mankind after the supernatural! Great is their neglect of fundamentals in this yearn-

\(^7\) The Buddhist Lankavatara Sutra.
ing for the supernatural alone. . . . Let us . . . insist that the followers of Lao Tzu and Buddha behave like ordinary mortals. Let us burn their books. Let us turn their temples into dwelling houses.”

The Taoists were still too strong, however, to be the victims of any wholesale confiscation and expropriation of their property as urged by Han Wen Kung. Indeed by the middle of the ninth century they had experienced such a new access of power that they themselves were able to instigate terrible persecutions of the faiths which they regarded as foreign. It was the Emperor Wu Tsung (A.D. 841-846), an ardent Taoist, who in A.D. 845 conducted the most severe religious persecution which had ever been witnessed in China. The chief object of his wrath was Buddhism, which had now grown very strong, and along with it Christianity and Zoroastrianism were included.

The edict launching the persecution of A.D. 845 was entitled, “The proclamation ordering the destruction of the Buddhist monasteries.” It began with the observation that there was no such thing as Buddhism in ancient China, and that it was only after the Han dynasty that “the Image-Teaching gradually began to flourish. And once established, in that degenerate age, this strange custom prevailed far and wide, and now the people are soaked to the bone with it.” Continuing to specific charges against Buddhism, the edict declared: “Wasting human labor in building; plundering the people’s purse by golden decorations; ignoring parents and the sovereign in contributions; neglecting both husband and wife by their vigil-keeping; no teaching is more harmful than this Buddhism.” Then confiscation was announced of 4,600 monasteries as well as of 40,000 temples and lesser establishments, while 260,500 monks and nuns were ordered to “return to secular life so that they may be able to pay the taxes.”

Following this condemnation of Buddhism, the proclamation contained this paragraph: “Examining into the teachings from the foreign lands in the Empire, We have discovered that there are over 3,000 monks from Ta-ch’ìn and Mu-hu-fu; and these monks also shall return to lay life. They shall not mingle and interfere with the manners and customs of the Middle Kingdom.” As we know from the Nestorian Monument, those from Ta-ch’ìn were the Christians;
those from Mu-hu-fu are identified as Zoroastrians. Economically motivated as this persecution obviously was, it also witnesses to the intolerance of the Taoism of the time, when occupying a position of unlimited power.

\[81\] Perhaps it was at this very time that the Nestorian Stone was buried for safety.
5. TAOISM IN THE SUNG (A.D. 960-1279) AND YÜAN (A.D. 1279-1368) PERIODS

THE TAI SHANG KAN YING P'IEN

As we come to the Sung Period we find an increased emphasis upon ethics in Taoism. Despite the Taoist attack upon Buddhism recorded in the preceding section, the influence of that faith upon Taoism is clearly evident in the ethical teachings which are now to be noted. We find precise calculations of present and future retributions and rewards; these can be explained as an attempt to make tangible and practical for the ordinary man the doctrine of karma. We observe a new stress upon love of all creatures; this must reflect the similar doctrine of the Mahayana.

These teachings may be studied in the T'ai Shang Kan Ying Pien or Book of the Exalted One on Rewards and Punishments. While the Exalted One in whose name the text is set forth is supposed to be Lao Tzu, in actuality the book was probably first published in the time of the Sung dynasty. The work is relatively brief, being written in somewhat more than twelve hundred Chinese characters, and as a popular tract on Taoist morals has been circulated very widely.

The introduction to the book states the general theory of rewards and punishments, which is that various spiritual beings keep an accurate record of the good deeds and the crimes of men and then lengthen or shorten their lives accordingly. "The Exalted One says: Curses and blessings do not come through gates, but man himself invites their arrival. The reward of good and evil is like the shadow accompanying a body, and so it is apparent that heaven and earth are possessed of crime-recording spirits. According to the lightness or gravity of his transgressions, the sinner's term of life is reduced. Not only is his term of life reduced, but poverty also strikes him. Often he meets with calamity and misery. His neighbors hate him. Punishments and curses pursue him. Good luck shuns him. Evil stars threaten him; and when his term of life comes to an end, he perishes.

... Of all the offences which men commit, the greater ones cause a

loss of twelve years, the smaller ones of a hundred days. These their 
offences, great as well as small, constitute some hundred affairs, and 
those who are anxious for life everlasting, should above all avoid 
them."

After this comes the following series of miscellaneous moral in-
juctions: "The right way leads forward; the wrong way backward.
Do not proceed on an evil path. Do not sin in secret. Accumulate 
virtue, increase merit. With a compassionate heart turn toward all 
creatures. Be faithful, filial, friendly, and brotherly. First rectify thy-
self and then convert others. Take pity on orphans, assist widows;
respect the old, be kind to children. Even the multifarious insects, 
herbs, and trees should not be injured. Be grieved at the misfortune 
of others and rejoice at their good luck. Assist those in need, and 
rescue those in danger. Regard your neighbor’s gain as your own 
gain, and regard your neighbor’s loss as your own loss. Do not call 
to attention to the faults of others, nor boast of your own excellence.
Stay evil and promote goodness. Renounce much, accept little. Show 
endurance in humiliation and bear no grudge. Receive favors as if 
surprised. Extend your help without seeking reward. Give to others 
and do not regret or begrudge your liberality."

Having set forth these exhortations, the blessings are stated which 
may be expected by the person who obeys them. "Those who are 
thus, are good: people honor them; Heaven’s Reason (Tao) gives 
them grace; blessings and abundance follow them; all ill luck keeps 
away; angel spirits guard them. Whatever they undertake will surely 
succeed, and even to spiritual saintliness they may aspire. Those 
who wish to attain heavenly saintliness should perform one thousand 
three hundred good deeds, and those who wish to attain to earthly 
saintliness should perform three hundred good deeds."

Then the book goes on to describe evil doers at much length. A few 
of the things which such people do are these: "Right and wrong they 
confound.... Though they know their mistakes they do not correct 
them; though they know the good they do not do it.... Improperly 
they have grown rich, and within they remain vulgar.... They crush 
that which is excellent in others.... They break into others’ houses 
to take their property and valuables.... They shorten the foot, they 
narrow the measure, they lighten the scales, they reduce the peck.
.... With the members of their own family they are angry and quar-
relsome.... They spit at falling stars and point at the many-colored 
rainbow."

[ 410 ]
The punishments for such doers of wrong are then discussed and it is stated that if at death any guilt remains unpunished the penalties will be transferred to the children and grandchildren of the culprit.

Finally the following exhortation concludes the book: “Therefore, blessed is the man who speaketh what is good, who thinketh what is good, who practiceth what is good. If but each single day he would persevere in these three ways of goodness, within three years Heaven will surely shower on him blessings. Unfortunate is the man who speaketh what is evil, who thinketh what is evil, who practiceth what is evil. If but each single day he would persevere in these three ways of evil-doing, within three years Heaven will surely shower on him curses. Why shall we not be diligent and comply with this?”

CHEN TSUNG

In preceding sections we have noticed some of the occasions on which Taoism attained its greatest outward successes and was most prominent politically. We have seen how its doctrine of “inaction” lent itself to the purposes of Shih Huang Ti; how its superstitions flourished in the disturbed time of the Six Dynasties; and how it was favored by the T'ang emperors and espoused by Wu Tsung, the persecutor of the foreign faiths in the land. Yet another apex of external success was reached under the third emperor of the Sung dynasty, Chen Tsung.

Known also as Chao Heng, Chen Tsung reigned A.D. 968-1022. The founder of his line had strongly supported Confucianism, but Chen Tsung became an adherent of Taoism. Being mild and superstitious by nature, he fell an easy prey to charlatans. Written revelations were brought to him, which he received as of divine origin and had placed in special temples. In A.D. 1008 the high official Wang Ch'in-jo presented the Emperor with a twenty-foot-long letter written on silk which was supposed to convey divine congratulations upon the prosperity of the land and the justice of the government. At the reading of this supernatural document other officials declared that they saw a purple cloud, which had the shape now of a dragon and again of a phoenix, hanging low over the palace buildings. So flagrant was the hoax that a scholar asked, quoting Confucius, “I have heard that God does not even speak; how then should he write a letter?”

**tr. Giles, Confucianism and Its Rivals, p.221.**

[ 411 ]
Later the same Wang Ch'in-jo served as master of ceremonies for a pilgrimage which the Emperor was induced to make to the sacred mountain Tai Shan. Returning from this journey, Chen Tsung visited the birthplace of Confucius and conferred upon the sage the title of "King." Some years afterward he went to a temple which he had erected in honor of Lao Tzu and bestowed upon him the yet higher title of "Emperor." Again Chen Tsung called together a large assembly of Taoist and Buddhist priests to discuss an appearance of the planet Venus in the daytime, and to conduct prayers to ward off any evil consequences which might otherwise follow from this portent.

So complete was the obsession of the Emperor with Taoist superstitions and so thorough was his subjection to the will of the Taoist magicians, that the ultimate result was a strong reaction against this religion which played upon imperial credulity to further its own purposes. The new movement took the form of an attack on all heterodox teaching and a revival of Confucianism. The greatest leader was Chu Hsi (A.D. 1130-1200), whom we have already met (p.378) as the philosopher through whom Neo-Confucian doctrines were put in the form which was to be regarded as orthodox until the twentieth century. Here we may give certain additional information on his attitude toward Taoism.

**CHU HSI ON TAOISM**

As a youth Chu Hsi studied Taoism as well as Buddhism,\(^4\) but in his maturity condemned them both, withal opposing Buddhism even more uncompromisingly than Taoism. The argument which he presented against Taoism and its Buddhistic leanings was this: "Taoism was at first confined to purity of life and to inaction. These were associated with long life and immortality, which by and by became the sole objects of the cult. Nowadays, they have thought it advisable to adopt a system of magical incantations, and chiefly occupy themselves with exorcism and prayers for blessings. Thus, two radical changes have been made. The Taoists have the writings of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu. They neglected these, and the Buddhists stole them for their own purposes; whereupon the Taoists went off and imitated the Sutras of Buddhism. This is just as if the scions of some wealthy house should be robbed of all their valuables, and then go off and gather up the old pots and pans belonging to the thieves."

\(^4\) Bruce, *Chu Hsi and His Masters*, pp.62f.
Buddhist books are full of what Buddha said, and Taoist books are similarly full of what Tao said. Now Buddha was a man, but how does Tao manage to talk? This belief, however, has prevailed for eight or nine centuries past. Taoism began with Lao Tzu. Its Trinity of the Three Pure Ones is copied from the Trinity of the Three Persons as taught by Buddhism. By their Trinity the Buddhists mean (1) the spiritual body [of Buddha], (2) his joyful body [showing Buddha rewarded for his virtues], and (3) his fleshy body, under which Buddha appears on earth as a man. The modern schools of Buddhism have divided their Trinity under three images which are placed side by side, thus completely missing the true signification [which is Trinity in Unity]; and the adherents of Taoism, wishing to imitate the Buddhists in this particular, worship Lao Tzu under [another version of] the Three Pure Ones, namely, (1) as the original revered God, (2) the supreme ruler Tao, and (3) the supreme ruler Lao Tzu. Almighty God (T'ien) is ranked below these three, which is nothing short of an outrageous usurpation. Moreover, the first two do not represent the spiritual and joyful bodies of Lao Tzu, and the two images set up cannot form a Unity with him; while the introduction of the third is an aggravated copy of the mistake made by the Buddhists. Chuang Tzu has told us in plain language of the death of Lao Tzu, who must now be a spirit; how then can he usurp the place of Almighty God? The doctrines of Buddha and Lao Tzu should be altogether abolished; but if this is not possible, then only the teachings of Lao Tzu should be tolerated, all shrines in honor of him, or of his disciples and various magicians, to be placed under the control of the directors of Public Worship."

As a result of the anti-Taoist and pro-Confucian movement just described, Taoism was more and more pushed into the background, at least as far as official standing was concerned. Individual Sung emperors like Hui Tsung (p.416) might still take an interest in the faith, and under Jenghiz Khan and Kublai Khan the religion might enjoy an important period of imperial favor; but, after the end of the Yuan dynasty, Confucianism was definitely the dominant force in relation to the government."

Deprived of its ability to sway the affairs of state, Taoism continued to flourish among the common people as a system of magic, geomancy, divination, exorcism and idolatry. Some thinkers, however, were challenged to return to the more nearly pure idealism of

---

"ibid., pp.237-239.  
**Franke in sm. 1, p.228.
TAOISM

Lao Tzu and the nature mysticism of Chuang Tzu, and thus the nobler forms of Taoism have never utterly perished. Indeed, in its majestic conception of the Tao, in its affirmation of the value of life, in its ethical principles of simplicity and overcoming evil with good, and in its deep love of nature, Taoism made enduring contributions."

THE APPRECIATION OF NATURE

The appreciation of nature just referred to had far-reaching effects. As will be remembered, it was Chuang Tzu more than any other philosopher who centered attention upon the great natural world, and who described the true sage as "taking his stand upon the beauty of the universe," and doing nothing "beyond gazing at the universe." The influence of this attitude was felt powerfully among the poets of the T'ang Period, and through them it passed on to the painters of the Sung Period. Of course it was not only Taoists who wrote poems and painted pictures about nature, but it cannot be doubted that among those who did, Taoists were prominent, and that in the entire movement in this direction the Taoist tradition was very influential.

It has been observed that the Chinese artist "was usually both a Confucian scholar in his training and a Taoist recluse in his longings"; and Chuang Tzu has been called "the main fountain of inspiration and imagination to Chinese artists, particularly landscape painters," even unto the present day."

POETS

If we try to trace this line of influence, we find that among the numerous poets whose work brought honor to the T'ang Period were the Taoists, T'ao Han and Chang Ch'ien. T'ao Han held a government position during the years between A.D. 713 and 742, but later devoted himself exclusively to the care of his aged mother. Chang Ch'ien likewise entered upon an official career in A.D. 727, but afterward retired to the mountains and lived as a hermit. Both men were ardent followers of the cult of Tao, and both were very sensitive to the beauties of the natural world in which they found intimations of profound truth.


OC30 pp.52,718; Wieger, China throughout the Ages, pp.280-402.

[ 414 ]
SUN G AND YUAN PERIODS

Here, for example, is a poetic description by T'ao Han of a visit to a convent in the mountains: "The pines and cypresses conceal the mountain gorge, but I have discovered a narrow path on the west. The sky clears, a peak shows itself, and, as though born out of space, a convent rises up before my eyes. The building seems to stand upon a terrace of clouds, it raises its tall pavilion into the air amid the steep rocks. Night falls, the monkeys and the birds are silent. The sound of bells and the chant of the bonzes rise above the chill clouds. I gaze upon the blue peaks and the moon, which mirrors itself in the waters of the lake; I listen to the sound of the springs and the wind as it lashes the leaves at the torrent's edge. My soul has soared beyond what is visible, at once wanderer and captive, in a wondrous ravishment. And so the dawn surprises me; soon the face of all things will change. Already the darkness is melting away towards the east on the slope of the giant rocks; already the surface of the waters is lit up with a sparkling gleam, the herald of the dawn, and little by little the paling rays of the moon are losing their brightness."

And here is a poem about a night among the mountains by Chang Ch'ien: "Seated upon a slope of the mountain, I followed with my eyes a frail bark, the symbol of our destiny, as it floated lightly upon the deep waters. It sailed away and was lost to sight, it melted into the vast sky, while the sun was quenching its fires on the opposite horizon. Suddenly all that was passing before my eyes was plunged into the half-light of an uncertain dimness. The sun's last rays now lit up only the tree-tops and the summits of the rocks. The surface of the waters became darker and darker. Soon none but a few red clouds marked where the sun had disappeared. The islands in the lake stood out black upon the tranquil waters, on which still lay a lingering light reflected from the sky, but already the darkness lay heavy upon the woods and hills, and the horizon was now no more than a vague line before my powerless eyes. Night falls, the air is keen, there is a stir in it afar off, the north wind harshly raises its whistling note, the water-birds seek a shelter on the sandy shore, where they will wait for dawn, cowering among the reeds."

PAINTERS

Then as we come to the great painters who were the glory of the

61 A term applied to both Buddhist and Taoist monks.
62 tr. in oce x, p.292. This quotation and the one following are made by permission of the publisher, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York and London.
63 ibid., x, pp.295 f.
Sung Period (p.377), we find that their favorite subjects were landscapes, in which powerful and poignant expression was given to the vastness and the consoling power of nature. Not a few of the paintings are virtually translations into this realm of art of such visions of the poets as we have been citing. Several of these Sung landscapes may now be shown, arranged in the chronological order of the artists to whom they are attributed.

The painting in Fig. 175 is a winter scene, showing a temple among the snowy hills. It is ascribed to Fan K'uan, an artist who flourished around A.D. 990-1030.

In Fig. 177 we see a painting called “Summer,” which is usually attributed to Hui Tsung (A.D. 1082-1135). Hui Tsung (also known as Chao Chi) was none other than the eighth emperor of the Sung dynasty, and an artist as well. He came to the throne in A.D. 1100 when the currents of Neo-Confucianism were already gathering strength, but was himself devoted to Taoism, and spent large sums of money for assemblies of Taoist recluses. The painting we are considering here is an almost perfect expression of the spirit of Taoism, for it shows a man seated against a tree upon a mountain ledge, and gazing out to the sky where a few clouds are drifting and two cranes are flying up into the vastness. Almost irresistibly we are reminded of the saying of Chuang Tzu: “The wise man looks into space, and does not regard the small as too little, nor the great as too much.”

As the quotation just made reminds us, it was in harmony with the attitude of Taoism to be aware of the details of the natural scene as well as of its vast and stupendous aspects. This may be illustrated by another and exquisite painting by the Emperor Hui Tsung (Fig. 178). It is called “The Five-Colored Parakeet.”

Because of the similarity of its composition to that of “Summer” by Hui Tsung, we will not reproduce but only mention “The Scholar Gazing at the Moon,” by Ma Yüan. As in the aforementioned picture, here too there is a rock in the foreground and a cliff and tree at one side, while in the distance the moon floats in the haze. This artist, Ma Yüan, was active around A.D. 1190-1224, and is regarded as one of the greatest painters not only of China but of the entire world.” From his other works we show “Two Sages and an Attendant under

24 Bachhofer, A Short History of Chinese Art, Fig. 103.
25 o.c. pp.55f.
27 Bachhofer, A Short History of Chinese Art, p.114.
a Plum Tree” (Fig. 179), “Bare Willows and Distant Mountains” (Fig. 176), and “Mountain Landscape with Blossoming Trees” (Fig. 180). In the case of the last picture, the execution may be of later date, but the composition doubtless originated with Ma Yüan. The several persons who are wandering or resting amidst the grandeur of the mountains should be noticed.

The son of Ma Yüan, named Ma Lin (flourished A.D. 1215-1225), was also a noted painter. In Fig. 182 we show a painting attributed to him which we may call “Temple Overlooking the Sea.” It is almost an illustration of the poem by T’ao Han (p.415) telling about the convent which seemed to be “born out of space,” to “stand upon a terrace of clouds,” and to raise “its tall pavilion into the air amid the steep rocks.”

Even greater than Ma Yüan, perhaps, was his contemporary Hsia Kuei, who worked around A.D. 1195-1224. One of his masterpieces may appropriately climax our presentation of the Sung landscapes. This is the painting known as “Mountain Brook” (Fig. 181). It bears the name of Ma Yüan, but this is doubtless a later addition, while the half-effaced signature of Hsia Kuei most probably indicates the actual author of the subject. Of it Ludwig Bachhofer has written: “The motive could not be simpler: a wall of rocks, polished by the little rivulet for millions of years, a few trees upon the high ledge, and a slight haze over the brook. But here is the grandeur of nature, before which all the sorrows and ambitions of man become utterly insignificant.”

Before concluding this chapter we will show several other paintings, of date more or less comparable with the preceding, which illustrate some specific aspects of Taoism that have become familiar to us in the course of our study. Fig. 183 reproduces a painting in which the natural scene is only the background for a group of Taoist magicians who are engaged in the preparation of the elixir of life.

In Fig. 184 we see, seated at the foot of a tall tree, Chung K’uei, an imaginary character of the Taoist faith, believed to possess the power of exorcising evil demons. As here, he is regularly depicted as an old man in ragged clothes. The legend concerning him may date from the T’ang dynasty, and this painting is ascribed to an

---

88 Osvald Sirén, Chinese and Japanese Sculptures and Paintings in the National Museums, Stockholm. 1931, p.42, Pl. 43.
90 Wilhelm, A Short History of Chinese Civilization, Pl. 30.
otherwise unidentified artist of the Yüan dynasty named Ku Lo.\textsuperscript{182}

The painting reproduced in Fig. 185 is probably also from the Yüan Period. It shows a Taoist Immortal who is ascending to heaven. Three women attendants and two men accompany him, while higher up in the clouds other heavenly beings await him. Two storks fly in the extreme upper right hand corner.\textsuperscript{183}

The personage in Fig. 186 is a Taoist Immortal, seated on the ground. He is wearing a mantle which leaves his right shoulder bare. The right hand holds a small box, and there is a jar on the ground beside him. The date of the painting may be in the early fourteenth century, or perhaps as late as the beginning of the Ming Period.\textsuperscript{184}

\textsuperscript{182} Sirén, Chinese and Japanese Sculptures and Paintings in the National Museum, Stockholm, pp.306, Pl. 42; ccno p.207.

\textsuperscript{183} Sirén, Chinese and Japanese Sculptures and Paintings in the National Museum, Stockholm, p.39, Pl. 41.

\textsuperscript{184} ibid., p.42, Pl. 44.
Abagha, 530
Aban Yashit, 98
'Abbas, al-, 517
'Abbasid, 'Abbasids, 517-21, 526, 530, 532
'Abd Allah, 483, 492, see also 'Abdullal
'Abd Allah ibn-Najiyah, 518
'Abd Allah ibn-Yazid, 497
'Abd al-Malik, 498, 511, 512, 513
'Abd al-Muttalib, 495
'Abd al-Rahman I, 526
'Abd al-Rahman III, 526
'Abdullah, 495, see also 'Abd Allah
'Abdullal al-Husayn al-Shi'i, 524
Abhay, 284
Abhayanga mudra, 236
Abhayadeva, 292
Abhayagiri vihara, 297
Abhijñāhama, 278, 277
Abhijñāhama-pratāka, 240f.
Abhijñāhama-ṣaṅga-la, 242
Abhijñāhama-kṣetra, 247
Abhimandana, 188, 190
Abikarīh Yashit', 479
Abraham, 483, 488
Abu, Mous, 173, 229, 230f.
Abul Kasim Mansur, see Fārūqī
Abyssinia, 477
Abyssynian, 498, 533
Acabubharata, 196
Acaraṇa, 183, see also Ayara
Acarāṇastra, 193
Ac ācharīya-bhūtadhamma Sutta, 250
Accomplished King, see Wen
Achaemenes, 78
Achaemenian influence, 474
Achaemenian kings, 121
Achaemenid, Achaemenids, 80, 83, 113
Achaemenid architecture and sculpture, 100-104
Achaemenid inscriptions, 93-100
Achaemenid Period, 73f., 75, 99, 100, 101
Achessian epoch, 25
Activating Energy, see Chi
Adam, 502, 534, 559
Aden, Aden Protectorate, 461, 462, 468, 478
Adham, 498, 499, 508, 514
Adharakhush, 117
Adharbajjan, see Azerbaijan
Adharjushnas, 86, 117
Adi Črānt, 541-543, 545, 546, 552, 557, 561, 593
Adisesha, 228
Aditi, 133
Aditi, sons of, see Adityas
Adityas, 132, 133
Admiralty Islands, 21
Admonitions of the Instructor to Court Ladies, 375
Adoration of a Stupa, 269
Adzuchi, 455
Aesop, 90
Athiophia, 466, see also Ethiopia
Afgan, Afgans, 536f., 538
Afghanistan, 65, 121, 179, 502
Afrasion culture, 123
Africa, 13, 14, 21, 38, 99, 40, 462: North, 511, 522, 523, 528; South, 35, 40; West, 19, 21, 22
Agamas, 104, see also Nikayas, Tantras
Agganiya, 183
Aghabāds, 522-525
Aghora, 170
Aghilol, 481
Agni, 199, 212, 162
Agni Purana, 161, 162, 163
Agnibhuti, 196
Agrā, 397, 399
Agra, 498
Ahad, 493
Ahimsa, 199, 207
Ahmed Shah, 562
Ahmed, see Muslimmid
Ahirman, 90, see also Angra Mainyu
Ahunavaiti, 90
Ahura, Ahuras, 69, 99, 90, 92f., 98
Ahura Mazda, 84, 87, 89, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 103
Afbak, see Qutbud-din Aibak
Aibak, 164
Ainats, 420, 421, 424, 437
Al-rān-vej, 85
Ailavata, 148
Alryan, see Iran
A'ishah, 497, 498, 499, 500
Ajamā, 224, 290-293, 308, 313, 314
Akṣatastra, 141, 185, 193, 196, 215, 234, 248, 258, 259, 268, 308, 307, 309, see also Kunika
Akṣita, 188, 190, 191, 204
Akṣitavati, 293, see also Hiranyavati River
Aṣvaka, 209
Aṣvīkas, 218, 256
Aṣūr, 178
Aka Mahā, 90
Akāl Taḥtā, 556, 558, 563
Akāl Ustat, 543
Akampiṭa, 106
Akkadian cylinder inscriptions, 94
Akkadian inscription, 96
Aksun, 477
Alabhika, 195
Alaska, 48
'Ala-ud-din, 537
Albright, William F., 475
Alchum, Taoist, 393-395
Alexander the Great, 74, 82, 105-107, 109, 110, 141, 142, 147, 276, called "the Rōman," 80, 81
Algonquins, 13
'Ali, 496, 507, 511, 518, 524, 534
INDEX

Allah, 482, 483, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 494, 495, 496, 499, 501, 502, 504, 505, 512, 525, 546
Allahabad, 158, 263, 266
Allahu akbar, 499
Allakappa, 235, 259
Allat, 481, 482, 483, 484, 496
Almaqah, 471, 472, 478, 479, 483
A-lo-be, 373
A-lo-pen, 374
Altamira, 30, 31, 35, 36
Altar of Heaven, 379
Amadai, 69, see also Modes
Amolaha, 176
Amame, 205
Amar Das, 555, 556
Amarsavati, 406f., 500
Amatersu, Amaterasu-o-mi-kami, 428, 430, 437, 438, 439, 440, 449
Ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-ho-de-mi-ne-mikoto, 431, see also Fire-Subside
Ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-nagisa-take-u-guya-fuki-bi-kere-no-mikoto, 431, see also Heaven's Sun-Height-Prince-Wave-Limit-Brave-Cormorant-Thatching-Meeting-Incompletely
Ame-nigi-shi-kami-nigishihama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-ho-ne-mi-nigi-no-mikoto, 430, see also Heaven-Pleasant-Earth-Pleasant-Heaven's Sun-Height-Prince-Rice-car-Ruddy-Pleasant
Ame-no-keyane-mikoto, 443
Ame-no-mi-nake-nushinokami, 426, see also Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven
Ameretat, 90
America, 13, 20, 21
American Archaeological Expedition to India, 124
American Foundation for the Study of Man, 473, 475
American Museum of Natural History, 21, 22
Amesha Spentas, 90, 93
Aminah, 495
Amir Nizam al-Din 'Ali Shahr, 534
Amitabha, 246, 309, 310, 316
Amitabha, Happy Land of, 309
Amitabha, Western Paradise of, see Sukhavati
Amitabhas, 246, 316
'Am'm, 471, 483
Ammonius Marcellinus, 85
'Ammyada, 479
'Amr Ibn-al-'Aas, 510
'Amrah, 515
Amritsar, 541, 543, 556, 558, 559, 561, 562f.
Amu Darya, 101, see also Oxus
Am, 381
Anahilavadha, 173, see also Anhilwar
Anahita, 98, 99, 100, 101, 104, 109, 112, 116, 119
Anaitis, see Anahita
Analeps, see Lun Yu
Ananda, 250, 258, 263
Anandapura, 192
Anandpur, 559, 560
Ananta, 189, 190
Anantasvayana, 205
Anastaploida, 267, 268
Anawrahita, 299
Ancient Lore, see Puranas
Ancient Tales, see Puranas
Andaman Islanders, 38, 42-44
Andaman Islands, 42
Andersson, J. Gunnar, 25, 318
Andhra Period, 147-150, 265-275; Early, 275; Later, 283-287
Andhras, 219
Asekanta-doctrine, 188
Anga, 182, 201, 198, 200, 222, 235
Angad, 551, 554f.
Angkor, 302
Angkor Thom, 302
Angkor Wat, 302, 303
Anga Mainyu, 90, 99, 99, see also Ahunoman
Anguttara Nikaya, 233, 250, 251, 255
Anhilwar, 273, 225, see also Anahilavadha
Anjosa, 11
Animism, 10-15
Antyayatbadaragunasthana, 212
Ankan, 243
Anko, 433
Anlthahn-nab-oalyah, 51
Annals of the Bamboo Books, 338, see also Shu Chi Nien
Annem, 433
Anshan, 73
Antardadasa, 185
Antaraya karma, 211
Antialkidas, 147
Antioch in Syria, 107
Antiochus I, 103
Antoku, 434
Anuogadara, 186
Anuradhapura, 241, 297, 299
Amurruha, 242
Anushirvan, see Chosroes I
Anuttaravavayadasa, 185
Anyang, 321-324, 328, 330, see also Yin
Anzan, see Anshan
Apache, Apache Indians, 48, 53-55, 60
Apadana, 240, 244, see also Audience
Apadana of Susa, 98
Apastamba, 160
Aphrodite, 99
Aphrodite Anaitis, see Anahita
Apocalypse of Muhammad, see M'rabanam
Apollo, see Mythra
Apollonius of Tyana, 149
Appreciation of Nature, Taoist, 414
Aramattagunasthana, 212
Apsaras, 301, 310
Apsarasas, 103; Dance of the, 269
Aqsa Mosque, 510
Ara, 190
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>461, 462, 466, 467, 497; Arabia Deserta, 462; Arabia Felix, 462, 466; North, 475, 480, 482, 483, 484; Arabia Petraea, 462; South, 469, 471, 475, 476, 477, 483, 484; Arabian Gulf, 466, 467; Arabs, 80, 112, 179, 403, 487; Arabian Sea, 121, 122</td>
<td>Arabia, 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Arachosia, 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109, 263</td>
<td>Aramaic, 189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>263</td>
<td>Aranyakas, 125, 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65, see also Urartu</td>
<td>Ararat, 87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archaeological Museum at Mentra, 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archaeological Museum at Teheran, 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of India, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archer, John Clark, 546, 552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arctic regions, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ardashir I, 80, 112, 114, 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ardashir II, 116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ardeşir-Khurra, see Firuzabad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arduvahisto, 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arda-Viraf, Book of, 76, 81, 92, 105, see also Arda-Viraf Nasmak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arda-Viraf Namak, 76, see also Arda-Viraf, Book of Arđi Sura Anahita, see Anahita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Are, 493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arghun, 550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arhat, Arhats, 195, 199, 219, 223, 279, 312, see also Lohans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arisarama, 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ariège, 32, 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arishtanemi, 185, 189, 190, 230, see also Arîştanemi, Nemi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Aristotle, 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185, see also Arîştanemi, Nemi</td>
<td>Arîştanemi, 185, see also Arîştanemi, Nemi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252, 253</td>
<td>Arîyapariyesana Sutta, 252, 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48, 60</td>
<td>Arizona, 541, 542, 548, 550-553, 561, 562, 503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153, 154, 156, 157</td>
<td>Arjuna, 153, 154, 156, 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>469</td>
<td>Arnaud, Louis, 469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>Arrian, 142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108-110</td>
<td>Arscaces, 108-110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>Arscidan Pahlavi, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80, 114, see also Parthians</td>
<td>Arscids, 80, 114, see also Parthians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73, 83</td>
<td>Arsame, 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Arsacids, 481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Arta, 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112, 114</td>
<td>Arbistanus V, 112, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Artakhshatar, see Ardashir I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Artavasdes, 112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Artaxerxes I Longimanus, 74, 97f., 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Artaxerxes II Mnemon, 74, 98, 100, 102, 104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Artaxerxes III Ochus, 74, 100, 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107, see also Anahita</td>
<td>Artemis, 107, see also Anahita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>Arum, 113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Arundel, 13, 14, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>Arupā, 209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190</td>
<td>Arya Sūdharma, 190, 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190</td>
<td>Aryan Vyañka, 190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>247</td>
<td>Aryadeva, 247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>Aryaghoṣa, 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68f., 120, 131, 144</td>
<td>Aryan, Aryan, 68f., 120, 131, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>Aryan culture, 135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Aryan immigration, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Aryan languages, 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190</td>
<td>Aryan, 190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>Aryanmoodra, 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>543</td>
<td>Asa, 543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>Asaak, 109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135, see also Hattismapura</td>
<td>Asandivat, 135, see also Hattismapura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>247, 280</td>
<td>Assa, 247, 280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>Assat, 133, 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Asfandiyar, 88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Asha, 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asha Khshathra, see Artexterxes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asha Vahista, 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ashêen-as-sun, 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Ashemok, 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Ashl, 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>453</td>
<td>Ashikaga, 453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ashikan, 110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| | Ashkenians, see Arsacids 
akram, 161, 178 |
| | Ashtasahasrika, 245 |
| | Ashtasahasrika-Pratīṣṭha-Pa 
amita, 245 |
| 103 | Ashur, 103 |
| 480 | Ashurbanipal, 480 |
| | Ashur-asir-pal II, 103 |
| | Asia, 121, 202, 208, 462; Central, 101, 107, 151, 158, 173, 243, 306, 394; East, 107, 454; North, 305; Northeast, 419; West, 68, 82 |
| 73, 530 | Asia Minor, 73, 530 |
| 249 | Asīta, 249 |
| 498 | Asima', 498 |
| 122, 171 | Aśoka-vardhana, see Aśoka |
| 254 | Aśoka-vardhana, see Aśoka |
| 103; Assyrians, 72, 462, 463 | Assyria, 103; Assyrians, 72, 462, 463 |
| 69, 470 | Assyrian kings, 69, 470 |
| 67 | Assyrian Period, 67 |
| 67 | Ashtarābad, 67 |
| 471, see also Athar 
tar | Astarte, 471, see also Athar 
tar |
| 195 | Asthikagrama, 195 |
| | Astyages, see Ishêvagga |
| 313 | Asuka, 313 |
| 436-441 | Asuka Period, 436-441 |
| 69, 89, 131, 133 | asura, 69, 89, 131, 133 |
| 154 | Āsvagosha, 244, 246, 290 |
| | Āsvamedha, 154 |
| 192 | Āvasaṇa, 192 |
| | asvamedha, see Black Stone |
| 481 | Atargātis, 481 |
| 85, see also Azerbaijan | Atar-patakan, 85, see also Azerbaijan |
| 48 | Athapascakan, 48 |
| 532 | Athis al-Baqiyah, al-, 532 |
| 150, 151 | Atharva-Veda, 150, 151 |
| 107, see also Anahita | Athena, 107, see also Anahita |
INDEX

'Ahtar, 471, 478, 479, see also Astarte
Atifa, 315
Atlantic Sea, 468
Atman, 136-138
Attestation of the Highest Wisdom, 305
Athakastha, 236
Athassalini, 242
Athinathippaya, 183
Atur Gushasp, 117, 118, see also Gushasp
August-Food-Master, 431
August Pure One, see Yu
Huang Sheng Ti
Auharmazd, see also Ahura Mazda
Aurangzib, 540, 544, 558, 559, 599, 501
Aurapacakkhana, 185
Aurignacian epoch, 25, 29, 30
Aus, 484, 497
Australia, 13, 14, 20, 21, 26; Central, 5
Avedano, 244, see also Apedana
Avadana literature, 244
Avadana-Sataka, 244
Avedi, 199
Avalokiteśvara, 246, 283, 303, 300, 310, 315, 316, see also Kwan-yin, Kwannon
Avalokiteśvara-Gunaka-randa-vyusya, 246
Avamjha, 183
Avanti, 234
Avasarpini, Avasarpinis, 203, 204
Avassaya, 186
Avelad, 153, 158
Avesta, Avestan, 75, 81, 85, 88, 99, 105, 110, 113, 120
Avirati, 211
Aviratisayagdrishguntasthana, 212
Ay, 480
Ayagapata, 222, 223
Ayappaya, 183
Ayara, 183, see also Aca-ranga
Ayarradasso, 186
Ayet, see aya
Ayodhya, 158
Ayogikevaligunasthana, 213
Ayu karma, 211
Azande, 38, 44-48
Azerbaijan, 69, 85, 86, 88, 118, 117
'Aziz, al., 525
Azizu, 481
Bab al-'Amma, 520
Bab el-Mandeby, 470, 475
Bab el-Mandeby, Straits of, 483
Baba, see Nanak
Baber, 538, see also Roi Babur
Babylon, 72, 73, 94, 103, 104, 107, 486, 490
Babylonian elements in the religion of Palmyra, 481
Babylonian zigurat, 521
Bachhofer, Ludwig, 417
Bactra, 84, 88, see also Balkh
Bactra, Bactrian, 84, 85, 104, 107, 147, 148, 151
Bactrian Greeks, 148, 265, 278-281
Bafuka, 47
Bagh, 290
Baghdad, 452, 494, 517, 519, 520, 528, 530
Baghdad, al., 517
Bahram I, 115
Bahram V, 116, 118
Bahram V, 113
Bahubali, 226, 227, see also Gummata
Bahubali-kevalli, 228
Baluhasaka, 269
Bairari, 543
Bakara, 264
Bakr, Abu, 498, 499, 504, 506, 508
Bakri, al., 522
Baladevas, 204
Balasch, 472
Balban, 537
Balkh, 84, 89, see also Bactra
Balauchistan, 65
Bamboo Books, 321, 330, see also Annals of the Bamboo Books, Chu Shu Chi Nien
Bandha, 210, 212
Baserfi, R. D., 123
Bangkok, 301
Bantu, 13, 14, 15, 21
Baqi, 499
Barabara Hills, 218
Barbarians, Eastern, 438
Bare Willows and Distant Mountains, 417
Barhut, 205-209, 270, 272
Bari Doab Canal, 563
Baroda, 145
Barygaza, 468
Basantu, 543
Basket Makers, 59
Basket of Higher Expositions, see Abhidhammapitaka
Basra, 509
Basti, 227
Basukund, 103
Batuta, Ibn, 514
Baudhayana, 160
Bavaria, 29
Baybars, 328
Bayon temple, 303
Bayunsur Mirza, 532
Bazugba, 47
Bear, 53
Beas River, 122, 141
Bedouin, Beduins, 461, 462, 466, 482, 514
Begochiddy, 50, 51
Behistun, Rock of, 73, 94, 103, 110
Behistun Inscription, 84, 94, 95, 100
Beindraya jivas, 207
Bel, 481
Belgium, 28
Bell, Robert, 489
Bellary district, 177
Belshamin, 481
Benedict, Ruth, 60
Bengal, 173, 537, 538, 542
Bengal, Bay of, 42, 121, 122
Benge, 46
Beni, 542
Berenice, 467, 468
Berlin, 129
Berosos, 103, 104
Berosus, see Berosos
Bertholet, Alfréd, 11
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index Page</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bijak, 546</td>
<td>Book of Kings, see Shah Namah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilal, 496</td>
<td>Book of Mencius, see Meng Tze Shu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilavalu, 543</td>
<td>Book of Nanak, Referring to His Birth (or Life), A, 543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilknu, 43, 44</td>
<td>Book of Poetry, see Shih Ch'ing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilqis, 470, 471</td>
<td>Book of the Classes, see Kitab al-Tabaqat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bimbisara, 141, 193, 196, 215, 234, 248, 249, 257, 258, 268, 271</td>
<td>Book of the Elevens, 238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bindusara, 143, 218, 260</td>
<td>Book of the Exalted One on Rewards and Punishments, see T'ai Shang Kan Ying Fien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biographies of the Gods, 400</td>
<td>Book of the Great Decease, see Mahaparabhadra Suttanta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth Stories, see Janamsakhas</td>
<td>Book of the Ones, 238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biruni, al-, 88, 88, 88, 179-181, 532</td>
<td>Book of the Seal of the Heart, 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishtasp, 106, see also Vishtaspa</td>
<td>Book of the Wars, see Kitab al-Maghazi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bit-Daulukki, 72</td>
<td>Book on Burial, 399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biwa, Lake, 421, 455</td>
<td>Book on the Contents of the Blue Bag, 399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Pagoda, 177</td>
<td>Books of Vedic Ritual, see Kalpa-Sutras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Stone, 483, 506, 532, see also Ka'bah</td>
<td>Boppana, 227, see also Sujanottama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bleek, William H. L., 40</td>
<td>Bornec, 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blessed One, see Krishna</td>
<td>Borobudur, 304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blessing Chant, 51, see also Huzurunj</td>
<td>Boundless Compassion, see Avalokiteshvara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, 490</td>
<td>Brahmanas, see Brahman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Dragon and White Tiger, 396</td>
<td>Bradro-resh the Tur, 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo tree, 241, 253, see also Bodhi tree</td>
<td>Brahmana, 134, 162, 163, 175, 177, 271, 278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodhisatta, 240, 266, 267, see also Bodhisattva, Buddha</td>
<td>Brahmacari, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodhisattva, 245, 256, 269, 271, 273, 279, 280, 283, 284, 285, 286, 291, 305, 309, 310, 312, 313, 314, 316, 445, 449, see also Bodhisattva, Buddha</td>
<td>Brahmarcharin, 228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodhi tree, 249, 253, 254, 283, 269, 272, 273, 297, 305, see also Bo tree</td>
<td>Brahmadatta, 259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolled-Rice, 431</td>
<td>Brahmaloka, 271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolton pass, 121</td>
<td>Brahmanamitra, 269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bon, 315</td>
<td>Brahmanical revival, 159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book of Changes, see I Ching</td>
<td>Brahmanism, 143, 144, 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book of Etiquette and Ceremony, see I Li</td>
<td>Brahmaputra, 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book of History, see Shu Ch'ing</td>
<td>Book of Idols, see Kitab al-Amam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[ 569 ]
INDEX

Brahmas, 250  
Brahmi alphabet, 263  
Brave-Swift-Impetuous -Male-Augustness, 428, 429, 430  
Breuil, Henri, 31, 32  
Bridge of the Separator, see Civat Bridge  
Brihadaranyaka-Upanishad, 139  
Brihadvatana, 147  
Brihatkappha, 186  
Brihatkathaka, 216  
British conquest of India, 561  
British Museum, 254, 286, 375, 383  
Broken Hill, 25  
Bronze Age, 25, 67, 68, 123, 325, 424  
Brown, A. R., 42  
Brown, W. Norman, 133  
Buddha Gay, 229, 253, 263, 269-270, 272  
Buddha, Buddhás, 196, 246, 280, 285, 291, 312, 316, 449; seven last, 273  
Buddha, the, 141, 151, 162, 165, 167, 199, 223, 224, 226, 237, 240, 242, 244, 260, 265, 269, 271, 272, 278, 283, 284, 285, 287, 288, 290, 291, 295, 297, 299, 300, 301, 303, 314, 406, 407, 413, 436, 456; Enlightenment of, 269, 272, 305, 307; Great Statue of, 445; Seated, 289; Temptation, 287; see also Gautama, Sakyamuni  
Buddha of Boundless Light, see Amitabha  
Buddha of Infinite Life, see Amitayus  
Buddha-charita, 244, 246, 280  
Buddhadatta, 241  
Buddhadatta’s Mammals, 241  
Buddhaghosa, 238, 241, 242  
Buddhavamsa, 240, 250  
Buddhism, 141, 143, 151, 170, 181, 196, 222, 234-316, 364, 370, 372, 377, 380, 400, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 409, 412, 425, 436, 437, 442, 444, 445, 451, 453, 456, 458, 530; Northern, see Mahayana; Shingon Sect, 449; Southern, see Hinayana  
Buddhist age in Chinese history, 574  
Buddhist art, 282-287, 441  
Buddhist elements in Manichaicism, 115; in Shinto, 457  
Buddhist, Greco-, see Gandharan school  
Buddhism influence, 372, 449f.  
Buddhist monastery, 148  
Buddhist motifs, 457  
Buddhist priests, 412  
Buddhist scriptures, 231, 236-247  
Buddhist sculpture, 127, 289  
Buddhist shrines, 140  
Buddhist stupas, 123, 229  
Buddhist temples, 444, 447, 455  
Buddhists, 150, 198, 223  
Buffalo Museum of Science, 21  
Buhl, 537  
Bukhari, al-, 492, 493  
Bulus, 235, 259  
Bundahish, 76, 78, 79, 80, 82, 85, 86, 117  
Bundelkhand, 173, 176  
Bunzel, Ruth L., 60  
Burns, 496, 533  
Burens, 434  
Burma, 124, 242, 281, 292f., 305  
Burra, 467  
Burton, Richard F., 506  
Bushido, 451  
Busk, 451  
Bushma, Bushmen, 38, 40-42  
Butsud, 457  
Byzantines, Byzantine empire, 112, 119, 484, 509  
Cairo, 594, 595, 599, 520; see also Qahir al-Falak  
Cakrawartis, 204  
Cakreavartis, 232  
Calcutta, 183, 268  
California, 48, 419  
Caliphs, 508-535; Orthodox, 508-510, 522  
Cambay, 232  
Cambodia, 297, 301-303  
Cambyses I, 73  
Cambyses II, 73  
Cameoons, 22  
Campanile, 526  
Campo Santo, 525  
Cana, 468  
Canada, 48  
Candial, Candalian, 139, 180  
Candapanmati, 185  
Candavejthaya, 185  
Cape Comorin, 171  
Cape of Good Hope, 40  
Capitan, L., 31  
Cariyapitaka, 240, 241  
Carme man, 28  
Carme, 28, 29  
Carna, 466, 475, see also Ma’in  
Carnätes, 467  
Carnana, see Carma  
Caspian plateau, 69  
Caspian Sea, 65, 66, 101  
Caspian, 65-66  
Casteret, Norbert, 34  
Catsbeneet, see Cattabani- ans, Qatabanians  
Cathedral Mosque, see Great Mosque of Damascus  
Cattabani-ans, 467, 470, see also Qatabanians  
Catah-Satake, 247  
Causarana, 185  
Cave I at Ajanta, 292, 314  
Cave II at Bagh, 290  
Cave IV at Bagh, 290  
Cave V at Bagh, 290  
Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, see Ch’ien Fo Tung  
Celestial Immortals, 402  
Celestial Teacher, see Chang Tao Ling  
Celtic language, 129  
Cenozoic epoch, 24  
Central Land of Reed-Plains, 428, 429  
Ceremonial Records, see Li Chi  
Ceremonies of Chou, see Chou Li
| Christian elements in Manichaeism, 115 |
| Christian history, 258 |
| Christian influence, 501 |
| Christian teaching, 373 |
| Christian theory of evil, 76 |
| Christianity, 150, 160, 407, 455, 477, 478, 484, 485, 487 |
| Christians, 487, 488, 498, 513, 514, 517, 518, 539, see also Ta-ch'in |
| Chronology of Ancient Nations, 82, 532, see also Astar al Bagiya, al-Chronicles of Japan, see Nihongi |
| Chu, 381 |
| Ch'u, 333, 359, 380, 381, 389 |
| Chu Hai, 378, 412-414 |
| Chu Shu Chi Nien, 320, 339, see also Annals of the Bamboo Books, Bamboo Books |
| Ch'uai, 433 |
| Chuang Chou, 359, see also Chuang Tzu |
| Chuang Tzu, 353, 359, 369-382, 393, 395, 398, 412, 413, 414, 416, see also Chuang Chou |
| Ch'üeh, 325, 327 |
| Ch'ü-fou, see Chufou |
| Ch'ü-hien, 368 |
| Ch'ü-jen, 380 |
| Chufou, 348, 365, 371 |
| Ch'ung-yo, 494 |
| Ch'ung, 300 |
| Chumon, 818 |
| Ch'un Ch'u, 332, 333-339, 365, see also Spring and Autumn Annals |
| Chung K'oe, 417 |
| Chung Ni, 344, 348, 370 |
| Chung Tu, 345 |
| Chung Yung, 340, 352 |
| Chung-lí Chü-an, 402 |
| Ch'un-then, 359 |
| Church History of Philostorgius, 478 |
| Church of the Holy Sepulcher, 518 |
| Clavat Bridge, 90 |
| Cities of Iran, The, see Shatrooza-I-Afaran |
| Citragupta, 205 |
| City of Heroes, 466 |
| Classical Age of Chinese history, see Chou Period |
| Classic of Filial Piety, see Hsiao Ching |
| Classic of the Tao and the Te, see Tao Te Ching |
| Clement of Alexandria, 103 |
| Cochin China, 301, 400 |
| Codrington, Robert H., 12 |
| Coele-Syria, 466 |
| Colombo, 299 |
| Colorado, 48 |
| Combarelles, Les, 31, 32, 35 |
| Combe-Capelle, 29 |
| Comet, 50 |
| Commonwealth Relations Office Library, London, 548 |
| Confucian Classics, 377 |
| Confucian elements in Shinto, 457 |
| Confucian Renaissance, 377-379 |
| Confucianism, 317-379, 380, 392, 396, 403, 404, 411, 412, 458; Early, 343-360 |
| Congo, 33 |
| Congo Pygmies, 38-40 |
| Congo River, 44 |
| Conjeeveram, 178 |
| Conqueror of Yama, see Yamatanka |
| Conquerors, see Jinas |
| Constantine, 84 |
| Constantinople, 478 |
| Constantius, 478 |
| Contenu, C., 67 |
| Copenhagen, 76 |
| Cordova, 526-527, 528 |
| Cordubia (Ivissa), 208 |
| Coromandel Coast, 174 |
| Coronado, 60 |
| Cosmas Indicopleustes, 159-160 |
| Coyote, 51, 56, 57, 58; and the Creation, 56 |
| Coyote Man, see Etsay-hashkehe |
| Created-from-Everything, see Ashtabah-nah-o-yah |
| Creation Myth, 52 |
| Cro-Magnon epoch, 28, 29, 50, 53, 65, 68 |
| Crown, The, see Ikil, al-Crusades, 528 |
| Ctesias, 84 |
| Ctesiphon, 109, 112, 119 |
| Cube of Zoroaster, see Ka-bah-t-i-Zardusht |
| Culvamasa, 242 |
| Cullarredalde, 240 |
| Cunningham, Alexander, 123 |
| Cupid, 227 |
| Cybele, 99 |
| Cyuaxares, see Uvakhshatra |
| Cyrus I, 73 |
| Cyrus II the Great, 72, 73, 84, 94 |
| Dadistan-i Dinik, 76, 79, 89 |
| dagabu, 265, see also stupas |
| dagoba, 265, see also stupas |
| Dahak, 80 |
| Dahana, 461 |
| Daibutsu, see Buddha, Great Statue of the |
| Dalgo, 434, 448 |
| Daivi River, 87 |
| Daiwas, see Devas |
| Dalva-in, 457 |
| Dalada Maligawa, 299 |
| Dalai Lamas, 315 |
| Damascus, 104, 511-516, 519, 530, 588 |
| Danava, "offspring of Da-nu," see Vritra |
| Danavas, 133 |
| Dazu, 133 |
| Dar, 558 |
| Darai, 81 |
| Darai son of Darai, 81 |
| Daranja River, 85 |
| Darbar Sahib, 562, 563 |
| Darbush, 106 |
| Darla, see Tarai |
| Darlus I the Great, 73, 74, 78, 83, 84, 85, 86,
INDEX

Detailed Description of the Blessed Land, see Sukhavati-vyuha
deul, 230
deus, 131
deus Sol Invictus Mithras, 99
Deva, Devas, 60, 90, 92, 97, 98, 99, 131, 145, 205, 285, 289
Devadatta, 167
Devadaha, 250
Devadaha Sutta, 198
decadesa, 224
Decadesa, 225
decaes, 147
Devalokas, 271
Devamampiya Piya da Sari Raja, 200, see also Asoka
Devamanda, 193
Devarddhi, 182
Devasurti, 205
decs, 207
Devdhanthika, 543
Devil, 502
Devinatathaya, 185
Devoteers, see Bhagats
De Young, M. H., Memorial Museum, 22
Dhammaratayi Bayyin, 472
Dhamma, 254, 257, see also Dharma
Dhammacakka, 289
Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta, 254
Dhammapada, 238
Dhammapala, 241
Dhammasangani, 240, 241, 242
Dhanabhati, 266
Dhanasari, 543
Dhanga, 173
Dhana, 542, 546
dhanus, 191
Dhara, 173, 225
Dharanendra, 189
Dharanendra, Naga, 223
Dharma, Dharmas, 190, 244, 254, 281
Dhammacakra, 269, 284, see also Dhammacakka dharmacakra mudra, 285, 289
dharma-kaya, 280
Dharmamastha, 189
Dharmapalas, 316

Dharmaratja I, 301
Dharmaraksha, 244
Dharma-Sutras, 160
Dhatukatha, 241
Dhau, 260, 263
Dhurissarastra, 153
Dhruvasena, 192
Dhwa jastambhas, 169
dhyana, 254, see also samadhi
dhyana mudra, 285
Nghaker, 502
Digambaras, 183, 186, 187, 197, 214, 217, 222, 228
Digha Nikaya, 237f.
Dilvara, 230
Dinal-i Mainog-i Khirad, 76
Din-i-Itahi, 539
Dinkard, 78, 77, 79, 82, 83, 86, 87, 89, 105, 106, 110, 113, 114, 119
Diodotus, 107
Diogenes Laertius, 77
Dien, 147
Dipta, 237
Dipavamsa, 236, 241, 242
Discipline Basket, see Vinayapitaka
Discourse Basket, see Suttapitaka
Dittibivaya, 185
Divakara, 186
Diverticule Final, 32
Divine Faith, see Din-i-Itahi
Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Deity, 427
Divine-Yasato-Ihare-Prince, see Kama-yasato-ihare-biko-so-mikoto
Divyavadana, 244
Doctrine of the Mean, see Chung Yung
Document C1assic, see Shu Ching
Documents of the Warring States, see Chan Kuo Tse
Dome of the Rock, 511
Dona, 259
Dontso, 52
Dorasamudra, 174, 175
Dordogne, 31, 54
Dragon-Tiger Mountain, 397
INDEX

Gandharan school, 232
Gandharvas, 132, 200, 226
Ganca, 316
Ganesh, 163
Gang, Gangas, 167, 174, 177, 225, 235, 542
Ganges, 122, 141, 151, 165, 167, 177, 203, 277;
River, 135, 142, 143, 153, 234; Valley, 158, 178
Ganvijija, 185
Ganzaca, see Shiz
Gardabhilla, 220
Garmanes, see Sramanas
Garo-smana, 99, see also
Paradise
Garuda, 147
Garuda column, 148
Gathas, 75, 78, 85, 89-93
Gatilas, Gatilas, 271, 272
Gatilas Uruvela Kassapa, 272
Gaud, 543
Gaumata, 73, 94, 100, 111
Gauri, 543
Gautama, Gautama Buddha, 160, 182, 197, 198,
200, 201, 217, 236, 240, 243, 248-258, 260, 263,
267, 269, 299, 273, 280, 284, 289, 304, 306, 307,
309, 316, see also Buddha
Gautama Indrabhuti, see
Indrabhuti
Gay, 215, 241, 253, 289, 295, 297
Gayomard, 79
Gazza, 177
Cedrosa, 466
Gemmyo, Empress, 426,
432, 432
Gernghiz Khan, see Jen-
ghiz Khan
Gniti, 401
G 스스로, Empress, 434
Geographical Dictionary of Yangt, 483, see also
Yangt
Geography of Strabo, 466
Germany, 26
Geyshem, 483-466
Ghassanida, 484
Ghats, 212, 149
Ghazan, 530, 532
Ghazzal, 179, 181, 536
Ghazzali, al-, 519
Ghirshman, E., 67
Ghousani, 145
Ghumdan, 477
Gibraltar, 20, Straits of,
39
Ginde, 463
Gion style, 447
Gion-no-go-ryo-o, 447
Gion-no-yashiro, see Ya-
saka-no-fuji
Gira, 118
Girnar, 229, 230, 263
Gitarovinda, 542
Glacial Period, 66
Glasier, E., 469
Gnostic elements in Mani-
chaeism, 115
Gobi Desert, 153, 208
Gobind Rai, see Gobind
Singh
Gobind Singh, 542, 543f.,
560f., 563
Go-Daigo, 434
Go-Fukakusa, 434
Go-Fushimi, 434
Go-Hansazono, 434
Go-Horikawa, 434
Go-Ichijo, 434
Gomdwal, 533, 558
Go-Kameyama, 434
Go-Kashiwabara, 434
Go-Komatsu, 434
Go-Komyo, 434
Golden Elixir of Life, see
Chiao Tan Chiao
Golden Gate, 517
Golden Hall, 513
Golden Temple, see Dar-
bar Sahib
Gollas, 159
Gomata, see Gommata
Gomi, see Gommata
Gomantak, 434
Gomantakadwara, see Gom-
matka
Gommatasara, 187
Gom-memonono, 434
Gom-Murakami, 434
Gon-Nara, 434
Gondophares, 108, 147,
148, 149
Gonds, 173
Gomdwal, see Gondwal
Gongen style, 457
Go-Nijyo, 434

[ 575 ]
INDEX

Go-Nishiu, 434
Good Thought, see Vohu Manah
Goppuru, 168, 169
Gorakhpur, 257
Go-Hezei, 434
Go-Saga, 434
Go-Sakurashima, Empress, 434
Gosla, 218
Go-Sanjo, 434
Go-Shirakawa, 434
Gospel, 488, 502
Go-Suzaku, 434
Gotama, Gotamas, see Gautama, Gautamas
Gotarzes I, 110
Gotarzes II, 110
Gotarzes, the satrap of satrap, see Gotarzes I
Gotarzes, the son of Gew, see Gotarzes II
Go-Toba, 434
Gotra karna, 211
Go-Tschi-mlkado, 434
Gottama, see Gautama
Go-Uda, 434
Gowindval, see Goindval
Go-You, 434
Grand-Jewel, 429
Grand Mosque at Delhi, 533
Grande Galerie des Fresques, 32
Granth, 556, see also Adi Granth
Granth of the Tenth Guru, 561, see also Daswan Padshah ka Granth
Granth of the Tenth King, see Daswan Padshah ka Granth
Granth Sahib, 561, 562, 563, see also Adi Granth
grantha, 541
granthi, 541
Great Ascetic, see Samana
Great Bharata, see Mahabharata
Great Bodhisattva, 292
Great Britain, 462
Great Chronicle of Ceylon, see Mahavamsa
Great King of the Wo, see Ta Wo Wang
Great Lake, see Tenle Sap
Great Learning, see Ta Hsueh
Great Monastery, see Mahavihara
Great-Mountain-Possessor, 431
Great Mosque at Cordova, 526f.
Great Mosque at Damascus, 511, 513-515
Great Mosque at Hama, 509
Great Mosque at Qayrawan, 522-524
Great Mosque at Samarra, 520f.
Great River, see Yangtze Kiang
Great Story, see Mahavastu
Great Stupa at Sanchi, 270
Great Vehicle, 288, 289, 294, 306, see also Mahayana
Great Wall of China, 305, 362, 364, 366, 367
Greater Imperial Palace, 447
Greco-Bactrians, 107, 108, see also Bactrian Greeks
Greco-Buddhist, see Gandharan school
Greco-Persian war, 112
Greece, 111
Greek art, 111, 283
Greek deities, 283
Greek elements in the religion of Palmyra, 481
Greek empire, 88
Greek inscription, 114
Greek language, 129
Greek writings, 517
Grecks, 82, 147, 148, 462, 466
Green Dome, see Golden Gate
Grihya-Sutras, 100
Grimaldí, 29
Grotto of the Carden, see Taq-i-Bustan
Grousset, René, 291
Guardians of the Four Quarters of the World, 309
Guardians of the Religion, see Dharmapalas

Guda, 150
Guhasiva, 299
Guiana, 14
Gujarat, 173, 179, 229, 231, 232, 537
Guji, 543
Gump's, 301
Guna Chamas, 212
Gundaphorus, see Gondophares
Gupta, Gupta, 152, 306, 308
Gupta Period, 158-164, 224, 288-293, 294, 300
Gupta Temples, 164
Gur, see Firuzabad
Gurbaal, 463
Gurjan, see Astarabad
Gur-i-Mir, 530
Gurjaras, 173
Gurukukhi, 541, 554, 563
Guru, Gurus, 541, 543, 544, 545, 548-553, 554; Later, 554-561
Guru Arjun Deva, see Arjun
Guru's Mahal, 550
Gushasp, 117
Guashasp, see Vishtasp
Gwallor, 231, 537
Gyan Parbodh, 544
Gyogi, 449
Habib ar-Siyar, 534
Hachiman, 449, 451, 452
Hachiman-no-kami, 444, 449, 451, 452
Hadad, 481
Hades, 401, 404
Hadramaut, 461, 470, see also Hadramyta
Hadramautians, 466, 471, 473-475, see also Chatramoittae
Hadith, 492f., 494, 518
Hadramyta, 470, 473, see also Hadramaut
Hagar, 495
Hagmatana, 72, see also Hamadan
Hahjéneh-dinneh, 51
Hãi-den, 456
Hair, al-, 520
Hajjar, al-, 471
Har, 500
Hakam, al-, II, 528

[ 576 ]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index Title</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Himalayan Period, 474</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himalayas, 465, 476-479, 480, see also Himalayas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinayana Buddhism, 243, 244, 279-281, 283, 284, 297, 300, 302</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi, 541</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu culture, 259</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu deities, 151, 278</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinduism, 121-121, 234, 247, 258, 285, 294, 302, 304, 536, 559</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu, Hindus, 113, 121, 537, 559, 540, 545, 546, 547, 550, 552, 557, see also Hinduism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu Kush, 121, 142, 260</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu mythology, 502</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu, 121, see also Indus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindustan, 538</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindustani, 541</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiranyavati river, 258, 295, see also Ajitavati</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hirohito, 435, 460</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hisam, 526</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hisam I, 528</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hisam II, 528</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Records of Sma Chien, see Shih Chi of Ssu-ma Chien</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of the Former Han Dynasty, see Ch'en Han Shu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hitite records, 68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsien Tsung, 165-167, 278, 294-296, 297</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiyeida no Are, 425, 426</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho Chi'l-ling, 368</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho Hsin Ku, 402</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho K'u-ling, see Ho Chi'ling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho Yen, 398</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holi, Harry, 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hokkaido, 419, 420</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hokkoji, 313</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holocene epoch, 24, 25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy Mountain, see Sunnymaya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy Fiety, see Spenta Armaiti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy Spirit, see Spenta Mainsyu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeridae, see Himalayas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homerites, 465, see also Himalayas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homo, 25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homo heidelbergensis, 26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homo neandertalensis, 26, 28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homo rhodesiensis, 26, 28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homo septiens, 26, 28-30, 66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homo soloensis, 26, 28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homo uoukakensis, 28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homoda, 426</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honan, 318, 321, 333, 344, 376, 382, 404</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honan Archaeological Research Association, 331</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong den, 457</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong, 317</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honji-do Temple, 456</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honorable Tao, see Tao Ch'ien</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honshu, 419, 421, 424, 431, 433</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopel, 333</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hori, 61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hormuzd, 114, 115, 118, 119, see also Ahura Mazda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hormuzd I, 115</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hori, 313</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horyuji, 313, 314</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoshong, 79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoteaux, 25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hota Cave, 65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hou Han Shu, 367</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housia, 504</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Books, see Giryas-Sutras</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoyasla, Hoyaslas, 174, 175, 225</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoyasala'svara temple, 175</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoshonji, 70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsin Po K'an Li, 337</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsia, 319f., 321, 347</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsia Kuei, 417</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsiang Hsiau, 398</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsiang of Ch'i, 353</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsiang of Lu, 343</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsiang Yu Pen Chi, 321</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsiaou Ching, 339, 365, 370</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsiao Wen-ti, 351</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsien, bronzes, 325, 329</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsien, sub-prefectures, 372</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsien of Ch'in, 381</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsien Yang, 391</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsiong, 302, 308</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsü, She, 394</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsüan, 333, 358, 359</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsüan Tsung, 397, 403</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsin Ch'ing, see Hsin Tsu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsün Hsien, 351</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsün Tsu, 358, 358-360, 361</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsü-ping-hsien, 368</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hua Shan, 404</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui Chi Mountain, 305</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui River, 333</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui Style, 333, 334</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui-sun-tzu, 387</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huan K'uan, 365</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huan River, 321</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hud, 502</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui, 358, 358, 389</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui Tsung, 413, 416</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui-pf, 497, 506</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui-sa, 506</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humal, 81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Immortals, 402</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humayun, 536, 539, 554</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human, 404</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunas, see Huns, White</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hundred Avadanas, see Avadana-Sataka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hundred Karma Stories, 244</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huns, 362</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huns, White, 158f., 165, 173</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hupch, 333</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurasrah, Abu, 518</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurdad-bah, Iba, 86, 117</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hureidba, 473, see also Madabum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husain, al-, father of Asma', 498</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husain, al-, son of 'Ali, see Husayn, al-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husayn, al-, son of 'Ali, see Husayn, al-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huseyn Bayqarah, 553, 554</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huvashka, 151</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hwaw, 317</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hwaw Ho, 317, 318, 320, 326, 362, see also Yellow River</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hwai Li, 165</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyphasis River, see Beas River</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyrcania, 84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indo-Parthian Period, 147-150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indo, 68, 132, 133, 134, 145, 162, 193, 228, 228, 269, 271, 275, 278</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indra, Court of, see Indra Sabha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indra Sabha, 225f., 227</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indrabhuti, 198, 214</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indranilma, 269, 270</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indras, 226</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indraprastha, 153</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indus, 107, 130, 142, 143, 151, 203, 220</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indus civilization, 127</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indus peoples, 128</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indus River, 121, 122, 124, 306</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indus valley, 65, 68, 74, 123, 124, 511</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingya, 433</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingel, 502, see also Gospel Inland Sea, 419</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Human Paleontology in Paris, 31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran, 73, 81, 85, 88, 108, 110, 112, 530; Early, 63-72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iranian Expedition of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, 65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iranian nature religion, 100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iranian origin of nimbus, 235</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iranian plateau, 65, 66, 68, 73, 111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq, 88, 484, 491, 508</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq-ajam, 69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron Age, 25, 424</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrawaddy River, 299, 300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iroquois, 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is, 506, see also Jesus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isana, 170</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ise, 438, 439, 446, 459</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ise Shrine, 440f., 453</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isafahans, 65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isfendiar, 88, see also Asfandiyar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isfendiyad, 88, see also Asfandiyar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isfaahana, 206, 207</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isht-No-Ma, 459f.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ithiop, 495, 502</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ithtar, 99, 471, 481, see also 'Athtar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ithtuvegu, 72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isidore of Charax, 109</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ispatana, 254, 263, 264, see also Deer Park</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iskander, see Alexander the Great</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam, 180, 181, 294, 373, 461-535, 536-540, 549, 550, 560; Authoritative Writings of, 488-493; Sects of, 517-519</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isles of Immortality, of the Immortals, 393-396, 398, 399</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Imad, 492</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israelites, 463, 494, see also Hebrews, Jews</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Istakhr, 106, 113, 115</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ishana River, 440</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian frontier, 29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy, 28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It'limara, 463</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itivuttaka, 238</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ithiana, 62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ito, 438</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itsu-se-no-mitsuko, 431</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-tsee, 344</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iyemitsu, see Tokugawa Iyemitsu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iyazagi-no-kami, 427, 428</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iyazami-no-kami, 427, 428</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Izumo, 429, 441</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Izumo Furone, 440</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Izumo-no-oyashiro, 439f.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Izumo Shrine, see Izumo-no-oyashiro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob, 488</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jade Emperor, see Yu Huang Sheng Ti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jade Mountain, 401</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagannatha, see Vishnu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jahaniga, 539, 540, 557</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jahalalleg, 482</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jahliliyeh Period, 482-485</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jad dev, 542</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jadjavitri, 543</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Java, Java, 173, 174, 256, 539, see also Jainism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Java Scriptures, 182-187</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Java Tirtha, 230</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jainism, 141, 143, 176, 179, 182-235, 234; Teachings of, 202-213</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaitisri, 543</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

Kalpasutra, 160, 186, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 201, 232, 233
Kalai, 203
Kalu, 542, 548, 549
Kamagawa, 459
Kamakura, 453
Kamakura Period, 451f., 457
Kamal al-Din Bābzad, 534
Kamatarı, 442
Kamatha, 159
Kameyama, 434
Kami, 449
Kami no Michi, 436, see also Shinto
Kamiji, Mount, 440
Kami-kamo-no-jinja, 447, see also Kamo-no-wakiti-
katsuchi-no-jinja
Kamamapavaya, 183
Kammyu, 434, 448
Kamo-no-kuni, 447
Kamo-no-miya-no-jinja, 447
Kamo-no-wakiti-
katsuchi-no-jinja, 447
Kamo-yamato-ibare-biko-
no-mikoto, 426, 431, 432
Kanauj, 165, 167, 173, 228
Kanchi, 171, 178
Kanchipuram, 241
Kandarya Mahadeva, 176, 179, 229
Kandy, 299
K'ang Shu, 331
Kangvar, 109
Kengha, 500
Kankanla, 151, 222, 244, 246, 278f., 290, 292
Kankali Tila, 222
Kannara, 108, see also Krishna
Kano, 456
Kano Masamochi, 458
Kano Tanyya, 458
Kansa, 319, 382
Kant, Immanuel, 92
Kanthaka, 273
Kao Tse, see Liu Pang
Kao Tsung Yung Jih, 337
Kao Tsen, 357
Kepara, 543
Kapilavastu, 235, 249, 250, 258, 259, 283, 273, 288, 291, 295, see also Kapilavatthu
Kapilavatthu, 235, see also Kapilavastu
Kapotaleya, 208
Kappavadimiyao, 185
Kara, 560
Karechi, 122
Kararakam, 121
Kara-mon, 458
Karanda-vyuha, 246, see also Avalokitesvara-Gu-
nakaranda-vyuha
Karibii-ju, 403
Karibii Watar Yuhanim, 471, 472, 476
Kari, 273-275
Karna, 159f., 178, 181, 183, 185, 189, 192, 195, 203, 205, 206, 210, 211, 213, 227, 409
Karmakanda, 187
Karma-Sataka, 244
Kartapar, 552
Kassanuhi, 437, 438
Kashaya, 209, 211, 212
Kashgar, 306
Kashibara, 433
Kashmir, 121, 171, 243
Kast, 105, 251, see also Benares
Kasta, 258
Kasim, 505
Kaspiputra Bhagabhadra, 147
Kassapa, 271, 272, 307, see also Kasipapa
Kassites, 68
Kasuga Gongenren Kenki, 443
Kasuga Shrine, see Kasu-
aga-no-ga
Kasuga-no-ga, 443f.
Kasipapa, 307, see also Kassapa
Katha, 267
Kathavatthu, 240f., 242, 248
Kathavatthu-atthakatha, 242
Kathlawar, 231
Katsuogi, 440, 441
Katsuisha Hokusai, 459
Kaulsar, 553
Kaurava, see Kurus
Kausambi, 135, 158, 283
Kavadi, 118
Kavangii dynasty, 80
Kawulii Poutiwa, see Pau-
tiwa
Kazi, 546
Kedara, 543
Kedzo, 504
Keiljö, see Secul
Keiko, 433, 438
Keilii, 311, see also Ky-
ongju
Keissal, 434
Keith, A. Berriedale, 131, 133
Kenso, 433
Kerman, 65
Kermanshah, 110
Kesh, 560
Keshl, 185
Kesi, 193, 196, 200, 201, 217, see also Somana
Kesi
Kevala, 195
Kevalin, 195, 214, 218
Khacharas, 227
Khadjah, 405, 496, 497, 506f.
Khadur, 554
Khahbar, 484
Khajuraho, 176, 179, 228f.
Khakan, 117
Khalid ibn-'Abdallah, 518
Khalifa, 508, see also Caliph
Khalifa, 537
Khalsa, 561
Khandagiri, 220
Khandhakas, 237
Kharavela, 215, 221
Kharoshthi script, 283
Khatri, see Khatriya
Khastun, 117
Khazneh, 480
Khazzraj, 484, 497
Khurbet Tannur, 481
Khizr Khan, 537
Khmer people, 300, 301, 302
Khodzah-Akbarz, Mosque of, 491
Khorasan, 88, 332
Khoresz, 101
Khotan, 300
Khsathira Vairya, 90
Ksbayarsha, see Xerxes
Khuddaka Nikaya, 233
INDEX

Mazdean cult, see Zoroastrianism
Mean-in-action, see Chung Yung
Mecca, 461, 482, 483, 484, 487, 488, 494, 495, 496, 497, 500, 505-507, 508, 510, 511, 512, 513, 521, 532, 551, 559, 560
Medes, 69-72, 73
Media, 73, 85
Media Atropatene, see Azerbaijan
Media Magna, see Iraq-arajm
Media Rhagiana, see Teheran
Medieval Period of India, 225, 229, 294-296; Early, 165-172; Late, 173-181
Medina, 461, 482, 484, 487, 489, 494, 497, 498, 499, 505, 508, 510, 512, 513, 533, 550
Mediterranean, 39, 522, 524
Medycynah, see Maidhyomaungha
Megaethenes, 107, 142-144
Meijal, 435
Melanesia, 12, 15, 17
Melanestans, 12, 17, 21
Memories of Babur, 538
Menander, 107, 147, 276, see also Millinda
Mencius, 339, 341, 355-358, 359, 387, 388
Meng, 359
Meng Hsi-tze, 344
Meng K'o, see Mencius
Meng Tzu, see Mencius
Meng Tzu Shu, 340f., 365
Menl, 483
Mera, 301
Meroe, Mount, 169, 203
Mesallero Apaches, 38, 53-59
Meshed, 65
Mesolithic epoch, 23, 28
Mesopotamia, 69, 69, 103, 124, 127, 471, 484, 509, 530
Mesozoic epoch, 24
Messenger Fly, see Dootso Messiah, 503
Metarya, 196
Mewar, 463, 476
Mexico, 60
Mezquita, La, 527
Middle Country, 135
Middle East, 67
Middle Gate, 313
Middle Kingdom of Egypt, 103, 391, 407
Middle Persian language, 75
Middle Pleistocene, 25
Mihir Yasht, 99
Mihira, 173
Mihirakula, 159
mihrab, 506, 509, 521, 522, 553
Mihrnarsch, 118
Millinda, 107, 276-278, see also Menander
Millinda Panha, 241, 276, 277, 278
Millinda, Questions of, see Millinda Panha
Minor, see Mineans
Minamoto, 451
minbar, 498, 508
Mines, 470
Minean inscriptions, 483
Mineans, 470, 471, 475f.
Mingalazedi, 300
Ming Dynasty, 379
Ming Period, 418
Ming Ti, 308, 364, 403
Minni, see Man, kingdom of
Minor Rock Edicts of Asia, 261, 262
Mth Ali Shir Nawa'i, 533, 534
Mfraj Namah, 533
Mis'ar ibn Muhshal, Abu Dulf, 117
Mischeus, 150, see also Mazdean
Mi-shih-ke, 373, see also Mestiah
Mishakatu-I-Masabah, 493
Mishraganasthana, 212
Mississippi, 461
Mitanni, 68
Mithila, 195, 196
Mithayatva, 211
Mithyavagamasthana, 212
Mithra, 69, 98, 99, 100, 109, 111, 116, 131
Mithradates I, 108, 109
Mithradates II, 110
Mitra, 69, 69, 99, 131
Mo Ti, 356, 357
Mo Tzu, 353, 354, 355, 388
Moobites, 480
Moad, 81
Modern Persian language, 75
Moggallana, 257, 316
Mogul, see Moghal
Mohan Nanda, 211
Mohenjo-daro, 122, 123-125, 127, 150, 163, 285
Mohissa, 353, 356
Mohist doctrines, 350
Mohist school, 359
Moksha, 310f.
Molard, Commandant, 32
Molard, Jules, 32
Molard, Paul, 32
Mommu, 434
Momoyama Period, 455-460
Momozono, 434
Mon race, 300
Mongolia, 308, 317
Mongoloid race, 26, 300, 421
Mongols, 379, 517, 528, 530, see also Mughal
Monolith Inscription, see Shalmaneser III
Mononobe, 312, 442
Monophysite Christianity, 454
Montespan, 34, 35
Montgomery, 123
Montignac, 34
Montoku, 434
Moon and the Hare, 41
Moon upon the Snow, 458
Moore, George Foot, 90
Morisys, 235, 259
Moses, 457, 488, 502; Law of, 488, see also Torah
Moslems, see Muslims
Mosque of Al-Azhar, 525
Mosque of 'Ams, 524
Mosque of Ibn-Tulun, 324f.
Mosque of Qa'it-bay, 529
Mote Halls, 235
Mother Goddess, 128
Moteobi, 459, 460
Mount of the Lord, see Kuh-I-Khwaja

[585]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mountain Brook, 417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountain Landscape with Blossoming Trees, 417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountain People, 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountain Spirits, 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moustierian Age, 25, 26, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moustier, Le, 28, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouthe, Le, 31, 35, 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mshatta, 515f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su zdhdhin, 499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu`awiyyah, 511, 522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mugellina, 303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mud-Earth-Lord, 427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muddasir, 284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mughal, 537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mughal Empire, 538-540, 555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad, 180, 462, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 492, 494-507, 508, 510, 511, 517, 518, 531, 532, 533, 537, 560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Ghor, 181, 538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad ibn-`Amir, 518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad ibn-Mahmud al-Amuli, 490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-hu-fu, 407, 408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu<code>iz ibn-Badis, al-</code>, 523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukarrif, 471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muskha, 554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukocho, 511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukta, 196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulasuttas, 188, see also Mulasuttas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulasuttas, 188, see also Mulasuttas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maljang, 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muntaz-i-Mahal, 539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munusuvra, 189, 190, see also Suvarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munivisshabhyudaya, 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muqaddasi, al-, 513, 514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murakami, 434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muromachi Period, 453f., 458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūsām, Muslims, 119, 180, 181, 461-535, 545, 546, 457, 549, 550, 552, 557, 558, see also Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim invasions, 173, 175, 179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim Period in India, 538-540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim theory of evil, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musned, 492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munad of Ahmed ibn-Hanbal, 492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu`tazim al-, 520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu`tawakkil al-, 520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muttra, 145, 286, see also Mathura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mura, 467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mylapore, 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myoshi, Empress, 434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myson, 167, 174, 175, 216, see also Maisur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mystic Jewel, Honored of Heaven, see Tao Chün</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebatseil, see Nabateans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabatean state, 482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabateans, 496, 467, 479-481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabonidus, see Nabonaid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabopolassar, 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabunaid, 484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadidha, 267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadodha Bahushastika-Mountains, 269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na`fis al-Fumun, 490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naga, Nagas, 227, 269, 301, 302, 303, 316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagara, 174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nagari, 302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagare, 447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagari, 144f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagarjuna, 246, 247, 280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagasena, 278, 277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagin Das, 232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagini, 301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naka-mikado, 434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakatomi, 312, 442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naku-shima, 449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakula, 454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nal, 542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nalka Sutta, 249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nalanda, 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nama karna, 211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nand, 452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nami, 139, 190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanaia, 481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanak, 541, 542, 545, 548-553, 554, 561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanapavaya, 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nan-Chung Ching-shu, 344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanda Period, 141, 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandas, 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandl, 151, 169, 186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandyavarta, 190, 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nankana Sahib, 548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanking, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nan-k'ou Pass, 382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naqqish-Rajab, 114, 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naqqish-Rustam, 74, 93, 101, 114, 115, 116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nara, 313, 436, 447, 449, 452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nara Period, 442-446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namshhadvarman II, 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narayan, 545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narayana, 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narbada River, 260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narshe, 115, 116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasa'i, al-`, 492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naskiy, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasir, al-, 528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naskhi writing, 491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasks, 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nata, 194, see also Naya, Jastri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nataputta, Nataputtas, 194, 197, 198, see also Jatriputas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natara, 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natha, 548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Museum at Bangkok, 301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Research Institute of History and Philology, 319, 321, 331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natvern, 543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nava, 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navaho, Navahos, 38, 48-53, 59, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navaho Creation Myth, 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navahó, 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naya, 194, see also Nata, Jastri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nayadhampakahao, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazm al-Jawahir, 533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neander valley, 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neandertal man, 26, 27, 29, 30, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near East, 373, 528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nefud, 461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negrito, 38, 40, 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negroid, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nehavend, 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nehemiah, 466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nejd, 461, 482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemi, 190, 230, see also Ariszatameni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nestochandra, 157, 225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neminatha, 331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neminatha temple, 293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neo-Confucianism, 378, 379, 412, 416</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

Neolithic Age, 25, 29, 66, 122, 318ff., 320, 330, 420, 424

Neo-Persian empire, see Sassanian period
Nepal, 247, 249
Nepal, 315
Nera,Jara, 253
Ner, 481
Nestorian Christianity, 373, 484, 530
Nestorian Monument, 373ff., 407
Nettipakarana, 241
New Delhi, 537
New Guinea, 21, 22
New Kingdom in Egypt, 103
New Mexico, 48, 53, 60
New Testament, 487
New York City, 21, 22
New Zealand, 22
Newark, 22
Newark Museum, 22
Newcomb, Franc J., 51
Ngasong, 26
Nî, 343
Nîsî, 32, 33, 35
Nîbbh, 248, see also Nirvana
Niche of the Lamps, see Mishkato-l-Masabih
Nichiren, 314
Nidana-kathâ, 250, 251, 252, 253, 267, 284
Niebuhr, Carsten, 409
Nîgarthas, 197, 198, see also Nirgranthas
Nîhûngî, 425, 432-435, 439, 447, 448
Nihon-shoki, see Nihongi
Nîko, 434
Nîkaciti, 211
Nîkayas, 237
Nîkko, 456f.
Nîkko shrines, 458
Nilagiri, 220
Nilaja, 253
Nilalâkṣa, 203
Nîle River, 44, 96, 466
Nîle valley, 123
Nîminyo, 434
Nine Categories of Jainism, 207-211
Nîneveh, 72
Nîneken, 433
Nîntoku, 433

Nîsurta, 103
Nîrāvālīsya, 185
Nîrgranthas, 197, see also Nîgarthas
Nîrjara, 210
Nîrmanda, 205
Nîrmanda-kaysa, 280
Nîru, 546
Nîrîv, 191, 193, 197, 204, 214, 218, 245, 253, 255, 279, 280, 283, 295, 298, 316
Nîshapar, 519
Nîshkâshaya, 205
Nîshpalka, 205
Nîshi, 185
Nîtu-ku, 309
Nîya, 306
Nîyamsara, 187
Nîyathâdârâgumsthana, 212
Nîo, 453
Noah, 477, 487, 502
Nomads, 488, see also Bedouin
Norito, 445f.
Norm Wheel, 429
Northern Gate at Sanchi, 270
Nunaki-iri-hime-no-miko-to, 438
Nush Aza, 88, 89
Obedience, see Srasna
Ocean, 38
Ocean-Possessor, 431
Ochus, see Artaxerxes III
Ochus
Oda Nobunaga, 455
Odins, Ulrich, 432, 453
Ogmisheu, 434
Oh-Awful-Lady, 427
Oh-kami-nushi-no-kami, 439
Oh-so-Sâzaki, 429
Ojin, 433
Old Delhi, 537
Old Master, see Lao Tzu
Old Perisan, 73, 96
Old Philosopher, see Lao Tzu
Old Stone Age, 24, 25, 28, 38, 65, 127
Old Testament, 94, 476, 480, 487
Oljaitu, 530, 532
Om, 136

Oman, 481; people of, 486
Omanite, see Oman, people of
Omiyano, 440
Omman, 463
Onogoro, 428
Ophir, 463
Opler, Morris Edward, 56
Oracle Bones of China, 327-329
Oracle of the Sea God, see Watatsumio Daimyojin
Oregon, 48
Ordos, 18
Origin of Death, The, 41
Original Beginning, Honored of Heaven, see Yû-an Shih Tien Tsun
Orissa, 174, 176; Caves of, 220f.
Orissan temples, 177
Osaka, 315, 455
Ottoman Turks, 520, 528
Oudh, 135, see also Oosala
Ouranos, 131
Ox-soul, 90, 91
Oxus, 101
Oxus River, 511
Oyashiro-zukuri, 440

Pabbajja Sutta, 249
Paccakkhanappavaya, 183
Pacific coast line, 317
Pacititia, 237
Pandaria, 249
Padmâsâya, 208
Padmaâsâya, 205
Padmapanxi, 293, 314
Padmaprabha, 188, 190
Padmasambhava, 315, 316
Paesi, 183
Pagan, 209
Pagoda, 313
Pahlava, Pahlavas, 108, 147
Pahlavi, 75, 76, 83, 101, 106, 109
Paimnas, 185, see also Prakma
Pajjota, 234
Pakistan, 121
Palaces of Delight in Buddhism, 310
Palampet, 175
Palas, 173
Palembang, 304
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Paleoanthropus palesi</em>-nenai, 28, 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paleolithic Period, 25, 29,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30, 35, 36, 37, 66, 122,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318, 420, 422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paleozoic epoch, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine, 28, 127, 508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pali canon, 238, 243, 280,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pali noncanonical books, 241f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pali Writings, 239f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palithotha, see Pataliputra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patitana, 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pallava, 167, 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmyra, 481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palya, 191, see also paleopolis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palyopama, 191, see also paleopolis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pan Keng, 337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P'An Keng, 321, 328, 330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pan Ku, 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panavaya, 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pancakappa, 186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pañcenciḍiya jīvas, 208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panchala, Panchalas, 135, 153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panchatākayasara, 187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panchatantra, 159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pandava, 153, 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pandita, S., 190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pandu, 153, 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panharavaranānaśī, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panini, 129, 148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panipat, 538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panśabhumi, 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panśavana, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pao P'u Tse, 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papa, 195, 196, 209, see also Pava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāpāk, 112, 113, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papapuri, 196, see also Pāvapuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papua, Gulf, 21, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paradise, 90, 593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paradise of Shaka, see Sakyamuni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parājika, 237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paramara, 173, see also Pāwars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paramān, 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paramān Mountain, 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paramara, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārīharas, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partñavāna, 283, 307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parīรkāntaparva, 187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parīvarapatha, 237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parījanya, 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parkham, 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parmananda, 542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārśa, 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārśamāsa, see Pārśamāsh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārśas, 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārśa, 69, 73, see also Persians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persians, 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārśa, 185, 190, 192f., 194, 197-202, 210, 222, 228, 278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parīvanatha, 189, 223, 229, see also Pārśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārśa, 84, 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian elements in the religion of Palmyra, 481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian frontier, 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian Period, 108-111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persians, 107, 112, 147, see also Arsacids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārāvati, 163, 169, 171, 175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāsa, 105, 185, see also Pārśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāsargadā, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasenadī, 234, 257, 268, 269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pataliputra, 141, 142, 149, 147, 158, 182, 183, 217, 218, 234, 260,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204, see also Pātīna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pātīla, 141, 142, 143, 149, 158, 182, 183, 217, 218, 234, 260, 204,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see also Pātīna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pātīla, Council of, 183, 217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patshas, 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pātīmokkha, 237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pātīsamabhādamagga, 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patna, 260, 264, see also Pataliputra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patron of Travelers, see Kshitiṣgarbha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pātindakal, 168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāthana, 241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pātunāpura, 228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pātuśva, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāva, 196, 197, 235, 255, see also Pāva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāvapuri, 196, see also Pāvapuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paviland, Wales, 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawar, Pāvars, 173, 225, see also Paramān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pearly Azure, see Yuh T'sing                                          |
Pedhala, 205                                                          |
Pēipēng, 25, 333, 376                                                 |
Pekche, 311, 312, 313                                                 |
Pekeng, 25, 379, see also Peiping                                   |
P'ēng Lai, 394                                                        |
Pennsylvania, University of, 177, 491                                  |
People-Who-Came-Up, see Ḥahjinaḥ-dinneḥ                              |
Peripatos of the Erythraean See, The, 467, 468, 476                   |
Persepolis, 66, 68, 74, 81, 84, 97, 102, 103, 105, 106, 107           |
Persia, 67, 68, 96, 103, 107, 112, 117, 119, 455, 468, 503, 509, 518, |
530, 554                                                              |
Persian empire, 94, 102, 484                                          |
Persian government, 68                                               |
Persian Gulf, 65, 109, 467, 478                                       |
Persian inscriptions, 83                                             |
Persian painting, 531-535                                             |
Persian Qur'an, 491                                                  |
Persians, 69, 72, 73f., 100, 104, 118, 374, 517                      |
Persica, 84                                                           |
Persis, 88, see also Fars                                            |
Peshawar, 151, 278, 285, see also Pūrūśapura                        |
Petakopadesa, 241                                                    |
Petavatthu, 240, 241                                                  |
Petra, 466, 467, 475, 480, 481                                       |
Peukelaotis, 285, see also Pūkhaḷavati                               |
Peyrony, D., 31                                                       |
Pharnabōz, 528                                                       |
Pheasant Mound, see Tu-rang Tepe                                     |
Phihellelenses, 109                                                  |
Phillips, Wendell, 473, 475                                          |
Philostorgius, 477f.                                                  |
Philostratus, 149                                                    |
Phimneankas, 302                                                    |
Photios, 84                                                           |
Phracetes, see Fravartish                                            |
Pf, 331                                                              |
Piette, Edouard, 31                                                  |
INDEX

Pillar Edicts of Añoka, 218, 262, 263, 264
Pindanâjájati, 186
P’ing, 332
Pipa, 542, 546
Pippalavallana, 235, 259
Pîr Sâyîd Ahmad, 534
Pîr ū (Pharnôh), 483
Pisa, 525
Pissaref, S., 491
Pitêkas, 236, 279
Pithâncanthorpus erectus, 25, 26
Place of the Dead, see Mohenjo-daro
Plain of High Heaven, 427, 428, 429
Plato, 77
Pleasant- Reed-Shoot-Prince-Elder-Delty, 427
Pleistocene epoch, 34, 25, 122
Pliny the Elder, 77, 110, 473, 476
Plutarch, 77, 278
Po-hisa, 343
Polcennaruwa, 299
Polynesian, 19
Pong Tûk, 300
Poona, 148, 274
Portuguese, 150, 169
Porushasp, 85, 86
Poseidon, 111
Pottilla, 205
p’ou, 325
Power, see Te
Prabhâ, 193
Prabhassa, 196
Prabhâta, 543
pradaksina patha, 265
Prâjapati, 133
Prâśása-Paramitas, 245, 246
Prâkrànas, 185
Prâkrit, 183, 263
Pramattagnsthana, 212
Prasenajj, 268, see also Pasenâdi
Prâśivasudevas, 204
Prâyâga, 158, see also Al-lahabad
Prâyâng for Harvest, 445
Pre-Aryan Period, 129-128
Pre-Challean epoch, 25
Prehistoric Art, 30-37
Presterite men, religion of, 38-64
Preserved Books, see Shu Ching
Prussische Staatsbiblio-
thek in Berlin, 129
Primary geologic age, 24
Primitivism, 3-64
Prince-Ilcăeear-Rudy-
Plenty, 490, 431, see also Ame-
nigishi-kami-nig-
âshi-ama-tsu-hi-daka-
-hiko-ho-no-ni-mig-i-

mikoto
Prince-Wave-Limit-Brave-
Cormorant-Thatch-
Meeting- Incompletely,
428, 431, see also Ama-
tsu-hi-daka-hiko-nagisa-
tako-u-guya-fuki, aheru
no-mikoto
Prâśénâj, 195
Prathâvira, 173
Prone, 269
Prophet’s Mosque, see Masjîd al-Nabî
proto-Malay, 421
proto-Naza, 442
proto-Sinaic symbols, 469
Prithu, 158
Prithivi, 132, 133, 134
Psalms, 502
Ptolemy, Ptolemies, 468, 528
Pedrala, 209
Pueblo Indians, 59, 60
Puggalapannâti, 241
Puluga, see Billik
Punjab, 107, 122, 123,
128, 133, 147, 158, 176,
179, 265, 238, 541, 561
Punt, 403, 463
Punja, 209
Puppahcolan, 185
Puppahyao, 185
Purâna, Purânas, 161-163,
164, 176, 545
Puri, 177
Purâsadânya, 192
Puru, 227
Purâdeva, 229
Purushapura, 151, 247,
278, see also Peshawar
Purushartha Siddhyupaya, 205
purva, 191
Purva Mimansa-Sutras, 160
Purvas, see Puvvas
Pushkalavati, 235, see also Peulkelactis
Pushpadanta, 190, see also Suvighi
Pushyamitra, 147, 265
Puvvas, 182, 183, 185
Pygmies, 35, 39, 40
Fyongyang, 311
Pyrenees, 32, 33
Qahir al-Falak, 524, see also Cairo
Qahirah, al-, 524, 525
Qu’it-bay, 528
Qalawun, 528
Qara Shahr, 303
qare’a, 486
Qashâb, al-, 471
Qatabanians, 466, 471, 475, see also Catabani-
ans, Kittibani
Qayrawan, al-, 522-524
Qibla, 488, 498, 509, 509
Qizil, 506
Quatangery Age, 24
Quaid, 484
Quina, La, 27
Quromana, see Church of the Holy Sepulcher
Qurash, 484, 485, 496, 497
Qur’an, 470, 472, 482,
483, 485, 486-492, 494,
495, 496, 499, 500, 501,
504, 505, 509, 512, 524,
529, 531, 546
Qusayr’Amrah, 515, 520,
531
Qutb Minar, 536
Qutb-ud-din, 537
Qutb-ud-din Abak, 181, 530
Quwwatul-Islam, 536
Rah’ul-Khaliti, 461
Rachamalla IV, 225, 228, see also Rajamalla IV
Rad, 542
Ragh, 86
Raga, 543
Rai, 86
Rai Babur, 551
Rai Bular, 549
Raidan, 472, 476, 477, see also Saphar

[ 589 ]
INDEX

Rajagaha, 237, see also Rajagriha
Rajagriha, 141, 195, 196, 234, 257, 258, 271, 307
Rajamalla IV, 225, 227, see also Rachamallla
Rajarastra, 174
Rajarastravara temple, 174
Rajasimha, see Narasimha
Paravanam II
rajju, 191
Rajputana, 145, 173, 176, 230, 231
Rajput, 173
Rakshas, 500
Ram Das, 555f.
Ram Kambheng, 300, 301
Rama, 132, 156, 162, 545, 546
Ramachandra, 162
Ramadan, 500, 514
Ramagama, 235, 259
Ramana, 542, 545f.
Ramayana, 161, 178f., 294, 542, 545
Rama-with-the-ax, 173, see also Parsonsama
Ramayana, 130, 132f., 156, 162, 168, 175, 176
Ramdaspar, see Amritsar
Ramkali, 543
Ramnurwa, 263
Ramsur, 556
Rangoon, 300
Raniká Naur, 221
Ramji Singh, 561, 562, 563
Rano-raraku, 23
Rampr, 231
Rapa Nui, see Easter Island
Rapti River, 257
Rashed, al-, see Harun al-Rashid
Rashed-al-Din, 532
Rashtrakutas, 167, 168, 226
Ratna-Traya, 205
Ravana, 152, 153, 169
Ravri River, 122, 123, 548, 551, 557, 563
Ravidas, 542, 546
Ravindranath, 34
Rayopasana, 185
Rayapur, see Tankana Sahib
Ravy, see Rai
Record of Ancient Things, see Keishi
Record of Western Countries, see Si-yu-ki
Red Sea, 96, 466, 467, 470
reed-Plain-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-ears, 434
Reigen, 434
Reikai, 434
Research Institute for the Morphology of Civilization, see Forschungsinstitut für Kulturmorphologie
Resurrection, Day of, 487
Revati, 196
Revelation of the Good Religion in Lanka, see Saddharma-Lankavatara Sutra
Reward, see Ashi
Rhages, see Rai
Rhammanitae, 476
Rhadesia, Northern, 28
Rhodesian man, 28
Rice-thief, see Chang Tso-Ling
Richa, 493
Rig-Veda, 99, 130, 131, 132, 135, 162
Rihan Muhammed, Abu, see Biruni, al-
Rjapalika, 195
Rimaji, 457
Rio Grande valley, 60
Rishabha, 188, 190, 191, 204, 226, 229, 232
rishi, rishis, 129, 249
Ritual Bronzes of China, 324-327
Riviere, Emile, 31
Riyadh, 462
Rizmiyeh, 88
Rock Edicts of Aoka, 230, 260f., 262f., 264
Rock-Cave of Heaven, 438, 439, 443
Rohit, 122
Rokujo, 434
Roman Catholicism, 247
Roman empire, 100, 106, 112
Roman expedition, 476
Roman temple, 513
Roman towers, 514
Roman-Parthian war, 112
Romans, 108, 462, 466, 481
Rome, 110, 364
Rotenstein, William, 170, 291
Russi, 84
Ruanwell dagoba, 297
Rubicon, 32
Rudra, 182
Rukilaye, 503
Rupi, 209
Rusafah, 526
Russia, 26, 74, 491, 530
Rusty, 159
Ryokuu Shinto, 444f., 457
Ryukyu, 419
Saba, 463, 466, 470, 472, 476, 477
Sabaei, see Sabean
Sabaite, 468
Sabata, 467, 473, see also Shabwana
Sabath, 180
Sabbath, 468
Sabean inscriptions, 453
Sabean kingdom, 476
Sabean, 463, 466, 470-473, 475, 476, 480
Sabeco-Himyarite Period, 449-451
Sabote, 473, see also Shabwana
Sabuktingin, 179, 536
Sacca-pavaya, 183
Sachchitane, 466
Sacred Mosque, 505, 506, 516
Sacred Rock, 496, 511, see also Sakraka, as-
Sa'd, ibn-, 494, 497
Sadakshari, 316
Saddharma-Lankavatara Sutra, 245
Saddharma-pundarika, 245
Sadhu, 542
Sa'diatli Qurayn, 479
Sadjojata, 170
Sage, 434
Sagala, 276, 277
Sagara, 191, see also sagarapama
Sagarapama, 191, see also sagara
[590 ]
INDEX

Sage of the Sakayas, see Sakya Muni
Saheth-Maheth, 257, see also Sastavati
saheth, 405
Sahl Bishr ibn-Abdun Bishr, 421
Bashar al-Isfara’I, Abu, 517f.
sahih, 521
Sahure, 462
Sa’id, Abu, 530
Sailendra dynasty, 304
Saime, 434
St. Petersburg Public Library, 491
Saint Thomas, Mount, 150
Sainu, 542, 546
Salvus, 144, 178
Salvite, Hinduism, 229, 315
Saka Era, 197
Sakaki tree, 429
Sakala, 159
Sakas, 107, 147, 220
Saketa, 234, 238
Sakhra, a-, 511, 512, see also Dome of the Rock
Sakiyas, 249
Sakiyas, 235, see also Sakayas
Sakka, 267
Sakra, 183, 193, see also Indra
Sakti, Saktis, 127, 164, 315, 316
Saktism, 127
Sakuramachi, 434
Sakya Muni, 249, 313, 314, see also Buddha
Sakya, 197
Sakya, 235, 249, 259
Sal, 542
salat, 499
Saled, 208
Salhin, 471, 472
Saljuk, 502
Salma, Abu, 518
Salt Sea, see Lavanasamudra
Salt Woman, see Ashen-as-sun
Sama, 481
Sama-Veda, 129
Samancl, 205, 248, see also dhva
Saradhiraja, 245
Samaga, 195
Samagama, 197
Samana, Samaras, 194, 271, 272, see also Samanas
Samantabhada, 245, 309
Samarkand, 106, 491, 530, 533
Samarkand Keisie Qur’an, 491
Samarra, 518, 520-521, 531
Samavaya, 183
Samayatasara, 187
Samvat, 548, 552
Samhala, 537, 558
Samanhava, 188, 190
samhanga-kaya, 250
Samkarsha, 145
Sammeta, Mount, 193, see also Parasath Mountain
Samprati, 219, 220
Samsara, 139f., 178, 181, 185, 195, 207
Samsari, 207
Samth, 463
Samthara, 185
Samvaka, 205, 210, 310
Samsudragupta, 158
Samyutta Nikaya, 238, 258, 268
San Francisco, 22, 301
San Huang Ti, 381
San Juan, valley of, 59
San’s, 469, 475, 477
Sanchi, 269, 270-273, 274, 292
Sandrocottas, 142, see also Chandragupta
Sangdui, 316
Sangha, 216, 257
sangharoopa, 274
Sanjo, 454
Sankara, 136, 161, 171f., 178, 247, 294
Sankhasataka, 196
Sanskrit, 75, 121, 129, 131, 183, 241, 517
Sanskrit writings of Buddhism, 242-247
Santander, 30
Santipur, 190, 226
Santibhattacharya, 226
Santisathna, 189
Santisathna Temple, 232, see also Nalin Das
Santokhsar, 558
Saphar, 468, 476, see also Haidan, Zafar
Sarang, 543
Saranu, 183
Sarasvati, 204, 220, 232
Sardis, 104
Sargon, 72, 463, 470
Sariputra, 257, see also Sariputta
Sariputta, 257, 316, see also Sariputra
Sarath, 254, 239f.
Sarmath Museum of Archaeology at Benares, 259
Sarvanabhuti, 205
Sarvartha, 206
Sarvarthsiddha, 206
Sarvastivada, 243, 244, 247
Sarvastivadins, 243, 279
Sasaki Utsato, 457, see also Sawada Genshi
Sasan, 112
Sasanadevata, 204, see also Yaksi
Sasanian art, 306
Sasanian empire, 152
Sasanian Pahlavi, 114
Sasanian Period, 112-120
Sasanians, 67, 80
Sasanid rock reliefs, 368
Savasadanagarasastha, 212
Sat, 153, 134
Sat Nam, 552
Satakriti, 205
Satan, 496
Satapatha-Brahmanas, 163
sat, 535
Satianmu, 563
Satisfied Gods, see Tushita
Satna, 266
Satrapes, 481
Satrumaja, 229f.
Satta, 212
Saua, 463
Saud, 462
Saustr Arabia, 462
Saumya, 193
Savaitli, 234, 237, 258, see also Sravasti
Savignac, Père, 476
Sawada Genshi, 457
Sawdah, 497
Sawm, 500

[ 591 ]
INDEX

Sayogikevalgunsanhastha, 213
Sayyid, 537
Scandinavia, 35
Scéne, see Bedouins
Schmidt, Erich F., 67
Schmidt, Wilhelm, 20
Scholar Gazing at the Moon, 416
School Conversations, see Chia Yü
Scythia, 468
Scythians, 72, 147, see also Sakas
Scytho-Persians, 148
Sea-Plains, 431
Second Emperor, 362, see also Erh Huang Ti
Second Interregal Period, 26
Second World, 50
Secondary geologic age, 24
Secret of the Golden Flower, see T'ai I Chin Hua Tsung Chih
Selu, 433
Seinel, 433
Selwa, 434
Sela, Selah, 480, see also Petra
Seleucia, 107, 109
Seleucid Era, 82
Seleucid kings, 105-107
Seleucids, 108, 109
Seleucus I Nicator, 107, 142
Self-Curling, see Onogoro
Seljuk, see Seljuq
Seljuq, Seljuq, 520, 528
Seljuq Period, 491
Semerkhet, 402
Semitic languages, 463
Senas, 173
Sensa, 434
Sennacherib, 463
Sconl, 311
Sephar, see Saphar
Serdabs, 520
Sesshu, 454, 458
Seventh Heaven, 496
Seven Jewels of Buddhism, 316
Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, 398
Sha Ch'iu, 395
Shaiban, 492
Shabderz, 119
Shabwa, 473
Shah Jahan, 539, 540, 538
Shah Namah, 79, 80, 88, 179
Shah Rukh, 532, 533, 537
Shahs, 490
Shahsbarghi, 263
Shahpsahar, see Shapur I
Shahrastani, 86, 101
Sh'ib, 502
Shakh Farid, 542
Shakir, Ibn, 514
Shaku-rishongi, 432
Shalmaster III, 69, 103;
    Monolith Inscription of, 493
Shams, 471
Shams-ud-din Ilutmish, 530
Shamash, 90, 471, 481
Shang Period, 321-329, 330, 331, 333, 335, 337, 341
Shang Shu, 336, see also Shu Ch'eng
Shang Sung, 337
Shang Ti, 328, 341, 355
Shang Ts'ing, 401
Shanghsal, 317
Shangsi, 342
Shan-hai-ching, 421
Shansi, 333, 399, 404
Shantung, 333, 356, 368, 401, 403, 404
Shawwu, 376
Shapigan, treasury of, 105, 106, 113
Shapur (city), 115
Shapur I, 113, 114-116
Shapur II, 116
Shapur III, 116
Shara, dhu'al-, 480
Sharabishya, ash-, 514
Shastar Nam Mala, 544
Shatrotho'i-Airan, 108
Shayast la-shayast, 76
She, 350
Sheba, see Saba
Sheba, Queen of, 470
Shem, 477
Shen, 368
Shen, 436, see also Shen
Shensi, 333, 374, 404
Shih, 356
Shih Chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien, 343, 344, 345, 346, 353, 355, 362, 380, 389, see also Ssu-ma Ch'ien
Shih Ch'eng, 337f., 385
Shih Ch'un, 340, 360-363, 364, 365, 366, 393, 394, 395, 411
Sh'ih-te, Sh'ih-te, 518, 524
Shikung-gumanik Vijar, 76
Shiki, 452
Shikoku, 419
Shimmei-zukuri, 441
Shimo-kamo-no-jinsha, see Kamo-no-miyoa-no-jinsha
Shim-on, 458
Shin, 314
Shin, 436, see also Shen
Shingon, 314, 449
Shinto, 419-480
Shinto Shrines, 437-439
Shiprock, 50
Shir Shah, 533, 554
Shirahata Shrine, 451
Shiragi, 311, see also Silla
Shirakawa, 434
Shittenois, 313
Shiz, 85, 86, 116-118, 119
Shodo Shoson, 456
Shoko, 434
Shomu, 434, 445
Shotoku, 434
Shotoku Taishi, 433, 442
Shrine of Guru Arjun, 503
Shrine of Iyemitsu, see Daitoku-ji
Shryock, John K., 365
Shu, 356, 377
Shu Ch'eng, 336f., 365
Shukaymin, 479
Shu-Liang Ho, 343, 344
Shwe Dagon Pagoda, 300
Si, 317
Si Kiang, 317
Silkott, 276, see also Sanga, Sakala
Siam, 281, 301, see also Thailand
Si-an, 361, 368, 373
Si-an-fu, see Si-an
Sivakaksh, 108
Siddha, Siddhas, 196, 206, 207, 209, 211, 213, 217, 548
Siddhatro, 211
Siddharaja, 173, 225
Siddharta, 193, 233

[ 592 ]
INDEX

Siem Reap River, 302
Sifatu Jazrat al-'Arab, 469
Shasanikha, 223
Sikandar Lodi, 546
Sikander, 537, see also Alexander the Great
Sikandra, 539
Sikh Scriptures, 541-544
ślhdara, 169, 176, 177, 231
Sikhism, 598-593
Sikhism, Monuments of, 592-593
Sikhs, 536-536
Silil, 311, 312, 521
Silpa-Sastras, 174
Simhala, see Ceylon
sindhasana, 286
Sin, 471, 474, 483
Sinai, Mount, 482, 483
Smantramupan pekeinasa, 25, 20, 27, 318
Sind, 107, 122, 123
sinjalu, 121
Sinking, 305-306, 317, 304
Sioux, 13
Sir, 543
Siraku, 148, 149
Sirpur, 168
Sirsa, 148
Sirwah, 470, 471
Sistan, 107, 111
Sisunaga Period, 141, 215, 234f.
Sita, 152, 206, 545
Sitajambhala, 316
Sitata, 188, 190
Sitataptra, 316
Sitihila, 211
Sittannavasal, 224
Siva, 111, 127, 128, 132, 144, 151, 162, 163, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 175, 177, 179, 181, 225
Six Dynasties Period, 370f., 375, 383, 398-402, 411
Sl-ye-ki, 165
Skanadagupta, 158
Slavic language, 120
Slavs, 545
Smith, Charles, 58
Smith, Edwin W., 13
Smith, Vincent A., 285
Smriti, 164
Son valley, 122
Sor-dara, 543
Soga, 312, 442
Sogdian, Early, 367
Sogdiana, 107
Sohila, 226
So-hila, 543
Sokkulam, 311, 312
Sokpala, 312
Solanki, Solankis, 173, 225
Solo man, 28
Solo River, 28
Solomon, 463, 470
Solutern epoch, 25, 29
Some, 69, 132, 162, 301
Somaland, 463
Somavamsi dynasty, 174
Somnath, 179
Son of Brahma, see Brahma-putra
Son of Heaven, see T'ien Tsu
Son River, 142, see also Eranmobeas River
Song of the Blessed One, see Bhagavad-Gita
Song of the Elders, see Thersavada
Songto, 311
Soas of Kings, see Rajputs
Sopara, 263
So-purkha, 543
Sorothi, 543
Sorcery, 52, 53
Sotan, 373, see also Satan
South Seas, 419
Southern Gate at Sanchi, 270
Soviet Government, 491
Sovran, 91
Spain, 30, 39, 511, 517, 528, 528
Spaniards, 48, 59, 455
Sped-dod, 88, see also Asfandiyar
Spente Asmati, 50
Spenta Mainyo, 90, 93
Spento-data, 88, see also Asfandiyar
Spirit of the Great Land of Yamato, see Yamato-no-kuini-kuma
Spitama, Spitamas, 86, 87
Splendor of Gold, see Su-varna-Prabhassa
Spring and Autumn Annals, 332, 334, 338f., see also Chi'un Ch'i
Sramana Keśi, 196, 200, see also Keśi
Sramanas, 143, 143, 194, 196, see also Samanas
Sroka, 90
Srutsa-Sutras, 160, see also Kalpa-Sutras
Sravana Bēlgola, 216, 226-228
Sravasti, 195, 198, 199, 200, 224, 257, 263, 268, 288, see also Savatthi
Srenika, 141, 198, 234, see also Dimbisara
Sreyasams, 188, 190
Sūdhara, 193
Sūrāgam, 178
Sūrvatsa, 190, 191, 224
Srong-btsan-sgam-po, 315
Śrī, 199
Śrucakevalin, 216, 217
Śruti, 164
Śu Śha, 335
Śu-ma Ch'ien, 343, 344, 345, 347, 350, 350, 382, 384, 395, see also Shih Ch'i of Su-ma Ch'ien
Śu-ma Kuang, 378
Stakhar Papakan, 105, see also Persepolis
Stein, Aurel, 364, 364, 377
Sthanavatara, 165, see also Thanesavar
Sthulabhadra, 182
Stone Age, 24, 25, 28, 38, 65, 68, 122, 127, 325, 424
Stone-Floored Chamber, see Isha-ne-ma
Story of the Emergence, 50
Story of the Teacher Kalasha, see Kalakacaryakatha
Strabo, 142, 143, 275, 463, 476
Strauss, Otto, 135
Stupa, 265, see also ha, ha-pu
Subha, 194, see also Sus-hadatta
Subhadatta, 193, see also Subha
INDEX

Subhadda, 252
Succesor of Mahamand, see Caliph
Sudan, 44
Suddhodana, 250
Suddhodana, 250, see also Suddhodana
Sudhana, 245
Sudharma, 214
Sudhavasa, 263
Sudra, Sudras, 139, 160, 168, 180
Suf, 519
Sufi, 518-519
Sugawara Michizane, 448, 451, 452
Sushin, 219
Sahih, 543
Sui Dynasty, 251, 372-375
Suzuko, Empress, 426, 433, 434
Su Xin, 433, 438
Suzici, 493
Sujianzamarsa, 227
Sujin, 433, 437, 439
Sukhavati, 246, 510
Sukhavati Lake, 310
Sukhavati-vyuha, 248
Sukhechel, 300, 301
Sukkur, 122
Sukla-leśya, 208
Sukhamasampyasagunas-thana, 212
Sulaiman, 121, see also Solomon
Sulasa, 196
sult-i-kull, 599
sultan, sh, 528
Sumati, 183, 190
Sumatai, 304
Sume-sa-ala John Yanaf, 471, 472
Sun Temple, 177
Sun-deva, 167
Sundo, 311
Sung, State of, 343
Sung Dynasty, 372-379
Sung Period, 333, 335, 340, 393, 388, 409-418, 455
Sung Shan, 404
Sunga Period, 147-150, 205-275
Sungwong, 518
Sunnah, 518
Sumitoto, 518
Sumiyata, 245
Sunyavasa, 245, 246
Suparna, 188, 190, 205, 222
Supreme Azure, see T’ai Ts’ing
Suq es-Saghir, 506
Sur Das, 542
Suradeva, 205
Surah, 486, 487, 489, 490, 491, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504; Surah II, 487, 490, 491, 502
Surapannati, 185
Suri, 220
Surya, 68, 131, 148, 162, 165, 177, 275
Susa, 66, 67, 68, 98, 104
Sushama, 203, 204, 205
Sushun, 434
Sutlej River, 122, 141, 165, 599
Sutoku, 434
Sutra, Sutras, 160f., 164, 237, 419
Sutracrita, 183, see also Suyaguda
Sutrasamikara, 244, 246
Sutta, Suttas, 237, 238, 254, 277
Sutta Nipata, 238, 240, 249
Suttanta, 248
Suttapitaka, 237-240
Suttavibhanga, 237
Suvama-Prabhava, 245, 246
Suvardha, 188, 190
Suvrata, 190, 205, see also Munisuvrata
Suyagada, 183
Suzakura, 434
Swayambhuramana ocean, 189
Swayamgrabha, 205
Svetaketu, 137, 138
Svetambara, Svetambaram, 183, 188, 197, 214, 217, 218, 219, 222, 231, 232
Svetavatara - Upamishad, 144
Syadvara, 188
Syria, 107, 262, 453, 484, 506, 509, 511, 513, 520, 528, 550
Syriac, 517
Syrian Church of Travancore, 150
Syrian elements in the religion of Palmyra, 481
Syrians, 466
Szechwan, 368, 396
Szu River, 347
Ta Hsüeh, 340, 351
Ta Kiang, see Yangtze Kiang
Ta Wo Wang, 421
Tabari, 105, 106, 116, 118
Tabkarth, 471
Tabriz, 65, 332, 534
Tabu, 19, see also Tupu
Ta-ch’iin, 373, 374, 407
Tacitus, 110
Tahir, 505
Tahmuras, see Takhmorup
T’ai I Chin Hua Tsung Chih, 404-406
T’ai Shan, 401, 404, 412
T’ai Shang Kan Ying Pien, 409
T’ai Ts’ing, 401
T’ai Tsung, 372f., 374, 403
Taif, 482, 483
Talma, see Tema
Talra, 451, 455
Talsho, 435
Taj Mahal, 539, 540
Takakura, 434
Take-haya-susa-wo-wo-no-mikoto, 428, 439, 447
Takemikazuchii-noki-masi, 443, 447
Takhmorup, 79
Takh-i-Sulaiman, 118
Talab River, 65
Talib, Abu, 495, 496, 497
Talwandi, 548, see also Nankana Sahib
Tamavori-hime-wo-mikoto, 431, 452
Tamerlane, see Timur Lang
Tamil inscriptions, 174
Tamsna, 467, 475
Tam, 380, 391, 322
T’an Hsuan Chia, 398
Tanvalavaliyana, 185
Tang, 321, 443
T’ang Dynasty, 361, 372-375, 376, 417

[ 594 ]
INDEX

Titus, 510
T'oson, 310, 311
to, 436, see also Tao
To, 313
Toha, 434
Todai-ji Temple, 444f.
Todi, 543
Tokugawa, 455f.
Tokugawa Ieyasu, 455-457
Tokugawa Iyemitsu, 456
Tokugawa shrines, 457
Tokyo, 419, 455, 456, see also Yedo
Tomaras, 173
Toneri, 432
Tongue, M. Helen, 40
Tosaka, 308
Toske Sen, 302
Torah, 455, 494, 502
Toramaru, 159
toramaru, 295
Tosa Tsunetaka, 452
Tosar, 113
Toshogi Shrine, 456f.
Town of a Hundred Gates, see Hectompylos
Toyo-suki-iri-hime-no-mikoto, 437f.
Toyotomi Hideyoshi, 455
Tranquil River of Heaven, 428
Transjordan, 463, 480, 481
Transtlania, 530
trans, 208
Trasakaya, 208
Travancore, 150
Tree of Enlightenment, see Bodhi Tree
Tria Charitar, 544
Trichinopoly, 178
Trinidadia Jivas, 207f.
trikaya, 280
Trilochan, 542
Trinunti, 162, 164
Trinil, Java, 25, 26
Trinity of Taoism, 413
Trinity of the Three Persons of Buddhism, 413
Tripitaka, 236, see also Tripitaka
Tripylion, 103
Triloka, 193, 233
Trishashatikalapuruhasharitra, 188, 189, 204
Trivikrama, 183
Trogus Pompeius, 108, 110
Trois Frères, 33, 34, 36
Troyan War, 77
Troy, 77
True Guru, 546
True Name, 546
Truly-Conqueror-I-Conquer-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears, see Mass-kakatsu-kachi-hayahami-no-oshi-ho-mimi-no-mikoto
Ts'ai, 346
Ts'ai Lun, 367
Ts'ao, 122
Ts'ao Kuo-chu, 402
Ts'ao T'yan, 393
Tseng Sheh, 339
Tseng-tzu, 339, 340
Ts'in dynasty, 399
Ts'ing Yen Ts'ung Lu, 393
Tso Chuan, 339
Tseng-k'ha-pa, 315
Tsou, 343, 348, 356
Tsuchi-mikado, 434
Tsuchi, 430, see also Kyushu
Tsu, 325, 325
Tsung, 331
T'sung, 334
Tuan-kam, 381
Tuc d'Audoubert, 33, 34, 35
Tughluq, 537
Tukhari, 543
Tukulti-Ninurta II, 103
Tulum, Ahmad ibn-, 524
Tulumids, 522-525
Tunhwang, 305, 308, 309, 310, 314, 364, 396
Tunisia, 522
Turang Tepe, 67
Turandot, 85, 118
Turfan, 308
Tur-k-i-Badr-vakhsh, 89
Turkestan, 557
Turkey, 509
Turkic, Eastern, see Uighur
Turkmans, 89
Turks, 179, 320, 346f.
Tus, 519
Tushita, 271, 316
Tvast, 193
Twins, see Nasayyas

Two Sages and an Attendant Under a Plum Tree, 416f.
Twofold Way of the Gods, see Ryobu Shinto
Tynan, 149
Tylor, Edward B., 11
Tze Kung, 347
Tzu Su, 340, 352, 356
Tzu-kung, 351
Tzu-he, 350
'Ubaydullah al-Mahdi, 324
Uda, 434, 448
Udaipur, 145
Udana, 238
Udaya, 141, 205, 212, 215, 234
Udayagiri, 220
Uighur, 533
Ujain, 143, 158, 219, 220
Ujjayani, 216
Ujemi, 234
'Ula, al-, 475, 476, see also Daydan
Ultimate Reason, see Li
'Umar, 498, 499, 504, 506, 508, 510
'Umar ibn-'Abd al-'Aziz, 497f.
Umasvami, 186, see also Umasvati
Umasvati, 186, see also Umasvami
Umayyads, 511-516, 517, 516, 522
Umayyads of Cordoba, 526-527
Umayyah, 511
Unehli, 492
United States, 461
Universal History, see Jami' at-Tawarikh
University Museum at the University of Pennsylvania, 177, 491
University Library of Copenhagen, 76
Upagupta, 263
Upall, 198
Upall Satta, 198
Upangas, 185, see also Uvangas
Upanishad, Upanishads, 135f., 137, 139, 143, 144, 161, 164, 171, 192

[ 596 ]
INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upaśantamohagunasthāna, 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uppaya, 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Aryan Epoch, 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Azure, see Shang Ts’ing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Magdalenian Period, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Paleolithic epoch, 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Sāngha, 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Uqbah ibn-Nafī’, 522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urartu, 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban II, 528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urnial, Lake, 65, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urniah, 86, see also “Rizailyeh urna, 224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urumiah, 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uravela, 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usa, 444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usbas, 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ushān, 224, 228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ushnishavijaya, 316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ushtavaiti, 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah, 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uṭhman, 469, 504, 508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uṭṭara Mīmamsa-Sutras, 161, see also Vedanta-Sutras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uṭṭarādhyayana, 188, 196, 199, 206f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uṭṭarādhyayanasutra, 232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uṭṭarājñāna, 186, see also Uṭṭarādhyayana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utsarpīṇī, Utsarpīṇī, 203, 204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uvakhshatra, 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uvanga, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uvasagadasa, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uvayāya, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzza al-, 482, 483, 484, 496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzziah, 463, 476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vācita Natak, 543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vādhanu, 543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vahāśito Ishti, 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśiputra-Sutras, 244, 246, see also Dhammas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vairocana, 445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaisakha, 548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśnavas, 174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśnavism, 144, 176, 179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśnavite, 147, 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśya, Vaiśyas, 139, 160, 166, 180, 542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiṣṇagarbha, 245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vakkula, 263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valabhi, 182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valerian, 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valkhash, 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valmiki, 130, 152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vama, 192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vamadeva, 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vamsa, 234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanhidaso, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaniṣṭhama, 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanika Sihaka, 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vora, 290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orasa, 294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varamin, 530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vardhamana, 194, 195, 200, 223, see also Maḥāvira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vardhana, 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orasa, 180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vatsakara, 307, 309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varuna, 68, 69, 131, 133, 134, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaisistha, 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaisistha, 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vastupala, 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasu, 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vashubandhu, 247, 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasudeva, 144f., 147, 151, 204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasudhara, 316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasanmitra, 279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasupūjya, 188, 190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vata, 132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vattagamani Abhaya, 236, 237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vavharana, 186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaya, 132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vayubhuti, 196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veda, Vedas, 129f., 131-134, 136, 143, 144, 164, 545, 548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vedantya karma, 211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vedānta, 161, 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vedānta-Sutras, 161, 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vedhuka, 267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vedi, 548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vedic hymns, 78, 148, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vedic language, 75, 236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vedic literature, 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vedic Period, 129-140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vendidad, 75, 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venus, 471, 483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vesali, 185, 193, 195, 198, 235, 250, 264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vesara, 174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vethadipa, 220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vethadipaka, 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vihanga, 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victor, 159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria Museum at Udaipur, 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidhāsa, 135, 152, 196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidisa, 270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidudabha, 234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viśāra, 148, 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijaya, 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijaṇupavavaya, 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijaṇavanāda, 245, 247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijaṇapāmatrata Trimikā, 247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vikrama Era, 197, 220, 548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vikramaditya, 220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vikramaditya II, 168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vimala, 189, 190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vimala Shah, 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vinasanā, 169, 174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīmasavatti, 240, 241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinasatika, 247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinaya, 277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinavapitaka, 236, 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vindhyā Mountains, 260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vindhyāgiri, 217, 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vira, 189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virahadra, 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viratadhya, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viriyapavavaya, 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vīrtve, see te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virupaksha, 168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishnu, 132, 144, 145, 148, 153, 157, 158, 160, 162, 163, 175, 177, 181, 191, 545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishnu, temple of, see Harimandir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīshnudharmottara, 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīshnus-Sutra, 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīshṭaspa, see Viśṭaspa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viśṭaspa, 83-85, 87, 88, 89, 90, 101, 105, 106, 111, see also Hystaspes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visparād, 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viśuddhimagga, 242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vivagasuya, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vivavant, 133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viyahapannatti, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vohu Khahsha, 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vohu Manah, 87, 90, 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vohuman, 81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

Voce of the Buddha, see Buddhaghosa
Vologases I, 110, 113
Vologases V, 112
Von Grunebaum, Gustave E., 519
Vouru-Kasha, 99
Vritra, 133, 134
Vṛthragnā, 111

Wādī, 428
Wadd, 471, 483
Wadi ‘Amd, 473
Wadi Dana, 472
Wadi el-Arabah, 480
Wadi Haddramaunt, 462
Wadi Ibrahim ibn-Riyah, 520
Wadi ‘Maghara, 462
Wadajk man, 28
Wah Gurūji ki Fatah, 590
Wah Gurūji ka Khalsa, 500
Wahh ibn-Bakiyyah, 518
Wahlguru, 599
Wailing Wall, 496
Wakamiya Shrine, 451
vakṣaṇā, 13
Wales, 29
Waley, Arthur, 337
Walid, al-, 511, 513, 514, 515
Walid, al-, 517
Walli l-Dīn Abu ‘Abd Al-лаh, 483
Wen Chang, 359
Wen Fu Haia, 310
Wang An Shih, 376, 378, 388
Wang Ch’im-jo, 411, 412
Wang Kuo-wei, 320
Wang Mang, 384
Wang Pi, 398
Waqāh’il Nabat, 476
Waqqiṣl, al-, 497
Wanggal, 176
Warongo, 457f.
Warring States, 332, 333, 335, 339, 358, 382, see also Shang Kuo
Washington, D.C., 324
Watsuumi Daisyojuin, 457f.
Way, see Tao
Way of the Gods, see Shinto
Way of the Universe, see Tao
Way of the Warrior, see Bushido
Welfare, see Haurvatat
Wei, 320, 331, 333, 346, 356, 381, 389; River, 330, 361; valley, 331
Wei Tzu, 357
Wen, 331
Wen Ti, 393
Wen-hsi, 399
Western Gate at Sanchi, 270
Western Mother, 328
Western Paradise of Buddhism, 309, see also Sakkhati
Western Pass, 403
Wheel of the Law, 269, 270, see also Dhammacakkha
Wheel of the Norm, 258, see also Norm Wheel
Wheel of Time, see Kalacakra
Wheelwright, Mary C., 50
White Painted Woman, 55, 56
White Village, 467
Wima Kadphises II, 151
Wind and Water, see Feng Shui
Winter Landscape, 454
Wished-for Dominion, see Kshathra Vairya
Witchery, 52, 53, see also Frenzy Witchcraft
Wizardry, 52, 53
Wo, 421
Wobairda, 426
World Chronology of Jainism, 203
World Conquest of Jainism, 205f.
World Renunciation of Jainism, 205f.
World Structure of Jainism, 205f.
Wu Liang, 369
Wu Liang Tzu, 368f.
Wu Tao Tzu, 403f.
Wu Ti, 364, 385
Wu Ting, 328
Wu Tsung, 407, 411
Wu Wei, 383, 384, 393, 394, 398, 401
Wu Yo, 404
Wulsin, Frederick R., 67
Xanthus the Lydian, 77
Xerxes, 74, 77, 83, 84, 97, 98, 102, 103
Yada’l Dhaarih, 471
Yada, 189
Yahwheb, 94
Yajur-Veda, 129, 131
Yaksha, Yakshas, 145f., 200, 204, 226, 266, 270, 273
Yakshi, Yakshis, 145, 204, 223, 226, 232, 266, 270
Yakushi, 456
Yakushi-ji Temple, 449
Yama, 132, 135, 271
Yamaka, 241
Yamantaka, 316
Yamato, 422, 426, 438
Yamato Conquest, 421-425
Yamato-dake-no-mikoto, 438, 439
Yamato-hime-no-mikoto, 438, 439
Yamato-no-o-kuni-dama, 437, 438
Yasni, 133
Yang, 350, 378, 391, 398, 401
Yang Chu, 353, 356, 357, 357f., 359
Yang Shao Ts’un, 318, 319
Yangze Kiang, 317, 332, 362
Yaqub, al-, 511, 520, 521
Yaqut, 88, 117, 483, 521
Yarhibol, 481
Yarim, 477
Yarkand, 306
Yasa, 257
Yasaka-no-jinja, 447
Yasas, 193
Yasna, 75, 89, 91, 92
ILLUSTRATIONS
88. Ceylon Manuscript on Silver Plates, with Text of the Dhammacakkappavattana

89. Column of Aśoka at Lauriya Nandangarh

90. Capital of the Aśoka Column at Sarnath (Copyright reserved by the Archaeological Survey of India)
93. Sculptured Medallions from the Stupa of Barhut
94. Pasenadi-Post of the Southern Gate at the Stupa of Barhut

95. Stone Railing at Buddh Gaya
98. Architraves of the Eastern Gate at Sanchi

99. Facade of the Chaitya Hall at Karli
100. Interior of the Chaitya Hall at Karli

101. Reliquary of King Kanishka

102. Standing Statue of Buddha from Gandhara
103. Head of Buddha from the Gandharan School
104. Gautama as an Emaciated Ascetic

105. Votive Relief from Gandhara
106. Statue of a Bodhisattva from Gandhara
107. The Buddha as Sculptured at Mathura
109. The Buddha as Sculptured at Sarnath (Copyright reserved by the Archaeological Survey of India)

108. Sculptured Slab from Amaravati
110. Veranda of Cave I at Ajanta

111. Fresco of the Great Bodhisattva at Ajanta (By the kind permission of the Archaeological Department, the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad [Deccan], India)
112. Head of the Great Bodhisattva (By the kind permission of the Archaeological Department, the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad [Deccan], India)
113. Mingalazedi Pagoda at Pagan

114. Seated Buddha from Anuradhapura
121. Tower of the Bayon
122. Cambodian Buddha Head

123. Buddha Sheltered by the Serpent
125. Great Terrace of Borobudur
133. Wall Painting of the Paradise of Shaka, in the Golden Hall at Horyuji
134. Tibetan Painting of Gautama Buddha
135. Tibetan Mandala
136. Pottery of the Yang Shao Culture: A Li and a Ting

137. Sherds of Painted Pottery from Yang Shao Ts’un
138. Painted Mortuary Urns of the Yang Shao Period, from Kansu

139. White Pottery Amphora of the Shang Period
140. An Early Bronze Ting of the Shang Period

141. A Bronze Tsun of the Shang Period
142. A Bronze Yu of the Shang Period
145. A Bronze Kuei of the Western Chou Period

146. A Bronze Pilgrim's Bottle in the Huai Style
148. Bronze Winged Dragon of Late Chou Period
149. Jade Pi of the Chou Period

150. Jade Ts'ung of the Chou Period

151. Human Figure in Jade, Chou Period
153. The Tumulus of Shih Huang Ti near Si-an

154. The Great Wall of China
155. Documents of the Han Period Written on Wood

156. A Letter Written on Paper, from the Han Period
157. Painted Pottery Vessel of the Han Period

158. Stone Horse in Front of the Tomb of Ho Ch’ü-ping
166. Scene in the T'ang Copy of the Roll of Ku K'ai-chi

167. Tomb Figures of the T'ang Period
南無道。朝甚除田甚蒸。新下人妨良名。則黃。化窮名。好利。希有。事。道。倉。其。嗚。行。導。則。索。倉。其。憲。

服文緞帶利緩。道德不隨。以滅緣。緣。意。未社。利。也。下。不。積。積。餘。義。之。謂。也。

抱不貳子孫祭祀不軋。能立行於至道之境。則根緣而。

其德能長儲之國。其德能豊儲之天下其德。餘儲之鄉。其德。

順之身。其德能真儲之家。其德。餘儲之邦。其德。

赤子。欲無賊。不貲。貪。族。於。毒。蚊。不。薉。梗。蚊。不。
170. Mirror with Taoist Deities
171. Genii of the Five Holy Mountains

172. The Court of Hades
173. Bronze Statuette with Symbols of the Three Governors

174. Portrait of Lü Tung-pin
175. A Temple among the Snowy Hills

176. Bare Willows and Distant Mountains
179. Two Sages and an Attendant under a Plum Tree
182. Temple Overlooking the Sea

183. Taoist Magicians Preparing the Elixir of Life
184. Chung K'uei, the Exorciser of Demons
185. A Taoist Immortal Ascending to Heaven
186. A Taoist Immortal Seated on the Ground
“A book that is shut is but a block.”

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY
GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book clean and moving.