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## The Tokharians and Buddhism\_\_

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### 1. Introduction : On the Tokharians and the Yuezhi

From the end of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth, a great number of manuscripts in Indo-European languages were discovered in northwest China (mainly in Xinjiang and Dunhuang, Gansu). It has been revealed that the languages in which these manuscripts were written include Gandhari, Pahlavi, Sogdian, Parthian, Khotanese, Tumshuqese, etc. Also found were texts in another ancient Indo-European language, different from the Indo-Iranian languages listed above and written in the Brahmi script. Two dialects of this language, A and B, have been identified. Based on the colophons of Maitrisimit, a famous Buddhist play written in Uighur, F.W.K. Müller, E. Sieg, and W. Siegling named this ancient language "Tokharian" in their works. One of these Uighur colophons, nr. 48, reads:

Nakridi ulu ta to mi Arya intri bodisvt k i acari  
Äntkäktilint[in]... To ri tilin ä yaratmīs II-baliqda to mī  
Prtanyarak it k i a ari To ri tilintin Türk tili ä ävirmi  
Maitri...[si]mit nom bitig.\_\_

W.B. Henning has translated this paragraph into English: The sacred book Maitreya-Samiti which the Bodhisattvavaguru c rya rya candra, who was born in the country of Na-garade a, had composed in the Tw rly language out of the Indian language, and which the guru c rya Praj araksita, who was born in II-baliq, translated from the Tw rly lan-guage into the Turkish language.

During the decades that followed, many scholars have debated hotly on the nomenclature of this language and a series of related historical, geographical and ethnological issues, and especially its relationship to the Yuezhi and Kushan peoples. Most of them hold that the Tokharian dialects A and B are actually Agnean and Kuchean. However, many questions about this theory still need to be resolved, and "Tokharian" as a useful term should not be dismissed.

The extant Tokharian documents date from the period between the sixth and the eighth centuries. However, Tokharian itself is an ancient Indo-European language belonging to the Centum branch, more closely related to Celtic, German, Italian, and Greek than to other languages. This means that an Indo-European people rather than those speaking Eastern Iranian (the Satem branch) entered modern Chinese territory at a very early time. The British scholar T. Burrow, who studied the Kharosthi documents unearthed in Niya, Loulan and Shanshan, pointed out long ago that many grammatical phenomena and the vocabulary of Niya vernacular were close to Tokharian. Therefore, the

residents of the Shanshan state were speaking a Tokharian language which was somewhat different from the later Agnean and Kuchean. That is to say, there existed a third Tokharian dialect, and the Tokharian entry to the Tarim Basin can be traced back to the second and third centuries.

Furthermore, there have been some very important archaeological discoveries in Xinjiang in recent years which may provide new clues to the origin of the Tokharians. For example, in 1979 the Archaeology Institute of the Xinjiang Academy of Social Science excavated forty-two ancient tombs in the lower Kongque River valley, seventy kilometers west of the presently dry Lake Lop-nor. These tombs, which constitute an important site of the Gumugou Culture, date from the Bronze Age, approximately 3,000 before present. The anthropometric studies of the human skulls collected from these tombs have shown that the Gumugou people possessed primitive Caucasoid features and that their physical characteristics had certain similarities with the Nordic or northern European type. Moreover, a large number of mummies has recently been found in Xinjiang. These mummies, of which the oldest date from 4,000 before present, also show Caucasoid features. May we surmise from these facts that, as early as three or four thousand years ago, the Caucasian residents of the Tarim Basin were already in certain ways related to the Tokharian people who came later?

The Yuezhi 月支 people recorded in Chinese histories might be related to the Tokharians. Since the 1970s quite a few scholars have proposed that the Yuezhi were a branch of the Tokharians. Detailed arguments can be found in articles by B. Henning, A. K. Narain, Lin Meicun, and myself.

It is commonly accepted that the "Yuzhi" 禺知 people mentioned in Mu tianzi zhuan [Biography of the Son of the Heaven Mu] 穆天子传, the "Yuzhi" 禺氏 people in the "wanghui" 王会 chapter of Yi Zhoushu [The Lost History of the Zhou] 逸周书 as well as in the "Gouxu" 国蓄, "Kuidu" 揆度, "Qingzhongjia" 轻重甲 and "Qingzhongyi" 轻重乙 chapters of Guanzi [Book of Guanzi] 管子, the "Yuezhi" 月氏 people in the "Yiyi chaoxian" 伊尹朝献 chapter of Yi Zhoushu, and the "Niuzhi" 牛氏 people in the "Dishu" 地数 chapter of Guanzi, all are the same as the Yuezhi people. During the Qin and Han Dynasties, the Yuezhi were one of the three major ethnic groups (the other two were the Eastern Hu and Xiongnu) to the north of China, living between Dunhuang and Qilian Mountains, "residing wherever there were water and grass." So they must have been active in the vast area from the Tarim Basin to the Ordos Grassland. The power of the Yuezhi was weakened after they were defeated by the Mo Du shan-yu of the Xiongnu. After their king was killed by another Xiongnu shan-yu, Laoshang, the Yuezhi was divided into two groups, one called Greater Yuezhi and another called Lesser Yuezhi. The former moved

westwards, conquered Bactria and established a kingdom in south Central Asia, leaving a remarkable chapter in world history.

It is after the westward migration of the Tokharian-Yuezhi people that the term "Tokharian" began to appear in the documents of various languages. According to Strabo's Geography [1.8.2], the four nomadic peoples who took Bactria from the Greeks were the Asii, Gasiani, Tochari, and Sacarau-li. Trogus, on the other hand, records that "the Scythian tribes, the Saraucae and Asiani, conquered Bactria and Sogdiana", and that "the Asiani [became] the kings of the Tochari, and the Saraucae were destroyed." We believe that one or a few of the four peoples who were mentioned in the Greek sources as having conquered Bactria must have been the Yuezhi. The Yuezhi was a tribal federation dominated by the Tokharians. Yet in the course of their westward migration, they also absorbed various Eastern-Iranian speaking Saka tribes. According to "Xiyu zhuan" [Account of the Western Regions] 西域传 in both Han shu [history of the Han Dynasty] 汉书 and Hou Han shu [History of the Later Han Dynasty] 后汉书, the Greater Yuezhi were later broken into "five divisions under five xihou 翕侯 leaders", among which the Kushan division was the most powerful. In the early first century, the Kushan xihou Kujula Kadphises unified the five divisions, broke away from the control of the Hellenized Bactrian dynasty, and established the Kushan Empire.

All the branches of the Tokharian people mentioned above had important influences on the transmission of Buddhism across Central Asia to China. In the following section I will explore this point, relying principally on Chinese sources.

## 2. The Tokharians, Yuezhi and the transmission of Buddhism to China

Buddhism spread to northwest India and its neighboring countries very early. According to the Aokan inscriptions, Indian envoys reached Parthia, Bactria, Egypt, and Greece. We know for sure that as early as the mid-third century BCE, Buddhism flourished in Qandahar in southern Afghanistan. In the early second century BCE, the Bactrians, who were ruled by the Greeks, invaded northwest India, but later Bactria itself became divided. Menander (or Menandros, rendered as Milinda in Pali), the king of the Hellenistic city state whose center was Sagala (modern Sialkot in Pakistan), had a well-known discourse with Nagasena, a prestigious monk from Jibin (present-day Peshawar, Pakistan), and allegedly converted to Buddhism. This discourse was recorded and compiled into the Milindapañha in Pali and translated into Chinese as the Naxian buqiu jing [Sūtra of Bhikṣu Nagasena] 那先比丘经. After the Tokharians, namely the Yuezhi, conquered Bactria in the middle of the second century during their westward migration, they inherited Buddhism,

which had already been transmitted there.

The Greater Yuezhi had converted to Buddhism by the first century BCE at the latest. The country expanded rapidly after Qi - ujuque established the Kushan Dynasty. Within one hundred years the Yuezhi had invaded Parthia , took Gaofu ( today ' s Kab-ul in Afghanistan ) , and destroyed Puda( today ' s Gwadar in Pak-istan )and Kashmir. From the first century CE , the famous Gandharan art began to appear . In the early second century , the king of the Kushans , Vima Kadphises (Yan-gao-zhen 阎膏珍 in Chinese ) , further expanded the country by occupying the Indus River region in Pakistan. Then the Kadphises royal house was replaced by the - ska family. The founder of this new royal house was the historically renowned Kaniska I. V. V. Ivanov has studied the suffix of the name of this Kushan king, and regarded it to have originated from Kuchean. \_\_\_

The exact date of Kaniska ' s accession to the Kushan throne has not been confirmed, and the entire chronology of the Kushan empire has also been the subject of heated controversy. These issues were the primary topic of two international conferences held in London in 1913 and 1960, and they were also discussed during the conference on Kushan civilization held in Dushanbe in 1968. However, no consensus has been reached. \_\_\_ According to our present understanding, Kaniska ' s accession probably occurred sometime between 78 and 144 CE, with c. 128 being the most likely specific date. Since Kaniska employed a policy of supporting and sponsoring various religions, Buddhism was able to develop rapidly. The famous Fourth Council of Buddhism ( actually a conference of the Sarvastivada school ) was summoned during Kaniska ' s reign. He built Buddhist temples and stupas throughout the kingdom. The Queli (Jaurya) 雀离 stupa, which he built at his capital Purusapura (today ' s Peshawar), was reportedly seen by the Northern Wei emissary Song Yun 宋云 and a pilgrim Huisheng 惠生 who passed by here on their way to India in search of Buddhist scriptures in the early sixth century. \_\_\_ Research has shown that Queli and Zhaohuli 昭怙 \_\_\_, the name of another Buddhist temple in Kucha reported by Xuanzang 玄奘 in the first chapter of his Da Tang xiyu ji [Accounts of the Western Regions of the Great Tang Dynasty] 大唐西域记 , must be the same Tokharian word. \_\_\_

The most important Kushan Buddhist site excavated in former Soviet Central Asia is Kara-tepe in ancient Termez. The archaeological findings include stone statues , sculptures, Kushan coins, and inscriptions in the Kharosth and Brahmi scripts. There are also inscriptions in local Bactrian, written in a cursive style of Greek script. \_\_\_

Zhang Qian ' s 张骞 journey to the Western Regions during the Western Han period marked the official opening of the Silk Road, which

connected in land China with Central Asia. It has long been a hotly debated issue when Buddhism was transmitted from India to China. Nevertheless, one thing is known for sure: the Tokharian-Yuezhi people played a key role in this transmission. In a passage from Yu Huan's *Wei lue* [A Brief History of the Wei] 魏略 Cited by Pei Songzhi 裴松之 in his commentary to the "Dong Yi zhuan" [Account of the Eastern Aliens] 东夷传 chapter in *Wei zhi* [History of the Wei] 魏志 of Sanguo zhi [History of the Three Kingdoms] 三国志, there is a clear record:

In the first year of the Yuanshou Reign of the Han Emperor Aidi 哀帝 (2 BCE), Jing Lu 景卢, a student of the Grand Academy, received the dictation of *Futu Jing* [Buddha's Sutra] 浮屠经 from Yicun 伊存, an envoy sent to China by the king of the Greater Yuezhi. It was he who had reestablished [Buddhism in China]. All the terms such as *pusai* [up saka] 蒲塞, *sangmen* [samana] 桑门, *bowen* [br hmana?] 伯闻, *shuwen* 疏问, *boshuxian* 白疏, *biqu* [bhiksu] 比丘 and *chenmen* 晨门 appearing in this sutra are titles of [Buddha's] disciples.

This event is also reported in Liu Xiaobiao's 刘孝标 commentary to the "Wenxue" [Literature] 文学 chapter of *Shishuo xinyu* [New words and Sayings of the World] 世说新语, "Shi Lao zhi" [Treatise on Buddhism and Daoism] 释老志 of *Weishu* [History of the Northern Wei] 魏书, "Jingji zhi" [Bibliographical Treatise] 经籍志 of *Suishu* [History of the Sui] 隋书, the fifth chapter of *Falin's* 法琳 *Bianzheng Lun* [Treatise on Defending the Right] 辩正论, Zhang Shoujie's 张守节 commentary to the "Dawan liezhuan" [Account of Ferghana] 大宛列传 of *Shiji* [Records of the Grand Historian] 史记, the 193rd chapter of *Tongdian* [Comprehensive Codes] 通典, *Futu jing* [Buddha Sutra] 浮屠经 of the Jin and Song dynasties cited in the 196th chapter of *Tongzhi* [Comprehensive Accounts] 通志, and *Jin zhongjing* [The Middle Sutra of the Jin] 晋中经 cited in the second chapter of *Guangchuan huaba* [Guangchuan's Postscripts to Paintings] 广川画跋. However, Jing Lu's name is written as Qin Jingxian 秦景宪 in *Weishu*, and in *Bianzheng lun* we find another version of the story (Qin Jing 秦景 went to the Yuezhi country, whose king ordered his son to teach [Qin] the *Futu jing*), which is similar to the account in the *Jin zhongjing*.

After the Greater Yuezhi migrated westwards to Bactria, they quickly assimilated themselves to the local culture. Therefore, it is highly possible that Buddhism was prevalent there in the late first century BCE, and that a Greater Yuezhi envoy to China at that time orally transmitted a Buddhist scripture to a Chinese student. Tang Yongtong has correctly pointed out that the Greater Yuezhi's invasion of Bactria was an important event in the history of Buddhist transmission to China, that the Greater Yuezhi converted to Buddhism

during the Western Han period, and that Buddhism probably came to China from Bactria. Therefore the beginning of Buddhist translation should be traced back to the late Western Han. The Futu jing said to have been translated in this period might be a scripture describing Buddha's life, similar to the later ones like Benqi jing [Sutra of the Buddha's origin] 本起经 and Benxing jing [Sutra of the Buddha's Activities] 本行经. Later on, quite a few Buddhist monks from the Greater Yuezhi began to arrive in China for missionary and translation work.

There is a well-known legend telling that, in the seventh year of the Yongping 永平 Reign (64 CE), the Emperor Han Mingdi 汉明帝 dreamed of Buddha and then sent envoys to the Western Regions in search of Buddhist teachings. This highly fictional story has many different versions. Its earliest version is found in the preface to Sishier zhang jing [Sutra in Forty-two Sections] 四十二章经:

One night in the past, the Emperor Han Mingdi dreamed of a deity, who had golden hues on his body and sunlight emanating from his neck, flying in front of the palace. This made the emperor ecstatic and pleased. The next day the emperor asked his ministers: "Who was that person?" The learned Fu Yi 傅毅 answered: "I have heard that in India there is a person who has obtained the Dao, called Buddha. He can easily rise and fly. He is most likely the deity you dreamed of." Upon hearing this, the emperor understood and immediately sent twelve people, including the Envoy Zhang Qian, the Court Gentleman Qin Jing, and an erudite student Wang Zun 王遵 to the Greater Yuezhi. They copied the Sutra in Forty-two Sections and placed it in fourteen stone cases. [The emperor] established stupas and temples [for the sutra]. Thus the Dharma was widely spread, and Buddhist temples were set up everywhere.

Later added to the story were various details, such as that when Zhang Qian and Qin Jing arrived in the Western Regions they met a monk called Zhu Moteng [K yapa Matanga] 竺摩腾, from whom they copied the sutra, then returned to Luoyang and preserved the sutra in the fourteenth stone chamber of Lantai [Orchid Tower] 兰台. All of these stories concerning the earliest transmission of Buddhism to China involved the Greater Yuezhi. Despite their fictional elements, they clearly indicate at least that it was the Yuezhi who were most closely related to early Buddhist translation in China.

Here we can not discuss the problems such as the authenticity, translation and nature of the Sutra in Forty-two Sections in detail. However, its close relation with Dharmapada (Faju jing 法句经) has to be pointed out. The Gandhari Dharmapada in Kharosthi script discovered in Khotan was thoroughly examined by J. Brough in the early 1960s. Kharosthi was one of the official scripts used by the

Kushan Empire and the grammar and vocabulary in this Kharosth Buddhist scripture resemble those of the Kharosth inscriptions of the Kushan Empire. Therefore a careful comparison between the Gandhāra Dharmapada and the Chinese Sutra in Forty-two Sections would be helpful.

Professor Ji Xianlin has already argued that the languages of ancient Central Asia and Xinjiang, such as the various Iranian and Tokharian languages, influenced the Chinese translation of

Buddhist scriptures. As early as 1947, he demonstrated that the Chinese word Fo is not a direct translation from the Sanskrit buddha, but probably from a Tokharian origin, such as *pu* in Agnean and *pu*-[or *pu* *d*]-in Kuchean. Yet, according to Bernhard Karlgren's reconstruction, the ancient pronunciation of the Chinese character Fo 佛, *b'iw t*/*b'iu t*, begins with a voiced consonant, while in Tokharian it always begins with an unvoiced consonant. In 1970, the German scholar F. Bernhard supported Ji's hypothesis, maintaining that Fo was a transcription of *\*but* in a Tokharian dialect that predates the A and B dialects (of *pu* *kte* in the B and *pu* *kt* in the A dialect). E. G. Pulleyblank also regards the original form of Fo to be *but*. In 1979, a small bronze statue of a sitting Buddha, inscribed with one line of Kharosth letters on the bottom, was found at a site in the ancient Chinese capital of Xi'an (formerly Chang'an). According to Lin Meicun, it is dated to no later than the end of the fourth century, and it was produced by the Yuezhi immigrants from Kushan who had been moving to China in great numbers ever since the mid-second century. The inscription on the bottom of this statue contains a word meaning Buddha, written as *buca*. The transformation from *t* into *c* is a known feature of Tokharian, also seen in the oldest stratum of Tokharian used in Kharosth documents from Loulan. Therefore, *buca* is a Tokharian term used by the Yuezhi people. This evidence further confirms Ji's hypothesis.

### 3. The Yuezhi Buddhist Translators in China

The situation of Buddhism in the Greater Yuezhi kingdom can be learned about to a general degree through the Buddhist sutras which were brought from that country to the East and translated into Chinese.

Most of the people who came from the Western Regions to China and adopted the Chinese surname Zhi 支 during the second to fifth century were more or less related to the Yuezhi. One of them, Lokakṣema (Zhi Loujiachan 支娄迦讖, sometimes abbreviated to Zhi Chan 支讖), was the most famous Buddhist translator during the Later Han period. He was originally a Kushan *ra-mana* and arrived at Luoyang in the late years of the Emperor Han Hundi's reign. In 178 and 179 CE, he translated more than ten Buddhist sutras from Central Asian languages into Chinese, including *Aśtaśasrikā prajñāpāramitā śāstra* (Boruo daoxing jing 般若道行经), *śaśrikā prajñāpāramitā śāstra*

S ramgama - sam dhi - s tra (Shoulengyan jing 首楞严经), Pratyutpanna - buddha - sammukh vasthita - sam dhi - s tra (Banzhou sanmei jing 般舟三昧经), Aj ta atrukankrtyavinodana (Asheshiwang jing 阿世王经), and Ratnakuta (Baoji jing 宝积经). Among the sutras translated by Lokaksema the most noteworthy is Praj - p ramit which laid the foundation for the early development of Mah y na Buddhism in China. The fact that his translation of Astas hasrik praj p ramit s tra, also called Xiaopin boruo [Small Praj p ramit] 小品般若, had already been retranslated two times by the time of Kum raj va clearly shows its great influ- ence. The M dhyamika school of Mah y na might have evolved from the Mah s nghika tradition, which originated in the south of India and had been transmitted to the north by the time of Kanis ka. Chinese Buddhists regard A vaghosa as the first advocator of Mah y na Buddhism, who was said to have been highly respect- ed by King Kaniska. During the Eastern Han period, Mah y na- scriptures already became popular in the Kushan Empire. By the- end of the Eastern Han, Mah y na sutras including Praj p ramit and Vaipulya had made their way to China. There fore, it is not surprising at all for us to see that the early Mah y na Buddhist system in China was established by the Yuezhi Lokaksema, rather than by anyone of another nationality.

Another Yuezhi monk, Zhi Yao 支曜, engaged in Buddhist translation at Luoyang in 185 CE. Chengiu guangming jing [Su- tra on the Completion of Brightness] 成具光明经, the only extant translation that can be definitely identified as being made by Zhi Yao, also belongs to the Mah y na tradition.

One of Zhi Chan ' s known students was Zhi Liang 支亮 (al- so styled Jiming 纪明). It is uncertain yet whether he was anup saka or ramana. Some scholars suggest that Zhi Liang and Zhi Yao were actually the same person. — In Chinese both liang and Yao mean "light" or "brightness"; they were probably used to translate the same Sanskrit word prabh saka.

Another Yuezhi monk Zhi Qian 支谦 (also named Yue 越 and styled Gongming 恭明) translated as many as thirty-six Buddhist sutras in forty-eight chapters between 222 and 253 CE. His grandfather, Fadu 法度, the leader of the hundreds of Greater Yuezhi people who migrated to China during the reign of the Emperor Han Lingdi, was appointed by the Han court as a Court Gentleman. Zhi Qian studied with Zhi Liang and thus be- came the second generation disciple of Lokak ema. He is said to have studied Buddhist texts from the age of ten and Central Asian languages from the age of thirteen. He mastered six languages and was well- read in Chinese classics. Sun Quan 孙权, the ruler of the Wu Kingdom, was deeply impressed by Zhi Qian's explanation of Buddhist scriptures and gave him the title of Boshi [Erudite Scholar] 博士, with the responsibility of working with Wei Zhao 韦昭 and other scholars to

counsel and instruct the crown prince. The scriptures that he translated covered a wide spectrum, including both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna texts. His most important translations include the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* (Weimojie jing 维摩诘经) in two chapters, *Aśtaśasrika-prajñāpāramitā* (Damingdu wuji jing 大明度无极经) in four chapters, a biography of the Buddha (Taizi ruiying jing 太子瑞应经), etc. He also collated Wei Zhi'an's 维祗难 translation of *Dharmapada*. Zhi Qian inherited Lokakṣema's philosophical system and tried to make his translations smooth and readable. For example, when he was translating the mantra in *Weimichi jing* 微密持经, he succeeded in both maintaining the original eight-syllable format and correctly translating the meaning, instead of transcribing the sounds. He proved himself to be a literary master well versed in rhymes and cadence, as shown in his composition of "Phrase-Linked Mantra in Praise of Bodhisattva" (Zan Pusalianju fanbei 赞菩萨连句梵呗). The scriptural commentary he made for his own translation *Liaoben shengsi jing* [līstamb[h]a[k]as tra] 了本生死经 is the earliest example of such kind of Buddhist literature in China.

Another Buddhist translator with the surname "Zhi" was Zhi Qiangjieliang [Klasivi?] 支接梁, who also might have come from the Yuezhi country. While residing in Jiaozhou 交州 (pre-sent-day Hanoi, Vietnam) in either 255 or 256, he translated *Saddharmapūraṅka* (Zheng fahua jing 正法华经) in six chapters.

The most eminent translator during the Western Jin period was Dharmarakṣa (Zhu Fahu 竺法护), whose ancestors had lived in Dunhuang for generations. Although he was of the Yuezhi nationality, when Dharmarakṣa became a monk at the age of eight under an Indian monk Zhu Gaozuo 竺高座, he adopted his teacher's surname. When he was young, Dharmarakṣa traveled with his teacher to many countries in the Western Regions and learned Central Asian languages and scripts and then returned to China with a large number of Buddhist texts. In 266 he traveled from Dunhuang to Chang'an and Luoyang, then crossed the Yangtze River. During his travels he never stopped teaching and translating. He translated 154 Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna sutras, virtually covering all important texts circulating in the Western Regions. Thus, he greatly expanded the possibilities for the further development of Mahāyāna Buddhism in China. Among the 86 translations attributed to Dharmarakṣa that have survived up to the present are *Pācāvimśatisāśtikaprajñāpāramitā* (Guangzan boruoboluomi jing 光赞般若波罗密经) in ten chapters, *Saddharmapūraṅka* (Zheng fahua jing 正法华经) in ten chapters, *Daśabhīmikāśtra* (Jianbei yiqie zhide jing 渐备一切智德经) in five chapters, *Lalitavistara* (Puyao jing 普曜经) in eight chapters, etc. Dharmarakṣa was often assisted by men like Upasaka

Nie Chengyuan 聂承远 and his son Nie Daozhen 聂道真, who not only took the responsibility of writing down Dharmarakṣa's oral recitation and checking the translation, but also translated some texts by themselves. Besides, they recorded information about the original texts and the place of translation, which constituted the earliest Chinese Buddhist catalog commonly called Nie Daozhen lu [Nie Daozhen's Catalog] 聂道真录.

Although their ethnic attributes are not specified in scriptural catalogs, Zhi Fadu 支法度 and Zhi Daogen 支道根, two other Buddhist translators active during the fourth century, were most likely directly or indirectly related to the Yuezhi.

According to Biqiuni zhuan [Biographies of Nuns] 比丘尼传, the monk Seng Jian 僧建 obtained the Mahāsaṃghika Karmavacana and Prtimokṣa for nuns in the Yuezhi country between 335-342, and translated them at Luoyang. This fact indicates that the Bhikṣu Prtimokṣa was in circulation in Yuezhi. Zhi Shilun 支施仑, who translated some Vaipulya scriptures including Susthitamati [devaptra] pariprach (Ruhuan sanmei jing 如幻三昧经), Shang jingguangshou jing 上金光首经 and ra-gamasam dhis tra.

After the Former Qin Kingdom unified north China and re-established direct communication with the Western Regions, a Tokharian monk called Dharmanandh (Tanmonanti 曇摩难提) arrived in China and translated Madhyama-gama (Zhong Ahan jing 中阿含经) and Ekottar-gama (Zengyi Ahan jing 增一阿含经) during the Jianyuan years (364-389). These are the earliest translations of major Agamas. Two eminent Chinese monks, Daoan 道安 and Fahe 法和, examined these Agamas, while the former wrote a preface for the Chinese version of Ekottar-gama.

In 433, the monk Daotai 道泰 obtained the Sanskrit version of Mahāvibhāṣā (Piposha lun 毗婆沙论) in more than one hundred thousand gāthas from the area west of the Pamirs. Four years later, this sutra was translated into Chinese at Liangzhou by Buddhavarman (Futuobamo 浮陀跋摩), who was said to be a Tokharian. It is well-known that Mahāvibhāṣā was quite popular among the Yuezhi.

In summary, Yuezhi monks translated a great number of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese, most of which seem to be Mahāyāna texts, including those from Avatamsaka, Vaipulya, Prajñāpāramitā, Saddharmapuṣṭaka and Nirvāṇa. These translations greatly accelerated the development of Chinese Buddhist philosophy. As for the original languages in which these scriptures were written, no thorough examination has been made so far. It seems that most of them were written in Sanskrit or Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, though some probably contained elements of various Central Asian languages such as Tokharian. The question of whether most early Chinese Buddhist sutras were translated from Central Asian languages is still an important

subject that needs further study.

#### 4. Kum raj va and Kuchean Buddhism

It is not clear yet when Buddhism first spread to Kucha, a state established by the Tokharians on the northern edge of the Tarim Basin. The story in *Ayuwang taizi huaimu yinyuan jing* 阿育王太子坏目因缘经 which says that Kucha was among the lands Aśoka gave to his son Fayi 法益 is obviously unbelievable. However, according to Chinese sources, as early as the third century some Buddhist monks from Kucha arrived in inland China to translate and teach. For example, a Kuchean prince called BoYan 白延 took part in the translation of *ramgamasam dhis t-ra*, which Zhi Shilun was in charge of. It is also said that BoYan was good at both Chinese and foreign languages, well-read in a variety of classics, and mastered both Buddhism and Confucianism. Other Kuchean Buddhists active in China during the Western Jin period were Upasaka Shan Yuanxin 单元信, and BoSrimitra (Bo Shilimiduolu 帛尸梨密多罗), a member of the Kuchean royal house. Fotudeng 佛图澄, who arrived at Luoyang in 310 and whose original surname was Bo, was also a Kuchean. After the Later Zhao regime was established, he became a confidant of the Zhao rulers such as Shi Le 石勒 and Shi Hu 石虎, advised them to be lenient, and made every effort to spread Buddhism among the masses. Although he did not translate any Buddhist sutras, Fotudeng missionized in north China for dozens of years and had a great influence on Chinese Buddhist history.

Buddhism became even more popular in Kucha during the fourth century. The number of Buddhist monks in that country reached more than ten thousand, while no less than one thousand temples and stupas were set up in the capital alone. Buddhist statues were worshipped in the palace just as they were in the temples. Some temples were very magnificent and gorgeous, such as the famous Queli Temple located at Subasi to the north of the seat of today's Kucha County, whose remains have been found by archaeologists. The most famous bishop of the Hanyan Buddhist clergy in Kucha was Fotushemi 佛图舌弥. He was in charge of many temples, including three big ones for the nuns who were princesses of the royal houses of Eastern Central Asian kingdoms and came to Kucha to learn Buddhism. The Kuchean Vinaya was said to be very strict and attractive even for Eastern Jin monks who traveled thousands of miles to here to request Vinaya texts from Fotushemi. Thus we can conclude that Kucha had become the Buddhist center at that time for both the northern and southern routes of the Tarim Basin. The earlier Buddhist caves at Qizil were also constructed during this period. In these caves were found many Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts dating from the second to fourth centuries, most of which are Hanyan texts.

The most famous Kuchean monk was Kum raj va (Jiumolu-oshi 鸠摩

罗什), whose dates of birth and death are differently recorded in various sources. According to Sengzhao's 僧肇 Jiu-moluoshi fashi lei [Memoir of Master Kum raj va] 鸠摩罗什法师诌, he died in the fifteenth year of the Hongshi Reign of the Eastern Jin at the age of seventy. Thus we can reckon his lifetime to be between 344 and 413. Kum raj va's father Kum r yana was an Indian. He resigned the post of prime minister, became a monk, and then traveled across the Pamirs to Kucha where he was warmly welcomed by the king, appointed as court teacher, and married the king's sister Jiv . When Kum raj va was seven years old, he left home along with his mother and studied the Abhidharma s tra with Fotushemi. At the age of nine, Kum raj va traveled with his mother across the Indus River to Kashmir, and further to Yuezhi, Kashgar and other places before they arrived at Yarkand. All the Buddhist sutras Kum raj va studied before he was twelve years old were Hinayana texts, especially those of the Sarvastivada school which was popular in Kashmir. However, after he met prince S r yasoma of Yarkand in Kashgar, he switched his interest to Mahayana. In addition to Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism, Kum raj va also studied the four Vedas and Paucavidya. After he returned to Kucha via Ak-su, he became a bhikshu in the palace at the age of twenty.

Kum raj va's reputation reached as far as China, where the most eminent monk Daoan suggested in a letter to Fu Jian 苻坚, the ruler of the Former Qin, that Kum raj va be invited to China. In 385 Fu Jian sent some troops under general Lü Guang 吕光 to Kucha and kidnapped Kum raj va to Liangzhou. Since Fu Jian was soon assassinated and Lü Guang established his own regime in the Liangzhou area, Kum raj va stayed there for more than ten years. In 401 Liangzhou was seized by Yao Xing 姚兴, the founder of the Later Qin, who invited Kum raj va to Chang'an and gave him the title of "state preceptor". After that time, Kum raj va began to translate sutras with the assistance of hundreds of monks.

Among more than three hundred chapters of Buddhist texts translated by Kum raj va in Chang'an were Prajñāpāramitā s tra, Saddharmapuṣkarikas tra, Vimalakīrtinirdeśas tra, Amitabhas tra, Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā s tra, etc. Most of them were Mahayana scriptures and re-translations. Kum raj va also systematically introduced the Mādhyamika school of Indian Buddhism into China and translated representative works of this school including Mādhyamikas tra, ātā s tra, Dvādaśanikāya s tra, Mahāprajñāpāramitā s tra, and Satyasiddhi s tra. Kum raj va started a new epoch in the history of Buddhist translation in China because he was successful in both correctly rendering the original meaning and expressing them in elegant Chinese. That is the reason why Sengyou 僧佑, in the first chapter of Chu sanzang jiji, makes a distinction between Kum raj

va's "new" translations and the "old" ones made by all his precursors.

As a master of Buddhist translation, Kumrajiva authored only a few works of himself. Shixiang lun [Treatise on Real Phenomena] 实相论, the work which systematically expressed his philosophy, has long been lost. His correspondence with Huiyuan 慧远 was collected by later scholars and preserved in a book titled Dasheng dayi zhang [Essays on the Essence of Mahayana] 大乘大义章 in three chapters. Most recently, an ancient manuscript of Kumrajiva's Dasheng Pusa rudaosanzhongguan [Three Contemplations of the Enlightened Mahayana Bodhisattva] 大乘菩萨入道三种观 has been found in Nagoya, Japan. Its authenticity, however, needs further examination.

Up to the fifth and sixth centuries, Buddhism was still flourishing in Kucha. It was during this period that most of the Kuchean caves were built. Many Buddhist scriptures in Tokhari-an B (Kuchean) as well as temple registers and begging accounts dating from this period have been discovered. As seen in the cave wall-paintings and excavated scriptures, Hnayana Buddhism was still dominant there. During the 720s, Xuanzang passed through Kucha en route from China to India. In his Da Tang xiyu ji, he reported that there were more than one hundred Buddhist temples and no less than five thousand Hnayana monks and nuns. He also visited the two Zhaohuli Temple on the east and west, namely the great Queli Temple we talked about above. From the mid-seventh to the late eighth century, many Chinese people immigrated to Kucha. Because of the cultural exchanges between the Chinese and Kucheans, some Buddhist caves mixed the art styles of both. From the second half of the ninth century, the Uighurs gradually replaced the Tibetans as the controllers of Kucha. The Uighurs also converted to Buddhism and tried hard to resist the eastward spread of Islam. The Turks had long since entered Kucha. Gradually they became dominant in the local population during later periods and eventually assimilated the Kuchean natives, while the Kuchean language was also replaced by Uighur. By the thirteenth century, the Kuchean people had converted to Islam. Buddhist culture as well as the Tokharian-speaking Kucheans themselves disappeared in the long river of history.

However, the extinct Tokharians and their relation with Buddhism have been discovered by modern archaeology. All the Tokharian documents are written in slanted Brahmi which is called Northern Turkestan Brahmi by L. Sander. The Buddhist literature written in ancient Kuchean and Agnean consists mainly of: Udnavarga and its commentary Udnamkara, Prtimoksa, Karmavacan, Karmavibhanga, Pratyasamutpada, Abhidharmakasastra, Catusparisatsutra, the story of Nanda and his wife Sundari, Maitreya's Buddhastotra, etc. Also found were Puayavanta-Jataka, a variety of avadana stories, Arami, Jataka and so forth, most of them can be collated with Avadanasataka, Divy

vad na, J takam I and Avad nakalpalat . In the early twentieth century ,the German expedition found some fragments of Maitreyasamiti at or uq near Karashahr(Yanqi). In the winter of 1974,another 44 sheets ( 88 pages ) of the same work were found in an ash pit near the north temple at the Siksime site,also in the vicinity of Karashahr. Other Buddhist texts related to Maitreya include Maitrey vad navy karana,whose contents are in large part the same as those of Maitreyasamiti,but also have some significant differences. In addition to the above findings , there are also manuscripts and cave inscriptions related to Buddhism.Besides Buddhist literature , there are medical , legal , economical and Manichaen documents.

## 慧超《往五天竺国传》识读余论

黄时鉴

入唐新罗僧慧超所著《往五天竺国传》，自敦煌残本刊布迄今，识读、注释、翻译者近十家，迄至晚近，梁翰承、冉云华等，郑炳林，桑山正进，王仲荦，与张毅五种著作出版，识读问题似已可做一总结。现尚有若干字，诸家识辨仍存歧见，或竟有识无释，不无可议之处。兹作此余论，探讨解读如下。博雅诸君，其匡正之。

### 一 第 11 行：彼五俱轮。见素形像在於塔中[下原缺]

“素”字，曾被认作“索”。据原抄，今可认定为“素”字无疑。

藤田：“素形像即泥塑形像。素通作塿亦同塑。”福克斯（Fuchs）亦曾指出，素=塿=塑。梁冉、王仲荦及张毅等均持此说。桑山正进认作“素”且在注释中增引一例：《法苑珠林》卷 39：“殿前塔。宋护王义季所造。塔内素像 利天工所造。（大正藏，53/598a）”

“塑像之‘塑’，古多借用‘素’字。”今人张涌泉论述颇详。除慧超传文此例，张氏又引《唐咸通六年修中岳庙记》：“我国家以神之灵，素神之形，俾神之明，福我苍生。”《张氏修功德记》：“龕内素释迦牟尼像并事从一铺，四壁图诸经变相一十六铺。”（敦煌写本伯 2762）莫高窟第 201 窟西壁龕下功德记：“然则谨就莫高山岩第二层旧窟，开凿有人，图素未就；创修簷宇，素绘复终。”并申说：“凡此‘素’皆即‘塑’字。‘素’字借用既久，为免与朴素之‘素’相乱，俗遂增旁作‘塿’。《广韵·暮韵》桑故切：‘塑，塑像也。出《周公梦书》。’同一小韵下又云：‘塿，捏土容：出《古今奇字》。’其实‘塿’即‘塑’字。《集韵》同韵下云：‘塑，埴土象物也。或从素。通作素。’以‘塿’为‘塑’字或体，是矣。”

### 二 第 12 行：上有师子。彼幢极鹿。五人合抱。文里细[下原缺]

此字，福克斯认作“丽”；羽田亨以为是“丽”的误写；郑炳林、王仲荦作“丽”；梁冉译作“beautiful”；迄至张毅，犹说“鹿”即“丽”。唯桑山正进日文译本径译作ふとく，粗；但未加注译。

“粗”，古字作“麤”。“鹿”是“麤”的俗写无疑。

东晋时书圣王羲之已将“麤”写成“鹿”，后宋人米芾写作“鹿”。敦煌写本中写作“鹿”的，又有《舜子变》：“象儿取得荆杖到来，数中拣一条鹿勃。”写作“鹿”的，见《佛说观弥勒菩萨上生兜率天经讲经文》（伯 3092），中有“长斋冷饭充朝夕，缙绢鹿絁盖裸形”之句。“絁”是粗缁，此处“鹿”即形容“絁”之粗（麤）也。

又一变例，见《八相变》：“……眉中有千重碎皴，项上有百道鹿筋，……缓行慢行，鹿喘细喘。”（北图 8437，即云字 24 号；北图 8671，即丽字 40 号）这里“鹿”也是“麤”的简笔俗字。

在慧超的故国高丽，“麤”同样俗写作“鹿”或“鹿”。“鹿”见于佚名《选谚篇》、李羲准《溪西野谭》、和《古今笑丛》。“鹿”见于佚名《青丘野潭》和佚名《野录》。

### 三 第 20 行：参差经劫烧[下略]

“参差”这两个字，抄本不清。“参”字上缺，作“尗”，原当是“𦉳”，是“参”的俗写。“差”字右下改笔，但是显然认读作“差”最宜。羽田亨首先认定，且引慧琳《一切经音义》为证。慧琳释“参差”：“或前后左右也。”此“差”字，福克斯本作“著”，郑炳林、王仲荦同；梁冉本作“者”，张毅从之，然而均不能与写本字形契合。

“参差”一词，唐诗中屡见，其他敦煌写本也用。

唐白居易《长恨歌》：“中有一人字太真，雪肤花貌参差是。”张谓《春园家宴》诗：“山简醉来歌一曲，参差笑杀郢中儿。”《敦煌曲子词集·云谣集杂曲子·破阵子》词：“风送征轩迢递，参差千里余。”又《拜新月》词：“回顾玉兔影媚，明镜匣参差斜坠。”

迄于宋，钱易《南部新书》庚：“濠州西有高塘馆，附近淮水。御史阎敬爱宿此馆，题诗曰‘借问襄王安在哉？山川此地胜阳台。今朝寓宿高塘馆，神女何曾入梦来？’轩来往，莫不吟讽，以为警绝。有李和风者至此，又题词曰：‘高唐不是这高塘，淮畔江南各一方。若向此中求荐枕，参差笑杀楚襄王。’读者莫不解颐。”李昉等编《太平广记》卷176《李勣》：“此处犹可，若对至尊前，公作如此事，参差斫却你头！”

在以上诸诗词文中，“参差”作“几乎”，“差不多”解。

又，唐李白《送梁四归东平》诗：“莫学东山卧，参差老谢安。”《敦煌歌辞总编》卷二 双曲·临江仙 词：“如今时世已参差，不如归去，归去也、沉醉卧烟霞。”这里，“参差”之义为“蹉跎”，“错过。”

《敦煌变文集·李陵变文》：“更若人为（有）十只矢，𦉳嗟重得见家乡。”此见“𦉳嗟”即“参差”

梁冉显然对“参差”这两个字把握不定，因而在其英译中未能译出。“参差经劫烧”，其英译文竟作“All places wereburnt。”而桑山正进的日译文作“こころは賊に襲われてあちらは火事で焼け野原，”似更未表达原意。

#### 四 第27行：取物即放。亦不殍煞。如若 物。即有损也。[下略]

“ ”字的识读，颇有分歧。羽田亨读作“怯”，其重要内证是第34行的“去”写作“ ”。梁冉等读作“惜”，郑炳林读作“慎”，潘重规、张毅与桑山读作“恏”，即“吝”；但张毅称“原件作‘恏’”，非是。就此四种识读比较而言，文句的意思大致均可以讲通，但“惜”、“慎”与“恏”三字之形显然与原字不符，持说者基本上是从文句进行推测，就识字而言，并不可取。与其这样推测，不如从羽田亨读作“怯”，认“ ”为“怯”之俗写，且文句也能讲通。意思是：“如果怯于失物，即受到损害。”

《韩国俗字谱》列出“怯”的俗字作“ ”（李羲准《溪西野谭》），与“ ”（佚名《海东野书》）。在构字法上，“怯”与“劫”联在一起，这个意义恰好与原文文句相一致，很令人玩味。

#### 五 第28行：[上略]惣用土锅。飡而食。

“惣”即“总”，“ ”即“煮”，“飡”即“饭”，诸家均无异辞。唯“飡”作为“饭”的俗字，宜稍加引说。

近张涌泉论述：“从俗文字本身也可窥知到若干时代留下的烙印”。他首举“飡”字为例。文称：