

Chinese Reports about Buddhism in Early Āndhra

Max Deeg (with an Appendix by Peter Zieme)

Introduction*

Before presenting and discussing the Chinese sources on Āndhra, I would like to address and emphasize the necessity of a critical and contextualized approach, particularly to the Chinese sources that are conventionally called “Chinese pilgrim records.”¹ These texts have been used in an uncritical way and in old and out-of-date translations in order to pursue new approaches in research.² What is normally taken as the precondition of any meaningful and solid historical work, the philological and historical analysis of texts before proceeding to further contextualization and interpretation, has been neglected for decades in the case of these Chinese sources, although they are widely used by historians, archaeologists, and epigraphists. This kind of contextualization and interpretation itself needs, of course, to take into account the more recent research and insights of other disciplines. But for a more useful and more meaningful presentation of these sources, it is also necessary to pay full attention to their “Chineseness”:³ indeed, they spoke to a Chinese audience—in the case of Xuanzang, originally to a court audience⁴—and therefore are not objective descriptions of a particular regional and historical situation.⁵ Rather, they present their “data” with a specific intention and motivation which, though

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1 On the feasibility and correctness of the term “pilgrim records,” see Deeg 2014: 67 ff.

2 For an overview of the reception history of these texts, see Deeg 2018b.

3 For the travelogues and their relation to other genres of Chinese literature like historiography, see Deeg 2021.

4 See Deeg 2009.

5 See, e.g., my analysis of the reports about Nālandā: Deeg 2018a and 2020.

often difficult to ascertain, is crucial for an understanding of their content.⁶ The least a modern scholarly approach can do with (and to) these sources is to treat them in the same way as literary and epigraphical texts are treated.⁷ Rather than unearthing new evidence, this article intends to present the Chinese sources on Āndhra in a way that makes them serviceable for wider scholarly discourse on the history of the region.

1 Āndhra in a Chinese Translation of the *Mahāmeghasūtra*

Since most of the Chinese sources on South Asia focus on the heartland of Buddhism, the eastern Gangetic plain or ancient Magadha, there is not much information about Āndhra and other regions in the South of India, although references to South India (Nan-tian[zhu] 南天[竺]) are quite frequent⁸—often in the context of the traditional division of India into five parts (Skt. *patha*), Wu-Tianzhu 五天竺 (Central, North, West, East and South)⁹—but geographically not very specific.¹⁰ In Chinese Buddhist texts, South India is, on the one hand, the region from where eminent masters like Nāgārjuna hail; but, on the other hand, it is also the area where heretic teachers are found in abundance and magical skills can be learned and obtained.

The only concrete, more detailed and early Buddhist reference to Āndhra—first brought to the attention of the scholarly world by Sylvain Lévi¹¹—is found in the *Dafangdeng-wuxiang-jing* 大方等無想經 (**Mahāvaiṣṭya-*

6 I have discussed some examples in Deeg 2012.

7 I have tried to develop and apply such an approach in my study of Faxian's early travelogue (Deeg 2005) and I am, at present, preparing a fully annotated translation of Xuanzang's *Datang-xiyu-ji* along the same lines. For an example of my way of contextualizing, see Deeg 2019.

8 The *Beishi* 北史 (chapter 97), for instance, has a very short section about South India (see Deeg 2021: 145, n. 51).

9 See, for example, Deeg 2021: 146 (*Datang-xiyu-ji*).

10 In the *Fo-benxing-ji-jing* 佛本行集經, a biography of the Buddha translated during the Sui-dynasty by the Gandhāran monk She'najueduo 闍那崛多—normally reconstructed as *Jñānagupta, but for reasons discussed elsewhere (Deeg 2022: 62–63), I prefer *Dhyānagupta—South India is referred to as Avanti / Apandi 阿槃低 / *ʔa-ban-tɛj (T.190.684a.7f.: emend 阿 for 遮). All Early Middle Chinese reconstructions in this paper (marked by *) follow Pulleyblank 1991.

11 Lévi 1936: 116–118; I would like to thank Vincent Tournier for pointing out to me this and the other references, particularly Radich 2015a. This passage was already translated by Demiéville 1924: 229, who did not, however, identify the different geographical names; after Lévi, these have been discussed by Lamotte 1988: 348 f., Mabbett 1998: 336 f., and others. In the context of the *Datang-xiyu-ji* see also Ji 1985: 841–842, n. 2.

*mahāmeghasūtra*¹²), translated (dated 417) by the Indian monk Tanwuchan 曇無讖 / *Dharmakṣema (385–433 or 436), in which the Buddha predicts that seven hundred years after his *parinirvāṇa* a daughter will be born to a South Indian king who, due to her virtues, will become queen after her father's death and will rule as a true bodhisattva ruler,¹³ expounding the *Mahāmeghasūtra*; she is also prophesized by the Buddha to become a Buddha herself, called Jingbao-zengchang(-rulai) 淨寶¹⁴增長(如來), (Tathāgata) *Śuddharatnavṛddhi (T.387.1107a.7–27).¹⁵

善男子！汝今諦聽！我當說之。以方便故，我涅槃已七百年後，是南天竺，有一小國，名曰無明。彼國有河，名曰黑闇，南岸有城，名曰熟穀，其城有王，名曰等乘。其王夫人，產育一女，名曰增長，其形端嚴，人所愛敬，護持禁戒，精進不倦。其王國土，以生此女故，穀米豐熟，快樂無極，人民熾盛，無有衰耗、病苦、憂惱、恐怖、禍難，成就具足一切吉事。隣比諸王，咸來歸屬。有為之法，無常遷代，其王未免，忽然崩亡。爾時，諸臣即奉此女，以繼王嗣。女既承正，威伏天下，閻浮提中所有國土，悉來承奉，無拒違者。女王自在，摧伏邪見，為欲供養佛舍利故，遍閻浮提起七寶塔，齎持雜綵，上妙幡蓋，栴檀妙香，周遍供養。見有護法、持淨戒者，供養恭敬；見有破戒、毀正法者，呵責毀辱，令滅無餘。具足修習十波羅蜜，受持五戒，拯濟貧窮，教導無量一切眾生，說《大雲經》以調其心。若聞大乘方等經者，恭敬供養，尊重讚嘆。滿二十年，受持、讀誦、書寫、解說是《大雲經》，然後壽盡，是時乃當轉此女身。為眾生故，示大神通，為欲供養無量壽佛故，故生彼界。

O sons of good [households]! Listen now truly! I will explain this. Due to [my] skilful means, seven hundred years after my *nirvāṇa*, there will be, in this South India, a small kingdom called “Without Brightness.” In this kingdom there is a river called “Black,” [and] on its southern shore there

12 This is the title according to the Tibetan version; for the Chinese, Lévi 1936: 115 reconstructed the Skt. title as **Mahāvaiṣṭya-asaṃjñā-sūtra*. On this text and its position in the wider context of Buddhist *tathāgatagarbha* literature, see Radich 2015a: 266 f.

13 Radich 2015a: 202 and 204, even goes so far as to call the queen a **cakravartinī*.

14 With most editions instead of T. 實.

15 This and the other prophecies in the *Mahāmeghasūtra* have been discussed in detail and in the wider context of similar prophecies in the *tathāgatagarbha*-related Buddhist texts by Radich 2015a: 62–83 & 199–205. De Jong 1978: 152–153 has pointed out that it was probably this prophecy which triggered the Chinese empress Wu (Wu Zhao 武曌, or Wu Zetian 武則天, r. 690–705) to have the *sūtra* used in the legitimizing propaganda for her newly established Zhou 周 dynasty; see also Radich 2015a: 202 f., notes.

is a city called “Ripe Grain”; in this city there is a king called “Equal Vehicle.” The spouse of this king will bear and bring up a girl called “Increase,” dignified in appearance, whom the people adore, [and who] will keep the rules and strive with sincerity. Because this girl will be born in this land, the land in this kingdom will be abundant with ripened grain, [people] will be happy and without worries, the population will be flourishing; there will be no decline, disease, anger, fear, disaster, and everything will be perfect and auspicious. The kings of the neighbouring kingdoms [freely] will come under [this kingdom’s] jurisdiction. According to the Dharma [everything] is impermanent and will change, and the king will not be exempted and will suddenly die. At that time, all the ministers will offer the throne to the daughter. The daughter rightfully will accept, she will rule powerfully over the realm. [The rulers of] all kingdoms of Jambudvīpa will come to pay obedience to her, and there will be no one to oppose [her]. The queen will be free [in her decisions], will destroy the wrong views, and in order to make offerings to the relics of the Buddha [she] will build *stūpas* [adorned] with the seven jewels all over Jambudvīpa, will make all kinds of offerings, will erect wonderful banners and canopies, [will burn] sandalwood incense, will circumambulate [them] and will make offerings. Those who will protect the Dharma and will keep the precepts will be given offerings and will be respected. The ones violating the precepts, destroying the true Dharma, slandering and berating [it] will be totally eliminated. [She] will practice all ten *pāramitās*, take the five precepts [of a laywoman], help the poor, instruct an innumerable number of living beings and expound the **Mahāmeghasūtra* to calm her mind. When [she] will listen to the Vaipulyasūtras of the Mahāyāna [she] will show respect and will make offerings, will esteem and adore [them]. After twenty years of preserving, reciting, copying, expounding the **Mahāmeghasūtra*, [she] will come to the end of her life. At that time [she] will transform her female body. In order to perform a great miracle for the living beings, and because [she always] desired to give offerings to the Buddha Amitāyus, [she] will be born in his land.

The geographical and proper names—including the date given (700 years p.N.)¹⁶—do indeed, as Lévi and others have pointed out, link this story to

16 While the other text mentioning 700 years p.N. and studied by Radich 2015a connects this date with the final decline of the Dharma, the episode in the *Mahāmeghasūtra* is not only completely missing this motif but rather depicts this period as a flourishing and blissful one. It seems that the *Mahāmeghasūtra* has replaced the narrative of decline connected

Āndhra.¹⁷ The river Krishna (*kṛṣṇā*), whose name is given in Chinese translation as Hei'an 黑闇, can be identified with relative certainty.¹⁸ The other names are not as straightforward but still create a link.

The name of the kingdom, Wuming 無明 ("Without Brightness"), is obviously an attempt at rendering the toponym Āndhra as being connected with Skt. *andha*, "blind, without vision,"¹⁹ possibly via a Middle Indo-Aryan form (cf. P. *andha*, *andhaka*).²⁰ This interpretation does not seem to be only a hypothetical one in a Buddhist, particularly a Chinese Buddhist,²¹ context where "blind" is a metaphor for ignorance (*avidyā*), delusion, and the like.²²

The king's name, Dengsheng 等乘, "Equal Vehicle," seems to be a "translation" attempt at the dynastic name of the Sātavāhanas, with a recognizable partial correspondence *sheng* 乘 = *vāhana*.²³ A possible reconstruction for the name of the princess/queen Zengchang 增長, "Growth," could be *Vṛddhi,²⁴ but

to the 700 years p.N. in other *tathāgatagarbha* texts—for whatever reason—with a story that is rather flattering for Āndhra. Logically then, the narrative of decline was shifted to a later period (see below).

17 See Lévi 1936: 116; Mabbett 1998: 337.

18 Lévi 1936: 116, who also gives the Tibetan form of the name, *nag po*, "black."

19 Lévi 1936: 116; see also Tibetan *mun pa can*, "obscure, dark," for *andhaka* (with *can* for suffix *-ka*). The Tang dictionary *Fan-fanyu* 翻梵語, in the section "Names of Countries" (*guotuming* 國土名), still preserves this meaning, although it uses a "correct" transcription of the toponym Āndhra (T.2130.1034b.15): 安陀羅: 譯曰盲也。"Antuoluo (**an-da-la*, i.e., Āndhra): translated [this] means 'blind!'"

20 CPD, s.v. ²Andha; see also Malalasekera 1974 [1937]: 106, s.v. Andhā (with wrong gender); 109–110.

21 Cf. HDC (Electronic version, Pleco), meaning 2. The meaning "blind" is already attested in pre-Buddhist literature, e.g., the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Jiuzhang 九章, Huaisha 懷沙, "Embracing the Sand"): 離婁微睇兮, 瞽以為無明。"And when Li Lou peers to discern minutest things, [t]he purblind think that he must be sightless"; translation Hawkes 2012: 170.

22 Cf. Wogihara & Tsuji 1979: 76a, s.v. *andha-kāra*; see also Lévi 1936: 116.

23 Lévi 1936: 97–98, gives an overview of Indian autochthonous explanations of this second part of the name and suggests that *deng* 等, "grade, equal," is a translation for Skt. *śāta* in the sense of "equal" ("poli, uni, égal")—the PW, s.v., only gives the meanings "gewetzt, geschärft; dünn, schmächtig" (from *śā*, "to grind, to sharpen")—a meaning only attested in the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (Sakaki 1916: 146, no. 1882: Tib. *phyal le* (*phyal la le*) *ba mñam pa*, lit. "coarse, rude" and "like, equal") (Lévi 1936: 117). I am not sure if this really is an explanation for the rendering of the first part of the name, normally given as Sāta- / Sāda- (see the attested form Sādavāhana in Kanaganahalli: Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: 29), as *deng* 等, "grade, equal." The Tibetan *rgyud pa gso ba*, lit. "to fasten, to pass (through)" and "to feed, to nourish," is neither clear itself nor does it help to explain the Chinese rendering. For a discussion of the Sātavāhana in Chinese texts, see Lévi 1936; on the different etymologies of the name see Ray 1986: 174–175.

24 Lévi 1936: 117: *śrīṛddhi*, Tib. *dpal 'phel*, lit. "wealth-increase."

Michael Radich has recently made a strong case that this may be linked to—and thereby be an attempt at translating—the name Vāsiṣṭhī.²⁵ Already Lévi made the very plausible suggestion that the city name Shugu 熟穀, “Ripe Grain,” has to do with Skt. *dhānya*,²⁶ and the Prakrit toponym Dhaññakaḍa (Amara-vati) is now attested in the Kanaganahalli inscriptions.²⁷

If the narrative in the *Mahāmeghasūtra* is indeed linked with Āndhra—and there seems no reason to doubt it—it may reflect a regional Buddhist legend of the time when the memory of the Sātavāhana was still part of the cultural memory and in which the flourishing of the kingdom and an ideal Buddhist reign is ascribed to a *bodhisattva*-like Sātavāhana queen.²⁸ The same text has another prophecy linked to South India under Sātavāhana rule (T.387.1099c.19–28):

爾時，一切南方天子，復以華、香供養世尊，白佛言：“世尊！如是弟子，何時當出？在何國土？名字何等？”佛言：“善男子！我涅槃後千二百年，南天竺地有大國王，名娑多婆呵那。法垂欲滅，餘四十年。是人爾時當於中出，講宣大乘方等經典，拯拔興起垂滅之法，廣令是經流布於世，教人具足執持、讀誦、書寫、解說，聽受其義。爾時，若有不能如是受持、解說是經典者，當知是人，非我弟子，魔之眷屬。”

At that time, all gods of the southern region also venerated the World-Honoured One with flower and incense, and said to the Buddha: “O World-Honoured One! When will such a disciple [of yours] appear? In which country? What is [his] name?” The Buddha said: “O son of good [families]! 1200 years²⁹ after my *nirvāṇa* there will be a great king at

25 Radich 2015a: 203, n. 495, as for instance in the royal name Vāsiṣṭhīputra (Pulumāyi/Puḷumāvi), “(P.) son of a woman of the Vāsiṣṭha *gotra*,” see also Shimada 2013: 52.

26 Lévi 1936: 117: Dhanyakaṭaka (i.e., Dhānyakaṭaka); Tib. *dpal yon*, lit. “gift of fortune.” In his study of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, Douglas Osto has rediscussed the theory, already brought forward by Lamotte and others, that the hometown of the protagonist of the text, Sudhana, Skt. Dhanyākāra, is related to Dhānyakaṭaka, and that the geographical origin of the *sūtra* is to be looked for in this region (2008: 108–109); see also Radich 2015a: 204–205, but also Walser’s critical remarks (2005: 27).

27 Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: 33, *dhaññakaḍaka*; 47, and *passim*.

28 Radich 2015a: 202–205. The idea that this may be related to the hypothetical link between the presence of “Southern Mahāsāṅghika” groups, and Mahāyāna (especially *tathāgata-garbha*) scriptures like the *Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanāda-sūtra*, as proposed by scholars like Wayman (1978: 42–43), Paul (1974: 10–18), and Barber (2008: 153–156), is purely speculative and has been critically assessed by Tournier 2017: 284–286 and 2018: 26–27.

29 Radich (2015a: 66, n. 148) speculates that this number has to do with a connection made

[some] place in South India called Suoduopohe'na.³⁰ [When only] forty years are left until the Dharma declines [to the extent] of being destroyed, this man will appear in [this country], will expound the *vaipulyasūtra* of the Mahāyāna, will re-establish the prosperity of the destroyed Dharma; [he] will cause the wide distribution of this *sūtra*, will teach people to fully hold it, recite it, copy it, expound it, listen to its meaning. Thereupon, there will be [people who] will not be able to accept and expound this *sūtra* in this way—[you] should know [that they] are not my disciples [but] followers of Māra."

Sylvain Lévi, who again was the first to draw attention to and translate this prophecy, in a rare case of misunderstanding, identified the man (*shi ren* 是人) who propagates the *vaipulyasūtra* as the king.³¹ The champion of the Mahāyāna-sūtra is left anonymous, but clearly is not the king.³² In this narrative—unlike in the previous one—the kingdom of Āndhra is embedded in a scenario of the impending decline or even destruction (*chui mie* 垂滅) of the Dharma; it is only through the action of a Mahāyāna-saviour that the disappearance of the Dharma and the consequences for the people who are willing to follow it are prevented. The narrative in the *Mahāmeghasū-*

with the reign of empress Wu Zetian—in which case this must have been inserted into Dharmakṣema's translation at the time. But I think that a better and easier explanation is to be found in the inner logic of the prophecies in the *Mahāmeghasūtra* and its shift of 700 years marking the end of the Dharma to 700 years for the appearance of the righteous queen in Āndhra, along with its repositioning of the end of the Dharma narrative: 700 + the "standard" 500 years as the length of a period = 1200.

30 娑多婆呵那 / **sa-ta-ba-xa-na*: Sātavāhana. The fact that a transliteration is used here instead of a translation (Dengsheng) as in the prophecy discussed above provokes the question whether one of the narratives has been inserted from a different context. As the "queen" story is more coherent, I am tempted to suggest that the present story was adapted and inserted from the "standard" decline narrative of other *tathāgatagarbha* texts, discussed by Radich 2015a. This would also make sense in the light of the following prophecy (1100a.4–16) connected to Saurāṣṭra / Surāṣṭra (Xulaizha 須賴吒 / **suṣ-lajh-trɛ*), which shows some deficiencies in terms of coherence as well (Saurāṣṭra located in South India instead of West India, no name of the protagonist, no number of years p.N.) when compared with the "standard" narrative (see Radich 2015a.: 199 ff.); the prophecies in this text deserve a more detailed study.

31 Lévi (1936: 116): "Śātavāhana est devenu le champion et l'apôtre du Mahāyāna." This identification may have been triggered by the gods' asking for a name (which is then not provided by the Buddha).

32 This anonymous figure is, at some point in the transmission history of this prophecy, identified with Nāgārjuna. See Ye 2023. I owe this reference to Vincent Tournier.

tra obviously is fragmentary, and it is also not in its storyline.³³ This idea of Āndhra as a region where moral and religious decline can prevail is also found in other contexts:³⁴ according to the *Zhengfa-nianchu-jing* 正法念處經 (Skt. *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna-sūtra*), translated by the Central Indian monk *Prajñāruci / Banruoliuzhi 般若流支 (fl. 516–543), it is one of the uncivilized and evil borderlands (*biandi* 邊地)³⁵—obviously seen from a northern point of view³⁶—where one is reborn as retribution for bad *karma* (T.721.60c.4–7):

若生人中同業之處，生於邊地、樹林國土，陀羅毘羅、安陀羅等惡國土中，貧窮多病，繫屬於他。是彼惡業餘殘果報。

If [such a person] is born at a place among humans, [he] will be born in a borderland, in a jungle-country, in evil countries like Tuoluopiluo or Antuoluo,³⁷ poor [and tormented] by many diseases, belonging to others. This is the retribution for his remaining bad *karma*.

33 Missing “bits” may be restored from other prophecies studied by Radich 2015a, particularly 199–201.

34 An unnamed king of Āndhra is mentioned as plotting against his neighbour, king Ayiduo 阿逸多 / **ʔa-jit-ta* (Middle Indo-Aryan Ayita = Skt. Ajita, explained as Wunengsheng 無能勝, “Who cannot be defeated” in the Tang dictionary *Yiqiejing-yinyi* 一切經音義, T.2128.444b.2, et passim) of Mālava (Moluopo 摩羅婆) in the *Weicengyou-yinyuan-jing* 未曾有因緣經, translated by Tanjing 曇景 (fl. 479–502) (T.754.578b.6–28).

35 See also in the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-upadeśa* / *Da-zhidu-lun* 大智度論 (T.1509.243a.9–11): 弊生處者，安陀羅，舍婆羅(裸國也)，兜佉羅(小月氏)，修利，安息，大秦國等；在此邊國中生，若在大眾中，則多怖畏。“Places of evil birth [are] for example: Āndhra, Śavara (kingdom of the nudes), Tukhāra (Small Yueshi), Sogdiana, Arsak (Parthia), the Levant; if [one] is born in [any of] these borderland kingdoms and is in a big community then [one] is mostly scared.” See the translation and commentary by Lamotte (1970: 1584–1585) whose reconstruction I adapt, except of the last of the toponyms (Daqin). This passage, in a commentary to a work ascribed to Nāgārjuna who held, according to Buddhist tradition, such close links with the region, triggered Étienne Lamotte to state: “... on voit mal comment l’auteur du *Traité* peut manifester ici tant de mépris pour l’Andhradeśa en le plaçant en tête de liste des lieux de naissance vile” (Lamotte 1970: 1584, n. 1). A similar judgement, probably rather reflecting a regional dislike of Sri Lankan Buddhists than a traditional inherited Buddhist bias, is given in the *Saman-tapāsādikā* (Takakusu & Nagai 1975: 255) which calls “unnoble” (*anariyaka*) the way of speech (*vohāra*) in Āndhra (Andha), Damiḷa and other regions.

36 For the Northwestern “setting” of this text see the discussion in Lin 1949: 51–52, and, more recently, Stuart 2020: 280. I thank Vincent Tournier for these references.

37 That Antuoluo 安陀羅 / **ʔan-da-la*, is indeed Āndhra is supported by the preceding toponym Tuoluopiluo 陀羅毘羅 / **da-la-bji-la*, Skt. Draviḍa. Prajñāruci’s text reflects some concrete geographical knowledge: it is, as far as I am aware, the only Chinese text which mentions the Godāvarī river (T.721.401c.17: Qutuopoli 瞿陀婆利 / **guṣ-da-ba-lith*), with Āndhra (19) as an adjacent kingdom.

Support for this interpretation of the prophecy in the *Mahāmeghasūtra* comes from an Old Uyghur manuscript fragment from Central Asia (Autonomous Region of Xinjiang in Western China) studied by Peter Zieme which refers to a narrative of decline of the Dharma in the region of Āndhra and the appearance of a (Buddhist) saint who encourages the people to follow the Dharma. See the appendix.

The Old Uyghur parallel specifies that the South Indian kingdom in the *Mahāmeghasūtra* is indeed Āndhra, but in a more general way it reflects the popularity and the astonishing continuity of a story of decline but final preservation of the Dharma in Āndhra.

2 Xuanzang's "Description" of Āndhra

Other than the brief references to Āndhra in Buddhist *sūtras* discussed above, the only—and quite extensive and detailed—report on Āndhra is, as to be expected, found in Xuanzang's 玄奘 (600/602–664) *Datang-xiyu-ji* 大唐西域記, the "Record of the Western Regions of the Great Tang," which other later Buddhist sources then quote and rely on when referring to Āndhra.³⁸ Xuanzang might have visited the region around 637 CE and stayed there for several months. I will first give a translation of Xuanzang's passage and will then attempt to contextualize and analyse the information presented in the text. The full passage about the region in the *Datang-xiyu-ji* is found in the tenth fascicle (*juan* 卷) (T.2087.930a.27–931b.4):³⁹

從此大林中南行九百餘里，至案達羅國(南印度境)。案達羅國周三千餘里。國大都城周二十餘里，號瓶耆羅。土地良沃，稼穡豐盛。氣序溫暑，風俗猛暴。語言辭調異中印度，至於文字，軌則大同。伽藍二十餘所，僧徒三千餘人。天祠三十餘所，異道寔多。瓶耆羅城側不遠，有大伽藍，重閣層臺，製窮剏剏。佛像聖容，麗極工思。伽藍前有石窣堵波，高數百尺，並阿折羅(唐言所行)阿羅漢之所建也。所行羅漢伽藍西南不遠，有窣堵波，無憂王之所建也。如來在昔於此

38 Parts of this report are quoted or repeated in Huili's 慧立 biography of Xuanzang (T.2053.241b.11 ff.); Daoxuan's 道宣 *Shijia-fangzhi* 釋迦方志 (T.2088.966b.25 ff.); Daoshi's 道世 *Fayuan-zhulin* 法苑珠林 (T.2122.505a.21 ff.); Huizhao's 惠沼 *Chengweishi-lun-liaoyi-deng* 成唯識論了義燈 (T.1832.666b.13 ff.); Yinming-ru-zhengli-lun-shu 因明入正理論疏 (T.1840.91c.17 ff.).

39 The Chinese text of the *Datang-xiyu-ji* is cited from the critical edition by Ji (1985: 832–846), although I indicated the Taishō references (T.) since this edition, particularly in its electronic CBETA version, is the usual point of reference for users of the Chinese original.

說法，現大神通，度無量眾。所行羅漢伽藍西南，行二十餘里，至孤山。山嶺有石窰堵波，陳那(唐言童授)菩薩於此作《因明論》。陳那菩薩者，佛去世後，承風染衣，智願廣大，慧力深固，愍世無依，思弘聖教。以為因明之論，言深理廣，學者虛功，難以成業。乃匿迹幽巖，棲神寂定，觀述作之利害，審文義之繁約。是時崖谷震響，煙雲變采，山神捧菩薩高數百尺，唱如是言：“昔佛世尊善權導物，以慈悲心，說《因明論》，綜括妙理，深究微言。如來寂滅，大義泯絕，今者陳那菩薩福智悠遠，深達聖旨，因明之論，重弘茲日。”菩薩乃放大光明，照燭幽昧。時此國王深生尊敬，見此光明相，疑入金剛定，因請菩薩證無生果。陳那曰：“吾入定觀察，欲釋深經，心期正覺，非願無生果也。”王曰：“無生之果，眾聖欣仰。斷三界欲，洞三明智，斯盛事也，願疾證之！”陳那是時心悅王請，方欲證受無學聖果。時妙吉祥菩薩知而惜焉，欲相警誡，乃彈指悟之而告曰：“惜哉，如何捨廣大心，為狹劣志，從獨善之懷，棄兼濟之願！欲為善利，當廣傳說慈氏菩薩所製《瑜伽師地論》，導誘後學，為利甚大。”陳那菩薩敬受指誨，奉以周旋。於是覃思沈研，廣因明論。猶恐學者懼其文微辭約也，乃舉其大義，綜其微言，作《因明論》，以導後進。自茲已後，宣暢《瑜伽》盛業，門人有知當世。從此林野中南行千餘里，至馱那羯磔迦國(亦謂大安達邏國，南印度境)。馱那羯磔迦國周六千餘里。國大都城周四十餘里。土地膏腴，稼穡殷盛。荒野多，邑居少。氣序溫暑，人貌鰲黑。性猛烈，好學藝。伽藍鱗次，荒蕪已甚，存者二十餘所。僧徒千餘人，並多習學大眾部法。天祠百餘所，異道寔多。城東據山有弗婆勢羅(唐言東山)僧伽藍，城西據山有阿伐羅勢羅(唐言西山)僧伽藍，此國先王為佛建焉。奠川通徑，疏崖峙閣，長廊步簷，枕巖接岫，靈神警衛，聖賢遊息。自佛寂滅，千年之內，每歲有千凡夫僧同入安居。其解安居日，皆證羅漢，以神通力，凌虛而去。千年之後，凡聖同居。自百餘年，無復僧侶。而山神易形，或作豺狼，或為獫狫，驚恐行人，以故空荒，闕無僧眾。城南不遠有大山巖，婆毗吠伽(唐言清辯)論師住阿素洛宮待見慈氏菩薩成佛之處。論師雅量弘遠，至德深邃，外示僧佉之服，內弘龍猛之學，聞摩揭頓國護法菩薩宣揚法教，學徒數千，有懷談議，杖錫而往。至波吒釐城，知護法菩薩在菩提樹，論師乃命門人曰：“汝行詣菩提樹護法菩薩所，如我辭曰：‘菩薩宣揚遺教，導誘迷徒，仰德虛心，為日已久，然以宿願未果，遂乖禮謁。菩提樹者，誓不空見，見當有證，稱天人師。’”護法菩薩謂其使曰：“人世如幻，身命若浮，渴日勤誠，未遑談議。”人信往復，竟不會見。論師既還本土，靜而思曰：“非慈氏成佛，誰決我疑？”於觀自在菩薩像前誦《隨心陀羅尼》，絕粒飲水，時歷三歲。觀自在菩薩乃現妙色身，謂論師曰：“何所志乎？”對曰：“願留此身，待見慈氏！”觀自在菩薩曰：“人命危脆，世間浮幻，宜修勝善，願生觀史多天，於斯禮觀，尚速待見。”論師曰：“志不可奪，心不可貳。”菩

薩曰：“若然者，宜往馱那羯磔迦國城南山巖執金剛神所，至誠誦持《執金剛陀羅尼》者，當遂此願。”論師於是往而誦焉。三歲之後，神乃謂曰：“伊何所願，若此勤勵？”論師曰：“願留此身，待見慈氏。觀自在菩薩指遣來請，成我願者，其在神乎？”神乃授祕方而謂之曰：“此巖石內有阿素洛宮，如法行請，石壁常開。開即入中，可以待見。”論師曰：“幽居無覩，詎知佛興？”執金剛曰：“慈氏出世，我當相報。”論師受命，專精誦持，復歷三歲，初無異想，呪芥子以擊石巖壁，豁而洞開。是時百千萬眾觀覩忘返，論師跨其戶而告眾曰：“吾久祈請，待見慈氏，聖靈警祐，大願斯遂。宜可入此，同見佛興。”聞者怖駭，莫敢履戶，謂是毒蛇之窟，恐喪身命。再三告語，唯有六人從入。論師顧謝時眾，從容而入。入之既已，石壁還合。眾皆怨嗟，恨前言之過也。自此西南行千餘里，至珠利耶國(南印度境)。

Going more than nine hundred miles from there (i.e., Baluomoqili⁴⁰) through a big forest in a western [direction, one] arrives in the kingdom of Andalu⁴¹—in the region of Southern India.

The kingdom of Andalu has a circumference of more than three thousand miles. The great capital of the kingdom has a circumference of more than twenty miles and is called Pingqiluo.⁴² The soil is fertile, and farming produces generous harvests. The seasons are hot, and the customs are fierce and violent. The words and the intonation of the language are different from [those of] Central India, [but] as for the script, the rules are generally the same. There are more than twenty monasteries and more than three thousand monks. There are more than thirty *deva*-temples and a huge number of heretics.

Flanking the city of Pingqiluo, not far away, is a big monastery with multi-storeyed pagodas and terraces and [decorated] with endless carving. The divine appearance of the Buddha statues is as marvellous as a craftsman [is able] to conceive. In front of the monastery is a stone *stūpa*, several hundred feet high and completely built by the Arhat Azheluo⁴³—in the language of the Tang [this means:] “Who Is Moved.”

40 跋邏末羅耆釐 / **bat-la^h-mat-la-gji-li*, Skt. Bhramaragiri, Chin. Heifeng 黑蜂, “Black (or Dark) Bee”.

41 案達羅 / **ʔan^h-dat-la*, Skt. Āndhra.

42 瓶耆羅 / **bejŋ-gji-la*, Skt. *Veṅgira.

43 阿折羅 / **ʔa-tciat-la*, Skt. Ācala, Chin. Suoxing 所行. Other scholars (e.g., Ji 1985: 836, n. 1; Mizutani 1999: 3, 250, n. 1) reconstruct *ācāra* (*ā-√car* = *xing* 行), but as Vincent Tournier has pointed out to me, the inscription of Buddhābhadrā in Ajanta cave xxvi as well as other epigraphic evidence help to restore the correct form of the name of this Arhat as

To the southwest of the monastery of the Arhat “Who Is Moved” is a *stūpa* built by king Aśoka. There the Tathāgata formerly preached the Dharma, displayed [his] great supernatural powers, and converted multitudes of people.

Going more than twenty miles from the monastery of the Arhat “Who Is Moved” towards the southwest, one arrives at a solitary mountain. On the mountain ridge is a *stūpa* [marking] the place where the Bodhisattva Chenna⁴⁴—in the language of the Tang [this means] “Given by a Child”—wrote the “Treatise of the Knowledge of Causes.”⁴⁵ The Bodhisattva Chenna was converted⁴⁶ and [received] the dyed robes after the Buddha had left the world. [His] desire for wisdom was great, [and his] intellectual power was profound and firm; [he] was compassionate

Acala. In Buddhahadra's inscription, he is called “Venerable Acala, a Sage ...” (*sthavirā-calena muninā*), see Tournier 2020a: 206, 215–218. Returning to 所行, Chinese *xíng* 行 can translate Indic words derived from either $\sqrt{car}$ (“to act, to do”) or $\sqrt{cal}$ (“to move, to go”). Corresponding with Acala, the *a* in the second syllable in Xuanzang's name has to be short because of the final stop (**tɕiat*), which excludes a reconstruction **ācāra* (or **ācāla*); but the first syllable (阿 *a* / **ʔa*), if we follow Xuanzang's odd translation *suoxing* 所行, should represent a long *ā* of the Indic name since there is no sign of an alpha privative (*a-*) in the Chinese translation of the name. I therefore propose **Ācala* as reconstruction for Xuanzang's form of the name; his *suoxing* / **Ācala* may be based on a corrupt form of an original Acala.

- 44 陳那 / **drin-na'*, Skt. **Diṇṇa* via Pkt. (? or **ḍiṇṇa*; abbreviated for Dignāga: see below), Chin. Tongshou 童授. The form of the name as it is presented in most text recensions which Ji and I follow, which adds *tong* 童 in the semantic rendering, is intriguing since the transliteration only covers *shou* 授 = *diṇṇa*, “given,” as a participle of $\sqrt{dā}$ (see e.g. Chuyao-jing 出曜經, T.212.610c.27: Xuchenna 須陳那 = *Sudiṇṇa*). Ji (1985: 837, app. 2), suspects that this is a confusion with Kumāralāta / **Kumāralabdha* (Tongshou 童授) mentioned in the third and the twelfth fascicles. Thus, one should probably follow here T. (and Xuanzang's Biography: T.2053.241b.15) and assume that the commentarial note originally only had *shou* 授. The fact that Xuanzang goes on to use the transliteration rather than the usual semantic form of the name seems to reflect a certain degree of uncertainty. Strangely enough, Xuanzang's translation of the *Nyāyamukha* (see next note) gives the name of the author as Dayulong 大域龍, lit. “Nāga of the Great Region.” Xuanzang's own disciple Kuiji 窺基, in his commentary to the *Nyāyamukha*, *Yinming-zhengli-menlun-shisiguolei-shu* 因明正理門論十四過類疏, “Explanations about fourteen kinds of mistakes [with regard] to the *Hetuvidyā-nyāyamukha-śāstra*,” preserved in the *Zhaocheng-jinzang* 趙城金藏 edition of the canon, confirms the full transliteration of the name (Mohechennajia 摩訶陳那迦 / **ma-xa-drin-na-kia*, **Mahādiṇṇāga*) and the translation Dayulong (CBETA edition, A.1553.379b.7).
- 45 *Yinming-lun* 因明論, Skt. *Hetuvidyā[-nyāyamukha]-śāstra*, corresponding to *Yinming-zhengli-menlun* 因明正理門論, translated by Xuanzang (T.1628) and again by Yijing (T.1629).
- 46 *chengfeng* 承風: normally used for being cultivated; see HDC, s.v.

with the helpless world and considered spreading the teaching of the Saint. [He] considered the words of the discipline of the knowledge of causes⁴⁷ [so] profound and with principles [so] broad [that] a student with modest skills would have difficulty mastering [them]. Thus [he] went into seclusion on a concealed ledge to discipline [his] mind and, solitarily, [practice] contemplation, to look at the advantages and disadvantages of writing [a treatise], and to examine the complicated and simple [aspects] of the meaning [of his own text]. Then there was a shattering sound in the ravine, mist and clouds changed colour, and the mountain deity held the Bodhisattva Chenna up several hundred feet high and exclaimed as follows: “Formerly the Buddha, the World-Honoured One, guided the [living] beings skilfully and, with a compassionate mind, expounded the ‘Treatise of the Knowledge of Causes,’ [which] sums up the subtle wisdom and deeply investigates the profound words [of the Dharma]. [When] the Tathāgata [went] into extinction, [its] great meaning⁴⁸ was lost; [but] now the Bodhisattva Chenna with [his] lasting merits and wisdom has deeply understood the essential meaning of [what] the Saint [said], and the discipline of logic will now again be spread.” Then suddenly the Bodhisattva emitted a bright light [which] illuminated the darkness. Thereupon, the king of the kingdom had a deep veneration [for him], [and when he] saw the sign of the bright light [he] suspected that [Chenna] had entered the [stage of] diamond-contemplation,⁴⁹ and consequently asked the Bodhisattva to demonstrate the fruit of immortality.⁵⁰ Chenna said: “I have entered contemplation in order to investigate, and with a wish to explain, the profound *sūtra*, aspiring to full enlightenment,⁵¹ rather than concern for the fruits of immortality.” The king said: “[But] the fruits of immortality are enjoyed by all the saints. To cut off the desires of the three regions to penetrate the threefold wisdom, this is a great matter—may [you] quickly achieve this!” Chenna then was pleased with the king’s request, and [he] was just about to realise the sacred fruit

47 *yinming zhi lun* 因明之論: as indicated by the particle *zhi* 之 between *yinming* 因明 and *lun* 論, this term clearly does not refer to the title of the later work but to the more generic discipline (*lun*) of logic (*yinming*).

48 *dayi* 大義, i.e., its essence or gist.

49 *jīngāng-dīng* 金剛定, Skt. *vajrasamādhi*.

50 *zheng wusheng-guo* 證無生果: literally in a Buddhist sense “realizing the fruit of non-(re)birth,” i.e., entering *parinirvāṇa*.

51 *zhengjue* 正覺, Skt. *samyaksambodhi*.

of a non-learner.⁵² At that time the Bodhisattva “Delicate-Auspicious”⁵³ knew this, had pity on him, and wanted to give him a sign of admonishment; so, with a snap of his fingers, [he] made [him] understand by telling [him]: “What a pity! Why give up broad knowledge for narrow ambition; follow the feeling of single goodness and abandon the wish to save [others] at the same time! [If you] want to work for the benefit of [others], [you] must transmit widely the *Yujiaoshi-di-lun*⁵⁴ composed by the Bodhisattva Maitreya, guide students of later [periods], and cause truly great benefits.” The Bodhisattva Chenna respectfully accepted the instructions and paid [his] respects by a circumambulation. Then [he] concentrated deeply and immersed [himself] in spreading the theory of logic. [Since he] still feared that students were afraid of the subtleties of its text and the simplicity of its words, [he] then took the great meaning and synthesized [it] in simple words as the “Treatise of the Knowledge of Causes” in order to instruct the slower learners. From then on [he] widely propagated the grand achievements of the *Yujiaoshi-di-lun*, and his followers were known throughout the world.

Going more than one thousand miles from there in a southern [direction], through a forest wilderness, [one] arrives in the kingdom of Tuonajiezhejia⁵⁵—also called “Great Andaluo”⁵⁶ in the region of South India.

The kingdom of Tuonajiezhejia has a circumference of more than six thousand miles. Its great capital has a circumference of more than forty miles. The land is fertile, and farming is prosperous. There is a lot of wilderness and [only] a few settlements. The seasons are hot, and the complexion of the people is slightly dark. [Their] character is fierce, [but they] are fond of learning and skill. Monasteries stand close to each other, [but they] are already neglected and in disrepair; only a few more than twenty [of them] are preserved. There are more than one thousand monks who mostly study the Dharma of the “Section of the Great Community” (Mahāsāṅghika *nikāya*). There are more than one hundred *deva*-temples, and the heretics are really numerous.

On a mountain east of the city is the monastery Fuposhiluo⁵⁷ (in the language of the Tang, [this means] “Western Mountain”), and on a moun-

52 wuxue 無學, Skt. *aśaikṣa*.

53 Miao-jixiang 妙吉祥, Skt. Mañjuśrī.

54 瑜伽師地論, Skt. *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*.

55 馱那羯磔迦 / **da-na'-kiat-trejk-kia*, *Dhānakataka.

56 Da-andaluo 大安達邏.

57 弗婆勢羅 / **put-ba-ciaj^h-la*, Skt. Pūrvaśaila, Chin. Dongshan 東山.

tain west of the city is the monastery Afaluoshiluo⁵⁸ (in the language of the Tang [this means] “Eastern Mountain”). It was built for the Buddha by a former king of the kingdom. [The king] regulated the river [with a dam]⁵⁹ in order to create a path and cut out⁶⁰ the rock to erect pagodas with long corridors and porches, poised on the rocks and connecting the caves; spirits protect [them], and wise men travel [there] to stay. In the thousand years after the extinction of the Buddha, each year one thousand ordinary monks spent the rainy season retreat [there] together. On the day [when] their rainy season retreat ended, they all had realised arhatship and rose into the air by [their] supernatural powers and [flew] away. After a thousand years, ordinary [monks] and saints⁶¹ [still] resided [there] together. For the [last] one hundred years, no monks [lived there] anymore. The mountain deities sometimes transform [themselves] into jackals and wolves, and sometimes into apes, to terrify the travellers; and for this reason, [the place] is desolated, and has no *saṅgha*.

To the south of the city, not far away, is a huge mountain [which] is the place where the *śāstra*-master Popifeijia⁶² (in the language of the Tang,

58 阿伐羅勢羅 / **a-bat-la-ciaj^h-la*, Skt. Aparasāila, Chin. Xishan 西山. Vincent Tournier points out to me that in the inscriptions from Āndhra the first part of the compound is generally *apara*, with a single important exception (E1AD 55), where the monastic lineage benefitting from the land-grant is called Avara(dḍāra)seliya. Xuanzang's transcription interestingly suggests *avara* (or, rather unlikely, *abara*).

59 *ting* 奠. For this meaning see Zheng Sinong's 鄭司農 commentary on *Zhouli* 周禮 (*Kaogong-ji* 考工記, Jiangren 匠人), quoted by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄: 奠，讀為停，謂行停水，溝形當如磐，... “Ding: read as ‘ting,’ is called the blocking of the water by means of making a ditch like a stone wall ... in order to regulate the water ...”

60 Literally: “opened the mountain.” This description is very similar to that of the Bhramaragiri monastery given before, in some cases even verbatim. As Vincent Tournier suggests to me, this is interesting insofar as the foundation narrative which Xuanzang gives for the Bhramaragiri monastery has king Śātavāhana construct the monastery for Nāgārjuna. As it is only Xuanzang connecting Nāgārjuna to the Bhramaragiri monastery while most of the evidence points to Āndhra, is it possible that the legacy of the monastery of the famous master was transferred from Āndhra to another well-known monastery further to the north?

61 *fansheng* 凡聖. The number of 1000 years clearly points to a “standard” theory of decline (see also the discussion below). It is not clear to me whether this is at all connected to the 1200 years period in the *Mahāmeghasūtra*, and if so how. In this context it is interesting that Xuanzang's disciple Kuiji places Bhāviveka in the ninth century after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* (T.1695.24c.20f.).

62 婆毗吠伽 / **ba-bji-buajh-gia*, Skt. Bhāviveka, Chin. Qingbian 清辯. Here *bian* 辯, normally “debate” but also “to understand, to analyse,” is obviously taken in the sense of discrimination etc. (= *viveka*; see PW, s.v.: “Untersuchung, Kritik, Prüfung, richtige Unterscheidung, etc.”). *Qing* 清 seems to correspond to *bhā* in the sense of “to shine, to make apparent.”

[this means] “Clear-Debate”) dwells in the Asura-palace to wait until the Bodhisattva Maitreya has reached Buddhahood.⁶³ The magnanimity of the *śāstra*-master was wide and broad, [his] high virtues profound; to the outside [he] displayed the robes of the Sāṅkhya,⁶⁴ [but] inside [he] spread the teaching of “Nāga-Fierce,”⁶⁵ [and when he] heard that the Bodhisattva “Dharma-Protection”⁶⁶ was propagating the teaching of the Dharma in the kingdom of Magadha with several thousand disciples, [he] longed for a discussion [with him], [and so] took his mendicant’s staff and went [there]. [When he] arrived in the city of Bozhali⁶⁷ and was told that the Bodhisattva “Dharma-Protection” dwelt [near] the *bodhi*-tree, the *śāstra*-master ordered a follower: “Go to the *bodhi*-tree [where] the Bodhisattva ‘Dharma-Protection’ is and tell [him] what I say: ‘The Bodhisattva is propagating the inherited teaching to lead [those] followers [who have gone] astray, [and I] have modestly admired [your] virtues for a long time [now], but [my] long-given vow has not yet been fulfilled, [and I] therefore have to decline from paying [you] a visit of veneration. [I] have sworn not to view the *bodhi*-tree in vain [but only] under the condition, [that I] have attained the realization [of the ultimate goal] and am called the teacher of gods and men.’” The Bodhisattva “Dharma-Protection” told the messenger: “The human world is like an illusion, and body and life are floating; [since I] strive diligently all day long, [I] do not have time for a discussion.” People and messages went forth and back, [but] in the end, [they] did not meet. Then the *śāstra*-master returned to his country and pondered calmly, saying: “The Bodhisattva Maitreya has not attained Buddhahood [yet]—who [can] solve my doubts?” [He] recited the “Dhāraṇī of Compliance”⁶⁸ in front of a statue of the Bodhi-

63 Malcolm Eckel compares the story of Bhāviveka with the well-known legend of Mahākāśyapa waiting in the in the Kukkuṭapāda mountain for the advent of Maitreya (1992: 13–15); for more details about this narrative, see Deeg 1999 and Tournier 2012, the latter giving a detailed analysis of the Silao inscription, where the element of the Asura cave is, however, missing completely; in this context Eckel rightly mentions other legends of visits to the Asura caves (as found, for instance, in Xuanzang’s description of Rājagṛha). I have to thank Vincent Tournier for pointing out to me Eckel’s discussion of this narrative.

64 *sengqu* 僧佉 / *səŋ-kʰia.

65 Longmeng 龍猛: Nāgārjuna.

66 Hufa 護法, Skt. Dharmapāla.

67 波吒釐 / *pa-trɛːh-li: Pātali[putra].

68 *Suixin-tuoluoni* 隨心陀羅尼: *Cittānuyrttidhāraṇī? The commentaries (Ji 1985: 846, n. 2; Mizutani 1999: 3, 261, n. 2) give the title *Mahākāraṇīkacitta-dhāraṇī* as an abbreviation of a *Qianshou-qianyan-Guanyin-dashi-dabeixin-tuoluoni* 千手千眼觀音大悲心陀羅尼, “Dhāraṇī of the Great Compassion of the Thousand-Armed and Thousand-Eyed Great

sattva Avalokiteśvara, and, for three years, abstained [from taking even] a grain [of food and only] drank water. Only then did the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara show [his] subtle appearance and say to the *śāstra*-master: “What is [your] ambition?” [He] answered: “[I] wish to stay in this body and await Maitreya!” The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara said: “Human life is [fraught with] dangers and is fragile, and the world is illusory; [you] should practice perfect goodness, vow to be born in Dushiduo-heaven,⁶⁹ respectfully ask for an audience there, and wait to be seen [by Maitreya] as fast [as possible].” The *śāstra*-master said: “[My] ambition cannot be forced, [and my] mind cannot be changed.” The Bodhisattva said: “If that is the case, [you] should go to the mountain south of the city of the kingdom of Tuonajiezhejia where the spirit “Holder of the Diamond-Bolt”⁷⁰ [resides] and with the utmost sincerity continue to recite the “Dhāraṇī of the Holder of the Diamond-Bolt,”⁷¹ and [your] wish will be fulfilled.” Thereupon the *śāstra*-master went there and recited the [*dhāraṇī*]. After three years [then] the god said [to him]: “What is it that he [who] strives hard in such a way wishes?” The *śāstra*-master said: “[I] wish to stay in this body and await Maitreya. The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara has sent [me here] to ask: Are [you] now the spirit who [can] fulfil my wish?” Then the spirit conveyed the secret [to him] telling [him]: “Inside of this rock is an Asura-palace. [If you] bring forward [your] request according to the method [which I tell you], the cliff will always open up. [When it] is open go inside [and you] will be able to wait to encounter [Maitreya].” The *śāstra*-master said: “[In] this obscure dwelling [one can] not see—how can [I] know that the Buddha has arisen?” “Holder of the Diamond-Bolt” said: “[When] Maitreya comes into the world I will announce [it].” The *śāstra*-master accepted this advice and continuously recited [the *dhā*-

Master Avalokiteśvara,” but I was neither able to verify the Sanskrit title nor find a *dhāraṇī* with exactly this Chinese title. This title refers to one of the *dhāraṇīs* addressed to Avalokiteśvara, but it is not clear to which one; the most likely “candidate” is the *Guanzizai-pusa*-(*dafuduoli*)-*suixin-tuoluoni-jing* 觀自在薩(怛嚩多唎)隨心陀羅尼經 (T.1103), translated by Zhitong 智通 who worked at the Dazongchi-si 大總持寺 in Chang’an at the same time as Xuanzang.

69 觀史多 / **to’-ṣi’-ta*: Tuṣṭa.

70 Zhijin’gang(-shen) 執金剛(神), Skt. Vajradhara = Vajrapāṇi; Xuanzang here—and elsewhere (T.220.265c.16, *passim*)—uses *shen* 神 as a term corresponding to *yakṣa* (as suggested to me by Vincent Tournier).

71 *Zhijin’gang-tuoluoni* 執金剛陀羅尼: this is said to correspond to the *Jin’gang-chang-tuoluoni-jing* 金剛場陀羅尼經, Skt. **Vajramantra-dhāraṇī* (T.1345), translated by the Gandhāran monk She’najueduo, or rather its *mantra*-part.

rañī] with full concentration, and after another three years passed, without deviating from his initial thoughts, [he] charmed a mustard seed⁷² and [with it] struck the rockface of the cliff which split wide open. At that time a crowd of hundreds of thousands⁷³ observed [this] and forgot to return [home]; the *śāstra*-master stepped through the gate and told the crowd: “I have requested for a long time to [be able to] await Maitreya, and with the protection of the spiritual beings, [my] great wish is now fulfilled. [You] can enter this [cave now] and together [with me] see the advent of the Buddha.” [When they] heard [this, they] were afraid, and no one dared to walk through the gate, saying it was the cave of poisonous snakes and [they] feared for their bodies and lives. [He] asked [them] some more times, but only six people followed [him] and entered [the cave]. The *śāstra*-master turned and bade farewell to the crowd that was then present, and calmly entered [the cave]. As soon as [he] had entered the cliff closed again. [The people] in the crowd sighed and regretted [their] former mistaken words.

Going more than one thousand miles from there in a southwestern [direction, one] arrives in the kingdom of Zhuliye⁷⁴ (in the territory of South India).

Except for what I give in the notes of my translation, I will skip here a discussion of the narratives about the different Mahāyāna masters (Dīnnāga, Bhāviveka⁷⁵) ascribed by Xuanzang to the region which would need more research and space; but it is obvious that the report tries to show that Mahāyāna has been flourishing in Āndhra / Andaluo 案達羅 / **ʔan^h-dat-la*.

72 *zhou jiezi* 呪芥子: Mizutani 1999: 3, 261, n. 4, points out that mustard seeds are frequently used in esoteric contexts, and that in Amoghavajra's *Jinggangding-jing-dayujia-mimi-xindifamen-yijue* 金剛頂經大瑜伽祕密心地法門義訣 (Mizutani uses the abbreviated title *Jinggangding-jing-yijue* 金剛頂經義訣) a similar episode is reported for a *bhadanta*—Mizutani wrongly claims that this is Nāgārjuna—from Central India who goes to South India and opens an iron *stūpa* with a *sūtra* inside by hitting the closed doors with seven mustard seeds (T.1798.808a.26–808b.14).

73 *baiqianwanzhong* 百千萬眾: taken literally this would mean “ten billion,” but obviously stands for a very large crowd, *wanzhong* 萬眾 meaning exactly that.

74 珠利耶 / **tcuā-li^h-jia*, Skt. **Colya* / **Culya* / *Coliya*; Vincent Tournier reminds me that only this last form of the name is attested, for instance in Pāla inscriptions.

75 One could add Nāgārjuna who is mentioned in the description of the kingdom of Qiaosaluo 僑薩羅 / Kosala further north and is, according to Xuanzang, protected by the king Suoduopohe 娑多婆訶 / **Sātavāha*(na). More recent scholarship has located Nāgārjuna in a Mahāsāṅghika environment in Āndhra; see Walser 2005: 59–65, and particularly Ollett 2018: 453–466.

Xuanzang divides the wider region into Āndhra and Great Āndhra / Da-andaluo 大安達邏 or Tuonajiezhejia 馱那羯磔迦 / **da-na'-kiat-trɛjk-kia*, which can be reconstructed as *Dhāṇakaṭaka and corresponds to Skt. Dhānyakaṭaka (and its variants)⁷⁶ in the Indian sources.⁷⁷ He gives the name of the capital of Āndhra as Pingqiluo 瓶耆羅 / **bɛŋ-gji-la*, Skt. *Veṅgi(pu)ra.⁷⁸ He describes the capital of Dhānyakaṭaka / Greater Āndhra but does not mention the name, perhaps because he takes the name of the capital for the name of the kingdom.

It is striking that neither the Sātavāhana nor the Ikṣvāku dynasty are mentioned, although Xuanzang—as does Yijing⁷⁹—knows a king named Sātavāhana as the protector of Nāgārjuna.⁸⁰ Very likely, a king called Sātavāha(na) had already been connected to Nāgārjuna⁸¹ and a region more to the north (Xuanzang's Kosala in the north-western Deccan) rather than with the specific region of Āndhra.⁸²

According to Xuanzang the situation of Buddhism in both regions was quite different. Āndhra proper, on the one hand, had more than twenty monasteries with three thousand monks—Xuanzang, against his descriptive habit, does not give any *nikāya* affiliation—and a very prominent monastery associated with the Arhat Acala, as well as a strong presence of heretics (more than thirty

76 It should be noted that the syllable *na* 那 / **na* in Xuanzang's transcription of the toponym cannot stand for Skt. *nya* or Middle Indo-Aryan *ña* in the inscriptions; see also Mizutani 1999: 3, 254, n. 1. For the sake of clarity, I will use the proper Sanskrit form of the name.

77 For the capital of the Āndhras in the 1st century, see Ray 1986: 35 and Mabbett 1993; on the identification with Amaravati, see Ray 1986: 77, or more specifically with Dharanikota, a site west of Amaravati on the southern bank of the Krishna, see Shimada 2013: 36 (map 3), 38.

78 Excavated and identified as the archaeological site of Peddavegi, between the Krishna and Godavari rivers about 10 km north of Eluru, with a relatively late earliest stratum dated to the 4th / 5th cent. (Subramanian 1932 [1989]: 118; Sarma 2002). Interestingly, Xuanzang does not transcribe the *akṣara pu-* (in *-pura*), although there are enough examples where he does so in a regular way as *buluo* 補羅 / **pɔ'-la* (e.g. Sīṃhapura, Ānandapura, etc.). One can only speculate that the form of the toponym he encountered had lost the plosive *p* (Mizutani 1999: 3, 249, n. 3, quotes Telugu **veṅgiura*). See also Mizutani 1999: 3, 249, n. 2 and Ji 1985: 835, n. 2.

79 T.2125.227c.13 ff.: Suoduopohanna 娑多婆漢那; the personal name is given as Shiyindejia 市寅得迦 / **dzi'-jin-tak-kia*, which Lévi (1936: 107) reconstructed as Jantaka. In whichever way this transcription is reconstructed, it does not correspond to the name of any Sātavāhana ruler; Walser (2005: 63) has interpreted this name, not very convincingly, as a Chinese transcription of Dhānya[ka]ṭaka.

80 T.2087.929a.25 ff.

81 This is reflected in the famous *Suḥṛllekha*, “Letter to a Friend,” allegedly written by Nāgārjuna to a Sātavāhana king. Cf. Dietz 1984: 18–30.

82 For the “chronology” of the name Āndhra, see Ray 1986: 173–174.

temples). Dhānyakaṭaka, on the other hand, had many deserted monasteries, only twenty populated with a thousand monks belonging to the Mahāsāṅghika *nikāya*,⁸³ and more than one hundred temples of heretics. Xuanzang also paints a scenario of the decay of the *saṅgha* in a chronology of decline which mirrors the more traditional narrative of the decline of the Dharma.⁸⁴ The record here seems to imply that Buddhism was more in decline in the southern part of the wider Āndhra region, in Xuanzang's "Great Āndhra"—the epithet still memorializing its former glory—or Dhānyakaṭaka in the first half of the seventh century.

Although the Mahāsāṅghika community as such is not attested in the epigraphic record of the regions, several groups are attested which are understood, in literary sources, as stemming from the Mahāsāṅghikas.⁸⁵ In the **Samayabhedoparacanacakra*, the **Śāriputrapariṣcchā*, the Pali commentary to the *Kathāvatthu*,⁸⁶ and Bhāviveka's *Tarkajvālā*,⁸⁷ the Mahāsāṅghikas are said to

83 Xuanzang's biography at the same time relativizes and confirms this negative depiction when it describes Xuanzang's activities in the region (T.2053.241b.27ff.): 法師在其國逢二僧，一名蘇部底，二名蘇利耶，善解大眾部三藏，法師因就停數月，學大眾部《根本阿毘達磨》等論，彼亦依法師學大乘諸論，遂結志同，行巡禮聖迹。 "The Dharma master met two monks in this kingdom, one called Subhūti and the other called Sūrya; [both of them] excelled in expounding the Tripiṭaka of the Mahāsāṅghikas, and therefore the Dharma master stayed several months, studied the **Mūlābhidharma* and other *śāstras* of the Mahāsāṅghikas, and they learned the Mahāyāna *śāstras* from the Dharma master, and thereupon [they] agreed to make pilgrimages to the sacred places together."

84 During the 1000 years, monks still attain arhatship; in the subsequent (unspecified) period a functioning *saṅgha* is existent, but in the last hundred years the monasteries have been abandoned. It is not clear which chronology Xuanzang adhered to: in his description of Kuśinagara he states that different "schools" give different number of years between the *parinirvāṇa* and the time of his journey (T.2087.903b.24–27): 自佛涅槃，諸部異議，或云千二百餘年，或云千三百餘年，或云千五百餘年，或云已過九百，未滿千年。 "[As for the time] between [now] and the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha, the *nikāyas* have different views, either [giving] 1200 years or 1300 years or 1500 years or more than 900 years [but] not yet a complete 1000 years." See also Ji 1985: 542, n. 3; Matsumura 1997: 62–63 and 65. But it can be concluded from this passage that more than 1000+100 years should have passed after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, either 1200, 1300 or 1500 years. This and other indications suggest that Xuanzang believed—probably in accordance with the 1000-years *saddharma-/zhengfa* 正法 timetable of the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā* (Nattier 1991: 42–46)—himself to be living during the period of the *xiangfa* 像法 or **prātirūpaka-dharma*.

85 On Buddhist *nikāyas* attested in the epigraphy of the Āndhra region, see Tournier 2023 and, focusing on Kanaganahalli, Tournier 2020b.

86 The author of the *Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā* counts the Pubbaseliyas and Aparaseliyas among the four "Andhaka" schools, see Kieffer-Pülz in this volume, p. 529.

87 See Tournier 2017: 30–33.

have split into different subgroups. It is not surprising that Xuanzang, who himself undertook the third translation of the **Samayabhedoparacanacakra* (*Yibuzong-lunlun* 異部宗輪論, T.2031), refers to two of these subgroups, the Pūrvaśaila (Fuposhiluo 弗婆勢羅 / **put-ba-čiai^h-la*, Chin. Dongshan 東山) and the Aparāśaila (Afuluoshiluo 阿伐羅勢羅 / **ʔa-bat-la-čiai^h-la*, Chin. Xishan 西山),⁸⁸ a situation also confirmed by the epigraphic evidence.

Overall, Xuanzang's report implies a shift of the political and religious centres from the area around the banks of the Krishna River to the Godavari River.⁸⁹ The fact that the new capital Veṅḡpura was located inland between the two rivers may indicate a decline of economic activities along the coastline and, on a larger scale, across the Gulf of Bengal. But the consolidation of such a conclusion needs the support of other sources.

Appendix: Note on Āndhra in Old Uyghur Sources (*by Peter Zieme*)

Some data about Āndhra were known to the Old Uyghurs through their translation of the Biography of Xuanzang. The region's term is *'ntr'vyš'ay'* which goes back to Sanskrit **āndhra-viśaya* "Āndhra-Land", i.e., the country of Āndhra.⁹⁰ Another Old Uyghur source is a text preserved in Sogdian script.⁹¹ There are two leaves of the same manuscript both with recto and verso but the connection of the two leaves is not very clear. In one of the two fragments, the name of Āndhra is given as *'ntryv's*, reconstructed from two occurrences (one attesting to the beginning of the word, the other, to the end);⁹² this can be explained as *āndhravāsa*, where *vāsa* is "living place or settlement," in which case one Uyghur writer would have used *viśaya*, another one chosen *vāsa*.

88 These two transcriptional terms are only used in Xuanzang's record and in his biography; in his translation of the **Samayabhedoparacanacakra* he distinguishes between the "Western" and the "Northern Mountain" (T.2031.15b.4 ff. and 16a.21), while Paramārtha's translation has the distinction between the "Western" and "Eastern Mountain" (T.2032.17c.8). On the different schemes of dividing the *nikāyas*, see Bareau 1955 (particularly pp. 99–103 on the Pūrvaśailas and pp. 104–105 on the Aparāśailas) and, more recently and in greater detail, Tournier 2017: 32–37.

89 This seems to be confirmed by the epigraphic evidence for the period following Sātavāhana and the Ikṣvāku rule, from the Śālaṅkāyanas to the Viṣṇukunḍins, the latter ruling until some decades before Xuanzang's stay in India. For the Śālaṅkāyanas, see Emmanuel Francis' paper in this volume, and for the Viṣṇukunḍins, see Sankaranarayanan 1977 and Tournier 2018.

90 Toalster 1977: 36.

91 Fedakār (MİK III 193 (T II D 118) [Fedakār No. 10]; Mainz 38 (T IV Üsüp 4) [Fedakar No. 1]).

92 Wilkens (2021: 53a) takes *antrivas* as a mistake for *antravišay*.

Here, I summarize the results of a new examination of the fragmentary manuscript.⁹³ As far as it can be reconstructed, the story runs as follows. On the first leaf, Āndhra and its inhabitants are mentioned. The people there were sinful and attached to *kleśas*. As there was no Buddha,⁹⁴ people suffered immensely. Some saints (*ṛṣi*) went out for help. They encountered somebody who taught excellent verses. Unfortunately, only traces of words are visible, but the final phrase can be restored as “one should give up not doing good deeds.” On the verso side of the first leaf, one reads: “The saints became very joyful, they gave up bad deeds and sins. They escaped the teachers (!). They returned to their home in Āndhra. The people could get rid of their sins and later entered the order (...).”

The second leaf mentions first “princes as numerous as the sands of the Ganges (...) they saw the Buddha. [...] they praised. After finishing the praises, they asked to obtain the *dharmacakra* [...]” On the verso side of the leaf: “[...] emitted great brightness, thousands of Buddhas [...] all emitted rays of light from beneath the hell up to the *akaniṣṭhabhavana* heaven. [...] they saw twelve (?) monks in the great community [...].”

Thus, we are dealing with an unknown account of how people of Āndhra were rescued from their sins in a Buddha-less time. Seishi Karashima⁹⁵ affirmed to me that in the existing Buddhist literature about Āndhra no similar account can be found (but see above). Further research may uncover a similar narrative but, in any case, these two leaves are a precious trace of an exemplary story of how Buddhism was introduced into the country of Āndhra.

Abbreviations

CPD	Critical Pāli Dictionary (electronic version at https://cpd.uni-koeln.de)
HDC	Hanyu-dacidian
PW	Petersburg Wörterbuch
T.	Taishō-shinshū-daizōkyō (edition CBETA 2014)

⁹³ Zieme (unpublished).

⁹⁴ Cf. “a Buddha-less world” (*wufo shijie* 無佛世界) explained in some *sūtras*, e.g. the *Dasheng-daji-dizang-shilun-jing* 大乘大集地藏十輪經 (T.411.721c.17, etc.). See Zhiru 2007: 30, 48, 296.

⁹⁵ I would like to express my gratitude for his help.

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