

# The Legend of the Foundation of Khotan

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A legend is recorded in Hsüan-tsang's 玄奘 *Records of the Western World* (*Ta-t'ang hsi-yü-chi* 大唐西域記), in the section on Khotan (*Ch'ü-sa-tan-na kuo* 瞿薩旦那國), and in the canonical Tibetan *Annals of the Li Country* (*Li-yul gyi lo-rgyus*, a work of the 9th or 10th century<sup>1)</sup>) that a party led by a Chinese prince (in the Tibetan account he is King Aśoka's son, taken to China by the god Vaiśravaṇa) and another led by a vassal of King Aśoka came from east and west and colonized a barren land, the Chinese prince subduing the colonists from the Indian side and subsequently becoming the first king of Khotan.

While there is no one who takes this legend to be explicit historical fact, there are among scholars those who, not doubting that the founding of Khotan dates to the age of King Aśoka, discuss the political and Buddhist history of that country with Aśoka's era as their point of departure.<sup>2)</sup> The legend which sets the founding of Khotan in the age of King Aśoka can, however, be traced to a definite stage in the process of formation of that foundation legend, and it is thus impossible to calculate the date of the founding of Khotan based on the legend alluded to above. In the present paper, I wish to examine the problem of the legend of the founding of Khotan from several different angles.

## I. The Content of the Foundation Legend

There are two versions of the legend of the founding of Khotan, one that contained in Tibetan Buddhist works<sup>3)</sup> and the other that transmitted by the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang. I will first present a synopsis of the legend as contained in the most detailed Tibetan source, the *Annals of the Li Country*.<sup>4)</sup>

In the time of the Buddha Kāśyapa, the settlers in the Li Country (Khotan) practiced the Dharma. Later when the Dharma of the Buddha Kāśyapa declined and the Dharma of the Li Country also decayed, the settlers in that land repeatedly mistreated sages who had come to dwell there, and the sages left the land. Nāgas who saw the settlers not believing in the law and holding false views were displeased, and made the Li Country into a lake. After the land of Li had been a lake for a long time, the Buddha Śākyamuni, just before his parinirvāṇa, came flying to this land and ordered Śāriputra and Vaiśravaṇa to drain the lake. (After that the land of Li dried up and remained unpopulated for a long period.)

Two hundred and thirty-four years after the nirvāṇa of the Buddha, India was under the reign of King Aśoka. Formerly he had put many beings to death but then, with the guidance of the Arhat Yaśas, confessing his sins he turned to Buddhism. He worshipped vihāras and stūpas and himself built 84,000 vihāras and stūpas.

Once when Aśoka was on tour he visited Khotan and spent a night there. Previously his chief consort, bathing in a lotus pool in a park grove, had seen Vaiśravaṇa passing overhead and viewing his form had become pregnant. Now on the night of that stay in Khotan she gave birth to an excellent boy equipped with signs. Aśoka heard from the sign-readers that the child's destiny was great and that before the king died the child would become king. Envious and angry, Aśoka ordered his consort to cast away the child. A breast arose from the earth at the place where the child was cast away, and sucking on that breast the child was nourished and grew. For that reason he received the name Sa-nu (Earth-breast; Sanskrit Gostana).

Subsequently there was a great bodhisattva king in China. Having 999 sons he besought Vaiśravaṇa for the thousandth, and Vaiśravaṇa presented the king with Sa-nu. Later, though raised by the Chinese king, Sa-nu learned that he was not a true son of that king, and with an army of 10,000 warriors, having set out for the west in search of the land of his birth, he reached the Li Country.

Sa-nu's father King Aśoka had a minister named Yaśa. Being displeased with King Aśoka, he left that land with his family and a retinue of 7,000 and searching for a land he came to a place in Hu-then (Khotan), and there he encountered Sa-nu's party. The two parties being unable to agree on the dominion, a battle ensued. While they were fighting, Vaiśravaṇa and Śrī Devī appeared in the air and the fighting ceased. To this day both gods are worshipped as guardians of the country. Sa-nu became king and Yaśa minister. Settlers from both east and west came and settled each on their own side, and in between the Indians and Chinese mixed, founding the country and building the city.

Li being a country where Indians and Chinese met, the common language agrees with neither India nor China. The script agrees with that of India, but the customs of the people agree for the most part with those of China. The religious customs and the religious language agree for the most part with those of India.

The country was founded two hundred and thirty-four years after the nirvāṇa of the Buddha, at the time when Sa-nu was nineteen years old.

In the year 644 (Chên-kuan 貞觀 18), Hsüan-tsang was homeward bound from India, and stayed for more than half a year in Khotan. For this reason the account of this country contained in his *Records of the Western World* is very detailed. The veracity of his statements about Khotan has been confirmed by the

archaeological researches of Aurel Stein.<sup>5)</sup> Book twelve of the *Records of the Western World*, in the section on Khotan, contains the following legend of the founding of that country.<sup>6)</sup>

In old times this country was waste and without inhabitants. The god Vaiśravaṇa came to fix his dwelling here. When staying in Takṣaśilā the eldest son of King Aśoka had his eyes put out. King Aśoka was very angry and punished the advisory minister of his son and banished the minister's clan to the north of the Himalayas to establish themselves in the midst of a desert valley. Accordingly the men so banished, having arrived at this western frontier, put forward their chief to be made king. It was just at this time that a son of the emperor of the eastern land 東土帝子 having been expelled from his country was dwelling in this eastern region. The people who followed the prince urged him also to accept the position of king. Years and months having elapsed, the two kings met by chance in the hunting ground. They came to mutual recriminations, and came near to fighting. But finally each returned to his own kingdom to practice their cavalry and encourage their warriors for the coming war. On the fixed day, at dawn, the two armies began to fight and, the western army being defeated, their king was beheaded. The eastern king, pacifying the westerners, changed his capital to the middle land and, following the advice of an ascetic, laid the foundation of his capital city. The king, having acquired much religious merit and arrived at extreme old age, had no successor to the throne. Fearing lest his house should become extinct, he repaired to the temple of Vaiśravaṇa and prayed him to grant his desire. Forthwith the head of the image opened at the top, and there came forth a young child. Taking it, he returned to his palace. The whole country addressed congratulations to him, but as the child would not drink milk, he feared it would not live. He then returned to the temple and again asked the god for means to nourish the child. The earth in front of the divinity then suddenly opened and offered an appearance like a breast. The divine child drank from it eagerly. Having grown in due course, he shed glory by his wisdom and courage, and extended his influence far and wide. Forthwith he raised to the god a temple in honor of his ancestors. From that time till now the succession of kings has been in regular order, and the power has been lineally transmitted. And for this reason also the present temple of the divinity is rich in rare treasures and worship is punctually offered in it. From the king having been nourished by a breast of the earth, the country was called by that name Ti-ju 地乳 (earth breast).

The *Records of the Western World* account of the foundation of Khotan differs from the Tibetan version in such information as that the chief of the western group was beheaded, and in that it is not the founder of the land but his son who was nourished by the "earth breast." Nevertheless, the accounts agree in essence

in the following points:

- 1) One party led by the son of the eastern emperor and another led by a vassal of Aśoka settled the previously uninhabited land from east and west, respectively; the first king was the son of the eastern emperor.
- 2) Vaiśravaṇa, the guardian deity of Khotan and the ancestral god of the royal family, plays a vital role in both accounts.
- 3) The Chinese name of the land Khotan, Ti-ju 地乳, and the Tibetan name for the prince who came to rule the land, Sa-nu, derive from "earth breast," Sanskrit Gostana.

Of these common points, (2) is a result of the adoption of Vaiśravaṇa, revered as the guardian deity of the north, as the guardian deity of the country or as the ancestor of the royal line. The common appellation given in (3) was created based on the meaning of a word sought in Sanskrit to explain the origin of the country's name.<sup>7)</sup> In any case, it can be said that both elements (2) and (3) were created posterior to the introduction into Khotan of Buddhism and the Sanskrit language which accompanied it.

The legend of the founding of Khotan has been studied by scholars both in Japan and abroad from various points of view, but in the following I would like to examine three aspects of the common element of the legend discussed above under heading (1). My three questions are:

- 1) What kind of relationship exists between this legend of the foundation of Khotan and the legend of King Aśoka?
- 2) What is the meaning of the story of the foundation of Khotan by the son of the eastern emperor?
- 3) When was this foundation legend created?

## II. The Connection with the Legend of King Aśoka: 1

It goes without saying that the legend of the foundation of Khotan took its present form after the introduction of Buddhism. However, although the foundation of the country is connected with that famous patron of the Buddhist faith, King Aśoka, in the *Annals of the Li Country* the introduction of Buddhism to Khotan is set in the 165th year after the country's founding. Likewise the *Records of the Western World* also has Buddhism introduced after the foundation of the country, which again took place in the time of Aśoka. These accounts are incompatible with the general tendency of Buddhist legends which have it that Buddhism had spread throughout the Indian world under Aśoka's reign. The key to this inconsistency lies in the fact that, as has been pointed out by Marc Aurel Stein and Ryōtai Hatani,<sup>8)</sup> the legend of the foundation of the country by immigrant settlers has its origin in popular tales which predate the introduction of

### Buddhism.

One of the oldest Buddhist scriptures to mention Khotan, the *Sūryagarbhasūtra*, Stūpa Protection chapter (*Jih-tsang-ching*, Hu-t'a-p'in, 日藏經 護塔品, a text of about the third century), contains in the guise of a prophecy (vyākaraṇa) given by the Buddha the following information:<sup>9)</sup>

- 1) The area of Khotan prospered in the time of the Buddha Kāśyapa.
- 2) Because gods who were angered at later people's lack of faith drained all of the water away, that land was reduced to an uninhabited desert.
- 3) 100 years after the death of Śākyamuni Buddha, however, Khotan again rose to become flourishing and prosperous.

Along the southern (silk) route through the Tarim basin, due to the shifting of rivers and the drifting of sands, towns and villages were often abandoned and reestablished anew. In addition, the racial makeup of Khotan was complex, those of Tibetan lineage and those of Aryan lineage having become mixed long in the past. Given such a context of climatic conditions and racial makeup, it is natural to think that there arose in Khotan unsophisticated popular tales transmitting information about the desertion and ruin of cities, and migrations from various directions.

R. Hatani has noticed the fact that practically all the essential points of the later legends of the founding of Khotan are incorporated in the old legend of Khotan recorded in the *Sūryagarbhasūtra*, Stūpa Protection chapter.<sup>10)</sup> Hatani's statements persuade us that the Stūpa Protection chapter was compiled in a place near Khotan (in Kashgar?) by someone conversant with the geography of Khotan and its old legends.<sup>11)</sup> However, although in this text the date of the revival of Khotan is set at 100 years after the death of the Buddha (AN), the name of the contemporaneous King Aśoka does not appear. Had the compiler of the Stūpa Protection chapter known of a relation between Khotan and King Aśoka as transmitted in both the *Records of the Western World* and the *Annals of the Li Country*, would we not expect some reference to Aśoka to appear? I believe that at the time of the composition of the Stūpa Protection chapter there was as yet no connection between the legend of Aśoka and that of the foundation of Khotan.

We can classify the Aśoka legends transmitted by Buddhists into the northern tradition represented by the *A-yü-wang chuan* 阿育王傳 and the *A-yü-wang ching* 阿育王經 and the southern tradition represented by the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvamsa*. Contrasting the northern and southern versions of the Aśoka legend, we find a considerable number of points of commonality, but also quite a few portions in which they totally fail to agree, and it is obvious that the legend underwent alterations due to the vicissitudes of time and geographical displacement. We can arrange the legend of King Aśoka contained in the *Annals of the Li Country* into the following three items:

- 1) Aśoka reigned between one hundred and eighty-five and two hundred and forty years after the death of the Buddha.
- 2) At first Aśoka did violence to many beings, but later he repented his earlier sins and turned to the Buddhist teachings with the help of the Arhat Yaśas, following which he made a pilgrimage to Buddhist holy sites and erected eighty-four thousand vihāras and stūpas.
- 3) When visiting Khotan his consort gave birth to the prince Sa-nu (and Sa-nu later was raised by the king of China, subsequently becoming the founder of Khotan).

Of the three items listed above, the third is a distinctive legend found only in Khotan, and may be considered to be purely a product of the Khotan region. The story element listed in item (2), namely that after his conversion Aśoka built many stūpas, is common to both the northern and southern traditions, and belongs to the oldest stratum of the Aśoka legend. However, Yaśas (Yaśa, Yaśo), recorded in the *Annals of the Li Country* as the spiritual preceptor of Aśoka, is known only in northern Buddhist texts as the senior cleric of the Kurkuṭārāma (Pāli: Kukkuṭārāma) monastery of Pāṭaliputra, the capital of Magadha, and not known at all in southern Buddhist literature. Thus we can consider the second item listed above to be an element borrowed from the northern tradition.

Concerning the first point listed above we can quote from the *Annals of the Li Country* a passage referring to the relationship between the age of the founding of Khotan and the royal genealogy of Magadha.<sup>12)</sup> It runs roughly as follows:

King Ajātaśatru of India reigned altogether thirty-two years. Five years after his accession, Buddha attained nirvāṇa. From that time, he reigned another twenty-seven years. From King Ajātaśatru to King Dharmāśoka, ten generations of Indian kings acceded to the throne. Dharmāśoka reigned for fifty-five years altogether. Thirty years after he became king, Prince Sa-nu was born. At the age of twelve, Sa-nu, having sought royal assistance from the king of China, went in search of the place where he had been born originally. King Sa-nu was nineteen years old when he established the Li country. Two hundred and thirty-four years had elapsed from the nirvāṇa year of Buddha down to the foundation of the Li country.

It is unclear how many years the northern Buddhists attributed to the reign of Ajātaśatru, but the account here from the *Annals of the Li Country* that its length was thirty-two years differs from purāṇic accounts (which record the length of his reign as twenty-five or twenty-seven years),<sup>13)</sup> while agreeing with the references in Sri Lankan historical sources.<sup>14)</sup> On the other hand, the Sri Lankan sources place the death of the Buddha in the eighth year of Ajātaśatru's reign,<sup>15)</sup> and the enthronement of Aśoka two hundred and eighteen years after the Buddha's death.<sup>16)</sup> Here the *Annals of the Li Country* differs from the southern tradition, and

it is clear that both traditions are not referring to a common royal genealogy of Magadha. The notation that Aśoka reigned fifty-five years agrees with neither the southern tradition, which claims thirty-seven years,<sup>17)</sup> nor the purāṇic sources, which prefer a thirty-six year reign.<sup>18)</sup> In the matter of the intercession of ten kings between Ajātaśatru and Aśoka, the *Annals of the Li Country* is in agreement with the northern sources, the *A-yü-wang chuan* and the *Divyāvadāna*.<sup>19)</sup> The Sri Lankan sources also put ten kings between Ajātaśatru and Aśoka, if we consider the group of the ten sons of Kālāsoka and that of the nine Nanda brothers to each represent one king respectively.<sup>20)</sup> However, in the *A-yü-wang chuan* and other northern sources Aśoka is said to have been king one hundred years after the death of the Buddha. Judging from what is recorded in those sources this refers to the one hundredth year after the nirvāṇa or a little later,<sup>21)</sup> and therefore it can be said that the account of the *Annals of the Li Country*, namely that Aśoka reigned between one hundred and eighty-five and two hundred and forty years AN, is rather closer to the tradition of the Sri Lankan histories, which record that Aśoka's rule dates to between two hundred and eighteen and two hundred and fifty-four years AN.

In effect, the legend of King Aśoka contained in the *Annals of the Li Country* is based on the northern traditions in terms of its contents, but in its account of the royal genealogy of Magadha it has no direct connections to any existing royal genealogy. It is recorded that the compiler(s) of the *Annals of the Li Country*, comparing the statements of abbots of former generations beginning with Morgudeśi of Gośirṣa, and the prophecies of the Āryas and the records of the royal genealogy of the Li kings, calculated the chronology discussed above.<sup>22)</sup> Today we have no access to the materials utilized by the compiler(s) for his or their genealogy of the Magadhan kings. However, judging from contrasts in spelling we know that the compiler(s) referred to various independent legends preserved in numerous monasteries.<sup>23)</sup> The chronology of the *Annals of the Li Country* seems to be the reproduction of some unique, nonextant tradition handed down in one Khotanese monastery. The existence of this tradition, in which was inserted a list of Magadhan kings and which placed most of Aśoka's reign in the third century AN, is very important for examining the Buddha's Nirvāṇa year. For it proves the existence among northern Buddhists of a chronology of Magadhan kings close to that of the Sri Lankan historical sources.

In a Tibetan Buddhist text older than the *Annals of the Li Country*, the *Ārya Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa nāma Mahāyāna-sūtra* (*'Phags-pa Ri-glang-ru lung-bstan-pa zhes-bya-ba theg-pa-chen-po'i mdo*, dating to the seventh or eighth century), it is briefly mentioned that the foundation of Khotan was due to the common son of the Indian king Aśoka and the Chinese king Cha-yang<sup>24)</sup> (both dating to one hundred years AN), Sa-nu (Sa-las-nu-ma-nu).<sup>25)</sup> Further, even in the *Vimalaprabhāpari-prcchā* (*Dri-ma-med-pa'i 'od kyis zhus-pa*), which probably was created in eighth or ninth century Khotan, it is noted to the effect that the Li country arose one hundred years AN.<sup>26)</sup> As we mentioned before, our oldest source, the *Sūryagar-*

*bhasūtra*, Stūpa Protection chapter, knows absolutely nothing of the connection between Aśoka and the founding of Khotan, but it does record a prophecy attributed to the Buddha related to the date of the founding. The prophecy reads as follows: “One hundred years after my death, this country will once again rise prosperously” 於我滅度後一百年，是時彼國還復興立。<sup>27)</sup> Based on the materials presented above, we can conclude that the tradition that Khotan arose one hundred years after the Buddha’s death was generally known from a rather early period.

The period one hundred years after the death of the Buddha is known among northern Buddhists as one of the brightest periods of Buddhist history. It was the time of the Second Council and the period when the saint-king Aśoka ruled the earth. Furthermore, the Buddhists of North-west India (Kashmīr, Gandhāra), with whom Khotanese Buddhists had an especially strong connection, believed that one hundred years after the Buddha’s death was the age during which the elder Madhyāntika propagated the faith in their own lands. Might not the Buddhists of Khotan, with a knowledge of such Buddhist history, have determined that the rise of their own country dates to one hundred years AN? I believe that the remote causes which led to the linking of the legend of the foundation of Khotan with the “legend of King Aśoka” are to be found here.

### III. The Connection with the Legend of King Aśoka: 2

The *Annals of the Li Country* records that the person who led the group which migrated from the west and joined in the founding of Khotan was the minister of Aśoka, Yaśa.<sup>28)</sup> As we saw above, in the various northern versions of the Aśoka legend Yaśas (Yaśa, Yaśo) appears as the abbot of Kurkuṭārāma monastery in the capital Pāṭaliputra. This abbot Yaśas, as the spiritual preceptor of Aśoka, was constantly at the sovereign’s side. In contrast to this a minister by the name of Yaśa (Yaśas) was also known to northern Buddhists. For example, in chapter 11 of the *A-yü-wang chuan*,<sup>29)</sup> in *Divyāvadāna* 27,<sup>30)</sup> *Sūtrālamkāra* chapter 16<sup>31)</sup> and so forth, Yaśa is a minister who, having judged people according to the status of their birth and having despised mendicants, is reproached by King Aśoka.

The legend of King Aśoka widely circulated among northern Buddhists can be considered to have its origins in the “Proto-Aśoka legend” compiled by Sarvāstivādin monks of Mathurā from approximately 150 to 50 B.C.<sup>32)</sup> We may enumerate four extant versions among those works compiled with this “Proto-Aśoka legend” as their direct or indirect source, that is the aforementioned *A-yü-wang chuan*, the *A-yü-wang ching*, the *Divyāvadāna* 26–29, and the *Samyuktāgama chuan* 23 and 25. But the story of the minister Yaśa mentioned above does not appear in the *A-yü-wang ching* and the *Samyuktāgama*. Jean Przyluski who studied in detail the *A-yü-wang hsien-pao yin-yüan* 阿育王現報因緣, the final chapter of the *A-yü-wang chuan* which contains the story of the minister Yaśa, made it clear that this section was newly added to the Aśoka legend in the first or second century of

the common era in North-west India, that the minister Yaśa was a personage brought into the story by the hand of the monks of this region, and finally that the stories of the minister Yaśa collected in the *Divyāvadāna* and *Sūtrālaṃkāra* belong to a stage more advanced than that of the *A-yü-wang chuan*, as indicated by their elaborate style.<sup>33)</sup>

The name of the minister Yaśa appears even in the *A-yü-wang-hsi huai-mu yin-yüan ching* 阿育王息壤目因緣經.<sup>34)</sup> The Yaśa in this text is the evil minister who, in order to wipe away the disgrace incurred from Prince Kuṇāla, was led to conspiring with Queen Shan-yung 善容 (or Ching-yung 淨容) who harbored malice against that same Prince Kuṇāla, depriving the latter of his eyesight.<sup>35)</sup> The story of how Prince Kuṇāla lost his lovely eyes to the evil designs launched by Tiṣyarakṣitā, a wife of Aśoka, had widespread circulation among northern Buddhists in numerous versions. However, in the stories of Kuṇāla transmitted in forms older than that of the *A-yü-wang-hsi huai-mu yin-yüan ching*, namely in the *A-yü-wang chuan* chapter 4, *A-yü-wang ching* chapter 4 and *Divyāvadāna* 27, the incident of the blinding of Kuṇāla is considered to have resulted from the plotting of Aśoka's queen alone, and the minister Yaśa does not appear on the scene.<sup>36)</sup> Przyluski analyzed the contents of the *A-yü-wang-hsi huai-mu yin-yüan ching* and concluded that this text was established in Gandhāra under Kuṣāṇa rule,<sup>37)</sup> a conclusion with which I agree.

In sum, it can be said that the minister Yaśa is a character laterly added to the legend of Aśoka, appearing first in texts composed in the first or second century of the common era in North-west India. That, in the *Annals of the Li Country* and so on, the name of the minister who was shunned by Aśoka and came to Khotan is Yaśa is a result of the fact that the author of the Khotanese legend adopted as such the name of Aśoka's minister introduced into the story (albeit in a different context) by the author(s) of the North-west Indian legend.

On the other hand, in the section on Khotan of the *Records of the Western World* it is said with regard to the immigrants from the west that:<sup>38)</sup>

When the eldest son of King Aśoka was staying in Takṣaśilā his eyes were put out. King Aśoka was very angry and punished the advisory minister of his son and banished the minister's clan to the north of the Himalayas to establish themselves in the midst of a desert valley. Accordingly the men so banished having arrived at this western frontier put forward their chief to be made king.

The journey to Khotan of a group of vassals of Aśoka mentioned here refers to the same event recorded in chüan 3 of Hsüan-tsang's text, in the section on Takṣaśilā, with reference to the blinding of Kuṇāla.<sup>39)</sup>

The king then accused the minister (who had executed the order to put out Kuṇāla's eyes) and their associates. Some he degraded, others he

banished, others he removed, others he put to death. The chiefs and the people (of Takṣaśilā who had participated in the crime) removed to the north-east side of the Himalayas and settled in the middle of the sandy desert.

Thus, according to Hsüan-tsang the immigrants from the west were the group of vassals of Aśoka (residents of Takṣaśilā) who had been banished by Aśoka in connection with the incident of the blinding of Kuṇāla.

We have already mentioned that the tragedy of Kuṇāla was widely known among the northern Buddhists. As we know from Hsüan-tsang's *Records of the Western World*, a stūpa was erected in Takṣaśilā on the site of Kuṇāla's blinding, and this stūpa was maintained as an object of worship through later ages as a miraculous stūpa which had the power to cure blindness. If we assume that the contents of the legend of the foundation of Khotan contained in the *Records of the Western World* are an accurate reflection of what Hsüan-tsang heard on the spot in Khotan,<sup>40)</sup> then it may be that when the monks of Khotan, seeking the origins of their country in the time of Aśoka, modified the ancient traditions, they forged a connection between the first immigrants, from the west, and the legend of Kuṇāla, famous in North-west India.

In the context of the settlers from the west, the Tibetan tradition mentions the name of "Yaśa, minister of Aśoka," but Hsüan-tsang does not record this name. On the other hand, Hsüan-tsang notes a connection between this story and the legend of Kuṇāla, but in the Tibetan tradition there is no clear reference to this connection. The account which makes Yaśa the notorious minister hated by Aśoka<sup>41)</sup> suggests but cannot prove a connection with the evil minister Yaśa in the legend of Kuṇāla or with the minister Yaśa reproached by Aśoka. Comparing the traditions of Hsüan-tsang and the Tibetan texts, we can recognize points of disagreement such as these, but both traditions are in agreement regarding the information that the leader of the western group was a vassal of Aśoka and that he appeared basically in connection with the legends of Aśoka or of Kuṇāla, both well-known in North-west India.<sup>42)</sup>

It is possible to say, summarizing the conclusions drawn so far, that the legend of Aśoka was tied into the legend of the foundation of Khotan in the following stages:

- 1) First of all, there existed in Khotan a simple popular tradition recording the evolution of the country from an arid unpopulated territory, through settlement from other lands, to prosperity.
- 2) In the period following the introduction of Buddhism, the ancient legends of the settlement of the territory were embellished with Buddhistic ideas and forged into a legend of the founding of the country. The time of the founding was set at one of the brightest ages in Buddhist history, and also at the time when North-west India, which was in direct commerce with Khotan, was opened to Buddhism, that is in the period one hundred years after the Buddha's death.

(This is the stage of the *Sūryagarbhasūtra*.)

3) The old name of the land was etymologically explained as derived from the Sanskrit Gostana (earth-breast), and the story of a child's sucking the earth-breast was created.

4) In the process of the embellishment and enlargement of the legend, perhaps due to association of ideas with the notion of "one hundred years after the Buddha's death," the legend of the foundation of Khotan was linked with the legends of Aśoka and Kuṇāla, both well-known among the Buddhists of North-west India. (This is the stage of the *Records of the Western World*, and of the *Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa*.)

5) Lastly, the compiler(s) of the *Annals of the Li Country*, referring to the already existing legends of the founding of Khotan, and to the royal genealogies of Magadha and of the Li country circulating in Khotanese monasteries, assembled the legend which newly sets the foundation of Khotan at two hundred and thirty-four years after the death of the Buddha.

In the lands on the periphery of India in which Buddhism flourished are told stories which make those personages important in local history into princes or princesses (that is sons or daughters) of the saint-king Aśoka, whose home was of course the land of Magadha, the cradle of Buddhism.<sup>43)</sup> The legend of the foundation of Khotan forms a part of this type of legend of the princes or princesses of Aśoka which circulated in various lands, and in addition is one branch of the legend of Aśoka developed in North-west India.<sup>44)</sup> Arguments for a Mauryan power's advance into Central Asia or for the establishment of Khotan in the Mauryan period are often put forward on the basis of this legend of the foundation of Khotan, but this type of reasoning ignores the historical development of the legend, and confuses historical fact with mere legend.

#### IV. The Son of the Eastern Emperor

The *Annals of the Li Country* and the *Records of the Western World* are in agreement concerning their respective accounts that Khotan was founded by a prince of the eastern land of China. Although F. W. Thomas entertained some doubts about the historicity of this legend, he interpreted it to mean that "it seems likely that Khotan was, in fact, founded by a Chinese prince belonging to the time of Shih Huang ti . . ."<sup>45)</sup> It is not made clear in the *Annals of the Li Country*, but in the Tibetan *Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa* it is recorded that the name of the Chinese king who raised Sa-nu was Cha-yang.<sup>46)</sup> Although we lack conclusive proof, if we follow Thomas and take this figure as Ch'in Shih-huang-ti 秦始皇帝,<sup>47)</sup> it follows that there existed in Khotan in around the seventh century the legend that the founder of that country was a prince of Ch'in Shih-huang-ti (and, at the same time, also a son of Aśoka).

An often-quoted passage from the *History of the Wei*, *Wei-shu* 魏書, chüan 102,

Hsi-yü-chuan 西域傳, section on Khotan, says:<sup>48)</sup>

West from Kao-ch'ang 高昌 the people of various countries have sunken eyes and high noses. But only in this country (Khotan) the appearance (of the natives) is not terribly barbarian, and they are rather similar to the Chinese 貌不甚胡頗類華夏.

Judging from this passage, and from the fact that Stein recovered from ruins near Khotan numerous plastic images and paintings of people with semi-mongoloid features, we can suppose that in the land of Khotan, unlike in other lands of Central Asia, the people dwelling there resembled the Chinese in external appearance.<sup>49)</sup> However, according to the research of M. A. Stein, A. T. Joyce, and Kurakichi Shiratori, it is almost totally clear that viewed historically, linguistically and racially the people referred to as "similar to the Chinese" belong to a Tibetan race,<sup>50)</sup> and we must hesitate to affirm that the incident of Khotan being founded by a group led by a son of the eastern emperor is so much historical fact.<sup>51)</sup> Should we not think rather that the legend in which the founding of Khotan is accomplished by a son of the eastern emperor who defeats immigrants from the west reflects the historical reality that Khotan was under the political influence of an eastern empire, namely China, for a fairly long period?

Since the time of Han Wu-ti 漢武帝 (reigned 141–87 B.C.), the policies of successive Chinese courts with respect to Central Asia consisted in not interfering deeply in local administration and in entrusting the actual local governance to an indigenous king.<sup>52)</sup> This tendency is especially clear with reference to Khotan, located on the southern (silk) route, and without need to act as an advance guard for China against aggression from northern nomadic tribes. Based on the *History of the Later Han*, in sections such as that of the biography of Pan Ch'ao and that on Central Asia, we know that even under Hsiung-nu 匈奴 control, a small number of Hsiung-nu emissaries staying billeted in Khotan to supervise administration, the internal governance was entrusted to an indigenous king, with the proviso that the heir be held hostage and weavings be sent every year as tribute.<sup>53)</sup> The same type of conditions seem to have applied even under the control of the Tibetans who began to exercise influence over this region from the seventh century on.<sup>54)</sup> In sum, Khotan, while admitting the authority of the suzerain who held power at the time, could continue to exist more or less as an independent country under the control of an indigenous king. However, it is quite possible to consider that, in keeping with the active influence of Chinese Central Asian administration, the indigenous kings of Khotan who knew the true power of the eastern empire altered the ancient popular legend and declared themselves to be the descendants of the emperor of the east. That the Khotanese kings used Chinese authority to assert the legitimacy of their own status can be surmised also from the following description found in the *New T'ang History*, *Hsin-t'ang-shu* 新唐書, Central Asian section, the section on Khotan:<sup>55)</sup>

Ever since the time of Han Wu-ti 漢武帝 the Imperial Proclamations and Ensignia and Credentials conferred by China 中國詔書符節 have been handed down by the kings of that country (Khotan) from generation to generation.

According to the *Annals of the Li Country*, Sa-nu, the founder of Khotan, combined in one person three characteristics, that of being: (1) The Son of Vaiśravaṇa, (2) The son of Aśoka, and (3) The son of the king of China. In contrast, the *Records of the Western World* has it that the "earth-breast," the son of Vaiśravaṇa, was the heir of the son of the eastern emperor, without there being mention of any connection between the son of the eastern emperor and Aśoka. The details of how the three characteristics mentioned here were brought together are not clear, but since the *Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa*, a text established in the seventh or eighth century, provides an example of the merging of the son of Aśoka and the son of the Chinese king, it is virtually certain that we can trace back the union of two or perhaps all three of these characteristics to before that time. Inside Khotan there must have existed numerous legends of its foundation with somewhat differing contents, Hsüan-tsang recording but one among those. However, judging from the point of view of the legend's development it can be recognized that the foundation legend recorded by Hsüan-tsang preserves a considerably older form of the legend than does that handed down in Tibetan.<sup>56)</sup> Although from the time of Han Wu-ti the Chinese dynasties exercised an active management over Central Asia, still the influence of Chinese culture felt in the lands of Central Asia was much less than that felt from the Indian and Iranian cultures.<sup>57)</sup> The son of the eastern emperor defeating settlers from the west signifies that politically speaking Chinese power was overwhelming. In due course, however, the son of this emperor came to be believed to be the son of Aśoka, the representative of Buddhist culture introduced from the west.

We have already noted the fact that the legend of the foundation of Khotan is one link in the chain of legends of sons and daughters of Aśoka circulated in border areas of India. Based on his study of the *A-yü-wang-hsi huai-mu yin-yüan ching*, Przyluski mentions that Kuṇāla—who up to that point has a significant role in only one episode of the Aśoka legend—is raised by the legend-tellers of North-west India to a rank equal to or even surpassing in importance that of Aśoka himself.<sup>58)</sup> The same trend can be recognized in the legend of the foundation of Khotan. According to the *Annals of the Li Country*, which contains the most developed form of the legend, Aśoka, hearing the prophecy that the son he obtained during his visit to Khotan would grow tremendously powerful and become king during Aśoka's own life-time, grew angry and had the prince cast out. Here we can discover the intention of the composer(s) of the legend, who tried to elevate the founder of his or their own country, Sa-nu, higher than his father, Aśoka.

## V. The Period of the Introduction of Buddhism

The legend of the founding of Khotan available today belongs to a period post-dating the introduction of Buddhism. So we must now ask, at what date was Buddhism introduced to the Khotan region?

The account of the introduction of Buddhism to Khotan found in the *Annals of the Li Country* can be summarized as follows:<sup>59)</sup>

King Vijaya Saṃbhava, the son of the second king of Khotan, Yehu-la, ascended the throne 160 years after the foundation of the country. When he had ruled for five years, the monk Ārya Vairocana brought Buddhism to Khotan. King Vijaya Saṃbhava was a manifestation (Tib. *sprul*) of Maitreya, and Vairocana was the material appearance (Tib. *gzugs-su sprul*) of Mañjuśrī. Together they created the Li language and taught its script to the people. King Vijaya Saṃbhava acting as a donor built for Vairocana the great vihāra of Tsar-ma, the first in the Li country. The king's ministers and subjects built small vihāras and stūpas, endowing them all with relics of the Tathāgata. When Tsar-ma vihāra was completed, Vairocana appeared in the air as the Tathāgata (Tib. *nam-mkha'-la de-bzhin-gshegs-par sprul*), and placed a gong in the hand of the king. When the king struck the gong, the sound persisted for one week. The imprint of the Tathāgata's footprint on stone, proof of his appearance at that time, exists still today in Tsar-ma.

In the *Records of the Western World*, in the section on Khotan, is recorded an almost identical legend of the Arhat Vairocana who brought Buddhism from Kashmīr to Khotan. Also the *History of the Wei*, *Wei-shu*, chūan 102 in the section on Central Asia,<sup>60)</sup> and the *Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang* (*Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi* 洛陽伽藍記, dating to 547)<sup>61)</sup> briefly outline legends similar to those of the *Annals of the Li Country* and the *Records of the Western World*. These traditions do contain certain divergencies in content, but the essential points are in agreement and it can be said that the legend that Buddhism was first brought to Khotan by the monk Vairocana from Kashmīr, and that the Khotanese king who was converted by him built Tsar-ma,<sup>62)</sup> the oldest Khotanese vihāra, was probably formed in the fifth century at the latest.

Heretofore the date of the introduction of Buddhism to Khotan has been calculated based on the remarks in the *Annals of the Li Country* that "Khotan was founded by a son of Aśoka two hundred and thirty-four years after the death of the Buddha," and "One hundred and sixty-five years after the origin of the Li country, when . . . King Vijaya Saṃbhava had been king for five years, the Dharma first arose in the Li country." Following this method of calculation, we reach the conclusion that Buddhism was introduced to Khotan in around 80 B.C.<sup>63)</sup> But as we have shown above, it is clearly untenable to take as a starting

point for chronological calculations the idea that Khotan was founded in the time of King Aśoka.

In the Mauryan period Buddhism made its way to North-west India,<sup>64)</sup> and by the first century B.C., the religion had passed over the Hindu Kush to the lands beyond.<sup>65)</sup> Around the beginning of the first millenium of the common era, probably during the earlier half of the Later Han dynasty, Buddhism had already reached China,<sup>66)</sup> and Khotan was an important city situated on the major route linking China and India. Since the period during which Buddhism may be considered to have reached Central Asia thus preceded the time of the introduction of Buddhism to China, it is possible that Buddhism reached Khotan in the first century B.C. However, it goes without saying that this in no way constitutes a proof of the correctness of the chronology of the introduction of Buddhism calculated on the basis of the stories in the *Annals of the Li Country*.

The Buddhism which first reached Khotan was not likely to have been embraced by the native royal family nor by the ordinary people.

The *History of the Later Han* contains fairly detailed information on Khotan in its sections on Khotan (Yü-t'ien 于闐), Yarkand (So-chü 莎車) and Chü-mi 拘彌 in chüan 118, and in the biography of Pan Ch'ao 班超 in chüan 77. As Khotan was one of the countries of Central Asia which had an especially close connection with the Later Han court, doubtless if Khotan had been a flourishing Buddhist land in which were found Buddhist monasteries such an unusual thing would have caught the eye of the Chinese, and we can imagine that it would have been reported to the Imperial court and recorded. But no such notation is found anywhere in the *History of the Later Han*. Not only for Khotan but for all the lands of Eastern Turkestan there is in both the *History of the Former Han* and the *History of the Later Han* complete silence on the topic of Buddhism. Because the section on India (T'ien-chu 天竺) in the *History of the Later Han* contains a brief mention of Buddhism, it is insufficient explanation for this silence to say that the Chinese who reported events in Central Asia to the Han court lacked any awareness of Buddhism. What is more, in the final section of the portion on Central Asia in the same *History*, we see evidence of the awareness of Buddhism possessed by the compiler Fan Yeh (范曄, 398-445), and thus we cannot consider it possible that he intentionally eliminated references related to Buddhism.

The following passage from the biography of Pan Ch'ao in the *History of the Later Han* is full of suggestions concerning this question:<sup>67)</sup>

At that time the King of Khotan, Kuang-tê 廣德, once again attacked and destroyed Yarkand (So-chü). Finally he became all-powerful along the southern (silk) route. Meanwhile the Hsiung-nu had dispatched an envoy and placed that country under its guardianship. (Pan) Ch'ao went west and he first arrived in Khotan. Kuang-tê treated him extremely rudely. Furthermore, the people of the country were accustomed to believe in shamans 其俗信巫, and a shaman told (the king): "The spirit is angry (and said): Why do

you want to turn to China (Han)? The Chinese envoy has a piebald horse; quickly seek and take it, and sacrifice it to me." Kuang-tê dispatched an emissary to (Pan) Ch'ao and asked for his horse. (Pan) Ch'ao knew his plan by secret means, and acceding to that request he made the shaman come himself to fetch the horse. After a time the shaman came, and (Pan) Ch'ao beheaded him, and sending the head to Kuang-tê he took the opportunity to upbraid him.

This passage describes the circumstances under which Pan Ch'ao in his capacity as Division Commander (Chün-ssü-ma 軍司馬) proceeded to Khotan around 73 A.D. (Yung-p'ing 永平 16) in order to subjugate the countries of the southern route. From this passage we discover that the faith of both the royal family and common people of contemporary Khotan involved shamans 巫. Further it is clear that since those shamans required ceremonies which used horses (probably for sacrifice ceremonies), the faith had nothing at all to do with Buddhism.<sup>68)</sup>

The arguments presented above do not necessarily constitute proof that Buddhism had not yet been introduced to Khotan. However, in the time when Pan Ch'ao and his son Pan Yung 班勇 were active in Central Asia, the latter half of the first century and the beginning of the second, even if Buddhism had reached Khotan its influence was almost certainly extremely limited. Facts such as that almost all the monk-translators who came to Later Han China hailed from lands to the west of the Pamirs<sup>69)</sup> and that the oldest Buddhist remains recovered from Eastern Turkestan date to the third century<sup>70)</sup> tend to support this supposition. Moreover, the account in the *Annals of the Li Country* that after the first Khotanese monastery, Tsar-ma, was established, not a single monastery was erected in that land throughout the reigns of seven kings also suggests the same situation.<sup>71)</sup>

When we enter the third century the existence of Buddhism in Khotan becomes clear. In the year 260 (the fifth year of Kan-lu 甘露, in the Wei dynasty) the Chinese monk Chu Shih-hsing 朱士行 proceeded toward Khotan and obtained many Buddhist scriptures, and again the Khotanese monk Wu-ch'a-lo 無叉羅 came to China and engaged in translation work. Then, in the beginning of the fifth century when Fa-hsien 法顯 visited Khotan, Khotanese Buddhism was in its golden age. He wrote:<sup>72)</sup>

That kingdom is pleasant and prosperous, with a numerous and flourishing population. The inhabitants all believe in the Buddha's Dharma and join together in delighting in the law. The monks amount to several myriads, most of whom are students of the Mahāyāna.

We can conclude, then, that Buddhism was established in Khotan between the second and third centuries, corresponding to the time of the consolidation and expansion of the North-west Indian Kuṣāṇa dynasty, beginning from the

latter half of the first century.<sup>73)</sup> Along with the political expansion of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty, the culture of North-west India also flowed into Central Asia. This cultural influx perhaps reached its high point around the middle of the second century and the beginning of the third, in the time of Kaniška and his successors. The missionary activities of that period which crossed over the Pamirs not only brought Buddhism east all the way to China but also settled that Buddhist culture in the countries of Eastern Turkestan, and first among them in Khotan.

## VI. The Age of the Establishment of the Legend of the Foundation of Khotan

It seems that the presently known legends of the founding of Khotan were established in a period characterized by the following three points:

- 1) It followed the Chinese extension of administrative control over Central Asia.
- 2) It was a time when Khotan was flourishing under the reign of native kings.
- 3) It was a time when both king and populace devoutly believed in Buddhism.

It goes without saying that Chinese extension of administrative control points to a time after Han Wu-ti, and as discussed above it seems that the de facto introduction of Buddhism lies between the second and third centuries. In order to clarify the details of the second point listed above, then, I would like to give a brief outline of the history of Khotanese government from Han times to the Three Kingdoms period.

Khotan underwent a rapid development in the later Han. This is clear if we compare the statement of the *History of the Former Han* (96a, section of Hsi-yü-chuan, Yü-t'ien) that in Khotan "There are 3,300 households, 19,300 individuals with 2,400 persons able to bear arms," 戶三千三百 口萬九千三百 勝兵二千四百人,<sup>74)</sup> with that of the *History of the Later Han* (118) that "There are 32,000 households, 83,000 individuals with around 30,000 persons able to bear arms," 領戶三萬二千 口八萬三千 勝兵三萬餘人.<sup>75)</sup> This rate of increase, even compared to that of other Central Asian countries, is very great.

Khotan came to be a power in the latter half of the first century under King Kuang-tê 廣德 at the time when it defeated its old enemy Yarkand (So-chü). About King Kuang-tê the *History of the Later Han* says in the biography of Pan Ch'ao:<sup>76)</sup>

He once again attacked and destroyed Yarkand (So-chü 莎車). Finally he became all-powerful along the southern (silk) route.

And in the section on Central Asia:<sup>77)</sup>

After that, finally Yarkand (So-chü) was wiped out and that country flourished more and more. From the land of Caḍota (Ching-chüeh 精絕)

northwest to Kashgar (Su-lê 疏勒), thirteen countries all submitted (to Khotan).

Following that, a long struggle took place between Khotan and the eastern enemy of Chü-mi 拘彌.<sup>78)</sup> In 129, the fourth year of the Yung-chien 永建 period of the Emperor Shun-ti 順帝 of the later Han, the Khotanese king Fang-ch'ien 放前 killed the king of Chü-mi and installed his own son as king, but he was not recognized by the Han court and was forced to abandon the land of Chü-mi.<sup>79)</sup> In the latter half of the second century, with a slackening of Han control over Central Asia, the Khotanese became increasingly active. In 151, the first year of Emperor Huan-ti's 桓帝 Yüan-chia 元嘉 era, caught up in a struggle between the kings of Chü-mi and Khotan, the Han court's Aide for Central Asia (Hsi-yü-ch'ang-shih 西域長史) killed the king of Khotan and was himself killed by a Khotanese general. But the Han was unable to send out troops to subjugate Khotan, and the affair ended with the conclusion that "Khotan saw a situation of advantage to itself and in the end became arrogant," 于真恃此遂驕.<sup>80)</sup> Thus in 175, the fourth year of Hsi-p'ing 熹平 of the Emperor Ling-ti 靈帝, Chü-mi was destroyed.<sup>81)</sup>

The Khotanese King An-kuo 安國 attacked Chü-mi and largely destroyed it. He killed its king and the dead (from the war) were extremely numerous.

This incident ended with the Han army sending out troops and installing as king the son of the murdered king of Chü-mi. But it is easy to imagine that, as a strong country, Khotan wielded control over the southern route after the collapse of the Later Han. In the *Wei-lüeh* 魏略, Memoir of the Western Barbarians (*Hsi-jung-chuan* 西戎傳), a text written in the Three Kingdoms period, we read:<sup>82)</sup>

Jung-lu 戎盧, Han-mi 扞彌 (or Chü-mi 拘彌), Ch'ü-lê 渠勒, Hsüeh-shan 穴山 (or P'i-hsüeh 皮穴, P'i-shan 皮山)<sup>83)</sup>—all were vassal states of Khotan.

We see that, along with other small countries in the vicinity of Khotan, Chü-mi, having lost the support of the Han court, became a vassal state of Khotan.

In conclusion, Buddhism was established in Khotan during the second and third centuries, a time which saw the expansion of indigenous royal power, and under these circumstances the time was ripe for the composition of the legend of the foundation of the country. That is, the legends of the foundation of Khotan presently known were formed after the second century with the aim of promoting the prestige of the country and the legitimacy of the royal line, having passed through the stages of development elucidated in the second, third and fourth sections of the present paper.<sup>84)</sup>

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title *The Date of the Historical Buddha / Die Datierung des historischen Buddha.*

## NOTES

- \* The present paper is an English translation of Yamazaki 1979: 331–354. It was translated, with additional notes and references, by Jonathan A. Silk.
- 1) Emmerick 1967: 76, note. It has recently been suggested, however, that the work should be dated to A.D. 746. See Hill 1988: 184.
  - 2) As one example we may refer to Seth 1939: 391–395.
  - 3) The legend of the foundation of Khotan is found in Tibetan Buddhist works such as the *Li-yul gyi lo-rgyus*, “Annals of the Li Country,” the *’Phags-pa Ri-glang-ru lung-bstan-pa zhes-bya-ba’i theg-pa-chen-po’i mdo*, “The Prophecy of Gośrṅga,” and the Tun-huang manuscript (Fonds Pelliot tibétain 254) *Li-yul chos-kyi lo-rgyus*, “The Religious Annals of the Li Country.” The first two of these were introduced by Rockhill 1884: 230–248 and Das 1886, and for the first time in Japan by Teramoto 1921. All three texts were translated into English by F. W. Thomas 1935, and the first- and third-named were edited, and the first retranslated, by R. E. Emmerick 1967. A metrical text in the Khotanese language from the Stein Tun-huang collection (Ch. I. 0021a, a) containing important materials on the legend of the foundation of Khotan was studied by H. W. Bailey 1942 and 1954. In the present paper the English translations of quoted or paraphrased material rely heavily on Emmerick’s translation.  
(Some confusion may be caused by an inconsistent use of the names of these Tibetan texts. The text called by Thomas the “Annals of the Li Country,” the *Li-yul gyi lo-rgyus*, is the same as that called by Emmerick the “Prophecy of the Li Country,” *Li-yul lung-bstan-pa*, the rather short section called by Thomas “Prophecy of the Li Country,” *Li-yul lung-bstan-pa*, not being treated by Emmerick 1967 at all. In the present paper we follow Thomas’s names for the texts.)
  - 4) Thomas 1935: 89–104; Emmerick 1967: 2–23.
  - 5) Stein 1907: 174–175.
  - 6) T. 2087 (LI) 943a25–b24; Beal 1884: II.309–311, modified.
  - 7) On the names of the land of Khotan, see Stein 1907: 153–156, Shiratori 1941: 259–261, Bailey 1938: 541, and especially Pelliot 1959: 408–425. Pelliot has discussed in considerable detail the possible names for Khotan in all of their different manifestations, and states categorically that the form *Kustana* is to be rejected, *Gostana* being the only correct restitution of the Chinese transcription *ch’ü-sa-tan-na* 瞿薩旦那.
  - 8) Stein 1907: 158, 163. Hatani 1914: 248–249. Also, Emmerick 1979: 5.
  - 9) T. 397(14) (XIII) 294c16–295a2.
  - 10) Hatani 1934: 4–10.
  - 11) See also the observations of Sylvain Lévi 1904: 555ff. and 1906: 7ff.
  - 12) Thomas 1935: 103; Emmerick 1967: 22–23.
  - 13) Pargiter 1913: 21, 69.
  - 14) Oldenberg 1879, *Dīpavaṃsa* III, 60; Geiger 1908, *Mahāvamsa* II, 31.
  - 15) Oldenberg 1879, *Dīpavaṃsa* III, 60; Geiger 1908, *Mahāvamsa* II, 32.
  - 16) Oldenberg 1879, *Dīpavaṃsa* VI, 1; Geiger 1908, *Mahāvamsa* V, 21.
  - 17) Oldenberg 1879, *Dīpavaṃsa* V, 101; Geiger 1908, *Mahāvamsa* XX, 6.
  - 18) Pargiter 1913: 27–28, 70.
  - 19) T. 2042 (L) 99c16–21; Przyluski 1923: 229 and Cowell and Neil 1886: 369. Following the list of *A-yü-wang ching* (T. 2043 (L) 132b9–12) Candragupta is inserted before Bindusāra.
  - 20) Geiger 1908, *Mahāvamsa* II, 29–32; IV, 1–7; V, 14–22; XX, 1–6.
  - 21) See Yamazaki 1990.
  - 22) Thomas 1935: 103; Emmerick 1967: 20–23.

- 23) Thomas 1935: 75.
- 24) In Tibetan spelled *cha-yang* or *ca-yang* (Thomas 1935: 17), and in Khotanese written *ca yam* (Bailey 1942: 887, 919).
- 25) Thomas 1935: 17–19. The *sūtra* is Otani 1026.
- 26) Thomas 1935: 179, 182. The *sūtra* is Otani 835.
- 27) T. 397(14) (XIII) 294c28–29.
- 28) The *Annals of the Li Country* writes *Ya-sha*, and the *Religious Annals of the Li Country* writes *Ya-shi*. In the *Prophecy of Gośṅga*, the great minister Yaśo (*'Jang-sho*, *Jang-sho*) comes from China accompanying Prince Sa-nu, and the settlers from the west are nothing more than “many Indian people,” (Thomas 1935: 18). Probably the theme of the eastern prince and the western minister coming to Khotan found in the *Records of the Western World* and the *Annals of the Li Country* became confused in the time of the compiler(s) of the *Prophecy of Gośṅga*.
- 29) T. 2042 (L) 129c22–130a15; Przyluski 1923: 418–420.
- 30) Cowell and Neil 1886: 382–384.
- 31) T. 201 (IV) 274a12–275a27; Huber 1904: 719–722 and 1908: 90–96.
- 32) Przyluski 1923: v–ix, 1–18, 93, 166.
- 33) Przyluski 1923: 56–57, 108–109, 186–191.
- 34) T. 2045 (L) 173a25 et seq.
- 35) In the *Fen-pieh kung-tê lun* 分別功德論 (T. 1507 (XXV) 39c20–22), a text translated in the Later Han (or in the fourth century?), the queen Shan-yung 善容 and the minister Yaśa, along with the faithless royal brother, admonish Aśoka about his extravagant expenditures for donations and poverty relief. The queen called in Chinese Shan-yung 善容 or Ching-yung 淨容 is the same personage who appears in the Sanskrit tradition with the name *Tiṣyarakṣitā*. The Chinese names appear, however, not to correspond to this Sanskrit name, and the origin of these renderings remains unclear.
- 36) On the legend of Kuṇāla, see Yamazaki 1979: 213–220, and Bongard-Levin and Volkova 1965.
- 37) Przyluski 1923: 106–107.
- 38) T. 2087 (LI) 943a25–29; Beal 1884: II. 309–310, modified.
- 39) T. 2087 (LI) 885b19–21; Beal 1884: I. 143, modified.
- 40) In the Biography of Hsüan-tsang *Ta-t'ang ta-tz'ü-ên-ssü san-tsang fa-shih chuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 (T. 2053 (L) 251a14–16; Beal 1888: 203, modified), in the section on Khotan, is written:

The great ancestor of the king was the eldest son of King Aśoka, who dwelt in Takṣaśilā. Afterwards, being banished from the kingdom, he went forth to the north of the Himalayas. As he went looking for grass and water for his herds, he came to this place and built his chief residence here.

While it is possible to think that a legend of the founding of the country differing from that recorded in Hsüan-tsang's *Records of the Western World*, one in which the country was founded by a son of Aśoka resident in Takṣaśilā (Kuṇāla?), existed in Khotan, I believe that this account is rather a result of some error in transmission dating to the time when Hui-li 慧立 or Yen-ts'ung 彦惊, the compilers of the biography, summarizing the *Records of the Western World*, published their text, or to a later error in the transmission of the manuscripts of the biography.

See now on this question Mayer 1990.

- 41) In the phrase *rgyal-po Dharma-'A-sho-ka'i blon-po Ya-sha zhes bgyi-ba la dku-dar nas ... rgal-po la mi-dga'-ba ...*, the term *dku-dar nas* was rendered by Thomas 1935: 100 as “having a bad odour,” and by Emmerick 1967: 19 as “his wiles extending.” In his review of Emmerick's work, Rolf Stein 1968: 417–418 stated that Emmerick's understanding is impossible, and wondered whether the term does not refer to the story of the minister Yaśa in the legend of Aśoka, in which Yaśa commits an offence against the king and the king sets a trap for him, asking him to try to sell a man's head in the marketplace. Stein suggested, following Thomas's translation, rendering “le bas-ventre se développa chez Yaśa.” He further noted that *dku* can also refer to duties or political power, and queried: “Les fonctions ou la puissance de Yaśa s'était-elle trop développée (*dar*)?” On the other

hand, in the *Religious Annals of the Li Country* we read (Thomas 1935: 309, modified; text in Emmerick 1967: 81):

Amātya Yaśi, a great councillor of Sa-nu's father Aśoka, king of India, having for some offence been banished from the country. . . .

- This hints at some connection with the legend of Yaśa contained in the Aśoka-Kuṇāla legend.
- 42) The Pelliot Tun-huang collection contains a Khotanese language version of the Aśoka legend dating to between the eighth and tenth centuries (P. 2958, P. 2798). This Aśoka legend contains two elements newly added in North-west India: (1) The story of Aśoka's reproach on his minister Yaśa, and (2) The story of the queen plotting with the minister Yaśa and blinding Kuṇāla. See Bailey 1951: 40–44 for the text, and 1966 for an English translation.
  - 43) See Yamazaki 1979: 155–185, 213–239; Do. 1982. Besides Sa-nu (Khotan) and Kuṇāla (North-west India), we can add Prince Mahinda and Princess Saṅghamittā (Sri Lanka), Princess Cārumatī and Prince Mahipāna (Nepal), Prince Jalauka (Kashmīr), and Princes Fu-pang 扶邦, Hung-tê 宏德 and Chih-tê 至德 (Nan-chao 南詔).
  - 44) A further extension, from Khotan to Nepal, of the legend is of considerable interest for an understanding of the mechanics of the growth and transfer of this type of legend. See Brough 1948 and Yamazaki 1979: 221–222.
  - 45) Thomas 1935: 97–98, n. 12, and see 99, n. 8.
  - 46) See note 24 of this paper.
  - 47) Thomas 1935: 17, n. 3 and 97–98, n. 12.
  - 48) *Wei-shu*, Peking edition, vol. 6: 2263.
  - 49) Stein 1907: 165–166.
  - 50) Stein 1907: 137–138, 143–150. Shiratori 1941: 253–264.
  - 51) *The History of the Former Han (Han-shu 漢書, chüan 96a, Hsi-yü-chuan 西域傳, section on Yarkand, So-chü kuo 莎車國, Peking edition, vol. 12: 3897, translated in Hulsewé and Loewe 1979: 140), recounts that in the time of the Emperor Hsüan-ti 宣帝 (ca. 74–49 B.C.) the queen of Wu-sun 烏孫 had a younger son called Wan-nien 萬年, his mother coming from a Chinese royal family (kung-chu 公主) thus making him belong to the royal bloodlines of both east and west. At the time of the death of the king of So-chü Wan-nien was in Han, and the people of So-chü made Wan-nien their king. Suwa 1931 suggested that this incident provided the background for the formation of the legend of the foundation of Khotan. But I cannot agree with his suggestion for the following reasons: (1) Since before the time of Wan-nien So-chü had constituted a kingdom, and Wan-nien had nothing to do with the foundation of the country. (2) The *Han-shu* (Hulsewé and Loewe 1979: 140) says “As soon as he was established, Wan-nien behaved oppressively and wickedly, and the people of the state took no pleasure (in his rule). Hu-t’u-chêng 呼屠徵, younger brother of the (former) king of So-chü, put Wan-nien to death.” Thus Wan-nien had no direct blood relation with the later generations of the kings of So-chü. (Suwa suggested that Hu-t’u-chêng can be compared with the great minister from the west in the foundation legend, but this seems doubtful to me.) (3) The royal family of the neighboring state of Khotan had no connection with Wan-nien, and I cannot imagine what reason there would be for an incident related to the tyrant of a neighboring state to be adopted into the legend of the foundation of the state of Khotan. (4) The idea that the founder of the country descends from royal lines of both east and west belongs to a developed stage in the process of the evolution of the legend.*
  - 52) Haneda 1932: 121–125.
  - 53) *The History of the Later Han, Hou-han-shu chüan 77, biography of Pan Ch’ao 班超傳, (Peking edition < chüan 47 > vol. 6, p. 1573; Chavannes 1906: 221) says “Meanwhile the Hsiung-nu despatched an envoy to put that country under its guardianship” 而匈奴遣使, 監護其國. In the section on Central Asia, Hsi-yü-chuan in the section on So-chü (chüan 118, Peking edition < chüan 88 > vol. 10, p. 2926; Chavannes 1907: 204) we read: “(Kuang-tê, the king of Khotan) surrendered his heir as a hostage, and pledged himself to present each year weavings of woollens and silk” 以其太子爲質, 約歲給罽絮.*

- 54) Thomas 1951: 260.
- 55) *Hsin-t'ang-shu*, chüan 221, Shanghai edition, vol. 20: 6235; Chavannes 1903: 125–126.
- 56) Stein 1907: 162–163.
- 57) Haneda 1932: 89–148.
- 58) Przyluski 1923: 106–107.
- 59) Thomas 1935: 104–107; Emmerick 1967: 22–29.
- 60) *Wei-shu*, Peking edition vol. 6: 2262–63. The passage reads:

Fifty li south of Khotan is Tsan-mo temple. That is, it is the place of the overturned bowl stūpa long ago built by the Arhat Bhikṣu Vairocana for the king. On a stone there was a place where there were footprints of a Pratyekabuddha, and traces of both still exist.

- 61) T. 2092 (LI) 1019a11–22. Wang 1984: 221–222 translates the passage as follows:

Previously the king of Yü-t'ien had not believed in Buddhism. A barbarian merchant brought a monk named Vairocana to the south of the city and had him wait beneath an apricot tree. He then went to see the king and asked for forgiveness, saying: "Now, without authorization, I have taken in an alien monk, who is now in the south of the city beneath an apricot tree." Upon hearing this, the king was enraged. He immediately set out to see Vairocana. Vairocana spoke to the king: "Tathāgata sent me to come here, and he ordered Your Highness to construct a stūpa with a top shaped like an overturned plate as a way to assure the everlasting prosperity of your reign." The king said: "If you would show me the Buddha, I would then comply with your request." Vairocana rang a bell and told Buddha (about this), and Buddha ordered Rāhula to change into the shape of a Buddha, showing his real appearance in the sky. The king, placing his knees, elbows and head on the ground (to express utmost respect), immediately had a shrine built underneath the apricot tree and had a portrait of Rāhula painted. Rāhula then suddenly disappeared. The king of Yü-t'ien again had a hall built to house the portrait (and display it). Now the reflection of the plate-shaped (stūpa top) often appeared outside of the house, and all of those who saw it would devotedly worship it. Inside of the house was Pratyekabuddha's shoe, which has remained intact to this day. It was not made of leather, nor of silk, but of some unknown material.

- 62) Rather tentatively identified by Stein 1907: 232–235 as the present Chalma-Kazān.
- 63) Teramoto 1921: 68–69 calculates 83 B.C., Fujita 1933: 315–316, 82 B.C., Hatani 1914: 262–263, 74 B.C., and Thomas 1935: 104, n. 1, according to his original calculations, arrived at 59 B.C.
- 64) See Yamazaki 1979: chapter three.
- 65) Haneda 1948: 98–99.
- 66) Shiratori 1941: 639–659. Shigematsu 1957. Wada 1955 and 1978.
- 67) *How-han-shu*, Peking edition vol. 6: 1573; Chavannes 1906: 221.
- 68) H. W. Bailey has suggested that the pre-Buddhist religion of Khotan was an Iranian religion, with evidence of that being found in Old Khotanese vocabulary. He has also pointed out the possibility that at the time of the introduction of Buddhism there was some conflict with the prevailing local faith. These indications were given in a lecture delivered on March 28, 1967, at Taisho University, Tokyo, on the topic "The Khotanese Summary of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra." See now Bailey 1982.
- 69) Among those monk-translators who are recorded to have come to China in the Later Han there are also those for whom the home country is known only as "The Western World" in general, but we can make some assumptions based on the "country name" attached to the head of their monastic names. With that in mind we can say regarding the countries of origin of individual monks that Chia-shê Mo-t'êng 迦葉摩騰, Chu Fa-lan 竺法蘭, Chu Fo-shuo 竺佛朔, and Chu Ta-li 竺大力 were Indians, An Shih-kao 安世高 and An Hsüan 安玄 were Partians (An-hsi 安息), Chih Lou-chia-ch'en 支婁迦讖 and Chih Yao 支曜 were Yüeh-chi 月氏, and K'ang Chü 康巨 and K'ang Mêng-hsiang 康孟詳 were from K'ang chü 康居 (Sogdiana). The land of origin of T'an-kuo 曇果 is not clear, but because he brought Sanskrit manuscripts from India, we may consider him as an

Indian. From the end of the Later Han through the first half of the third century translator-monks were limited to those from the western side of the Pamirs, those from Eastern Turkestan beginning in the latter half of the third century with the Kuchean monk Po Yen 白延 and the Khotanese monk Wu-ch'a-lo 無叉羅. See the *Li-tai san-pao chi* 歷代三寶記 chüan 4, and the *Ta-t'ang nei-tien lu* 大唐內典錄 chüan 1 and 2.

- 70) According to Stein 1907: 365, note 8 and 374–375, and 1921: 236, the remains of a small third century temple were discovered at Niya, in the environs of Khotan. The oldest Buddhist manuscripts recovered from Eastern Turkestan belong to the second century, and are written in Sanskrit and North-west Indian vernacular. See Konow 1929: lxxiii.
- 71) Thomas 1935: 108, and Emmerick 1967: 28–29.
- 72) The *Kao-sêng Fa-hsien chüan* 高僧法顯傳, T. 2085 (LI) 857b3–5; Legge 1886: 16, modified.
- 73) About this expansion see Brough 1965.
- 74) *Han-shu*, Peking edition vol. 12: 3881; Hulsewé and Loewe 1979: 97.
- 75) *Hou-han-shu*, Peking edition vol. 10: 2915; Chavannes 1907: 171.
- 76) *Hou-han-shu*, Peking edition vol. 6: 1573; Chavannes 1906: 221.
- 77) *Hou-han-shu*, Peking edition vol. 10: 2916; Chavannes 1907: 172.
- 78) On Chü-mi (= Han-mi), see Stein 1907: 467, Brough 1965: 593, n. 45, and Hulsewé and Loewe 1979: 94, n. 138.
- 79) See *Hou-han-shu*, Peking edition vol. 10: 2915; Chavannes 1907: 170ff.
- 80) *Hou-han-shu*, Peking edition vol. 10: 2916; Chavannes 1907: 174.
- 81) *Hou-han-shu*, Peking edition vol. 10: 2915; Chavannes 1907: 171.
- 82) Quoted in the commentary to the *Record of the Three Kingdoms, San-kuo-chih*, Peking edition vol. 3: 859; Chavannes 1905: 538.
- 83) See Stein 1907: 103.
- 84) It may not be inappropriate to quote a perceptive remark of H. W. Bailey (1972: 65), offered in a different context but apt to the present case as well. He observed:

We see then Khotan by about 300 A.D. a Buddhist country with a remote nomadic background, likely to have delighted in story-telling, and intent now on using the popular pleasure in tales for Buddhist purposes.