

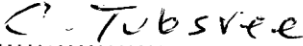
**I-TSING AT THE SOUTH SEA –
THE BUDDHIST LEARNING JOURNEY**

OOI HAN CHUN

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL GRADUATE STUDIES
IN HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
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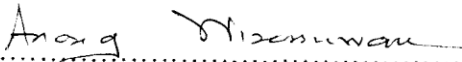
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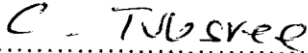
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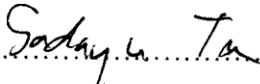

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KEYWORDS: I-TSING/ SOUTH SEA/ SRIVIJAYA/ LIFE-LEARNING/
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This paper takes a more informed look into the personal life learning experience aspect of narrative analysis. The research method of narrative analysis was analyzed along with a narrative from the original literacy text written by I-tsing himself, the Chinese historical record of the T'ang Dynasty, as well as other commentaries ascribed by scholars in the various period to better demonstrate its validity. The humanistic geography - phenomenological approach was employed for a better understanding of the human world by studying people's relation with nature, their geographical behavior, as well as their feelings and ideas with regard to space and place. The researcher has invented a combined data analysis framework of Polkinghorne's Narrative Analysis and Humanistic Geography – Phenomenological Analysis to study in-depth the central reason of why I-tsing decided to set foot at the South Sea (Srivijaya) for such a long time carrying out his mission before returning to China after the completion of his study in India. The researcher has articulated the analyzed outcomes into three insightful findings as a response to the research inquiry. The three findings are: 1) The disagreeable conditions for allowing I-tsing to return home; 2) I-tsing needed a conducive platform for his return to China; and 3) The supportive conditions in Śrīvijaya. Each of the findings was explicated in lengthy detail and supported with various valid and reliable references, documentary facts, and case-studies of real-life stories.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Buddhism, from its birth land of India, spread into China and can be traced back to as early as the Han Dynasty (A.D. 25-200) — reaching its glorious peak during the T'ang Dynasty (A.D. 618-907). Numerous Chinese Buddhist pilgrims initiated their westbound journey to deepen their Buddhist knowledge and practice in the Buddha Land (India). Among the most prominent and outstanding Chinese pilgrims to India were Fa Xian (A.D. 334-420), Xuan Zang (A.D. 602-664), and also, I-tsing (A.D. 635-713), the central character of this study. Nevertheless, not many research works had been done on I-tsing compared to the first two prominent characters, i.e., Fa Xian and Xuan Zang. The reason given by most of the scholars was there were not many reference materials collated with I-tsing. Under this circumstance, the researcher was inspired to do this research knowing that something could be done to rectify the situation by excavating and unearthing all the possible reference materials from various sources, especially those concealed and hidden behind the vast Chinese historical literary texts.

Furthermore, among the present works done by the scholars on I-tsing, the researcher found that there was a notable missing puzzle considered as an incomplete mission to fully describe the life-learning journey of I-tsing. The missing puzzle meant here is “the most reasons and factors prompting I-tsing to spend over a decade residing in the countries of the South Seas, mainly in the Śrīvijaya Kingdom. Even though most scholars choose to pay less attention to it or ignoring it, the researcher would prefer to highlight it and place it on the table of discussion to revive its existence. The researcher would instead consider it as a vital and significant mission to be able to fill up this missing puzzle. This is the reason why this study was conducted.

As one of the scopes and emphasis on human resource development (HRD), learning is at the heart of the organization. Learning has the power to enable individuals and organizations to fulfill their personal and collective goals and ambitions.

Individuals may be transformed by their learning and also through learning, they may gain the power to transform the context in which they find themselves or to create new contexts for themselves. Learning potentially is trans-formative and emancipative. It is through learning that we can acquire new knowledge, skills and attitudes that may enable us to function and perform more efficiently and effectively and exercise greater choice in our working and personal lives (Blackwell, 2016). The position adopted in this study is that the vast learning experiences gained by I-tsing throughout his entire life mission has the potential to contribute to the development of individuals and organizations, to enhance their performance in worthwhile and meaningful ways, and that the benefits to be accrued by the individual, the organization and broader society can be significant and mutually reinforcing.

Therefore, as a sincere Buddhist learner and practitioner, the researcher felt such a pity and bad for not knowing well this prominent ancient master who had contributed his whole life for the Buddha-sasana, particularly in the Buddhist texts translation and interpretation works. Even today, his works still have such a significant influence and impact, and is beneficial reference material, especially when tracing back to the 7th century's transportation and cultural evolution in Central and South-east Asia. I-tsing throughout his life had translated a total of 56 Buddhist Sanskrit Scriptures and more than 230 volumes of Buddhist texts into the Chinese Language, covering three major Buddhist Literature Texts (Tipitaka), i.e., Sutta (Discourse), Vinaya (Disciplinary Code) and Abhidhamma (Commentary). Hence, I-tsing, in the aspect of the history of Buddhism or the history of cultural exchanges had made an outstanding contribution. Perhaps this was another reason for the researcher to conduct this study.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

I-tsing had stopped over and spent more than ten years traveling and carrying out his mission in various places in the South Sea, particularly in Śrīvijaya. He was, therefore, very familiar with the social situations in the South Sea countries. The reliability of the description in his writings regarding the social situation of the South Sea is relatively high. Notably, his two authentic self-writings, i.e.,

the “A Record of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Sea” and the “Biography of Eminent Monks Who Went to the West Region in Search of the Dharma During the Great T’ang Dynasty”, left us a very precious historical treasure. It has become the most authoritative historical source to date, which recorded the life situation, and the real scene of the South Sea in general, and Śrīvijaya in particular, during the 7th century.

The achievements and contributions of I-tsing throughout his life, from his major work of Buddhist texts translations, till his self-written works on the history of Transportation, Language and cultural exchange between China and the outside world were an outstanding and remarkable achievement. According to the book of Kai-yuan Manual Buddhist Collections, a total of 56 books and 230 volumes of Buddhist texts were translated throughout his life.

Nevertheless, in between studying I-tsing and his life learning journey, a most curious question that always arises in mind is, “Why didn’t I-tsing directly go back to his country of origin, China, to carry out his missionary works after the accomplishment of his learning in India?” Instead, he set foot in Śrīvijaya, a nation totally different in every aspect of his life, such as the spoken language, living style, as well as cultural background and practice. Therefore, the major problem which needed an in-depth search for resolving the question of what were the reasons and factors that made I-tsing spent such a long time in the South Sea before and after his learning in India. Perhaps this is the crucial and most relevant part throughout I-tsing’s learning experiences on highlighting the personal and interpersonal skills development in him, as he had become one of the leading figures during his time inside and outside China.

It is worthwhile to mention that even though scholars had done much research work in a different period regarding the life journey of I-tsing rarely had they taken enough attention on this particular aspect, or they might likely have not been very interested in it. Moreover, this is the main intention I am conducting this study.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The primary concern of this research is to explore the most urging factors and the strong motivation which brought I-tsing to spend over a decade in his life for

carrying out his life mission in the South Sea (Śrīvijaya). Hence, specifically, this study is conducted to answering the following research questions:

1.4 Research Question

What were the most urging factors and the strong motivation behind I-tsing's setting foot and spending over a decade in his life for carrying out his life mission in the South Sea (Śrīvijaya)?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study is a significant endeavor for exploring and discussing in-depth the entire life learning journey of I-tsing. The outcome is precise and inclusive, especially the notable missing puzzle that so far none of the scholars, either in the past or in modern days were interested in or paid much attention to.

Secondly, this research is also helping to fill up the incomplete part of the historical record of the ancient Malay-peninsula ("*Sejarah Kuno Nusantara*" in the Indonesian Language) in the 6th – 7th century. From the two important literary works of I-tsing, which were accomplished during his 12 years stayed at Śrīvijaya, had handed down all the essential records describing the real situations and the social conditions at that time. Unfortunately, we could not gather much further information from the local historical records. The local modern historians and scholars even opined that, if without the precise record of I-tsing through his two books, they could lose the entire piece of record for this particular period of time, even though the Śrīvijaya Kingdom was one of the brilliant and flourishing kingdoms in the history of Indonesia around the 7th century. Therefore, the outcome of this study is also indirectly carrying out this incomplete mission.

Thirdly, this study is thoroughly conducted in English, so the result and outcome are written and presented in English. Therefore, this can be a helpful and valuable reference for those who can only understand English as we know that almost eighty to ninety percent of the reference sources which correlate to I-tsing were written in Chinese. There are only limited reference materials to be found in languages other than Chinese, such as in French, Japanese, English, and Indonesian.

1.6 Delimitation of the Study

The scope of the study is mainly focusing on the exploration of the urging factors and the strong motivation which brought I-tsing to spend over a decade in his life carrying out his life mission, including the significant contribution and legacy in the South Sea, particularly his 14 years stay in Śrīvijaya. The researcher did not put too much effort and resources into exploring the life events outside this scope, such as his activities when studying in India, as well as his time when returning to his country of origin (China) after Śrīvijaya.

The data collection mainly relies on various historical records and literary scriptures during that period of time, i.e. Tang Dynasty (around 6th – 10th century), since this research is to study the experiences of a single individual, i.e., I-tsing, embracing stories of his life and exploring the learning experiences of him through narrative analysis. The article writings, academic journals, or any publications correlate to I-tsing is referred to.

1.7 Definition of Key Terms

1. Life journey – This combined phrase is referring to the entire biography of I-tsing, which has been recorded officially and unofficially in Chinese history and literature texts.

2. I-tsing – A Chinese Buddhist monk, who was lived in the T'ang Dynasty between 635 to 713. He is the central figure, which is discussed in this study.

3. Stop-over – This combined phrase is referring to the settling down of I-tsing in the South Sea, especially after his completion of study in India.

4. Legacy – This term is referring to the literary works handed down by I-tsing, which can be any kinds of reference in the later day after his time. This can also be referred to as any kind of the contribution of I-tsing throughout his stay in the South Sea.

5. South Sea – Chinese name (Nan Hai; Nan-yang) for the geographical region south of China, particularly Southeast Asia. In this research, it may sometimes have a direct reference to the Śrīvijaya Kingdom, which was located at the Sumatra Island, Indonesia.

6. Śrīvijaya – A maritime and commercial kingdom that flourished between the 7th and the 13th centuries. The kingdom originated in Palembang on the island of Sumatra and soon extended its influence and controlled the Strait of Malacca. Śrīvijaya's power was based on its control of international sea trade. It established trade relations not only with the states in the Malay Archipelago but also with China and India.

7. Humanistic Geography – Humanistic geography is a manner of approaching within the field of human geography that seeks to put humans at the center of geography (Gregory et al., 2009, pp. 356-357). It is also an attempt to understand the meaning, values and human significance of life events. Humanistic geography tries to understand the human world by analyzing people's relations with nature, their geographical behavior and their feelings and ideas regarding space and place, and these form the fundamental 'data' of humanist inquiry (Tuan, 1976, p. 266). The humanistic geographical approach is consumed to explore the central reason why I-tsing decided to stay at the South Sea (Śrīvijaya) for such a long time to carry out his life mission.

8. West/ Westbound – These two terms are mainly referring to an adjective meaning of "movement towards the west". In the context of this study, it refers explicitly to the travel journey towards India, as India is at the west of China.

9. T'ang-dynasty (618–907) – Chinese dynasty that succeeded the short-lived Sui dynasty (581–618), developed a successful form of government and administration on the Sui model and stimulated a cultural and artistic flowering that amounted to a golden age. The Tang dynasty—like most—rose in duplicity and murder, and it subsided into a kind of anarchy. But at its apex, in the early 8th century, the splendor of its arts and its cultural milieu made it a model for the world. Tang China attracted an international reputation that spilled out of its cities and through the practice of Buddhism, spread its culture across much of Asia.

10. Buddhist Sects – There are many subdivisions within Buddhism, but most can be classified into three major branches: Theravada ("Way of the Elders"), Mahayana ("Greater Vehicle") and Vajrayana ("Diamond Vehicle"). Theravada and Mahayana Buddhism went their separate ways in the first century CE.

11. Mūlasarvāstivāda – One of the early Buddhist schools of India in the 7th century. I-tsing wrote that the Mūlasarvāstivāda were prominent throughout the kingdom of Śrīvijaya (present-day Indonesia). I-tsing stayed in Śrīvijaya for six to seven years, during which time he studied Sanskrit and translated Sanskrit texts into Chinese. I-tsing stated that the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya were almost universally adopted in this area. He wrote that the subjects studied, as well as the rules and ceremonies, were virtually the same in this region as they were in India.

12. Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya – One of the six extant Buddhist monastic codes. However, the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya is also one of three surviving Vinaya lineages, along with the Dharmaguptaka and Theravāda. The Tibetan Emperor Ralpacan restricted Buddhist ordination to the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya. As Mongolian Buddhism was introduced from Tibet, Mongolian ordination follows this rule as well. The Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya is extant in Tibetan (9th-century translation) and Chinese (8th-century translation) and to some extent in the original Sanskrit.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, the researcher has reviewed the following related items to guide the study in the right direction. The researcher always bears in mind that the reviews will not influence the data collection analysis nor interpretation of the results. The reviewed items are as follows:

- 2.1 About I-tsing
- 2.2 The Life and Travels of I-tsing
- 2.3 The Life and Travels of Fa-hsien – Buddhist Pilgrim of 5th Century
- 2.4 The Life and Travels of Xuan-zang
- 2.5 The influence of Buddhism in the T'ang Dynasty (618-907)
- 2.6 South Sea and Śrīvijaya Empire in the 7th century
- 2.7 I-tsing's stay in South Sea, before and after his mission to India
- 2.8 The Buddhist Threefold Training
- 2.9 Scope, Objectives, and Functions of Human Resource Development
- 2.10 The Practice of Human Resources Development
- 2.11 The Narrative Research
- 2.12 Humanistic Geography

2.1 About I-tsing

I-tsing is the central character and the targeted subject of study in this research. Therefore, if conducting the research but without a complete narrative of the background of I-tsing, is like a body without the soul. For this purpose, there are at least five primary sources, which had been documented as a formal literary work kept under the Official Archives of Chinese History and Literary Work. Nevertheless, all these sources are available only in the Chinese language, such as 1) “Continued Translation of Ancient and Modern Classics”; 2) “Bibliography of I-tsing” recorded in “Kai-yuan’s Directory of Buddhist Teachings”; 3) “Zhen-yuan New Directory of Buddhist Teachings”; 4) The Manual of the Great T’ang Long-Xing Tripitaka; and 5) “Sung-Gao-Seng-Zhuan”. All these literacy works had precisely narrated the

autobiography of I-tsing, which were written by those literary experts cum history officers.

Besides, there are another two most celebrated and significant literary works, i.e. 1) “A Record of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Seas”; and 2) “Chinese Monks in India: Biography of Eminent Monks who went to the Western World in Search of the Law during the Great T'ang Dynasty” for fitting in the purpose of excavating the origin and background of I-tsing. Both are the most authentic literary works, which are written by I-tsing himself. These two literary works had been translated into various languages by the prominent scholars from various countries, i.e., English, Russian, French, Korean, Indonesian, Japanese, and also it has been transliterated from Classical Chinese into Modern Chinese.

Notably, there are also a few significant contemporary literary works done by some modern scholars regarding the origin and background of I-tsing. The researcher would instead consider these contemporary and modern literary works as the secondary reference sources in this study. Among those, the most prominent and adaptable is the book written by Wang Bang-wei (1996), a Professor of Institute of Oriental Studies, Research Center of Eastern Literature, and Center for India Studies, Peking University. His work of “The biography of the eminent T'ang Monk I-tsing and His Writings” has recapitulated I-tsing's life journey, as well as a summary description of I-tsing's literary works in his entire life.

By reading through the above most listed sources, there is a notable, controversial issue which has drawn conspicuous attention among scholars about the origin of the birthplace of I-tsing. With regard to the controversial issue concerned, I-tsing was said to have been born in two different places following the two different documentary records. Notably, according to “Continued Translation of Ancient and Modern Classics”, “Bibliography of I-tsing” recorded in “Kai-yuan's Directory of Buddhist Teachings”, and “Zhen-yuan New Directory of Buddhist Teachings”, I-tsing was originated from Qi Zhou, it is today's Ji Nan District of Shandong Province. However, according to the The Manual of the Great T'ang Long-Xing Tripitaka and “Bibliography of I-tsing” of “Bibliography of Eminent Monks of Song Dynasty”, I-tsing was born in Fan Yang, where today's Bao Ding District of Hebei Province located.

2.2 The Life and Travels of I-tsing

His Boyhood, Monkhood, to His Departure from China

The researcher has mainly reviewed these two literary works for accomplishing the writing of this sub-topic. The two literary works, i.e., “*A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India and the Malay Archipelago*” – by I-tsing, translated by J. Takakusu; and “*Buddhist Monastic Traditions of Southern Asia – A Record of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Seas*” – by I-tsing, translated by Li Rongxi.

I-tsing (A.D. 635-713), surnamed Zhang, given-named Wen-ming before becoming a monk, was a native of Qi-zhou (present day Li-cheng County in Shandong Province) (Yijing, Li & Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2000).

I-tsing, one of the three great travelers in India, was born in the year 635 A.D., during the reign of T'ai-tsung, the T'ang Dynasty. When he was seven years old (641), he went to the teachers, Shan-yu and Hui-his, who both lived in a temple on the mountain T'ai in Shan-tung. He was probably instructed by these teachers in the elements of general Chinese literature, with a view to his proceeding of the priesthood (Yijing & Takakusu, 1966).

His Upādhyāya Shan-yu died, to his great sorrow, when he was only twelve years old (646). He then, laying aside his study of secular literature, devoted himself to the Sacred Canon of the Buddha. He was admitted to the Order when he was fourteen years of age. It was, he told us, in his eighteenth years (652) that he formed the intention of traveling to India, which was not, however, carried out till his thirty-seventh year (671). During some nineteen years of the interval, he seems to have applied all his youthful vigor to the study of religion, so as ‘not to render his life useless by indulging himself in secular literature’ (Yijing & Takakusu, 1966).

He received his Full Ordination (Upasampadā) at the required age of twenty (654), his Karmākārya, Hui-his, then becoming his Upādhyāya to take the place of the deceased Shan-yu. On the same day, pointing out to him the importance of holding firm to the Noble Precepts of the Buddha, and also the fact that the Buddha's teaching was becoming misinterpreted, the Upādhyāya instructed him in earnest. The words of

his teacher must have guided him throughout the whole of his life, for what he did or wrote afterward perfectly accorded with them (Takakusu, 1896).

After that incident, he devoted himself exclusively to the study of the Vinaya text during the following five years (654-658). He made great progress in his pursuit, and his teacher ordered him to deliver a lecture on the subject; in fact, he calls himself on one occasion 'One versed in the Vinaya,' so far as the Chinese study of it is concerned (Yijing & Takakusu, 1966).

Next to the Vinaya, he proceeded to learn the larger Sūtras, practicing some of the thirteen Dhūtāgas during his residence in the mountain Vihāra. Owing to the instigation of his Upādhyāya he then went to Eastern Wei to study Asaga's two Sāstras belonging to the Abhidharma-pitaka; thence he moved to the Western Capital, where he further read the Abhidharma-kosa and Vidyāmātra-siddhi of Vasubandhu and Dharmapāla respectively. During his stay at Ch'ang-an he may have witnessed the 'noble enthusiasm of Xuan-zang', and probably also the grand ceremony of his funeral carried out under the special direction of the emperor, for his death occurred during I-tsing's stay in the capital (664) (Yijing & Takakusu, 1966).

Stirred up perhaps by the great personality of Xuan-zang and by the honor and glory that attended him, I-tsing seems to have made a great effort to carry out his long-meditated enterprise of a journey to India, which was in his time the home of Buddhist literature. I-tsing indeed became a great admirer of Xuan-zang as well as of Fa-xian, as his biographer tells us. He stayed in the capital till 670 A.D., the year prior to his departure from home (Yijing & Takakusu, 1966).

His journey to India

I-tsing, was in the Western Capital (Ch'ang-an) in the first year of the Hsien-heng period (670), studying and hearing lectures. At that time there were with me Ch'u-I, a teacher of the Law, of Ping-Pu ; Hung-I, a teacher of the Sāstra of Lai-chou, and also two or three other Bhadants; we all made an agreement together to visit the Vulture Peak (Gīdhrkūa), and set our hearts on (seeing) the Tree of Knowledge (Bodidruma) in India. Ch'u-I, however, was drawn back by his affection towards (his home in) Ping-ch'uan, for his mother was of an advanced age, whereas Hung-i turned his thought to Sukhāvāṇ meeting Hiuen-chan in Kiang-ning. Hiuen-k'uei (one of the parties) came as far as Kwang-tung; he, however, as others did, changed his mind,

which he had formerly made up. So, I had to start for India, only with a young priest, Shan-hing, of Tsin-chou

The old friends of mine in the Divine Land (China) thus unfortunately parted with me and all went their ways, while not a single new acquaintance in India was yet found by me. Had I hesitated then, my wish would never have been fulfilled. I composed two stanzas imitating, though not in earnest, the poem on the fourfold Sorrow

During my travel, I passed several myriads of stages,
The fine threads of sorrow entangled my thought hundredfold.
Why was it, pray, you let the shadow of my body alone
Walk on the boundaries of Five Regions of India?

Again to console myself:

A good general can obstruct a *hostile* army,
But the resolution of a man is difficult to move
If I be sorry for a short life and be ever
Speaking of it, how can I fill up the long Asakhya age?

Previous to my departure from home I returned to my native place (Chou) from the capital (Ch'ang-an). I sought advice from my teacher, Hui-his, saying: 'Venerable Sir, I am intending to take a long journey; for if I witness that with which I have hitherto not been acquainted, there must accrue to me great advantage. But you are already advanced in age, so that I cannot carry out my intention without consulting you. He answered: This is a great opportunity for you, which will not occur twice. (I assure you) I am much delighted to hear of your intention so wisely formed. If I live long enough (to see you return), it will be my joy to witness you transmitting the Light. Go without hesitation; do not look back upon things left behind. I certainly approve of your pilgrimage to the holy places. Moreover, it is a most important duty to strive for the prosperity of Religion. Rest clear from doubt'

On the eve of my departure, I went to the tomb of my master (Shan-yu) to worship and to take leave. At that time, the trees around the tomb (though) injured by frost had already grown so much that each tree took one hand to span it, and wild grasses had filled the graveyard. Though the spirit-world is hidden from us, I nevertheless paid him all honor just as if he had been present. While turning around and glancing in every direction, I related my intention of traveling. I invoked his

spiritual aid, and expressed my wish to requite the great benefits conferred on me by this benign personage.

In the second year of the Hsien-heng period (671) I kept the summer-retreat (Varsha or Vassa) in Yang-fu. In the beginning of autumn (seventh moon) I met unexpectedly an imperial envoy, Feng Hsiao-ch'uan of Kong-chou; by the help of him I came to the town of Kwang-tung, where I fixed the date of meeting with the owner of a Persian ship to embark for the south. Again, accepting the invitation of the envoy, I went to Kang-chou when he became my Danapati (Benefactor) for a second time. His younger brothers, Hsiao-tan and Hsiao-chen, both imperial envoys, Ladies Ning and Pen, all the members of his family, favored me with presents.

Things of superior quality and excellent eatables were given me by them; each striving to do the best. In doing so, they hope that I might not be in any want during the sea voyage, yet they feared that there might be some trouble for me in the dangerous land. Their affection was as deep as that of my parents, readily granting whatever the orphan wished to have. They all become my refuge or resource and together supplied the means of (visiting) the excellent region.

All I could have done regarding my pilgrimage (to the Holy Land) is due only to the power of the family of Feng. Moreover, the priests and laymen of the Lin-nan experienced a bitter feeling at our parting; the brilliant scholars of the northern provinces were all distressed by our bidding farewell, as they thought never to see us again.

In the eleventh month of this year (A.D.671) *we started* looking towards the constellations Yi and Chen, and having P'an-yu (Kwang-tung) right behind us. I would sometimes direct my thoughts far away to the Deer Park (Migadāvaat Bnares); *at other times* I would repose in the hope of (reaching) the Cock Mountain (Kukkuapadagiri near Gayā).

At this time the first monsoon began to blow, when our ship proceeded towards the Red South with the ropesa hundred cubits long suspended from above, two by two. In the beginning of the season in which we separate from the constellation Chi, the pair *of sails*, each in five *lengths*, flew away, leaving the somber north behind. Cutting thought the immense abyss, the great swells of water lie, like

a mountain, on the sea. Joining sideways with a vast gulf-stream, the massive waves, like clouds, dash against the sky.

Before sailing twenty days the ship reached Bhoga, where I landed and stayed six months gradually learning the Śabdavidyā (Sanskrit grammar). The king gave me some support and send me to country of Malayu, which is now called Śrībhoga where I again stayed two months, and thence I went to Ka-cha Here I embarked in the twelfth month and again on board the king's ship I sailed to eastern India. Going towards the north from Ka-cha, after more than days' sail, we came to the country of the Naked People (Insulae Nudroum). Looking towards the east we saw the shore, for an extent of one or two Chinese miles, with nothing but cocoa-nut trees and betel-nut forest, luxuriant and pleasant (to be seen). When the natives saw our vessel coming, they eagerly embarked in little boats, their number, and things made of rattan-cane and bamboos, and wished to exchange them. What they are anxious to get is iron only; for a piece of iron as large as two fingers, one from them five to ten cocoa-nuts. The men are entirely naked, while the women veil their person with some leaves. If the merchants in joke offer them their clothes, they wave their hands (to tell that) they do not use them.

This country is, I heard in the direction of the south-west limit shu-ch'uan (Ssu-ch'uan in china). This island does not produce iron at all; gold and silver also are rare. The natives live solely on cocoa-nuts (nālikera) and tubers; there is not much rice. And therefore, what they hold most precious and valuable is Loha, which is the name for iron this country. These people are not black, and are of medium height. They are skilled in making round chests of rattan; no other country can equal them. If one refuses to barter with them, they discharge some poisoned arrows, one single of which proves fatal. In about half a mouth's sail from here in the north-west direction we reached Tāmralipti, which constitutes the southern limit of E. India. It is more than sixty yoganās from Mahābodhi and Nālanda (C. India).

On the eighth day of the second month of the fourth year of the Hsien-heng period (673) I arrived there. In the fifth month I resumed my journey westwards, finding companions here and there.

I met for the first time Ta-cheng-teng (Mahayanapradipa) in *Tamralipti*, and stayed with him a (part of the) year, while I learned the Brahma-language (Sanskrit)

and practiced the science of words (grammar, Śabdavidyā). Lastly, I started together with the Master Teng (=Ta-cheng-teng), taking the road which goes straight to the west, and many hundreds of merchants came with us to C. India.

At a distance of ten days' journey from the Mahābodhi Vihara we passed a great mountain and bogs; the pass is dangerous and difficult to cross. It is important to go in a company of several men, and never to proceed alone. At that time, I, I-tsing, was attacked by an illness of the season; body was fatigued and without. I sought to follow the company of merchants, but tarrying and suffering, as I was become unable to reach them. Although I exerted myself and wanted to proceed, yet I was obliged to stop a hundred times in going five Chinese miles. There were there about twenty priests of Nālanda, and with them the Venerable Teng who had all gone on in advance. I alone remained behind and walked in the dangerous defiles without a companion. Late in the day, when the sun was about to set, some mountain brigands made their appearance; drawing a bow and shouting aloud, they came and glared at me, and one after another insulted me. First, they stripped me of my upper robe, and then took off my under garment. All the straps and girdles that were with me they snatched away also. I thought at that time, indeed, that my last farewell to this world was at hand, and that I should not fulfil my wish of a pilgrimage to the holy places. Moreover, if my limbs were thus pierced by the points of their lances, I could never succeed in carrying out the original enterprise so long meditated. Besides, there was a rumor in the country of the West (India) that, when they took a white man, they killed him to offer a sacrifice to heaven (Devas). When I thought of this tale, my dismay grew twice as much. Thereupon I entered into a muddy hole, and besmeared all my body with mud. I covered myself with leaves, and supporting myself on a stick, I advanced slowly.

The evening of the day came, and the place of rest was as yet distant. At the second watch of night I reached my fellow-travelers. I heard the venerable Teng calling out for me with a loud voice from outside the village. When we met together, he kindly gave me a robe, and I washed my body in a pond and then came into the village. Proceeding northwards for a few days from that village, we arrived first at Nalanda and worshiped the Root Temple (Mūla-gandhakūi), and we ascended the Gīdhra-kūi (Vulture) mountain, where we saw the spot on which the garments were folded. Afterwards we came to the Mahabodhi Vihara and worshiped the image of

the real face (of the Buddha). I took stuffs of thick and fine silk, which were presented by the priests and laymen of Shan-tung, made a kāshāya (yellow robe) of them of the size of the Tathagata, and myself offered this robe to the Image. Many myriads of (small) canopies (also), which were entrusted to me by the Vinaya-master Hiuen of Pu-zhou, I presented on his behalf. The Dhyana-master An-to of Ts'ao-zhou charged me to worship the image of Bodhi, and I discharged the duty in his name.

Then I prostrated myself entirely on the ground with an undivided mind, sincere and respectful. First I wished for China that the four kinds of benefits should widely prevail among all sentient beings (Han-shih=sattva) in the region of the Law (Dharmadhatu), and I expressed my desire for a general reunion under the Naga-tree to meet the honored (Buddha) Maitreya and to conform to the true doctrine, and then to obtain the knowledge that is not subject to births. I went round to worship all the holy places; I passed *a house which is known* (to the Chinese) as 'Fan-chang' (in Vaisali) and came to Kusinaga, everywhere keeping myself devout and sincere. I entered into the Deer park (Mrigadava at Benares) and ascended the Cock Mountain (Kukkutapadagiri near Gaya); and lived in the Nalanda Vihara for ten years (probably A.D. 675-685).

In the first year of the Ch'ui-kung period (685) I parted with Wu-hing in India (in a place six yoganās east from Nālanda).

After having collected the scriptures, I began to retrace my steps to come. I then returned to Tāmralipti. Before I reached there, I met a great band of robbers again; it was with difficulty that I escaped the fate of being pierced by their swords, and I could thus preserve my life from morning to evening. Afterwards I took ship there and passed Ka-cha. The Indian texts I brought formed more than 500,000 slokas, which, if translated into Chinese, would make a thousand volumes, and with these I am now staying at Bhoga.

Roughly speaking, the distance from the middle country (Madhyamadeśa) of India to the border land (Pratyantaka) is more than 300 yoganās in the east and in the west. The border lands in the south and in the north are more than 400 yoganās distant. Although I myself did not see (all the limits) and ascertain (the distance), yet I know it by inquiry. Tāmralipti is forty yoganās south from the eastern limit of India. There are five or six monasteries; the people are rich. It belongs to E. India, and is

about sixty yoganas from Mahabodhi and Sri-Nalanda. Thais is the place where we embark when returning to China. Sailing from here two months in the south-east direction we come to Ka-cha. By this time a ship from a Bhoga will have arrived there. This is generally in the first or second month of the year. (Ceylon) must sail in the south-west direction. They say that island is 700 yoganas off. We stay in ka-cha till winter, then start on board ship for the south, and we come after a month to the country Malayu, which has now become Bhoga; there are many states (under it). The time of arrival is generally in the first or second month. We stay there till the middle of summer and we sail to the north; in about month we reach Kwang-fu (Kwang-tung). The first half of the year will be passed by this time.

When we are helped by the power of our (former) good actions, the journey everywhere is as easy and enjoyable as if we went through a market, but, on the other hand, when we have not much influence of Karma, we are often exposed to danger as if (a young one) in a reclining nest. I have thus shortly described the route and the way home, hoping that the wise may still expand their knowledge by hearing more.

Many kings and chieftains in the islands of the Southern Ocean admire and believe (Buddhism), and their hearts are set on accumulating good actions. In the fortified city of Bhoga Buddhist priests number more than 1,000, whose minds are bent on learning and good practices. They investigate and study all the subjects that exist just as in the Middle Kingdom (Maddhaya-deśa, India); the rules and ceremonies are not at all different. If a Chinese priest wishes to go to the West in order to hear (lectures) and read (the original), he had better stay here one or two years and practice the proper rules and then proceed to Central India.

At the month of the river Bhoga I went on board the ship to send a litter (though the merchant) as a credential to Kwang-chou (Kwang-tung), *in order* to meet (my friends) and ask for paper and cakes of ink, which are to be used in copying the Sutras in the Brahma-language, and also for the means (cost) of hiring scribes. Just at that time the merchant found the wind favorable, and raised the sails to their utmost height. I was in this way conveyed back (although not myself intending to go home). Even if I asked to stop, there would have been no means of doing so. By this I see it is the influence of Karma that can fashion (our course), and it is not for us, men, to plan

it. It was on the twentieth day of the seventh month in the first year of the Yung-ch'ang period (689) that we reached Kwang-fu. I met here again with all the priest and laymen. Then in the midst of the assembly in the temple of Chih-chih I sighed and said: 'I first went to the country of the West with the hope of transmitting and spreading (the Law); I came back and stayed in the island of the Southern Ocean. Some texts are still wanting, though what I brought (from India) and left at Bhoga amounts to 500,000 slohas belonging to the Tripitaka. Is necessary under this circumstance that I should go there once again. But I am already more than fifty years of age (fifty-five); while crossing the running waves once more, the horses that pass through cracks may not stay, and the rampart of my body may be difficult to guard. If the time for the morning dew (for drying) comes on a sudden, to whom shall those books be entrusted?

'The Sacred Canon is indeed an important doctrine. Who is then able to come with me and take it over? To translate (the texts) as we receive (instruction in them) we want an able person'

The assembly unanimously told me: 'Not far from here there is a priest, Cheng-ku (Salagupta), who has long been studying the Vinaya doctrine; from his curliest age he has preserved himself perfect and sincere. If you get that man, he will prove an excellent companion to you.' As soon as I heard these words, I thought that he would, in all probability, answer my want. Thereupon I sent a letter to him to the mountain, roughly describing the preparation for the journey. He then opened my letter; on seeing it he soon made up his mind to come with me. To make a comparison, a single sortie at the town of Liao-tung broke the courageous hearts of the three generals, or one little stanza from (or, about) the Himalaya mountain drew the profound resolution of the great hermit. He left with joy the quiet steams and pine forests in which he lived; he tucked up his sleeves before the hill of the stone gate (Shih-men, N.W. of Kwang-tung), and he raised his skirts in the temple of the Edict (Chih-chih). We bent our parasol (and talked friendly as Confucius did) and united our feelings in rubbing away the worldly dust; as we both gave up (to Religion) our five limbs, we concluded (our friendship) in openheartedness, as if from former days. Although I never saw him before in my life, yet he was, I found just the man who answered unexpectedly my wish. On a fine night we both discussed seriously as to

what had to be done. Cheng-ku then said to me: 'When Virtue wishes to meet Virtue, they unite themselves without any medium, and when the time is about ripe, no one can stay it even if they wanted.

'Shall I then sincerely propose to propagate our Tripitaka together with you, and to help you in lighting a thousand lamps (for the future)? Then we went again to the mountain Hsia to bid farewell to the head of the head of the temple, K'ien, and other. K'ien clearly saw what was to be done at the right moment acted accordingly; he never intended to retain us any longer with him. When we saw him and laid before him what we had meditated, he helped us and approved of all. He was never anxious about what might be wanting to himself, whilst his mind was intent only on helping others. He made, together with us, the preparations for the journey, so as not to let us be in of anything. Besides, all the priests and laymen of Kwang-tung provided us with necessary things.

Then on the first day of the eleventh month of the year (A.D. 689) we departed in a merchant ship. Starting from P'an-yu we set sail in the direction of Champa with the view of reaching Bhoga after a long voyage, in order to become the ladders for all beings, or the boats to carry them across the sea of passion. While we were glad to accomplish our resolutions as soon as possible, we hoped not to fall in the middle of our journey.

Cheng-ku, Tao-hung, and two other priests followed I-tsing and studied Sutras three year in Bhoga; Tao-hung was then (A.D. 689) twenty years old, and when I-tsing wrote the Memoirs, twenty-three years.

I, I-tsing, met Ta-ts'in in Sribhoga (where he came A.D. 683). I requested him to return home to ask an imperial favor in building a temple in the West. When he saw that benefits would be great and large (had this petition been granted), Ta-ts'in disregarding his own life agreed to re-cross the vast ocean. It is on the fifteenth day of the fifth month in the third year of the Tien-shou period (692) that he takes a merchant ship to return to Ch'ang-an (si-an). Now I send with him a new translation of various Sutras and Sastras in ten volumes, the Nan-hai-chi-huei-nai-fa-ch'uan (the Record) in four volumes, and the Ta-t'ang-si-yu-ku-fa-kao-seng-ch'uan (the Memoirs) in volumes (Yijing, Li & Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2000; Takakusu, 1896).

2.3 The Life and Travels of Fa-hsien – Buddhist Pilgrim of 5th Century

One of the 5th-century travelers on the early Silk Road that a detailed written account of his experiences is Fa-hsien, a Chinese Buddhist monk who, at the age of 65, went on a pilgrimage from central China to Tamluk in what we today know as West Bengal, India.

James Legge, Oxford scholar and English translator of *A Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms*, wrote: “Nothing of great importance is known about Fa-Hsien in addition to what may be gathered from his own record of his travels. I have read the accounts of him in the “Memoirs of Eminent Monks,” compiled in A.D. 519, and a later work, the “Memoirs of Marvellous Monks,” by the third emperor of the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1403-1424), which, however, is nearly all borrowed from the other; and all in them that has an appearance of verisimilitude can be brought within brief compass. (Source: “A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms” by Fa-Hsien (Faxian) of his Travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399-414), Translated by James Legge)

His surname, they tell us, was Kung, and he was a native of Wu-yang in P'ing-Yang, which is still the name of a large department in Shan-hsi. He had three brothers older than himself; but when they all died before shedding their first teeth, his father devoted him to the service of the Buddhist society, and had him entered as a Sramanera, still keeping him at home in the family. The little fellow fell dangerously ill, and the father sent him to the monastery, where he soon got well and refused to return to his parents (Fa-hsien, 2006).

When he was ten years old, his father died; and an uncle, considering the widowed solitariness and helplessness of the mother, urged him to renounce the monastic life, and return to her, but the boy replied, “I did not quit the family in compliance with my father's wishes, but because I wished to be far from the dust and vulgar ways of life. This is why I chose monkhood.” The uncle approved of his words and gave over urging him. When his mother also died, it appeared how great had been the affection for her of his fine nature; but after her burial, he returned to the monastery (Fa-hsien, 2006).

When he had finished his novitiate and taken on him the obligations of the full Buddhist orders, his earnest courage, clear intelligence, and strict regulation of his demeanor were conspicuous; and soon after, he undertook his journey to India in search of complete copies of the Vinaya-Pitaka. What follows this is merely an account of his travels in India and return to China by sea, condensed from his own narrative, with the addition of some marvelous incidents that happened to him, on his visit to the Vulture Peak near Rajagriha (Fa-hsien, 2006).

Starting in 399 AD, and traveling chiefly on foot, Fa-hsien passed through the Taklamakan Desert region, crossed the Pamir Plateau, and reached the mouth of the Hooghly River, one of Ganges' distributaries. He then returned to China by ship, visiting places such as Ceylon and Sumatra along the way, and reaching the Chinese mainland in 413 AD, having been away for over a dozen years. With him from India, he had a spiritual treasure: books of the Buddhist canon and images of Buddhist deities (Fa-hsien, n.d.).

Fa-hsien wrote down his experiences and knowledge on bamboo and silk, to the benefit of future travelers. The information was compiled into "Record of Buddhist Countries", which today is more well-known under the title "Travels of Fa-Hsien". This book includes, among other things, a detailed account of Fa-hsien's journey along the Silk Road (Fa-hsien, n.d.).

Fairly early in his journey, Fa-hsien reached Dunhuang at the Chinese Frontier. In his text, he describes being at the end of the Great Wall and how the frontier is held by the Chinese military for a distance of 80 le* from east to west, and 40 le from north to south (Fa-hsien, n.d.).

After staying in Dunhuang for over a month, the governor of Dunhuang gave them the provisions they needed to cross the fearsome Taklamakan Desert. They traveled by an envoy of a camel train. Fa-hsien describes how there are "*neither birds above nor beasts below*" in this arid land, and how "*gazing on all sides as far as the eye can reach in order to mark the track, no guidance is to be obtained save from the rotting bones of dead men, which point the way.*" He also explains that there are a great many evil spirits and hot winds in the desert (Fa-hsien, n.d.).

After traveling for 17 days, covering a distance of roughly 1500 le, they finally reach an oasis in Shan-shan, a kingdom located at the north-eastern end of the

Taklamakan Desert, near the great salt lake Lop Nur. Fa-hsien describes the land as “*rugged and hilly, with a thin and barren soil*”. He points out that the King of Shanshan has received the faith (i.e., Buddhism) and that there might be more than four thousand Buddhist monks here, all students of the Smaller Vehicle (Hīnayāna) (Fa-hsien, n.d.).

Fa-hsien stayed in the oasis for about a month before moving on. While traveling on the southern arm of the Silk Road, Fa-hsien stayed for three months in the Kingdom of Khotan. He reports that this kingdom has 14 large monasteries plus an unknown number of smaller ones (Fa-hsien, n.d.). In the Kingdom of Kashgar, Fa-hsien reaches the point where the southern Silk Road merges with the northern branch (Fa-hsien, n.d.). Fa-hsien rested in Afghanistan/ Punjab during the summer. About this region, he reports that there are about 3000 monks, some belonging to the Greater and others to the Smaller vehicle (Fa-hsien, n.d.).

The Middle Kingdom of India is described by Fa-hsien as a place with a temperate climate, where there is no frost or snow, and where people are happy. He spent six years in India, during one of the most prosperous epochs of the Gupta dynasty (Fa-hsien, n.d.).

It is said in the end that after his return to China, he went to the capital (evidently Nanking), and there, along with the Indian Sramana Buddhahadra, executed translations of some of the works which he had obtained in India; and that before he had done all that he wished to do in this way, he removed to King-chow (in the present Hoo-pih), and died in the monastery of Sin, at the age of eighty-eight, to the great sorrow of all who knew him. It is added that there is another more extensive work giving an account of his travels in various countries (Fa-hsien, 2006).

2.4 The Life and Travels of Xuan-zang

Xuan-zang, Wade-Giles romanization Hsüan-tsang, original name Chen Yi, honorary epithet San-tsang, also called Muchatipo, Sanskrit Mokshadeva, or Yuan-zang, (born 602, Gou-shi, Luo-zhou, now Yan-shi, Henan province, China—died 664, Chang'an, now Xi'an, China), Buddhist monk and Chinese pilgrim to India who translated the sacred scriptures of Buddhism from Sanskrit into Chinese and founded

in China the Buddhist Consciousness-Only school. His fame rests mainly on the volume and diversity of his translations of the Buddhist sutras and on the record of his travels in Central Asia and India, which, with its wealth of detailed and precise data, has been of inestimable value to historians and archaeologists.

Xuan-zang, world-famous for his sixteen-year pilgrimage to India and career as a translator of Buddhist scriptures, is one of the most illustrious figures in the history of scholastic Chinese Buddhism. Born into a family in which there had been scholars for generations, Xuan-zang received a classical Confucian education in his youth, but under the influence of an older brother, he became interested in the Buddhist scriptures and was soon converted to Buddhism. With his brother, he traveled to Chang'an and then to Sichuan to escape the political turmoil that gripped China at that time. While in Sichuan, Xuan-zang began studying Buddhist philosophy but was soon troubled by numerous discrepancies and contradictions in the texts. Not finding any solution from his Chinese masters, he decided to go to India to study at the fountainhead of Buddhism. Being unable to obtain a travel permit, he left Chang'an by stealth in 629. On his journey he traveled north of the Taklamakan Desert, passing through such oasis centers as Turfan, Karashar, Kucha, Tashkent, and Samarkand, then beyond the Iron Gates into Bactria, across the Hindu Kush (mountains) into Kapisha, Gandhara, and Kashmir in northwest India. From there he sailed down the Ganges River to Mathura, then on to the holy land of Buddhism in the eastern reaches of the Ganges, where he arrived in 633.

In India, Xuan-zang visited all the sacred sites connected with the life of the Buddha, and he journeyed along the east and west coasts of the subcontinent. The major portion of his time, however, was spent at the Nalanda monastery, the great Buddhist center of learning, where he perfected his knowledge of Sanskrit, Buddhist philosophy, and Indian thought. While he was in India, Xuan-zang's reputation as a scholar became so great that even the powerful king Harsha, ruler of North India, wanted to meet and honor him. Thanks largely to that king's patronage, Xuan-zang's return trip to China, begun in 643, was greatly facilitated.

Xuan-zang returned to Chang'an, the Tang capital, in 645, after an absence of 16 years. He was accorded a tumultuous welcome at the capital, and a few days later he was received in audience by the emperor, who was so enthralled by his

accounts of foreign lands that he offered the Buddhist monk a ministerial post. Xuan-zang, however, preferred to serve his religion, so he respectfully declined the imperial offer.

Xuan-zang spent the remainder of his life translating the Buddhist scriptures, numbering 657 items packed in 520 cases, that he brought back from India. He was able to translate only a small portion of this huge volume, about 75 items in 1,335 chapters, but his translations included some of the most important Mahayana scriptures.

Xuan-zang's main interest centered on the philosophy of the Yogacara (Vijñānavāda) school, and he and his disciple Kuiji (632–682) were responsible for the formation of the Wei-shi (Consciousness-Only school) in China. Its doctrine was set forth in Xuan-zang's *Chengweishilun* ("Treatise on the Establishment of the Doctrine of Consciousness Only"), a translation of the essential Yogacara writings, and in Kui-ji's commentary. The main thesis of this school is that the whole world is but a representation of the mind. While Xuan-zang and Kui-ji lived, the school achieved some degree of eminence and popularity, but with the passing of the two masters, the school rapidly declined. Before this happened, however, a Japanese monk named Dōshō arrived in China in 653 to study under Xuan-zang, and, after he had completed his study, he returned to Japan to introduce the doctrines of the Ideation Only school in that country. During the 7th and 8th centuries, this school, called Hossō by the Japanese, became the most influential of all the Buddhist schools in Japan.

His translations may, by and large, be divided into three phases: the first six years (645-650), focusing on the *Yogacarabhumi-sastra*; the middle ten years (651-660), centering on the *Abhidharmakosa-sastra*; and the last four years (661-664), concentrating upon the *Maha-prajnaparamita-sutra*. In each phase of his career as a translator, Xuanzang saw his task as introducing Indian Buddhist texts to Chinese audiences in all their integrity. According to Thomas Watters, the total number of texts brought by Xuanzang from India to China is six hundred and fifty-seven, enumerated as follows:

- Mahayanist sutras: 224 items
- Mahayanist sastras: 192

- Sthavira sutras, sastras and Vinaya: 14
- Mahasangika sutras, sastras and Vinaya: 15
- Mahisasaka sutras, sastras and Vinaya: 22
- Sammitiya sutras, sastras and Vinaya: 15
- Kasyapiya sutras, sastra and Vinaya: 17
- Dharmagupta sutras, Vinaya, sastras: 42
- Sarvastivadin sutras, Vinaya, sastras: 67
- Yin-lun (Treatises on the science of Inference): 36
- Sheng-lun (Etymological treatises): 13

In addition to his translations, Xuan-zang composed the *Dat'ang-Xiyu-Ji* ("Records of the Western Regions of the Great Tang Dynasty"), the great record of the various countries passed through during his journey. Out of veneration for this intrepid and devout Buddhist monk and pilgrim, the Tang emperor canceled all audiences for three days after Xuan-zang's death.

Two studies of Xuan-zang (1952) are Arthur Waley's *The Real Tripitaka*, a popular biography written in a lively and interesting style, and the more complete biography by René Grousset, *Sur les traces du Bouddha* (1929; *In the Footsteps of the Buddha*), which discusses the life of the Chinese pilgrim against the background of Tang history and Buddhist philosophy.

2.5 The influence of Buddhism in the T'ang Dynasty (618-907)

The Tang Dynasty is considered a golden age of Chinese arts and culture. In power from 618 to 906 A.D., Tang China attracted an international reputation that spilled out of its cities and, through the practice of Buddhism, spread its culture across much of Asia. Buddhism reached its height in China in the Tang Dynasty. Dr. Robert Eno of Indiana University (Factsanddetails, 2016) wrote: "The great Tang Dynasty, which ruled over a reunified China from 618 to 907, patronized Buddhism as a state cult during the greater portion of its reign. If there was a universal religion in China, it was Buddhism, and that religion had duly been passed on to Korea and to Japan, where it was already beginning to flourish".

The Tang emperors officially supported Daoism because of their claim to be descended from Laozi, but Buddhism continued to enjoy great favor and lavish

imperial patronage through most of the period. The famous pilgrim Xuan Zang, who went to India in 629 and returned in 645, was the most learned of Chinese monk and introduced new standards of exactness in his many translations from Sanskrit.

The most significant development in this time was the growth of new indigenous schools that adapted Buddhism to Chinese ways of thinking. Most prominent were the syncretistic Tiantai school, which sought to embrace all other schools in a single hierarchical system (even reaching out to include Confucianism), and the radically anti-textual, antimetaphysical southern Chan (Zen) school, which had strong roots in Daoism. The popular preaching of the salvationist Pure Land sect was also relevant. After the rebellion of An Lushan, a nationalistic movement favoring Confucianism appeared, merging with the efforts of Tiantai Buddhism to graft Buddhist metaphysics onto Classical doctrine and lay the groundwork for the Neo-Confucianism of the Song era (Britannica, n.d.).

Soon after Xuan Zang's death, another, by no means less famous Buddhist monk, I-tsing by name, started for India, A.D. 671, and arrived in Tāmraliptī, at the mouth of the Hooghly, A.D. 673. He studied in Nālandā, the center of Buddhist higher learning, at the east end of the Rājagṛha valley, for a considerable time, and collected some 400 Sanskrit texts, amounting to 500,000 slokas. On his way home he stayed in Sribhoga or Śrīvijaya (Palembang, in Sumatra), where he further studied and translated Buddhist books, either Sanskrit or Pali. From Śrīvijaya, I-tsing sent home his work, which he has translated through another Chinese priest, Ta-ts'in, who was then returning to China. The book is therefore called *A Record of the Inner Law* sent home from the Southern Sea (Takakusu, 1998, p. xviii).

The primary aim of I-tsing's work was to correct the misrepresentations of the Vinaya rules and to refute the erroneous opinions held by the schools of the Vinaya-dharas existing in China at that period of time. He, therefore, dwells chiefly on the monastic life and discipline of his time. The other chapters are also indispensable for the study of the development of Buddhism, especially of the Schools of the Chinese Vinaya. The present work is an exclusive representation of the Mūlasarvāstivāda School, one of the four major Nikayas prevalent in India (Yijing, & Takakusu, 1966).

Chinese pilgrims played a vital role in the exchanges between ancient India and ancient China. They introduced new texts and doctrines to the Chinese clergy, carried Buddhist paraphernalia for the performance of rituals and ceremonies, and provided detailed accounts of their spiritual journeys to India. Faxian, Xuanzang, and I-tsing were among hundreds of Chinese monks who made pilgrimages to India during the first millennium CE. The detailed accounts of their journeys make them more famous than others. These travel records are critical historical resources for several reasons. First, they provide meticulous accounts of the nature of Buddhist doctrines, rituals, and monastic institutions in South, Central, and Southeast Asia. Second, they contain vital information about the social and political conditions in South Asia and kingdoms situated on the routes between China and India. Third, they offer remarkable insights into cross-cultural perceptions and interactions.

Additionally, these accounts throw light on the arduous nature of long-distance travel, commercial exchanges, and the relationship between Buddhist pilgrims and itinerant merchants.

2.6 South Sea and Śrīvijaya Empire in the 7th century

South Sea, is also known as Nan Hai or Nan Yang, Chinese names for the geographical region south of China, particularly Southeast Asia.

Śrīvijaya empire, maritime and commercial kingdom that flourished between the 7th and the 13th centuries, largely in what is now Indonesia.

The kingdom originated in Palembang on the island of Sumatra and soon extended its influence and controlled the Strait of Malacca. Srivijaya's power was based on its control of international sea trade. It established trade relations not only with the states in the Malay Archipelago but also with China and India. Śrīvijaya was also a religious center in the region. It adhered to Mahayana Buddhism and soon became the stopping point for Chinese Buddhist pilgrims (including I-tsing and others) on their way to India. The kings of Srivijaya even founded monasteries at Negapattam (now Nagapattinam) in southeastern India (Britannica, n.d.).

The Malay Archipelago, the most extensive group of islands in the world, consisting of the more than 17,000 islands of Indonesia and the approximately 7,000 islands of the Philippines. The regional name "East Indies" is sometimes used as

a synonym for the archipelago. New Guinea is usually arbitrarily included in the Malay Archipelago, though the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the northwest and the Bismarck Archipelago in the east are not. The main islands and groups of the Republic of Indonesia include the Greater Sundas (Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and Celebes), the Lesser Sundas, the Moluccas, and western New Guinea. The main islands of the Philippines include Luzon (north), Mindanao (south), and the Visayas in between. Other political units in the archipelago are East Malaysia (Sabah and Sarawak), Brunei, and Papua New Guinea (Britannica, n.d.).

2.7 I-tsing's stay in South Sea, before and after his mission to India

I-tsing began his journey in 671. Unlike pilgrims before him, he could not take the land route to India across central Asia and the Himalayas because of political turmoil in Tibet and Afghanistan and the surrounding areas. Instead, he made his way to India by sea, taking a more southerly route (Zhen-chan, 2018). Traveling by a Persian boat out of Guangzhou, he arrived in Śrīvijaya (today's Palembang of Sumatra) after 20 days, where he spent the next six months learning Sanskrit grammar (Sabdavidya) (Yijing & Takakusu, 1966).

I-tsing then passed through the Strait of Malacca to the northwest tip of Sumatra, where he boarded a ship going to the Nicobar Islands. In 673 after ten days' travel across the Bay of Bengal, he reached the “naked kingdom”. I-tsing studied Brahma-language (Sanskrit) for another year in the Buddhist temple at the port of Tāmraliptī, in the delta of the Ganges River, then traveled to Nālandā with a Chinese monk, ‘Da-chengdeng’ (A.D. 675). They followed a group of merchants and traveled to 30 principalities. They visited sacred sites in Gṛdhrakūṭa (Vulture Mountain) at Rājagṛha and Mahābodhi at Bodh Gayā, traveled to Vaiśālī, Amarāba, and Kāśī (Banaras), visited Jetavana Monastery at Śrāvastī and the “heavenly stairs” (said to have been built by the god Śakra for the Buddha to use in descending from Heaven) at Sāmkāśya, and journeyed to Sārnāth and Kukkuṭapāda (Cock Mountain); and lived in the Nālandā Vihāra for ten years (A.D. 675-685) (Yijing & Takakusu, 1966).

At Nalanda, I-tsing studied Buddhist logic, the *Abhidharmakośa*, monastic discipline (Vinaya), and the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra philosophies. I-tsing noted

that each of these disciplines has a specific purpose, but that none is absolute by itself. I-tsing studied and copied original Sanskrit texts of Buddhist religious writings, and collected some 500,000 Sanskrit stanzas that he believed would fill 1,000 volumes when translated into Chinese. With the manuscripts he had collected at Nālandā, I-tsing left central India for Tāmraliptī in 685. Making his way home the same way he had come, he made short stops at Kacha (Kedah) and Malayu. When I-tsing again arrived at Śrīvijaya in 687, he decided to stay and begin the translation of his collection, hoping to complete it in about ten years.

Knowing that I-tsing has spent over a decade (before and after his Nalanda mission) in his life in Malay Archipelago of Southern Sea, particularly the land under the reign of Śrīvijaya Kingdom in the 7th century. In conjunction, what becomes the most curious quest inside our mind is “what are the most reasons and the urging factors that caused I-tsing for spending such a long time staying in Southern Sea before and after his mission to Nalanda, India?” Moreover, more interestingly why I-tsing did not directly go back to his origin country of China to carry out his missionary work, but residing at a nation that for him is totally different in every aspect of life, such as the spoken language, living style, as well as cultural background and practice. Even though there is much research works done by scholars in a different period of time regarding the life journey of I-tsing, but rarely they had taken enough attention on this particular aspect, or they may likely not very interest in it. In other words, this is the primary aim of this study to resolve this problem.

2.8 The Buddhist Threefold Training

The method is based on three practical steps, namely Morality, Concentration, and Insight, known collectively as the Threefold Training.

1) The first aspect is morality (Sīla). Morality is merely proper behavior, behavior that conforms with the generally accepted standards and causes no distress to other people or oneself. It is coded in the form of five moral precepts, or eight, or ten, or 227, or in other ways. It is conducted by way of body and speech aimed at peace, convenience, and freedom from undesirable effects at the most basic level. It has to do with the members of a social group and the various pieces of property essential to

living; 2) The second aspect of the threefold training is concentration (Samadhi).

This consists of constraining the mind to remain in the condition most conducive to success in whatever he wishes to achieve. Just what is concentration? No doubt most people have always understood concentration as implying a completely tranquil mind, as steady and unmoving as a log of wood. However, merely, these two characteristics of being tranquil and steady are not the real meaning of Concentration. The basis for this statement is an utterance of the Buddha. He described the concentrated mind as fit for work (kammaniya), in a suitable condition for doing its job. Fit for work is the very best way to describe the properly concentrated mind; 3) The third aspect is the training in insight (Pañña), the practice and drill that gives rise to the full measure of right knowledge and understanding of the true nature of all things.

We usually are incapable of knowing anything at all in its true nature. Mostly we either stick to our ideas or go along with popular opinion, so that what we see is not the truth at all. It is for this reason that Buddhist practice includes this training in insight, the last aspect of the threefold training, designed to give rise to a full understanding of, and insight into the true nature of things (Bhikkhu, 1992).

Training in morality is simply elementary, preparatory practice, which enables us to live happily and helps stabilize the mind. Morality yields various benefits, the most important being the preparing of the way for concentration. The Buddha regarded morality as primarily a means of inducing and developing concentration. As long as things continue to disturb the mind, it can never become concentrated. He once said that when the mind is concentrated, it is in a position to see all things as they truly are. When the mind is concentrated and fit for work, it will know all things in their true nature. It is a strange thing that the answer to any problem a person is trying to solve is usually already present, though concealed, in his very own mind. He is not aware of it, because it is still the only subconscious; and as long as he is set on solving the problem, the solution will not come, simply because his mind at that time is not in a fit condition for solving problems. If, when setting about any mental work, a person develops right concentration, that is, if he renders his mind fit for work, the solution to his problem will come to light of its own accord.

The moment the mind has become concentrated, the answer will just fall into place. But should the solution still fail to come, there exists another method for directing

the mind to the examination of the problem, namely the practice of concentrated introspection referred to as the training in insight. On the day of his enlightenment the Buddha attained insight into the Law of Conditioned Origination, that is, he came to perceive the true nature of things or the “what is what” and the sequence in which they arise, as a result of being concentrated in the way we have just described.

The Buddha has related the story in detail, but mostly it amounts to this: as soon as his mind was well concentrated, it was in a position to examine the problem (Bhikkhu Buddhadasa, 1992).

2.9 Scope, Objective and Function of Human Resource Development

In 1970, Leonard Nadler published his book “Developing Human Resources” in which he coined the term ‘human resource development’ (HRD). Human resource refers to the talents and energies of people that are available to an organization as potential contributors to the creation and realization of the organization’s mission, vision, values, and goals. Development refers to a process of active learning from experience-leading to systematic and purposeful development of the whole person, body, mind, and spirit. Thus, HRD is the integrated use of training, organizational, and career development efforts to improve individual, group, and organizational effectiveness (Swanson & Holton, 2009).

2.10 The Practice of Human Resources Development

Organizations that place great emphasis on HRD tend to see the rewards. These can be in profits, but they go far beyond just this one aspect. Activities of human resources development teach necessary on-the-job skills for employees across departments. Of course, this tends to improve output. It also helps to make the employees feel that the organization is invested in them, along with their growth. This creates a more loyal and productive workforce. In addition, workers are more accepting of change when they are exposed to HRD activities regularly. They see that improvements can come from new practices instead of feeling threatened or worried. When efforts are made to provide growth opportunities for employees, team spirit, and work atmosphere are also improved. People simply feel better when they are

given positive opportunities, and an interest is taken in them. Staff members feel pride in their jobs and organizations for this reason, as well. When proper training is continuously provided, efficient workflow occurs, increasing productivity. Customer service is also made better through regular training and by employees who are more satisfied.

2.11 The Narrative Research

Narrative research is a term that subsumes a group of approaches that, in turn, rely on the written or spoken words or visual representation of individuals. These approaches typically focus on the lives of individuals as told through their own stories. The emphasis in such approaches is on the story, typically both what and how it is narrated. Narrative research can be considered both a research method in itself but also the phenomenon under study (Atlas.ti, 2012).

Narrative methods can be considered “real world measures” that are appropriate when “real life problems” are investigated. In a basic linear approach, they encompass the study of the experiences of a single individual embracing stories of life and exploring the learned significance of those individual experiences. However, in most cases, one will be creating an aggregate of narratives each bearing on the others (Atlas.ti, 2012).

Narrative research is set out by the validation of the audience. It is a valuable part of the social science investigation, but may not always stand alone for evidence and support for the conclusions of a report. Whether or not it is a part of an excellent presentation or whether it is a stand-alone piece of research, it has to be accepted on its own merits as individual experience and the interpretation of thereof. The question arises as to the accuracy of the story looked at objectively even though it must be viewed in its socio-cultural context. The narrative gives one’s individual view to be accessed on its merits. Such validation is possible by corroboration from another narrative (Atlas.ti, 2012).

While some types of qualitative analysis have a standard set of procedures, narrative research is questionable in this regard. One of the weaknesses of studying narratives is that the text is by its nature linguistically subjective. i.e., difficult to

quantitatively access objectively since it is subjective, i.e., personally meaningful (Atlas.ti, 2012).

Several data collection methods can be used, as the researcher and the research subjects work together in this collaborative dialogic relationship. Data can be in the form of field notes; journal records; interview transcripts; one's own and other's observations; storytelling; letter writing; autobiographical writing; documents such as school and class plans, newsletters, and other texts, such as rules and principles; and pictures. To this list, one should add audio and video recordings, as these are also useful data in narrative research.

Dedicated research software like ATLAS.ti helps the researcher to catalog, penetrate, and analyze the data generated in a given research project. All forms of narrative research benefit extensively from the unique capabilities of a dedicated data analysis tool like ATLAS.ti (Atlas.ti, 2012).

2.12 Humanistic Geography

Humanistic Geography emerged in the Anglo-American discipline during the 1970s. Humanistic geography is a manner of approaching within the field of human geography that seeks to put humans at the center of geography (Gregory et al., 2009, pp. 356-357). It gives a central and active role to human awareness, human agency, human consciousness, and human creativity. It is also an attempt to understand the meaning, values, and human significance of life events (Ernst, personal communication). Human geography is concerned with the ways in which place, space, and environment are both the condition and in part the consequence of human activities. Humanistic geography tries to understand the human world by analyzing people's relations with nature, their geographical behavior and their feelings and ideas in regard to space and place, and these form the fundamental 'data' of humanist inquiry (Tuan, 1976, p. 266). The main objective of humanistic geography is to bring human beings in all their complexity to the center stage of human geography (Cloke, Philo & Sadler, 1991, p. 58). Placing humans at the center stage of geography is also called peopling human geography. This objective is pursued explicitly in opposition to the curiously 'peopleless' character of much that

had previously been passed off as 'human' geography. It was a response to the dehumanizing effect of both positivism and Marxism (Gregory et al., 2009, p. 357). During the late 1960s, science as a whole was under attack for failing to solve human problems or notice human problems (Cloke, Philo & Sadler, 1991, p. 69). F.C.S. Schiller notes that humanist thought sees itself having a 'practical' dimension. Schiller is worried that intellectualism with no eye for the individual human beings leads to intellectual debate that is of little practical use to anybody (Cloke, Philo & Sadler, 1991, p. 60). The humanistic approach pays attention to the role of human beings 'out there' in the real world as they perceive, interpret, and shape the human geography of their surroundings. Deliberate stress is given to place: space enriched with the meanings, experiences, and knowledge of human beings (Gregory et al., 2009, p. 357; Tuan, 1976, p. 266). Humanistic geographers believed that social life was constructed through human actions (Gregory et al., 2009, p. 347). Derek Gregory (1986, p. 207) offers us the following definition: An approach in human geography distinguished by the central and active role it gives to human awareness and human agency, human consciousness and creativity; at once an attempt at understanding meaning, value and human significance of life event and an expansive view of what the human person is and can do.

The very beginning for contemporary humanistic geography forms the Renaissance; it gave humanity a much more prominent place in the cosmic than had been the case in Medieval times. The human subject was seen as something indispensable to human thought and action (Cloke, Philo & Sadler, 1991, p. 61).

Humanistic geography embraces a diversity of philosophies, methods and substantive studies present in geographical literature (Cloke, Philo & Sadler, 1991, p. 57) based on philosophies as Essentialism, Idealism, Phenomenology and Pragmatism (Gregory et al., 2009, p. 357) and Existentialism (Cloke, Philo & Sadler, 1991, p. 57). There is indeed a wide variety of philosophies and other subjects on what humanistic geography is based on. Two foundational philosophies in humanistic geography are phenomenology and existentialism. A philosophy used in humanistic geography, which is more methodologic, is called pragmatism. Philosophies, where meaning plays a more central role, are the hermeneutics. Even the Bible is considered in humanistic geography, for using theological arguments. Besides these philosophies

and the Bible, humanistic geographers get their knowledge also from psychological and psychoanalytical materials, commonly known as environmental idealism. Last, but not least, humanistic geographers also focus on principles of substantive inquiry such as historical idealism or interpretative sociology (Cloke, Philo & Sadler, 1991, p. 57).

This is not just a rethinking of basic geographical concepts, but it also provides a new way of using empirical data. The empirical data consists of ordinary people and how they experience space and place. Furthermore, it is about the sense of place that's created by the way people experience places (Cloke, Philo & Sadler, 1991, pp. 80-81).

Humanistic geography has developed in a more fragmented way over the past two decades than has been the case with the parallel development of Marxist geography. This can be explained by the fact that humanistic geographers have ranged widely over a diversity of quite incompatible intellectual positions (Cloke, Philo & Sadler, 1991, p. 57).

The humanistic approach seems to have a lot in common with 'behaviouralism geography'. However, these approaches can be distinguished by the fact that the behaviouralism geography uses quantitative methods and the humanistic geography uses particularly qualitative methods for the research on human beings.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

As it is indicated in the title, this chapter includes the research methodology of the study. In more detail, in this part, the researcher outlines the research design, research method, research approach, the methods of data collection, the research process, and the type of data analysis of the study.

3.2 Research Design

A research design is a journey from the intensely philosophical through the procedural to the practical and on to the final step of the representational. It is a plan for collecting and analyzing data in order to answer the research question (Holsti, 1969).

Qualitative research was employed for this study. It is based on a constructivist paradigm (Creswell, 2007), and a narrative strategy, plus a humanistic geography approach.

Narrative research has many forms, uses a variety of analytic practices, and is rooted in different social and humanities disciplines. Chase (2005) described “narrative” might be the term assigned to any text or discourse, or, it might be the text used within the context of a mode of inquiry in qualitative research, with a specific focus on the stories told by individuals (Polkinghorne, 1995). As Pinnegar and Daynes (2006) suggest, narrative can be both a method and *the phenomenon* of study. As a method, it begins with the experiences as expressed in lived and told stories of individuals. Writers have provided ways for analyzing and understanding the stories lived and told. The researcher will define it here as a specific type of qualitative design in which “narrative is understood as a spoken or written text giving an account of a series of events/actions, chronologically connected” (Czarniawska, 2004, p. 17). The procedures for implementing this research consist of focusing on studying the life of Master I-tsing, gathering data through the collection of his stories, reporting his experiences, and chronologically ordering (or using *life course stages*) the meaning of

those experiences. Although narrative research originated from literature, history, anthropology, sociology, sociolinguistics, and education, different fields of study have adopted their own approaches. In this study, the *humanistic geography approach* will also be employed.

Humanistic geography which achieves an understanding of the human world by studying people's relations with nature, their geographical behavior as well as their feelings and ideas regarding space and place. Also, the study of people's spatial feelings and ideas in the stream of experience (Tuan, 1976). Doing humanistic research is very largely a personal matter, therefore, involving intuition and imaginative interpretation (Johnston, 1983, p. 75). The primary objective of the *phenomenological geography approach* is the direct investigation and description of phenomena as consciously experienced, without theories about their causal explanation and as free as possible from unexamined preconceptions and presuppositions (Spiegelberg, 1975). The focus of phenomenology, therefore, is the understanding of human activity through the study of meanings allocated to the elements of the individual's life-world (Johnston, 1983, pp. 57-58).

3.3 Data Collection

In this research, the document review is used as a method of data collection. For the purposes of the study, researcher has collected and gathered a numerous of literacy documents from various sources, e.g. the official history records of China, Indonesia, as well as other Southern Sea countries in the 6th – 7th century, the autobiographies and biographies, also academic journals and articles which direct or indirectly related to the study. The researcher has conducted the following activities in order to collect all the relevant data:

1. Compiled any record which is directly related to the history of I-tsing in Chinese, Indonesian, or any other language. Then, summarized them into English language.
2. Consulted two individual scholars who are an authority in I-tsing history for the complete information. The information from them has been transcribed into English.

3. Organized the information from those sources into an appropriate structure.

3.4 Data Analysis

As Elliot Mishler (1995, p. 117) observes that the diversity of narrative models invites, and indeed demands, a more reflective stance for researchers. It is clear that a researcher does not find stories; we make stories. A researcher retells his/her respondents' accounts through our analytic re-descriptions. We too are storytellers and through our concepts and methods—our research strategies, data samples, transcription procedures, specifications of narrative units and structures, and interpretive perspectives—we construct the story and its meaning. In this sense, the story is always co-authored, either directly in the process of an interviewer eliciting an account or indirectly.”

As to answering the research inquiry: “*What are the most urging factors and the strong motivation behind causing I-tsing to spend over a decade in his life for carrying out his life mission in the South Sea (Śrīvijaya)*”, the Polkinghorne’s *narrative analysis* is employed as the primary narrative strategy, while incorporating with the *humanistic geography – phenomenological analysis* to present biographical and autobiographical stories that are crafted around themes identified by the informants. Informants here refer to the I-tsing himself as an author of his own literary works, historians, commentators, as well as the scholars who wrote the commentaries and articles regarding I-tsing. The analysis method is explained as follows.

3.4.1 Polkinghorne’s Narrative Analysis

Polkinghorne’s narrative analysis can be summarized as follows:

1. It focuses on the events, actions, happenings, and other data elements to put them together in a plot;
2. It uses to-and-fro, recursive movement from parts to whole or from whole to parts;
3. It fills in the gaps between events and actions using a narrative smoothing process;

4. It maintains that narrative analysis is not merely a transcription of the data, but is a means of showing the significance of the lived experience in the final story;

5. It makes the range of disconnected data elements coherent in a way that it appeals to the reader;

6. It makes the final story congruent with the data while bringing narrative meanings that are not explicit in the data themselves; and

7. It emphasizes connotation and sustains the metaphoric richness of a story.

3.4.2 Humanistic Geography-phenomenological Analysis

Besides Polkinghorne's narrative analysis, a *humanistic geography-phenomenological analysis* is employed as the most suitable tool for investigating and looking into every single possibility of urging factors for spending such a long time in the South Sea.

Humanistic geography which achieves an understanding of the human world by studying people's relations with nature, their geographical behavior as well as their feelings and ideas in regard to space and place (Tuan, 1976, p. 266). Also, the study of people's spatial feelings and ideas in the stream of experience (Tuan, 1974, p. 213). The primary objective of the *phenomenological analysis* approach is a direct investigation and description of phenomena as consciously experienced, without theories about their causal explanation and as free as possible from unexamined preconceptions and presuppositions (Spiegelberg, 1975, p. 3). The focus of phenomenology, therefore, is the understanding of human activity through the study of meanings allocated to the elements of the individual's life-world (Johnston, 1983, pp. 57-58).

The goal of phenomenology, then, is to reconstruct the worlds of individuals, the phenomena in those worlds which are there as repositories of meaning. This leads to an understanding of behavior in those worlds, which is not the same as a positivist's explanation since the latter is a construct imposed by the analyst whereas an understanding uses the terms and concepts of the actor (Entrikin, 1976). Doing humanistic research is very largely a personal matter, therefore, involving intuition and imaginative interpretation. Participant observation, or experiential field work, is

possible for contemporary research into the 'taken for granted' world (Rowles, 1978). It begins by the study of the 'natural attitude', the life-world which individuals accept and live in, without questioning, although in all encounters with elements there may be suspicion. Having identified the contents of the natural attitude, it then seeks to articulate the general essences that underlie it and, from those, the absolute knowledge that resides in consciousness. As to phenomenological method, this is frequently summarized by a phrase 'to the things' - interpreted as implying that phenomena (i.e., the meanings are given to items in the individual's life-world) must be transmitted to the phenomenologist without intermediaries (Johnston, 1983, p. 58).

3.4.3 The Combined Data Analysis Framework of Polkinghorne's Narrative Analysis and Humanistic Geography – Phenomenological Analysis

1. A direct investigation and description of phenomena as consciously experienced, without theories about their causal explanation and as free as possible from unexamined preconceptions and presuppositions. It focuses on the events, actions, happenings, and other data elements to put them together in a plot.
2. It uses to-and-fro, recursive movement from parts to whole or from whole to parts.
3. It fills in the gaps between events and actions using a narrative smoothing process.
4. It maintains that narrative analysis is not merely a transcription of the data but is a means of showing the significance of the lived experience in the final story. As to phenomenological method, this is frequently summarized by a phrase 'to the things' - interpreted as implying that phenomena (i.e., the meanings are given to items in the individual's life-world) must be transmitted to the phenomenologist without intermediaries.
5. Doing humanistic research is very largely a personal matter, therefore, involving intuition and imaginative interpretation. It makes the range of disconnected data elements coherent in a way that it appeals to the reader.
6. It makes the final story congruent with the data while bringing narrative meanings that are not explicit in the data themselves. Having identified the contents of the natural attitude, it then seeks to articulate the general essences that underlie it and, from those, the absolute knowledge that resides in consciousness.

7. It emphasizes connotation and sustains the metaphoric richness of a story. The goal of the phenomenological approach is to reconstruct the worlds of individuals, the phenomena in those worlds which are there as repositories of meaning.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Ethical Considerations is one of the essential parts of the research. The dissertation may even be doomed to failure if this part is omitted.

Since narrative research depends heavily on the data collected from participant stories, the validity of the stories can significantly impact the outcome. The researcher has aware of these issues, and compensated by correlating data from multiple sources, fact-checking, and careful review of participants.

The issue of ownership (i.e., copyright) is seemed very complex. The researcher sought permission from the sources that the narrative research may directly impact. Also, the researcher has clearly explained the rights and responsibilities of both the researcher and participants.

The act of “restorying” can inadvertently cause the loss of the participants' “voice.” Therefore, the researcher has used direct quotes from the participant and careful attention to the settings and events told can help to alleviate the loss of perspective. Due to the social nature of many narrative research studies, participants can be negatively impacted by participation. Hence, the researcher has created a more “composite” narrative, or at the least anonymized the participants.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

This chapter contains the outcome of the consultation of two individual experts and the analysis of the findings of the study. The researcher includes the outcome of the consultation of two experts in this chapter to reveal its vital supporting role to the overall results and findings of the study.

The presentation of the findings is preceded by the outcome of the consultation of individual experts, and followed by the preliminary notes of findings to provide an adequate, exclusive and precise background for readers to fully comprehend the outcome of the study.

4.1 Consultation of Two Individual Experts

4.1.1. Consultation of Expert A

The qualification of Expert A: Graduated from The College of Shingon-shu Buzan-ha's main Monastery 'Hase-dera' in Japan; Presently, a Researcher of Chilin Nunnery - Cultural Department and Lecturer of Chilin Evening College. Also, a Visiting-Lecturer of Centre of Buddhist Research, Hong Kong University.

The researcher has discussed in-depth with Expert A regarding the following issues:

1. I-tsing's learning on Buddhist Vinaya-rules.

Master I-tsing (635-713), Fa-xian, and Xuan-zang are among those who went westbound to study in India and brought back to China a lot of Buddhist scriptures in the original language, Sanskrit. They had carried out their life mission of Buddhist texts translated into Chinese. They were then recognized as a renowned Master of Tripitaka (Three Collections of Buddhist Scriptures, i.e., Sūtra-Pitaka, Vinaya-Pitaka, and Abhidharma-Pitaka). I-tsing at the age of seven, was nurtured by two teachers, i.e., Dhamma-Master Shan-yu and Dhyana-Master Hui-zhi. I-tsing was ordained as a Samanera when he was 14 years old. Under the meticulous guidance of his Upajjaya, Dhyana-Master Hui-zhi, I-tsing has learned well in Vinaya-rules

practice as a novice and beginner to the subject. When he reached the age to receive full-ordination, he was officially ordained to be a Bhikkhu. For the first five years, I-tsing learned and practiced the Vinaya-rules vigorously under the Vinaya-Master Hui-xi. I-tsing studied mainly the ‘Four-part of Vinaya’ and at the same time study the thoughts and teachings advocated by Vinaya-Master Fa-li and Vinaya-Master Dao-xuan. He subsequently studied in-depth other Buddhist scriptures after he had learned the Vinaya-rules well.

I-tsing initially wished to stay and take care of his master, but his master knew that his development did not stop there, so he encouraged him to study abroad. I-tsing’s westbound journey was immensely influenced by his teacher’s heartfelt advice. In the November of year 671, together with another Chinese monk Shan-xing, he began his journey from Guang-zhou westbound to India by sailing on a Persian merchant ship. That year he was 37 years old.

I-tsing finally reached India on the 2nd of August 673. According to the records of “*A Record of The Inner Law Sent Home From The South Seas*”, when I-tsing reached India after more than a year of traveling, he had traveled and stopped at various countries in the South Sea, from the date he left his country of origin, China. After visiting and paying respect at the holy sites, he entered the famous Nalanda Monastery University and began his most impactful lifelong learning.

Throughout his ten years of learning and focusing on Yogācāra doctrine, Madhyamika, Buddhist Logics, as well as Abhidharma-kośa, he also put his keen attention on the interpretation and practice of Vinaya-rules. At that period, the Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya was the mainstream of Vinaya practice in India, as well as in the countries of the South Sea.

After about 11 years of learning in India, in the year of 685, I-tsing set out from the Nalanda Monastery University and returned to the East. He brought along with him more than 400 volumes of Buddhist scripture, consisting of Sūtra-Pitaka, Vinaya-Pitaka, and Abhidharma-Pitaka. On the way back to his country of origin, China, I-tsing had set foot and resided at the Śrīvijaya for more than six years, excluding other places in the South Sea. In between, I-tsing had once returned to Guang-zhou, intending to bring back ink and paper from China, at the same time to look for someone to assist his work in Śrīvijaya. In year 691, I-tsing requested an

acquainted monk friend Da-lu to send back his self-writing of “*A Record of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Sea*” and his translated scriptures of ten volumes to be presented to Empress Wu at Luoyang. When I-tsing arrived at Luoyang in May 695, Empress Wu welcomed him in person at the Eastern Entrance of the Palace and there is a prayer and hymns parade by numerous Buddhist monks from other temples leading at the front row.

After returning to China, I-tsing started his translation career by joining Mahā-vaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra’s translation group. I-tsing, together with Master Śikṣānanda and Bodhiruci, had translated eighty volumes of Mahā-vaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra.

In the year 700, I-tsing formed his own translation group. Till the year of 711, he had translated a total of 61 books, and 239 volumes, covering the scriptures of the three pitakas (Tripitaka). However, among the translations, he had put more effort into the translation of Vinaya-rules and Monastic Disciplinary codes.

Apart from his translation work, he has carefully and guardedly delivered his daily teachings on every disciplinary code to his disciples. I-tsing was the best role-model for others. His teachings spread all over Ch’ang-an and Luoyang. In the first month of 713, I-tsing died in the Ch’ang-an, at the age of 79 years old.

2. I-tsing and the Vinaya-rules practice in China.

The Buddhist Vinaya-rules or Disciplinary-codes spread to China during 249-254 AD. Until the time of I-tsing, it had already existed over 600 years. The Disciplinary-codes which were existed were derived from five schools and each of them has a different translation and interpretation due to the lack of understanding in regards to Indian socio-cultural conditions and practices. Therefore, it was necessary to rely on the subsequent generations to further study and to probe into the proper understanding and interpretation of the Disciplinary-codes.

In addition, China had long been introduced to Mahayana Buddhist thought, which had been commonly accepted by the people. So, there was always a mixed-conception infiltrated into the explanation while translating and interpreting the Vinaya-rules, which were originally formed in accordance with Indian society. Secondly, the existence of multiple Vinaya lineages brings about the mixing of interpretation and implementation. Often, it happened when part of the Vinaya-rules

belonging to this lineage fails to give sufficient explication; it will be quoted from another lineage as a substitute. So, in practice, it was prone to various differences and contradictions. Thirdly, as the geographical condition, customs, and cultural practices in China are different from India, therefore, to reconcile and appropriately put into practice the Vinaya-rules or Disciplinary-codes was not an easy task.

I-tsing was the key figure to solve this critical problem, just as the Master Xuan-zang was determined to solve various doctrinal divergence in Buddhism. I-tsing went westbound to the birthplace of Buddhism, particularly to Nalanda University, to obtain the Dhamma, the “authentic scriptures” in order to solve the problems of Buddhist monks’ practice. Throughout his learning and self-observation, I-tsing not only put his attention on the scriptural interpretation but also observed carefully and put into practice what had been observed and implemented by the monastic community in India, as well as in the countries of the South Sea.

Henceforth, in his subsequent translation and interpretation works, he had elucidated and given a precise annotation to every single section of Vinaya-rules according to what he has observed and practiced. These are extremely important and indispensable materials for one to understand the vast and extensive collection of the Vinaya-rules. It is also a valuable resource that preserved the customs and ways of the practice of India and the South Sea region at that time.

3. Some examples of the contradiction of the interpretation of Vinaya-rules.

Example 1): The Use of Silk in Making Monk-Robes (Cīvara)

The cloth, also known as the material for making Monk-Robes. There are different types of the material listed down in different Schools’ Vinaya texts. For instance, the ‘Four-part of Vinaya’ volume no.6, has listed ten items: (1) Kauśeya (Silk cloth); (2) Karpāsa (Cotton cloth); (3) Kambala(Wool cloth); (4) Kumā (linen cloth); (5) Kama (sackcloth); (6) Śāa ; (7) Bhāgaka (gunny cloth); (8) Cīra (wood cloth); (9) Kunāla (feather/ fluff cloth); and (10) Kārapāīya or Śaraparī.

However, Vinaya-Master Dao-xuan (596-667) disagreed on the use of silk to make Monk-Robes. The reason is because of the material is obtained by harming life and would greatly impair our compassion.

I-tsing's opinion regarding the use of silk: it was originally allowed to be used so as not to make a simple matter more complicated. All over India, as well as in the records of Four Schools' Disciplinary-codes, all said that it could be used; only in China, they try to abandon the use of silk, which was easily obtained if compared to cotton. Moreover, this would create unnecessary confusion. For those who thought they keep to Vinaya-rules would develop pride in themselves and despise others. Whereas, for those who did not have much desire and had less greed, they would certainly feel unease in their minds because of this prohibition. This is nothing more than a small matter that obscures the body so that one can focus and concentrate their mind on inner cultivation.

Example 2): The tradition of branding the scalp of a monk or nun at the time of ordination.

It is said that this practice was initiated by Emperor Wu, based on a teaching of the *Brahmajāla-sūtra* (a text on Mahayana Disciplinary-rules), which advocated injuring one's body by burning off a finger, cauterizing one's arms or scalp, or even committing suicide as an expression of gratitude to the Buddha. Such behavior is contrary to the Vinaya rules prevalent in India. I-tsing boldly deprecated these habits practiced in China and besought the monks at home to give up such improper conventions. However, it seems that his admonition was not listened to, as no measures were taken to eliminate this unfortunate custom from the time that it was initiated during the first half of the 6th century until 1983 when it was abolished as a mark of ordination in all monasteries throughout China.

4.1.2 Consultation of Expert B

The qualification of Expert B: Obtained his Ph.D. degree in Philosophy & Chinese Literature from The New Asia Institute of Advanced Chinese Studies, Hong Kong. He is currently a director and associate researcher at the Cultural Department, Chi Lin Nunnery, Hong Kong. He is also a teaching consultant cum part lecturer at Centre of Buddhist Studies, University of Hong Kong.

The researcher has consulted Expert B regarding the following discussion topics:

1. The significant contribution of I-tsing in the inauguration of Wu Ze-tian to be the first female emperor in the history of China.

Expert B has quoted a published academic article discussing this issue. The article was written by a scholar of Fu-Dan University.

I-tsing played a significant role in the Empress Wu regime's advocacy of life-giving. In 690 A.D., Wu Zetian officially changed the Tang Dynasty to the Zhou Dynasty; the name of the year was changed to Tian-shou. While vigorously preaching her sacred status as a King of Turning the Dhamma Wheel, I-tsing who at that time still residing at Śrīvijaya, had requested an acquainted monk friend Da-lu to send back his self-writing of “*A Record of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Sea*” and his translated scriptures of ten volumes to be presented to Empress Wu at Luoyang. Also, it was because of I-tsing in his *Record*, has mentioned about the “*In Luo-state (Luoyang) there fell no shadow, and the case was different in other place*” has drawn distinct attention of Empress Wu. Since then, Wu Ze-tian was very grateful and gave full attention to the arrival of I-tsing.

When I-tsing arrived at Luoyang in the month of 5th, 695, Empress Wu welcomed him in person at the Eastern Entrance of the Palace, and there was a prayer and hymns parade by numerous Buddhist monks from other temples to lead at the front row. I-tsing first resided at the Fo-Shou-Ji Temple. It was an unprecedented courtesy. The logic behind this unprecedented courtesy, in addition to the monarch sycophant, the political intentions were also clearly obvious. “*The Manual of the Great T’ang Long-Xing Tripitaka*” written by the Emperor Zhong-zong was to praise I-tsing’s translation. Zhao Ming-cheng of the Song Dynasty had seen a piece of monument by the T’ang Dynasty at Chang-qing county. The right side of the monument stated, “*Wu Ze-tian receives a precious stone crafted with the twelve characters, but none of officials and public can read the words, but only I-tsing can*”. I-tsing has interpreted the twelve characters as “*The heaven inaugurates the Empress of Ch’ang-an to be the emperor*”.

This inscription clearly and unambiguously describes the vital role of I-tsing in Empress Wu Zetian’s political propaganda. It was by his “interpretation” of others unrecognizable inscriptions; Empress Wu has firmly established the foundation of her designation “The Emperor of Holy Golden-Wheel-of-Turning”. Perhaps these twelve characters are not ordinary letters such as Sanskrit. There were many monks from the western regions, as well as from India in the T’ang Dynasty; hence, it is impossible if

none of them could identify those twelve characters, but only I-tsing can. However, what is the original text, and how to accurately correspond to the meaning interpreted by I-tsing, there is no way of knowing. According to Zhao Ming-cheng, the inscription was transcribed by I-tsing in the same month of his arrival at Luoyang. Empress Wu gave such prestige and unprecedented courtesy to I-tsing not merely to show her great support to Buddhism, but in fact, for Wu Ze-tian, the significance of I-tsing in her political propaganda is more considerable.

Also, the four volumes of the *“A Record of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Sea”* has stated that *“In Luo-state (Luoyang) there fell no shadow, and the case was different in other places”*. When Wu Ze-tian read on this phrase, she was grateful and interpreted it as I-tsing also recognized Luoyang as the center of the world, which was in accordance with her ideal of moving the capital to Luoyang. In fact, I-tsing’s meaning on this phrase was mainly referring to the matter of Buddhist monk to stop consuming solid food after noon time.

Nevertheless, it has been conventionally accepted that the theory of no shadow on summer solstices noon in Luoyang reflected the conflict between domestic Chinese tradition and Indian Buddhist tradition, focusing on which city was the center of the world. Since the legendary Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties, Luoyang has been described as the center of the world and the place that should be the capital of a legitimate Chinese ruler. Such a theory was based on Confucian classics, Chen-wei prophecy texts, and traditional astronomy and astrology. Political legitimacy usually was built upon the base of the knowledge that was broadly acknowledged, and this was an essential aspect of the intellectual and political history of medieval China.

2. The controversial issues, which have been raised by scholars on the actual location of Śrīvijaya.

Expert B has explained precisely on this discussion topic by referring to the book *“A Survey of Thailand and the Ancient History of South-east Asia”*, written by Xie-guang. Also, an article wrote by Li Guang-yuan, *“An Introduction of the Study of Śrīvijaya Issue”*.

In the ancient historical records of Southeast Asia, Śrīvijaya is a very important country, which has been existed between the 7th and 14th centuries. However, we still do not know much about the ancient country, such as its exact location,

history, as well as its ethnic attributes and other issues, which are still very hotly debated.

In 1896, a Japanese scholar J. Takakusupointed out that Śrīvijaya was located in the present-day Palembang, Sumatra Island. And in 1918, a French scholar George Coedeshad seconded the judgment of Takakusu. However, in 1933, an Indian scholar Majandha opined that the early Śrīvijaya was located in Java and later was in Nakhon Si Thammarat in Thailand. Since 1974, a scholar from Thailand, advocated that the central of Śrīvijaya was located at Chaiya, the southern part of Thailand.

Historians are concerned about the study of Śrīvijaya because to understand the history of this ancient country, is the key to understanding the ancient history of Southeast Asian countries. UNESCO is very much in support of the study of Śrīvijaya and has established a specialized agency to preside over the study. The full name of this agency is the Southeast Asian Regional Centre for Archaeology and Fine Arts (SPAFA). The center is under the aegis of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO).

In 1982, SPAFA held its first seminar on the study of Śrīvijaya, at Palembang, Indonesia. And its second seminar in 1983, in Bangkok, Thailand. At both meetings, many papers were presented. However, the fundamental issues, such as the location, history, and ethnicity of Śrīvijaya, are still very different. At the second meeting, it was suggested that the Chinese literature should be studied thoroughly because ancient Chinese literature is extremely rich and contained numerous records about Śrīvijaya.

Mr. Xie-guang is familiar with ancient Chinese literature and has many unique insights into the ancient history of Southeast Asia. XieGuang's article "*The Study on Śrīvijaya's Issues*" is a high-level academic work with its rich content, clear views and persuasive argument. In the article, he has pointed out that the early Śrīvijaya was located at Nakhon Si Thammarat, the southern part of Thailand, while he has also analyzed carefully and rationally on the intricate background of the name of 'Sambhoga' that later appeared on the island of Sumatra.

4.2 Preliminary Notes of Findings

The primary aim for conducting this research is to answer the question: What were the most important factors and the strong motivation behind I-tsing's urge to stop over and set foot in the South Sea (Śrīvijaya) for more than a decade to carrying out his life mission?

The core intention of I-tsing going westbound to the birthplace of Buddhism (India) is to obtain the "authentic scriptures" to solve the problem of Buddhist monks' practice matter in China. Nevertheless, I-tsing stopped over and presided at the South Sea for more than a decade to carry out his mission there. But why didn't I-tsing return home immediately after the accomplishment of his study in India? To comprehensively furnish and look into this subject, the following topics are discussed in depth in this chapter:

1. The Buddhist development and its practice during the period of I-tsing (635-713) at the beginning of the China T'ang Dynasty.
2. The situation of the Buddhist monks practicing Vinaya Rules during that particular period of time.
3. The genuine intention and strong motivation of I-tsing's westbound journey to seek the "Dhamma".
4. The missionary activities which had been carried out by I-tsing throughout his entire life was essential for tracing out I-tsing's life event, remarkably to reveal the time frame and itinerary of missionary works during his stay in the South Sea.

4.2.1 The Buddhist development and its practice during the period of I-tsing (635-713) at the beginning of the China T'ang Dynasty.

Buddhism spread into China during the Western Han Dynasty and the Eastern Han Dynasty (About 25-200 A.D.). Passing through the Wei, Jin, the Southern and Northern dynasties, to the Sui and T'ang dynasties, it not only can stand firmly, be on an equal footing with Confucianism and Taoism, became a dominant religion. Under the social conditions in China at that time, it had formed a unique Sino-characterized-Buddhism (I-tsing & Wang Bang-wei, 1988).

Buddhism reached its height in China in the T'ang Dynasty. Dr. Robert Eno of Indiana University (2008) wrote: "The great T'ang Dynasty, which ruled over a reunified China from 618 to 907, patronized Buddhism as a state cult during

the greater portion of its reign. If there was a universal religion in China, it was Buddhism, and that religion had duly been passed on to Korea and to Japan, where it was already beginning to flourish”. Nevertheless, Buddhism at the beginning of the T'ang Dynasty, although very prosperous, but it was only commonly accepted and devoted by the emperor, those aristocrat and upper-class society. However, due to its limitations and lacking systematic teaching and practice of the disciplinary codes, and often facing attacks from the orthodox Confucianism and Taoism, lead to many issues and problems.

Empress Wu Ze-tian of T'ang, on the pretext of supporting Buddhism, was in actual fact using Buddhism to realize her desire to become the first-ever Empress in the history of China. Therewithal, the monk Huai-yi and others have counterfeited the so-called “The Sutra of Big-cloud”, abused the name of the Buddha Shakyamuni to connive Empress Wu to be the unshakable ruler of the country.

There were evil and unwell-trained monks everywhere, including Huai-yi and others, bullying and defrauding people. By virtue, those devoted and well-practiced monks wish to straighten out the Vinaya rules for rectifying the wrong-doing and decadent at that time (I-tsing & Wang Bang-wei, 1988).

Hence, in order to elucidate all these unresolved issues, Xuan-zang and I-tsing have decided to travel westbound to India to obtain the “authentic scriptures” with the great mission of saving the chaos and divergence in China. In A.D. 629, early in the T'ang Dynasty, Xuan-zang left the T'ang dynasty capital and traveled west — on foot, on horseback and by camel and elephant — to India and returned in 645 with 700 Buddhist texts from which Chinese deepened their understanding of Buddhism. Xuan-zang is remembered not only as a great scholar for his translations from Sanskrit to Chinese but also for his descriptions of the places he visited — the great Silk Road cities of Kashgar and Samarkand and the great stone Buddhas in Bamiyan, Afghanistan. His self-written book of “Journey to the West” widely regarded as one of the great novels of Chinese literature.

I-tsing was also another Buddhist monk in the T'ang era famed as a traveler and translator after Xuan-zang. His account of his travels is a vital source for the history of the medieval kingdoms along the sea route between China and India, especially Srivijaya in Indonesia. After completing his study at the Buddhist

university at Nālandā, he translated a large number of Buddhist texts from Sanskrit and Pali into Chinese.

4.2.2 The situation of the Buddhist monks practicing Vinaya Rules during the early T'ang

As mentioned above, Buddhism at the beginning of T'ang, although it seemed to be very prosperous, but from the social perspective, Buddhism has lost its fundamental doctrine and noble faith, as well as its function of leading the society been weakened. Buddhism, under that circumstance of frail in practice and has not been popularized to the general public, easily absorbed by the strong state power under the feudal system, thus has to become a “royal religion” (Sato, 1997).

The mission and the inspiration of the first patriarch of Nan-shan Vinaya-school, Dao-xuan to revive Buddhism came from the deep realization of the corruption and depravity at that time. He believed that the only way to prolong the lifespan of Buddhism in China is by establishing the firm foundation of upholding the Vinaya rules among Chinese Buddhists.

Dao-xuan (596-667) devoted himself to spreading the Four-part Vinaya of Dharmaguptaka Lineage and authored the Three Major Books of Nan-shan, i.e., 1) The Guidelines for Practicing Vinaya; 2) Commentary on the Dharmaguptaka Bhikṣu's Prātimokṣa with Notes; and (3) Important Karmans. In them, he explained in detail the precept body and precepts in action and categorized the Buddha's teachings into two branches: the transformative Dharma and the normative Dharma. Dao-xuan's vast research and writings made the commentary on the Four-part Vinaya complete. Since he resided in Zhong Nan-shan for a long time, it is called the 'Nan-shan Vinaya School'. In addition to the Nan-shan Vinaya School, there were Fali's “Xiang-bu Vinaya School” and Huaisu's 'Dong-ta Vinaya School'. In the T'ang Dynasty, these three were called the “Four-part Vinaya's Three Schools” (Bhiku Benyin, 2015).

Within the 300 years from 404 until 711, there were six Vinayas: Sarvāstivāda Vinaya (409); the Dharmagupta Vinaya (410-414); the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya (416-418); the Mahīśāsaka Vinaya (422-423); the Kāśyapīya Vinaya (538-544); and the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya (700-711), translated one after the other into Chinese. Each of these Vinayas had been studied and interpreted by the Chinese disciplinarians when being adopted as monastic rules by the Chinese Buddhist

establishments from the early period of the 5th century up to the beginning of the 8th century A.D. As the disciplinarians followed the different Vinayas, naturally different disciplinary sects were formed (Zhen-chan, 2018).

In the 7th century, as observed by I-tsing that most people in eastern China followed the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya, while the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya was used in earlier times in Guanzhong (the region around Chang'an), and that the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya was prominent in the Yangtze area and further south. In the 7th century, the existence of multiple Vinaya lineages throughout China was criticized by prominent Vinaya masters (Chinese Buddhist Encyclopedia, n.d.). I-tsing was among those notable critics. I-tsing was not satisfied with the disciplinary codes compiled by the prominent Vinaya school at the time, saying that,

“What is permitted by one school may be disallowed by another. The monks should observe the disciplinary rules of their respective schools and should not substitute the rules governing lights fault of other schools for those dealing with grave offenses of their own school. They should also not detest the prohibition rules of other schools, thinking that such affairs are allowed by their own school. Otherwise, the distinctions between the schools will not be apparent, and the reasons for permission and prohibition will be unclear. How can one and the same person observe the disciplinary rules of all four schools?”. (I-tsing, n.d.)

From the Monastic Vinaya Rules of Ordination until the daily practice of rules and regulations, many of them are not in accordance with the law. In fact, I-tsing during his stay in Śrīvijaya wrote the book, namely *“A Record of The Inner Law Sent Home From The South Seas”* with the motive to provide his fellow monks at home (China) with information about the monastic rules and manner of living of the monks in India and the islands of the South Sea. In the course of his narration and by way of comparison, I-tsing did not forget to criticize the monks in China for their behaviors, which were not in agreement with the disciplinary rules, particularly the rules of the Sarvāstivāda School. His intention was to make China a land in which Buddhism was practiced exactly as in India. In his own words, he said, “My real wish is to make the Shao-shi Mountain equal to Vulture Peak, and put the Divine Land (China) on a par with the City of the Royal House (Rājagha)” (Yijing, Li & Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2000).

For instance, what he most objected to was the tradition of branding the scalp of a monk or nun at the time of ordination. It is said that this practice was initiated by Emperor Wu, based on a teaching of the *Brahmajāla-sūtra* (a text on Mahayana disciplinary rules), which advocated injuring one's body by burning off a finger, cauterizing one's arms or scalp, or even committing suicide as an expression of gratitude to the Buddha. Such behavior is obviously contrary to the Vinaya rules prevalent in India. I-tsing boldly deprecated these habits practiced in China and besought the monks at home to give up such improper conventions. However, it seems that his admonition was not listened to, as no measures were taken to eliminate this unfortunate custom from the time that it was initiated during the first half of the 6th century until 1983 when it was abolished as a mark of ordination in all monasteries throughout China (Yijing, Li & Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2000).

Another divergent issue was with regard to the use of silk in making Monk-Robes (Cīvara). The cloth, also known as the material for making Monk-Robes. There are different items of the material listed down in different Schools' Vinaya texts. For instance, the 'Four-part of Vinaya' volume no.6, has listed ten items: 1) Kauśeya (Silk cloth); 2) Karpāsa (Cotton cloth); 3) Kambala (Wool cloth); 4) Kumā (linen cloth); 5) Kama (sackcloth); 6) Śaa ; 7) Bhāgaka (gunny cloth); 8) Cīra (wood cloth); (9) Kunāla (feather/ fluff cloth); and 10) Kārapāīya or Śarapar.

However, Vinaya-Master Dao-xuan (596-667) disagreed on the use of silk to make Monk-Robes. The reason being because the material is obtained by harming life and greatly impairing our compassion.

I-tsing's opinion regarding the use of silk: it was originally allowed to be used, and it is not necessary to make a simple matter to become more complicated. All over India, as well as in the records of Four Schools' Disciplinary-codes, all said that could be used; only in China, they try to abandon the use of silk, which can be easily obtained if compared with cotton. Moreover, this will create unnecessary confusion. For those who are thinking they are "good-keeping" of Vinaya-rules will develop pride in themselves, and despise others. Whereas, for those who do not have much desire and have less greed, they will certainly feel unease in mind because of

this prohibition. This is nothing more than a small matter that obscures the body so that one can focus and concentrate their mind on inner cultivation.

Again, in Chapter 21 of his book, he commented that in the five-part of India, there is no such custom as using a mat (sitting cloth) to sit on while worshipping. Nor is there any reference in the rules of the four Nikayas to the custom of bowing down and standing up three times in salutation. In making a mat for sitting or lying, a piece of cloth is cut in two, and the pieces placed one upon the other and stitched together (Yijing & Takakusu, 1966). However, I-tsing did not mention clearly the size of the mat. I-tsing wanted to reveal the actual use of the mat (niīdana) in India rather than the wrong application of Chinese monks for using in salutation.

Further, in another chapter (Chapter 33), I-tsing censured some Chinese monks for exhibiting Buddha images in the highway while performing Buddhist ceremonies in order to attract more worshipers and collect more money. This commercialization of the performance of Buddhist ceremonies was not only so widespread at I-tsing's time as to draw his attention but is still practiced in China without an end in view (Yijing, Li & Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2000).

However, there are in total 40 chapters I-tsing had written down in his book to reveal the not in accordance practice of disciplinary rules which were commonly observed in China but refuted in India. The above discussed just a few issues listed as an example.

In India and the South Sea, I-tsing had paid his great attention to observing and recording the Buddhist Sangha organization system, as well as the Buddhist Vinaya rules and its practice. Among the Buddhist texts that he brought back from India and those texts which had been translated, most are related to Buddhist Vinaya rules and its practice, occupying three-quarters of the total. This is different from the Xuan-zang, who focused mainly on the philosophical doctrines of Buddhism. However, the "root" of the corruption and undermining of the Buddhist teachings is not only a matter of Vinaya rules. Therefore, the "medicine" brought back by I-tsing from India, of course, ineffective. Before passing away, I-tsing was still obsessed with the teachings and admonished his disciples to observe seriously and practice well the Vinaya rules.

4.2.3 The genuine intention and strong motivation of I-tsing's westbound to seek the “Dhamma”.

From the numerous ancient and modern literature on the study of I-tsing, we can observe that I-tsing's firm determination of launching his westward journey to India for acquiring higher knowledge, its driving force mainly comes from the following three aspects:

Firstly, I-tsing's motivation to go to India should be related to the development of Buddhism in China at that time. I-tsing westbound to the birthplace of Buddhism to obtain the Dhamma, the “authentic scriptures” in order to solve the problem of Buddhist monks' matter of practice. This was the original and the core intention of I-tsing unswervingly to go to India to acquire authentic and genuine Buddhist teaching. The beginning of the T'ang Dynasty is considered as a critical period in the development of Buddhism in China. Buddhism at that time was confronted with some urgent problems that would directly affect the rise and fall of Buddhism in this piece of land. Upon the doctrines, the study of the scriptures was very prosperous, but a lack of genuine understanding and the ambiguity was chaotic. In the aspect of living practice, the strict observance of Vinaya (disciplinary codes) was disregarded. Even though the disciplinary codes had already been translated, it did not really play its role in constraining the wrongdoing. Hence, it is a primary mission for an insightful man who feels a great responsibility to seek solutions (Feng Xiang-lei, 2012). Before going abroad, I-tsing paid great attention to the study on Buddhist Disciplinary Codes (Vinaya) and read through the writings of the two most influential Vinaya Masters at that period of time, i.e., Master Fa Li and Master Dao Xuan. Subsequently, after arriving at the Nalanda Monastery in India, he continued to pay his full attention to the collection of Vinaya of various Buddhist sects in the original language of Sanskrit, particularly the Buddhist Sect of Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinaya, which had been later on become the major focus of his translation work.

Secondly, the influence of his Upajjaya (Teacher of Character-building) Zen-master Hui-zhi. The Master tells him: “*the Great Sage (Buddha) has long entered His nirvana, and the Dharma is corrupted; many people are taking the precepts and joining the ceremony, but unfortunately there are few seriously put into practice.*”

Thus, I-tsing's westbound has been immensely influenced by his teacher's heartfelt advise (I-tsing & Wang Bang-wei, 1988).

After farewell Hui-zhi, he first went to the East Wei to practice Abhidharma, Mahāyāna-saṃgraha-śāstra, and then went to the West Beijing to study Abhidharmakośa, Yogācāra (I-tsing, n.d). All these enormous volumes of Buddhist literacy collections were translated by Xuan-zang at that time. Hence, during this period of study, I-tsing has rapidly enriched his Buddhist knowledge and enhancing his inner cultivation. Then, at the age of 37, I-tsing had sought and invited the monks, i.e., Chu-y and Hong-wei, who had a shared ambition to study Dharma in the West (India) to depart together from Chang'an Capital. Before departure, I-tsing returned to Qi-zhou 齐州 to ask for the permission and seek for the blessings from his teacher Zen Master Hui-zhi. I-tsing has obtained great support and blessing from his teacher. (I-tsing, n.d.)

Thirdly, the idea and the will of I-tsing to seek dharma in India is influenced by the predecessors of Master Xuan-zang, and Master Fa-xian, especially Xuan-zang's brilliant achievements are the most impressive. I-tsing wrote in his book, *The Great Tang Biographies of Eminent Monks who Sought the Dharma in the Western Regions*, to describe his great admiration of the two monks, i.e., Fa-xian and Xuan-zang. Both masters had already become a role model for him as a powerful driving force to initiate his pilgrim mission to India. He wrote: “Previously, there were many noble monks in the Divine Land (China) who had gone to the Western Country (in search of the Law) without caring for their lives. Fa-xian, the pioneer of all, went forth on the difficult and perilous route (to India and neighboring countries). Xuan-zang, following his footsteps, opened the regular overland route to India.” (I-tsing, n.d.)

In year 664, February 5, the great translator Xuan-zang passed away in Chang'an Capital, and the funeral was very grand. The demise of Xuan-zang has strengthened the determination of I-tsing to go westbound to seek the Dharma, the highest knowledge.

4.2.4 The missionary activities which had been carried out by I-tsing throughout his entire life. It is essential for tracing out I-tsing's life event, remarkably to reveal the time frame and itinerary of missionary works during his stay in the South Sea.

In the Fa-xian's book of *The Journey to the Buddha's Land*, we learned that Fa-xian from Eastern Jin dynasty has chosen the land-route, moving to the south from the vicinity of Ye-cheng; and via the Karakoram and Kunlun Mountain entered to Pakistan (Pakistan was directly under the territory of northwest India at that time). While Xuan-zang from T'ang Dynasty chose to depart from the Western Gansu, Dunhuang, crossing over Xinjiang, and passing the Pamir Mountains to the Soviet Union and the Afghan border, and then through the northwest of India (present-day Pakistan) and entered India. The above two westbound monks had undoubtedly risked their lives overcome extreme and severe conditions, climbing the mountains, crossing the desert, and eventually reaching the west to learn and seek the Dharma (Zhou-heng, 1982).

I-tsing, on the other hand, had chosen the sea-route westbound to India for seeking the Dharma. The route starts from Guangzhou and sails along the east coast of Vietnam to the island of Sumatra, Indonesia, then to the Bay of Bengal in the Indian Ocean at the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula, and lands on the east coast of India. This voyage was also not an easy route, especially for a long journey sailing at sea. It was reported that there had been monks, monk Chang-min who lived in early T'ang Dynasty who died because his ship sank on the way due to overweight carrying goods (Zhou-heng, 1982).

However, two main factors led to I-tsing's final decision of choosing the sea route. Firstly, it coincides with the great help of Feng, Xiao-quan. At the beginning of the year 671, I-tsing departed from Qi-zhou southbound to Pu-zhou, Cao-zhou, and subsequently arrived at Yang-zhou. He observed his three months summer retreat at Yang-zhou. Towards the end of the three-month summer retreat, I-tsing happened to meet with Feng, Xiao-quan, who was being appointed to be a Lord Mayor in the county named as 'Ling-nan Dao-gong-zhou'. Feng was preparing himself to move to Ling-nan County. Hence, both Feng and I-tsing together went southbound to Guangzhou. Arriving at Guangzhou, Feng again invited I-tsing to go together with him to Guangzhou. I-tsing acquired great financial and material support from the members of Feng's family.

In November of year 671, together with another Chinese monk, Shan-xing, he finally began his journey to the west of India by sailing on the Persian merchant ship. (Wang Bang-wei, 1996)

The second factor was the unprecedented development of Sino-foreign commercial trade. Guang-zhou was the most important foreign trade port at that time. I-tsing, in his book of *The Great Tang Biographies of Eminent Monks who Sought the Dharma in the Western Regions* has recorded the 36 eminent monks who went to India through the sea route for seeking the Dharma. From the description, I-tsing had sketched out the flourishing sea traffic conditions of China and the South Sea during the period of his time. Most of the merchant ships that went to the South Sea for trading began to sail from China's southern ports. Among the many ports of departure, Guang-zhou is the most important, followed by Jiao-zhou (Shi Jian-ping, 2001). The eminent monk Yuan-kai in his “T'ang and the Upper Eastern Expedition Biography” depicts the pomp of Guang-zhou at the time:

“The river has numerous of the merchant ships from India, Persia, Kunlun (South Sea) and others; carrying various types of spices, medicines, jewelry, and treasures; the size of the ships as big as six to seven feet. The people from the Lion Country (present-day Sri Lanka), white man, and red man, all are coming and staying here.” (Zhen-ren Yuan-kai, A.D. 779)

Every year in May and June, along the Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean's southwest monsoon prevailing, the merchant ships from Southeast Asia, South Asia, and West Asia loaded with spices, ivory, and other goods sailed to Guang-zhou, Yang-zhou, and other places. While upon the November monsoon, the merchant ships began pulling sail away by the wind to the Northeast. Because of the vigorous development of sea-route transportation and facilities, at the same time, there are too many uncertain and insecure circumstances for traveling via Northwest land-route, so most of the Chinese pilgrims had made their final choice to sail via sea-route. It happened that most of the foreign travelers made their preference to come to China by crossing the vast ocean. I-tsing ultimately took the Persian merchant ship and left Guang-zhou southbound to South Sea (Sumatra, Indonesia) in November, year 671 (Zhuo Jian-ming, 1992).

After about 20 days of a sea voyage, I-tsing successfully arrived at the South Sea in the state of Palembang on the Indonesia Island (later known as Śrīvijaya). I-tsing stayed there for six months, studying the Sanskrit language, as to prepare himself for study in India. I-tsing has known the name of Śrīvijaya after he has completed his study and returned from India. Before that, it was named as Palembang (I-tsing, n.d.).

In brief, the Śrīvijaya empire was a maritime and commercial kingdom that flourished between the 7th and 13th centuries. The kingdom originated in Palembang on the island of Sumatra and soon extended its influence and controlled the Straits of Malacca. Śrīvijaya's power was based on its control of international sea trade. It established trade relations not only with the states in the Malay Archipelago but also with China and India. Śrīvijaya was also a religious center in the region. It adhered to Mahayana Buddhism and soon became the stopping point for Chinese Buddhist pilgrims on their way to India.

Further, at the time when I-tsing returned from India, the countries such as Moluoyu and Kaccha has been part of the territory of Śrīvijaya Empire. The inscription that was found near Palembang commemorating the victory of the expedition was made in 683 A.D. by a great marshal, Xi-yang , who led the expedition to Palembang and established a new city called “Śrīvijaya”. Another inscription, dated 684 A.D., mentioned the king of Śrīvijaya, who ordered the establishment of a feudal monastic estate to strengthen the foundations of his rule. Apparently, the history of the Śrīvijaya has begun in 683 A.D. Based on the records of I-tsing, Śrīvijaya was at that time a vital transportation hub and Trade Center in the South Sea. The Śrīvijaya was also a Buddhist Center at that time, with many monks and the King advocating Buddhism. In his translation of ‘*Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinaya*’, I-tsing extended his words to exhort Chinese monks who wish to seek Dharma in the West (India) to stop at the passage of the Śrīvijaya. He wrote:

“In the islands of the South Sea, they are respecting and have faith in Buddhism. The Lord of man's Kingdom is blessed with wellness and prosperity. In Śrīvijaya, there are monks more than a thousand. Learning is the priority, and they are practicing alms-round (begging food from the household). The learning attitude and the studying atmosphere is not much differed from India. The monastic

disciplinary practices are the same. If the monks who are intending to pursue their study in the West, it is most advisable to set foot here (Śrīvijaya) for one- or two-years period to equip themselves before proceeding their journey to India.” (I-tsing, n.d.)

After six months of learning at Śrīvijaya, I-tsing with the generous support of the King of Palembang proceeded to the country of Moluoyu. Moluoyu was I-tsing's second stop in the South Sea before reaching India. From Moluoyu, I-tsing went north to reach Jie-tu (Kedah), which became his third stop before India. Jie-tu has been commonly accepted and recognized by historians who studied the countries of the South Sea as the state of Kedah in the present-day of West Peninsular of Malaysia. As recorded in *The Great Tang Biographies of Eminent Monks who Sought the Dharma in the Western Regions*; “the King gave support and sent him to Moluoyu. Stopped there for two months, turn to Jie-tu (Kedah). Till December, he was again sailing with the royal ship, gradually moving towards the East. (I-tsing & Wang Bang-wei, 1988)

From Jie-tu and northbound for more than ten days, they reached the Naked Country (present-day Nicobar Island). From the Naked country, after half a month north-west-bound, they reached the country of the Tamralipta (present-day Tamluk, situated on the right bank of Rupnaryan river, West Bengal). It was the terminal of I-tsing's westbound itinerary, meaning he finally reached India on 2nd of August 673. According to the records of “A Record of The Inner Law Sent Home From The South Seas”, at the time I-tsing reached India, it had been more than a year he traveled and resided at various countries in South Sea, counting from the date he left his country of origin, China. (I-tsing & Wang Bang-wei, 1995)

I-tsing's journey to the West (India) was via sea-route passing the South Sea navigation, departed from Guang-zhou, across the vast ocean, reaching the Palembang at the South Sumatra Island (later known as Śrīvijaya). Then along the eastern coast of Sumatra voyage, he landed at the country Moluoyu. Across the Straits of Malacca, westbound reaching the Jie-tu (present-day Kedah). Then from Jie-tu, crossing the Naked country (present-day Nicobar Island), westbound to reach Tamralipta, the west bay of India (present-day Tamluk, Bangladesh) (Shi Jianping, 2001).

In the year of 685, I-tsing from the Nalanda Monastery University set out and returned to the East. On the way back to his country of origin, China, I-tsing has

set foot and stayed at Śrīvijaya for more than six years, excluding other places in the South Sea. In between his stay at Śrīvijaya, I-tsing had once returned to Guang-zhou, intending to bring back ink and paper from China, at the same time to look for someone to assist his work in Śrīvijaya. He visited one of the largest Buddhist temples in Guang-zhou at that time, and the monk in the temple introduced him a few capable monks to assist him. After staying in Guang-zhou for only three months, I-tsing together with other four monks, i.e., Zhen-gu, Huai-ye, Dao-hong, and Fa-lang took the merchant ship and returned to Śrīvijaya (I-tsing & Wang Bang-wei, 1988). I-tsing, with the help of the four monks has accomplished some Buddhist texts translation. He had also completed his two self-written books, i.e., the “*A Record of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Sea*”, the “*Biography of Eminent Monks Who Went to the West Region in Search of the Dharma During the Great T'ang Dynasty*”.

If to narrate the achievements and contributions of I-tsing throughout his life, from his major work of Buddhist texts translations, till his self-written works on the history of Transportation, Language and cultural exchange between China and the outside world, it was an outstanding and remarkable achievement. According to the book of *Kai-yuan Manual Buddhist Collections*, a total of 56 books and 230 volumes of Buddhist texts were translated throughout his life. In any case, many modern scholars, including Zhou-huan, Wang bang-we, Zhuo Jian-ming, and others, have always considered that the figures which were given in *Kai-yuan Manual Buddhist Collections* did not accurately indicate the number of Buddhist scriptures which had been translated by I-tsing throughout his life. For example, Zhuo Jian-ming, in his article ever pointed out, “*the translation works which have been done by I-tsing are huge in volumes, there are in total of 107 books and 428 volumes, and incorporated into all Buddhist scriptures. Nevertheless, some works were lost, when especially at the time of the compilation of the Kai-yuan Manual Buddhist Collections in 730, those saved remained 60 books and 239 volumes*” (Zhuo Jian-ming, 1992). Also, Wang Bang-wei had mentioned in his treatise on I-tsing’s life and his writings, “*the number of Buddhist scriptures which were translated by I-tsing is more than that. There are at least seven books, and another fifty volumes of the translation consisting of various laws and disciplinary codes are not included.*” (Wang Bang-wei, 1996).

Prof. Wang in his treatise has made a precise list of the titles of Buddhist text, which were translated by I-tsing.

In summary, I-tsing had stopped over and spent more than ten years (a decade) traveling and carrying out his mission in various places in the South Sea, particularly in Śrīvijaya. Therefore, he is very familiar with the social situations in the South Sea countries. The reliability of the description in his writings regarding the current social situation of the South Sea is relatively high. Notably, in his two authentic self-writings, i.e., the “*A Record of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Sea*”, the “*Biography of Eminent Monks Who Went to the West Region in Search of the Dharma During the Great T’ang Dynasty*”, leaving us a very precious historical treasure. It has become the most authoritative historical source to date, which recorded the life situation, and the real scene of the South Sea in general, and Śrīvijaya in particular, in the 7th century. (Jian-ming, 1992)

4.3 Findings

This is the primary aim and objective of this study, i.e., why didn’t I-tsing return to his home country right after his mission in India but stayed such a long time in the South Sea, particularly in Śrīvijaya. In other words, it is a must, first to understand the above series of narrations as a background, in order for one to delve into the central issue of the quest.

Precisely, in section 4.2.4, we had learned I-tsing after completing his study in India, has set out and started his journey back home in the year 685. Nevertheless, on his journey back, I-tsing did not directly return to his home country, China, but he has stopped over and stayed at the South Sea, particularly in Śrīvijaya for as long as a decade (686-695). The occurrence of this encounter makes the researcher puzzled, also plagued with this curiosity for an extended period of time. Therefore, through this study, the researcher had searched and explored the primary causes, which led to the failure of I-tsing to return home after India’s mission. The researcher has employed the humanistic geography methodology, i.e., *explication of experience* to conduct the study.

Explication of experience is grounded in phenomenology and, for its place interpretations, drew on a wide range of descriptive sources that included first-person

experience, philosophical argument, archival reports, accounts from imaginative literature, and experiential evidence from photography, film, and other artistic media. Typically, this work emphasized lived commonalities about environmental and place experience (Sapkota, 2017).

In general, there are two significant situations needed to be explored in order to unearth the primary causes of I-tsing not returning home immediately after India's mission. Firstly, the domestic situation in China at that time in line with the development of Buddhism. What are those factors which induced I-tsing not to return home right after his mission in India and stayed back at the South Sea? Secondly, the situation of the South Sea, particularly Śrīvijaya during that period of time. What were those factors attracting I-tsing to stay back and spend such a long time carrying out his missionary work in the South Sea?

As articulated in the humanistic geography approach, the geographical activities and phenomena (e.g. social condition) reveal the quality of human awareness (Tuan, 1976). Hence, the researcher had observed duly the related archival reports, such as I-tsing's self-writing books and literary works, as well as the literary records and commentaries of China's T'ang Dynasty etc. to look into how geographical activities and phenomena influencing the decision making of I-tsing based on the current situation and the social conditions he was at that period of time. I-tsing has a twenty-five years (671-695) experience of traveling and learning abroad. Thus, he has a keen and powerful insight into his own situation and the development and trends of Buddhism in China at that time.

Sense of Place

I-tsing's awareness of the identity of place. 'Sense' or 'identity' of place lies at the heart of humanistic geography. It gains an understanding of how people interact with their environment (social, economic, political, and cultural).

In earlier narrations, particularly in section 4.2.3, we have learned that one of the genuine and core intentions of I-tsing's westbound journey to the birthplace of Buddhism was to obtain the Dhamma, the authentic scriptures in order to solve the problem of Buddhist monks' matter of practice. But how did it lead to the failure of I-tsing to return home directly after his completion of India's mission? In this regard,

the researcher had analyzed in detail the status of Buddhist practice in China before and after I-tsing's westbound mission.

Beforehand, it is essential to comprehend what does it mean by the "Buddhist monks' matter of practice". The "Buddhist monks' matter of practice" is referring mainly to the Vinaya or the Disciplinary Rules, the principal guide of shaping perfect conduct and behavior of a Buddhist monk. Even though the disciplinary codes had already been translated, it did not play its role of constraining the wrongdoings. The study of the scriptures was very prosperous, but a lack of genuine understanding and the ambiguity was chaotic. This is partly due to the socio-political conditions and the belief system during the beginning of the T'ang Dynasty. Following this, the researcher had continued to elucidate how the social conditions impacted the life journey of I-tsing.

The great T'ang Dynasty, which ruled over a reunified China from 618 to 907 (about 300 years), patronized Buddhism as a state cult during the greater portion of its reign. Buddhism has reached its peak period, especially amid the T'ang Dynasty or after I-tsing's time. I-tsing lived in the early T'ang Dynasty. He was born in the year 635 and passed away in 713. Buddhism, since it was introduced and spread into China in the Western Han Dynasty (A.D. 25-200), had been disorderly, and the teachings were not given in proper order and manner. Although there were many discourses and scriptures translated into Chinese, the Buddhist followers were generally ignorant of the central idea of Buddhist teachings, which led to a low level of faith towards Buddhism.

The eminent scholar and translator, Lahiri (1986) has observed that the Chinese Buddhists were greatly confused by multifarious forms of Buddhism introduced in China from India and Central Asia by importation of missionaries belonging to different schools and different countries, by translations of Mahāyāna sutras, like *Vimalakirtinirdeśa*, *Saddharmapudarika*, *Mahāparinirvāa*, and the *Buddha Avatasakanāma Mahāvaipulya Sūtra* of two prominent Indian schools of Nāgājūna and Asaga and by translation of some Hīnayāna texts. Amidst this ever-growing confusion and uncertainty, the Chinese thinkers were groping in the dark for centuries and thus led to the departure of renowned pilgrims, like Fa-xian (A.D. 400), Xuan-zang (A.D. 629) and I-tsing (A.D. 671) and others for India in search of genuine

texts and the true doctrines and to pay homage to the far-famed shrines of their religion. The confusion caused by erroneous translation of the Buddhist texts, the misunderstanding of subtle and mystic ideas of the Buddhist philosophy and lack of disciplinary codes for monastic life prompted the earnest pilgrims to undertake perilous voyages across the breadth of Asia to procure complete and purer sources. The eternal religious fervor of the monks to make a pilgrimage to India, the holy land of the Buddhists, was nonetheless significant.

On the other hand, because the T'ang administration allows freedom in religious belief and practice, Taoism and Buddhism, which had long been based in Chinese society, faced with the impact, must compete with the newly invaded religions, such as Mani , Jing , Yao, and others on an equal footing and have to expand their respective influence of teaching. The activities of Buddhist monks in the T'ang Dynasty generally site in the aristocratic social circle. Buddhism, which was weakly practiced and had not been popularized to the general public, had been absorbed by the strong state power under the feudal system to become an imperial-religion. According to the book *"The Collection of Ancient and Modern Buddhism and Taoism"* written by Dao-xuan (641), mentioned that *"for the aristocratic, the main function of the Buddhism is only for accumulating merits, none other than that!"* However, the contradictions and unreasonable of the aristocratic towards Buddhism, stimulate the rebellious attitude eager to cultivate their spiritual attainment to form a perfect personality in terms of religious purpose. Among the Buddhist monks, especially those who preserved and upheld the Dhamma always have a common faith of not only to study the philosophical doctrine of Buddhism, but also adhere to form a Buddhist faith, which can be from the bottom of the heart of the Chinese people to believe in, to comprehend and to put into practice, and finally gaining the ultimate bliss of Dhamma. Hence, based on this idea, they have chosen the talented and wise monks, and from their deep understanding of Indian Buddhism to reform and establish the "Chinese Buddhism". The reformation of the doctrines was formed in early or even before the T'ang Dynasty, and then evolved towards annotation, immobilization, and formalization, especially reaching its peak flourish in the middle period of T'ang Dynasty (766-805).

Notably, I-tsing (635) was born in the period of the immobilization, and towards the formalization stage of Buddhism. I-tsing who went westbound with the high motivation of seeking the “Dhamma”, the authentic scripture and teaching of the Buddha, as he at that time was not satisfied with the so-called “reforming form of Chinese Buddhism”. I-tsing found there are still many unsolved and ambiguous interpretations, especially those which was related to the Vinaya or Disciplinary Rules. I-tsing solicitously wanted to go to India to learn and to observe by himself the way of practice of the monks there. As a result of his learning experience in India, he has authored his two self-writings, namely (1) “*A Record of The Inner Law Sent Home From The South Seas*”; and (2) “*Biography of Eminent Monks Who Went to the West Region in Search of the Dharma During the Great T’ang Dynasty*”. The book “*A Record of The Inner Law Sent Home from The South Seas*” was written by I-tsing while he was sojourning in Śrīvijaya after his completion of study in India. His motive in writing the *Record* was to provide his fellow monks at home (China) with information about the monastic rules and manner of living of the monks in India and the islands of the South Sea. In the course of his narration and by way of comparison, I-tsing did not forget to criticize the monks in China for those of their behaviors, which were not in agreement with the disciplinary rules, particularly the rules of the Sarvāstivāda School. He intended to make China a land in which Buddhism was practiced exactly as in India. As a source of information, I-tsing’s *Record* contained ample materials concerning monastic (monk) life, from the choosing of a teacher, under whose guidance one becomes a monk, up to the disposal of the personal belongings left by a deceased monk. It depicted such a complete picture of the life of a monk that it is indispensable and invaluable for research into conditions of Buddhist monasticism in medieval India (Yijing, Li & Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2000).

While another book of I-tsing, the “*Biography of Eminent Monks Who Went to the West Region in Search of the Dharma During the Great T’ang Dynasty*” had recorded the biographies of the fifty-six eminent monks who had been passing through the immense hardship and perils the pilgrims braved during their travel, their indomitable spirit and desire for learning Buddhism in India. I-tsing’s main objective was to immortalize those self-sacrificing monks who made a remarkable contribution

to the propagation and the prosperity of the Dhamma bequeathed by the Buddha. I-tsing not only tried to establish the religious eminence of the monks but also the prestige and honor they commanded from the people, officials, kings, princes in China, as well as in India. The austere lives, self-sacrificing, and adventurous spirit, the brilliant scholarship and incredible accomplishment of the Buddhist monks would inspire the future generation (I-ching & Lahiri, 1986).

Finding 1): The unreadiness of conditions for allowing I-tsing to return home.

I-tsing's sense of place was acuity and strong. I-tsing was very aware and observant of what was happening in his homeland and the surrounding environment. His intention and indomitable motivation of west-bounding was to acquire authentic and pure Dhamma is to revive the defective Buddhist practice, particularly the practice of Vinaya or Disciplinary Rules of Buddhist monks in China. Nevertheless, I-tsing lived in the period of the immobilization of Buddhism, means the Disciplinary Codes which had been vigorously established in the early or even before T'ang (from the transition period of Sui Dynasty, entering to the T'ang Dynasty) gradually developing toward institutionalization and immobilization. This had intensified the attempt of I-tsing to return home immediately for bringing China back to the most genuine and original practice of Vinaya-rules as he has observed in India and the South Sea.

The Vinaya-Master Dao-xuan (596-667), has mainly referred and adopted the traditional living codes established by the Buddha which has stated in the Vinaya-Pitaka, particularly the "*Four Parts of Vinaya*" of Dharmagupta School on his strenuous efforts of establishing the Vinaya-rules suiting the Chinese monasticism. But whenever there is an unclear or ambiguity, he will appropriately refer the other Vinaya-rules from different sects or schools, as well as Pāli Canon and Chinese Agama for removing the complexity and doing suitable modifications. It is also an attempt to reflect the ultimate spirit of Mahayana, according to Dao-xuan (Tatsugen Sato, 1997).

Unfortunately, I-tsing does not agree with this way of setting up the Vinaya-rules. He opined:

"...upon close observation on the distinctions between the four school and the differences in their Vinaya texts, we see that the grave offenses and light faults are dealt with quite differently by different schools. What is permitted by one school may

be disallowed by another. The monks should observe the disciplinary rules of their respective schools and should not substitute the rules governing light faults of other schools for those dealing with grave offenses of their own school. They should also not detest the prohibitive rules of other schools, thinking that such affairs are allowed by their own school. Otherwise, the distinctions between the schools will not be apparent, and the reasons for permission and prohibition will be unclear. How can one and the same person observe the disciplinary rules of all four schools?” (Yijing, Li & Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2000).

I-tsing's such thought naturally formed a kind of confrontation and friction between him and the reality of the situation (social condition) in China. Moreover, I-tsing himself is a devoted practitioner of “Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinaya”, which he had learned and persisted its authenticity of the Vinaya practice in India, the birthplace of Buddhism. However, it is obviously not in line with the mainstream of Vinaya practice, i.e., “*Four Parts of Vinaya*” in China at that time, which was gradually becoming an institutionalized and immobilized monastic order in China. Thus, I-tsing's personal thought and persistence had become the obstacle and containment for I-tsing to return instantly to his homeland after his mission in India. Since then, the South Sea, particularly Śrīvijaya, is the ideal place for him to set foot, and carry on with his mission of translating the scriptures and texts in the original Sanskrit language.

On the one hand, Śrīvijaya is a Buddhist kingdom during that period enjoying its glorious with the Hīnayāna Buddhism, and with the majority of the followers practicing the *Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinaya*. On the other hand, Sanskrit was the common practicing language in the kingdom. It seems the social conditions in Śrīvijaya is more conducive for I-tsing's to continue his mission under his personal circumstances, as well as the social conditions in China at that period of time.

The researcher is analyzing and looking into I-tsing's failure to return home immediately after his learning in India by utilizing the humanistic geography approach, i.e., the understanding of the human world by studying people's relation with nature, their geographical behavior, as well as their feelings and ideas in regard to their environment (socio-politics, economic, cultural conditions etc.). Through this observation, an assumption is made to illustrate further the I-tsing's situation of

setting his foot in the South Sea. Moreover, the assumption made can also be supported by the narrations of some other life experience stories, which they had faced the same situation as I-tsing.

The researcher assumed that, if I-tsing insisted on returning home country right after his accomplishment of learning in India, there are two possibilities or challenging situations that would be faced by I-tsing himself under the current social conditions in China. What are the two possibilities? There are either 1) I-tsing would be heavily criticized by the mainstream “localized-Vinaya” upholders and practitioners, because of his obstinate characteristics for persisting on what he had learned and observed in India and South Sea; or 2) I-tsing would have to eventually give up his mission of advocating the authentic and purest Vinaya practice, which he had acquired from the birthplace of Buddhism. I-tsing had to accept the conventional reality of the majority, or the collective voices were always a better influence on society. There are examples of the narration of life experience story, which can reflect the situation of I-tsing. Following are the three significant life experience stories selected by the researcher to reflect the situation of I-tsing:

Story Reflection 1): A Narration of the Life Experience Story of a Zen-Master Buddhahadra

This is a very renown piece of life-story of an eminent Zen Master of Jibin (present-day Kashmir), Buddhahadra, who was invited by a Chinese monk Zhi-yan to teach meditation in China in the year 408. Both of them had met each other in Jibin, and together they spent about three years on their journey to reach China. Upon their arrival, they have heard and paid their visit to another well-known monk, Kumārajīva, who came from Kucha (present-day Aksu Prefecture, Xinjiang, China), arrived and resided in the capital Chang-an since 401.

Kumārajīva specialized in lecturing the philosophical doctrines of Buddhism, especially the doctrines of Mahāyāna Buddhism propounded by Nāgājūna. He won the trust of the ruler of the Yao-Qin Dynasty, Yao-xing. He had more than two thousand disciples and very actively associating with imperial and aristocratic. His influence gradually grew into mainstream and orthodox. Jiang-shi in his book has mentioned that “*In fact, Kumārajīva’s mission in China, i.e., the smoothness and the prosperity of his translation works and propagating of Buddhism*

mainly is because of the bestow of great support and protection from the imperial and aristocratic”.

In contrast, Buddhahadra always tried to avoid the chasing after of fame and power, advocating a simple life, cultivating peace in mind, and always observing mindfulness. From far people heard about his expertise in meditation practice and come to learn from him in Chang-an. Hence, his disciples were gradually increasing. The number of his followers and his influence in Chang-an Capital had sometimes exceeded the mainstream and orthodoxy’s influence.

Moreover, both Kumārajīva and Buddhahadra, because of the difference in their respective study and practice, were from a different lineage of teacher. Thus, there were a lot of disagreements and contradictions in them. Buddhahadra was always calumniated by the conservative group of Kumārajīva’s disciples. They even made use of the power of imperial to expel Buddhahadra and his disciples out from the capital Chang-an and its territory. Buddhahadra and his disciples eventually had to leave the Capital and evacuated to Lu-shan, the southern part of China. (The narration of story was depicted from an academic article titled *The Study of the Reasons of the Expulsion of Buddhahadra*)

Story Refection 2): A Narration of the Life Experience Story of a Dhamma-Master Paramārtha

Another prominent monk, Paramārtha (499-569), was an Indian monk from Ujjain in central India. Paramārtha was considered one of the most excellent translators of sutras in Chinese Buddhism, along with Kumārajīva, Xuan-zang, and I-tsing. Paramārtha became a Buddhist monk in India and received support from imperial for his travels to spread the teachings of Buddhism. After Paramārtha had traveled widely as a Buddhist missionary, he settled in Funan (an ancient kingdom at South Sea). He was intelligent, and he relished details in scriptural texts of all in which he had studied. In Funan, Paramārtha's reputation grew to the extent that Emperor Liang-Wu, a great patron of Buddhism, sent ambassadors to bring Paramārtha to China.

The condition of Paramārtha’s arrival at the capital as depicted in the “*Biography of T’ang Eminent Monks*” is as follows:

“During the year of Da-tong, the Emperor Liang-Wu sent the ambassador Zhang-fan and others to Funan for searching eminent Master of Tipitaka, Mahayana sutras and sastras. Paramārtha has long heard about the strong faith and devotion of Emperor Liang-Wu in Buddhism. Upon the recommendation of Funan, Paramārtha agreed to go to Liang of China, and bring with him many sutras and sastras in order to honor the emperor. They arrived at South Sea on 15th of August 546 (12th year of Da-tong). After two years’ journey, they finally arrived at the capital of Liang, Jian-ye in the second year of Tai-qing (548). He was warmly and respectably welcome by Emperor Liang-Wu, and was arranged to reside at the Bao Yun Quarter of the palace.” (Dao-xuan, 645)

Emperor Liang-Wu not satisfied with the translations done in the former Qin Dynasty wanted them to be re-translated. However, because of the rebellion of Hou-jing, Emperor Liang-Wu emperor was murdered and had forced Paramārtha to abandon his translation plan. Subsequently, Paramārtha went to the east, Fu-chun (present-day Fu-yang county of Zhe-jiang province).

The Lord Mayor of Fu-yang county, Lu Yuan-zhe was very devoted to Buddhism. Therefore, he was very supportive of Paramārtha’s translation mission. The Lord Mayor had established a translation center for him and invited the Elite Bao-qiong and others more than 20 people to initiate the translation of the “*The Treatise of Seventeen Stages*”. However, because of the series of rebellions and unstable political condition, again the translation work was interrupted. The work was neglected and remained incomplete at the 5th volume.

Paramārtha came to the east (China) from the twelfth years of Da-tong under Emperor Liang-Wu (546) and passed away in the first year of Tai-jian (569) of Emperor Chen-xuan; he resided in China for over 23 years. Even though China at that time was in an unstable and unsettled political situation, he was forced to travel here and there, it did not inhibit his prodigious translation mission. There are numerous (in a total of 64 books, and 278 volumes) and various types of Buddhist texts translated into the Chinese language, and the most significant translation of his is the “*Mahāyāna-saṃgraha Treatise*”, thus, he had always been recognized as the founder of “She-lun School”. He had completed the translation of this vast treatise in Nan-yue (present-day Guang-dong).

Notably, the incident of Paramārtha's failure to return to the capital Jian-ye of Liang Dynasty, when at the time of the socio-political condition there was settled, and people lived in peace. The close disciples of Paramārtha, such as Seng-zong, Zhi-kai, and others, attempted to arrange for him to return and settle down in the capital. But unfortunately, they were not successful. The monks who were following the "San-lun School" become entrenched and subsequently became the mainstream of the Buddhist practice in the capital, as well as the neighboring counties. The mainstream followers and the aristocratic fearing Paramārtha might threaten their status, defamed the teachings promulgated by Paramārtha. They had successfully convinced the emperor of the newly established Chen Dynasty that Paramārtha's doctrines were a threat to the government. Paramārtha, therefore, stayed on in Guang-dong until he succumbed to illness and died at the age of seventy-one. Regrettably, the entire effort and work is done by Paramārtha throughout his life in translation and upholding the profound teaching of *Vijñānavāda* (Mind Only Doctrine) was not able to spread over the country. (The narration of story was depicted from the "*T'ang Biography of Eminent Monks – Section Paramārtha*")

Story Reflection 3): A Narration of the Life Experience Story of a Vinaya-Master Hong-yi

This life experience story happened on the date not too far from the present day. As the protagonist of the story, Vinaya-Master Hong-yi lived in between the year 1880-1942.

When Vinaya-Master Hong-yi read the collection of the Tipitaka, he has read through and very impressed with the I-tsing's translations of "*Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*" and his book of "*A Record of The Inner Law Sent Home from The South Seas*". He opined that the translation of I-tsing is precise and more complete if compared with the "*Nan-shan Vinaya*", which was widely adopted in China at that time. Therefore, in his first and second drafts of the "*Four-part of Vinaya*", he repeatedly quoted the I-tsing's words to rectify the inadequacies of "*Nan-shan Vinaya*". Nevertheless, Hong-yi then consciously, realizing that what he did was incorrect and irreverence to the eldest. Subsequently, he restored the original manuscript of "*Nan-shan Vinaya*".

Although Master Hong-yi, thereafter, no longer dared to amend and modify the original text of “*Nan-shan Vinaya*”, he still did not put his much attention to the study of the manuscripts of Nan-shan Vinaya-school. In this regard, he had put more effort into the study of I-tsing’s translations of “*Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*”. After two years of his study on “*Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*”, he had compiled a volume of the “*Exculpatory Notes of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*” and a volume of the “*Self-note of the Vinaya Text*”.

While at that time a prominent Buddhist Scholar, Xu Wei-ru had established an engrave, and inscription center in Tianjin specially engraved the manuscripts of Nan-shan Vinaya-school. It is indeed a costly and time-consuming job, involving a huge amount of expenses. He had consumed more than ten years to accomplish the engraving work of the entire manuscript of “*Nan-shan Vinaya*”. Xu has heard about the preference of Master Hong-yi to specialize in “*Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*”, and do not pay attention to the “*Nan-shan Vinaya*”, he tried to persuade him to focus on the “*Nan-shan Vinaya*” since China has been upholding the “*Nan-shan Vinaya*” for more than a thousand years. According to Xu, it is more appropriate for Hong-yi to focus on “*Nan-shan Vinaya*”, as it was more widely accepted and practiced throughout China at that time.

After listening to the words of Xu, his initial intention of going deeper into the “*Nan-shan Vinaya*” gradually strengthened, and finally Hong-yi has made a vow in front of the Buddha to fully involve himself in the study of “*Nan-shan Vinaya*”, as to be in accordance with the state of Buddhist disciplinary law practiced in China at the time. (Lin Zi-qing et al., 1991)

I-tsing, when he was still studying at Nalanda University in India, his wish and intention was to return China. In his self-writing, the “*Biography of Eminent Monks Who Went to the West Region in Search of the Dharma During the Great T’ang Dynasty*”, recorded such a short poem:

“I am far away from my motherland; a pang of separation makes me very much grieved. I always remember my home when the cold wind blows on the Vulture’s Peak, and the Nairāñjanā river flows by. I listen to the discussion of the Law happily. I never feel that I am growing older day by day. My aims and objectives in India have

been fulfilled. Now I must return to the Divine Land (China) carrying the stick and the Sūtras.” (I-tsing, n.d.)

Even though I-tsing wished and intended to return home after accomplishing his mission in India, but it seems the condition has not been allowing him to do so. I-tsing was very well-trained in mind, very observant and very aware of many things. Under any circumstance, he knew how to deal with and react to the existing state of affairs. As a typical Chinese monk, he was able to accomplish his travel and learning mission abroad for more than twenty-five years.

Finding 2): I-tsing needed a conducive platform for his return to China

I-tsing, in his self-writing “*Record of The Return to the South Sea*” this is one of the chapters under his book of the “*Biography of Eminent Monks Who Went to the West Region in Search of the Dharma During the Great T’ang Dynasty*” , mentioned that, he went back to China (set foot at Guang-zhou in year 689), but only for a short stay (about three months) for acquiring paper and ink, and a few assistants for helping him in the South Sea. Even though I-tsing’s words are seemingly a little too far-fetched, but there is something else behind it. He wrote:

“At the mouth of the river of Bhoga (Śrīvijaya) I went on board the ship to send letters as a credential to Guang-zhou, in order to meet my friends and ask for papers and ink cakes, which are to be used in copying Sanskrit Sūtras and at the same time to find some means to hire scribes. Just at that time, the merchants found the wind favorable and raised the sails to their utmost height. I was in this way conveyed back (although not myself intending to go home). Even if he asked to stop, there would have been no means of doing so. By this, I see it is the influence of karma, which determines the fate is beyond human planning. It was on the twentieth day of the seventh month of the Yung-ch’ang period (A.D. 689) that we reached Guang-zhou. The monks and laity as well met and received him with respect.” (Yijing & Takakusu, 1966)

Among the modern scholars, Professor Wang Bang-wei (1988) has spotted this interesting scenario; he commented: “According to I-tsing himself, he seems to have been transported back home by chance. It would not be possible if I-tsing does not know when the monsoon is blowing and do not have enough time to get down from the ship. I-tsing’s word of his realization of “*the influence of karma, which*

determines the fate is beyond human planning” is a bit overstated in this context. This is merely an excuse for I-tsing to go back home.” Moreover, if it is only to seek and acquire for ink and paper, as well as to find someone to assist him, then it is sufficient to write a letter for doing so. It is not necessary for I-tsing to again risk himself ups and downs on the sailing journey. I-tsing was aware of the difficulties and dangers of navigating the sea.

Furthermore, if he needs to go to Guang-zhou, he can go freely without such a pretext. But why I-tsing acted so? An envisage can be made that I-tsing wished and intended to return home, but not immediately. He wanted a reason to go back to Guang-zhou once, let people know that he wanted to return, with the intention to translate the Buddhist scriptures. On the other hand, he was unwilling to say the obvious (I-tsing & Wang Bang-wei, 1988). When he was in Guang-zhou, he sighed and said to the resident monks Zhi-zhi Monastery that:

“I (I-tsing), went to the Western Country (India) with a primary hope of transmitting and spreading (the Law). I came back and stayed on the island of the South Sea. Some texts are still wanting, though what I brought (from India) and left at Śrīvijaya amounts to 500,000 ślokaś belonging to the Tripiaka. It is necessary under this circumstance that I must go there once again. But I am already more than fifty years of age; while crossing the running waves once more, the horses that pass-through cracks may not stay and protect the life would be difficult. If the time for the morning dew (for dying) comes suddenly, to whom should those books be entrusted? The sacred canon is indeed to be the important doctrine. Who is then able to come with me and take it over? The right type of person who could easily translate the Sūtras must be found out.” (Yijing & Takakusu, 1966)

Again, from the above self-description of I-tsing, it showed his keen interest to return home, but somehow the time seemed not yet ripe. This was solely the self-observation of I-tsing himself. Indeed, if he wished to carry out the canons’ translation work, it should be the most appropriate to do it in China. Why bother searching for people from China to go far in the South Sea to carry out the mission?

Further, in another self-narration of I-tsing, which has been excavated from his book of the *“Biography of Eminent Monks Who Went to the West Region in Search of the Dharma During the Great T’ang Dynasty”*:

“I, I-tsing, met Ta-ts’in in Śrīvijaya (where he came AD 683). I requested him to return home to ask imperial favor in building a temple in the West. When he saw that benefits would be great and large (had this petition been granted), Ta-ts’in disregarding his own life agreed to re-cross the vast ocean. It is on the fifteenth day of the fifth month in the third year of the Tien-shou period (692) that he takes a merchant ship to return to Chang-an. Now I send with him a new translation of various Sūtras and Sāstras in ten volumes, the “A Record of The Inner Law Sent Home From The South Seas” in four volumes, and the “Biography of Eminent Monks Who Went to the West Region in Search of the Dharma During the Great T’ang Dynasty” in two volumes.” (Yijing & Takakusu 1966).

However, this time after another six years of I-tsing’s stay in Śrīvijaya, he had made a direct request from the T’ang Ruler at that time, Empress Wu Ze-tian to build a Chinese temple in Śrīvijaya. I-tsing sent the monk Ta-ts’in back to China for conveying his request, as well as presenting his translations and his two self-writings, which had been accomplished in Śrīvijaya to Empress Wu. For I-tsing. This was perhaps the best opportunity for him to do so, as he knew that Empress Wu promoted Buddhism over Confucianism and Daoism as the favored state religion. At that time, it was the second year of Empress Wu's reign. Empress Wu was officially recognized empress of China in more than two millennia.

Hence, from these two intentionally or unintentionally actions of I-tsing, it can be seen that he did not have a strong wish for a long-term stay in Śrīvijaya for continuing his mission of translation work. He used various means to probe the response and acceptance of the Buddhist community in China on his return, and significantly he was trying to attract the attention and the acknowledgment (on his existence) of the imperial, Empress Wu. As commented by Prof. Wang Bang-wei (1995) that, “I-tsing must have heard about the favorable support of Empress Wu to Buddhism if compared with the emperor(s) before her. Empress Wu made use of the name of Buddhism to claim that she was the reincarnation of Maitreya Buddha, also using various legerdemains by the name of Buddhism to deifying herself. Perhaps this is the best chance for I-tsing to present himself and his works.”

I-tsing was very observant and sensitive to his surroundings. He was incisive and able to define his present situation well, and most importantly, he knew how to accommodate and act appropriately according to the current situation. This is what the humanities aspect of humanistic geography approach tries to explain that, “Knowledge of the human world is acquired by examining social institutions. These institutions can be viewed both as an example of human inventiveness and as forces limiting the free activity of individuals.” (Sapkota, 2017)

I-tsing wished and wanted to be welcomed home by the imperial and the public. In this way, on the one hand, he could stabilize and consolidate his position, will not be easily shaken and disturbed by the mainstream (those following the practice of “*Four-part of Vinaya*”) at the time. Moreover, on the other hand, I-tsing wished the condition in China could still allowing him to continue to uphold and promote the *Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinaya*.

Finally, I-tsing as his wish, returned home in China in 695 (midsummer in the month of 5th, the first year of Zheng-sheng). In I-tsing’s biography recorded in the “*Sung-Gao-Seng-Zhuan*”, enumerated the grand welcoming scene of I-tsing’s return to the Capital Luo-yang:

“I-tsing was twenty-five years (671-695) abroad and traveled in more than thirty countries, and that he came back to China at midsummer in the first year of the Zheng-sheng 证圣元年 (695) of Empress Wu (684-704). He brought home some four hundred different Buddhist texts, all in a total of 500,000 śloka, a real plan of the diamond seat (vagrāsana) of the Buddha, and three hundred of relics. Empress Wu by herself welcomed him at the eastern entrance of the palace, and there is a prayer and hymns parade by numerous Buddhist monks from other temples to lead at the front row. I-tsing first resided at the Fo-Shou-Ji Temple. I-tsing was initially working together with the monk Śikṣānanda 实叉难陀 to translate the “Mahā-Vaipulya-Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra”. I-tsing started his self-translation after the first year of Jiu-shi.” (Zan-ning, n.d.)

Noticeable, it has been recorded in the “*The Collection of Quan T’ang - 914th volume*”, saying that I-tsing successfully conducted a grand Dhamma-assembly of Higher Ordination transmitting the *Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinaya*, which was granted permission by Empress Wu in the fourth month of the fourth year of Chang-an. The

venue of the Higher Ordination Ceremony was at Song-shan Shao-lin Monastery. This occasion, thus, indicates that I-tsing not only can stand firmly along with the mainstream but also to be able to spread and to sow the seeds of his advocacy.

Finding 3): The supportive conditions in Śrīvijaya

Śrīvijaya, a great Buddhist Empire, also a maritime and commercial kingdom that flourished between the 7th and the 13th centuries, mainly in what is now Indonesia. The kingdom originated in Palembang on the island of Sumatra and soon extended its influence and controlled the Strait of Malacca. Śrīvijaya's power was based on its control of international sea trade. It established trade relations not only with the states in the Malay Archipelago but also with China and India (Britannica, n.d.).

I-tsing, in his masterpiece of translation work, the '*Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinaya*', he asserted the following advice to exhort Chinese monks who wished to seek Dharma in the West (India) to stop at the passage of the Śrīvijaya. He wrote:

“In the islands of the South Sea, they are respecting and have faith in Buddhism. The Lord of man's Kingdom is blessed with wellness and prosperity. In Śrīvijaya, there are monks more than a thousand. Learning is the priority, and they are practicing alms-round (begging food from the household). The learning attitude and the studying atmosphere is not much differed from India. The monastic disciplinary practices are the same. If the monks who are intending to pursue their study in the West, it is most advisable to set foot here (Śrīvijaya) for one- or two-years period to equip themselves before proceeding their journey to India.” (I-tsing, n.d.)

The narration above indicated that I-tsing was very familiar and had an in-depth knowledge of the overall condition of Śrīvijaya. He, through his own traveling experience, knowing that Śrīvijaya is located at a very advantageous geographical location in between China and India. It was at the midway of the sea-route between China and India. Therefore, I-tsing was proclaiming Śrīvijaya the best “transit-hub” for Chinese monks who wished to travel westbound to India. Thus, on his record, as stated above: *“If the monks who are intending to pursue their study in the West, it is most advisable to set foot here (Śrīvijaya) for one- or two-years period to equip themselves before proceeding their journey to India.”*

I-tsing was very encouraging and invoking Chinese monks to stay for a short while before they continue their journey to India, as the condition of Śrīvijaya is very similar to India. This is what I-tsing said, “*In Śrīvijaya, there are monks more than a thousand. Learning is the priority, and they are practicing alms-round (begging food from the household). The learning attitude and the studying atmosphere is not much differed from India. The monastic disciplinary practices are the same.*” Therefore, the condition is conducive for a Chinese monk who was determined to study in India to first lay a firm foundation and do preparatory work in Śrīvijaya, including studying Sanskrit, as well as to observe and to learn about the daily practice of the monks there. This is undoubtedly a valuable contribution of I-tsing through his personal learning experience and observation to proclaiming the Śrīvijaya as the dynamic transit-hub to his fellow Chinese monks who had the same mission with him.

Further, if viewing from the perspective of I-tsing himself, setting foot at Śrīvijaya was the right option while waiting for the right time and condition to return home in China. Under various advantageous circumstances, I-tsing is still able to carry on his missionary works without wasting time. For instance, the advantage of Sanskrit language, allows I-tsing to continue carrying out his translation work, which he has been started during the time he was studying at Nalanda University in India. Sanskrit, or also known as the Brahma-language in Śrīvijaya, was a common practice language among the people there. Moreover, I-tsing had laid his firm foundation by learning Sanskrit for more than six months in Śrīvijaya during his first visit in 671, before proceeding to India. Hence, it is doubtless the advantage of language is to be one of the predominant supports for I-tsing to set foot in Śrīvijaya before returning home.

The practice and the observance of *Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinaya* is another ascendant advantage for I-tsing to set foot at Śrīvijaya. As stated in his Record, he found most of the monastics (Buddhist monks) in Śrīvijaya, upholding and observing *Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinaya*. He asserted: “*In Śrīvijaya, there are monks more than a thousand. Learning is the priority, and they are practicing arm-round (begging food from the household). The learning attitude and the studying atmosphere is not much differed from India. The monastic disciplinary practices are the same.*” “the same” here is meant for the *Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinaya*. I-tsing has also authored and

completed his first two books in Śrīvijaya. One of his books, named as “*A Record of The Inner Law Sent Home from The South Seas*” , has recorded every single detail of the monastic rules and manner of living of the monks in India and the islands of the South Sea as observed by him.

These are the two supporting resources, which I-tsing gained from the nature of the social conditions in Śrīvijaya to support his works. Of course, there are still many supportive conditions, for instance, the generous support of the Imperial provided I-tsing with all the basic necessities, including food, lodging, transportation, safety, medication, so on and so forth throughout his stay in Śrīvijaya. As Śrīvijaya was a flourishing Buddhist kingdom, the presence of I-tsing was celebrated and well-received by the imperial and the Buddhist community there.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION, DISCUSSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

5.1.1 Summary of Research Methodology

5.1.1.1 Data Collection

The researcher has followed strictly the steps of data collection activities as stated in Chapter 3, under section 3.3. The steps of data collection activities are as follows:

1. The researcher has compiled any record which is directly related to the history of I-tsing in Chinese, Indonesian, or any other language, then, summarized them into English language.
2. The researcher has consulted two individual scholars who are an authority in I-tsing history for the complete information. The information was then transcribed into English.
3. The researcher has organized the information from those sources into an appropriate structure.

5.1.1.2 Data Analysis

The researcher has invented a combined data analysis framework of Creswell's Data Analysis, Polkinghorne's Narrative Analysis, and Humanistic Geography – Phenomenological Analysis. The combined data analysis framework is as shown below:

1. A direct investigation and description of phenomena as consciously experienced, without theories about their causal explanation and as free as possible from unexamined preconceptions and presuppositions. It focused on the events, actions, happenings, and other data elements to put them together in a plot.
2. It used to-and-fro, recursive movement from parts to whole or from whole to parts.
3. It filled in the gaps between events and actions using a narrative smoothing process.

4. It maintained that narrative analysis is not merely a transcription of the data but is a means of showing the significance of the lived experience in the final story. As to phenomenological method, this is frequently summarized by a phrase ‘to the things’ - interpreted as implying that phenomena (i.e., the meanings are given to items in the individual’s life-world) must be transmitted to the phenomenologist without intermediaries.

5. It made the range of disconnected data elements coherent in a way that it appeals to the reader; doing humanistic research is very largely a personal matter; therefore, it involved intuition and imaginative interpretation.

6. It made the final story congruent with the data while bringing narrative meanings that are not explicit in the data themselves. Having identified the contents of the natural attitude, it then sought to articulate the general essences that underlie it and, from those, the absolute knowledge that resides in consciousness.

7. It emphasized connotation and sustains the metaphoric richness of a story. The goal of the phenomenological approach is to reconstruct the worlds of individuals, the phenomena in those worlds which are there as repositories of meaning.

5.1.2 Conclusion of Findings

Based on the findings, the conclusions can be drawn as follows:

5.1.2.1 The researcher found that I-tsing, after his accomplishment of study in India intended to return home to carry out his vital mission of redressing and rectifying the inappropriate practice of Vinaya rules in China. However, I-tsing through his very observant and high awareness, he realized that the condition for him to return was not been ripening. Therefore, he needed to do something to enable him to return substantially and resolutely.

5.1.2.2 I-tsing was not only an observant and mindful person but also a dynamic strategist and phenomenologist. He did not merely expect the grand reception of his return by the imperial but only trying to establish a firm and resolute position. He stood upon his firm conviction; upholding and promulgating what he had gained throughout his westbound learning journey. Only in this way, could he continue to bring benefit to humanity under those circumstances in his homeland.

5.1.2.3 Since the condition had not yet ripened, while waiting, I-tsing had fully utilized his time to continue to carry out his missionary work at Śrīvijaya. With

all the supportive conditions obtained, especially from the royal supports, he had accomplished a few brilliant works, including his two major self-written books, as well as ten volumes of newly translated Buddhist texts.

5.2 Discussions

This study is a qualitative study employing the combination analysis approaches of Polkinghorne's Narrative Analysis and humanistic geography-phenomenological approach to explore and to search for the most obvious factors for urging I-tsing not to directly return to his home country after his mission in India but to reside at the South Sea (Śrīvijaya) for over a decade in his life.

5.2.1 Highlight of the Research Objective

The primary objective for carrying out this study was to explore and analyze the most decisive factors and the strong motivation which brought I-tsing to spend over a decade in his life for carrying out his life mission in the South Sea (Śrīvijaya). Nevertheless, the mission of exploring the learning experience throughout his life journey should not be neglected as an initial concern in order to further deepening other aspects, as highlighted in this chapter. Specifically, this study is aimed to answer the research questions, i.e., what are the most urging factors and the strong motivation causing I-tsing to set foot and spend over a decade in his life in the South Sea (Śrīvijaya) for carrying out his life mission?

5.2.2 Discussions

The researcher has analyzed and presented the entire outcome into five sections, which the first four narrations are mainly to provide an overall and precise background regarding the social conditions, where I-tsing as the central figure of the discussion lived in, as well as some selected significant life experiences and the story of him. The readers may get lost while in the middle of discussion if these sections are omitted. The four sections are as follows:

1. The Buddhist development and its practice during the period of I-tsing (635-713) at the beginning of the China T'ang Dynasty.

This narration is essential, as it is giving an overall picture and social condition of I-tsing's time, i.e., the beginning of the T'ang Dynasty. Specifically, it has highlighted the development of Buddhism during that period. Even though

Buddhism is flourishing, but due to the lacking of the systematic teaching and practice of the disciplinary codes, and often facing attacks from the orthodox Confucianism and Taoism, therefore lead to many issues but remained unresolved. Hence, in order to elucidate all these unresolved issues, I-tsing has decided to journey westbound to India to obtain the “authentic scriptures” with the great mission of saving the chaos and divergence in China.

2. The situation of the Buddhist monks practicing Vinaya rules during that particular period of time.

This part of narration is essential, as to explicate the most reason why I-tsing thought that it is necessary for him to go to the birthplace of Buddhism to seek the authentic and purer scriptures. As observed by I-tsing, most people in eastern China followed the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya, while the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya was used in earlier times in Guanzhong (the region around Chang' an), and that the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya was prominent in the Yangtze area and further south. In the 7th century, the existence of multiple Vinaya lineages throughout China was criticized by prominent Vinaya masters. I-tsing was among those notable critics. I-tsing was not satisfied with the disciplinary codes compiled by the prominent Vinaya school at the time. Therefore, this has become the most reliable and valid reason motivating I-tsing to initiate his westbound journey.

3. The genuine intention and strong motivation of I-tsing's westbound to seek the “Dhamma”.

This section has narrated besides the main reason (as stated in (2)) of I-tsing's westbound journey; there are two other supporting reasons. They are, for instance, 1) The idea and the will of I-tsing to seek dharma in India is influenced by the predecessors of Master Xuan-zang, and Master Fa-xian, especially Xuan-zang's brilliant achievements are the most impressive; 2) I-tsing's westbound journey had been immensely influenced by his teacher's sincere advice.

4. Missionary activities had been carried out by I-tsing throughout his entire life. It is essential for tracing out I-tsing's life event, remarkably to reveal the time frame and itinerary of missionary works during his stay in the South Sea.

This section of narration has revealed its significance by providing readers the information about the personal life values and the life mission of I-tsing as

a typical Buddhist monk. In the context of Mahāyāna Buddhism, I-tsing is genuinely a practitioner of Bodhisattva's missionary path. Bodhi means enlightenment, the state devoid of all defects and endowed with all good qualities. Sattva refers to someone who has the courage and confidence and who strives to attain enlightenment for the sake of all beings.

The confusion caused by erroneous translation of the Buddhist texts, the misunderstanding of subtle and mystic ideas of the Buddhist philosophy and lack of disciplinary codes for monastic life prompted I-tsing to undertake perilous voyages across the breadth of Asia to procure complete and purer sources. The eternal religious fervor of I-tsing to make a pilgrimage to India, the holy land of the Buddhists, was nonetheless significant.

5. I-tsing had set foot and spent over a decade (685-695) of his time at the South Sea, particularly Śrīvijaya after the accomplishment of his study in Nalanda, India. Why did I-tsing not return to his home country (China) right after his mission in India?

The 5th section, the last but also the most important section, i.e., the section (4.5) as indicated in Chapter 4 of Findings. The researcher has articulated the analyzed outcomes into THREE insightful findings as a response to the research inquiry. The three findings are as follows:

- 1) The disagreeable conditions for allowing I-tsing to return home.
- 2) I-tsing needed a conducive platform for his return to China.
- 3) The supportive conditions in Śrīvijaya

Each of the above findings was explicated in length detail and supported with various valid and reliable references, documentary facts, case-studies of real-life stories as relevant examples.

5.3 Recommendations for Application

1. It is highly recommended for utilizing the outcome of this research work as a comprehensive background, to conduct a research for studying in-depth the implicit meanings of I-tsing's translations. There are still many of I-tsing's translation works which had not been transliterated, for instance, from the classical Chinese into modern Chinese. Also, it is a valuable contribution, especially to those English users, if I-tsing's

translations can be translated into the English language, with the addition of annotations and remarks. Remarkably, through this research, it was found that a total of 56 books, and 230 volumes of Buddhist texts were translated throughout his life.

2. The outcomes of this study direct or indirectly exhibited the staunch personality of I-tsing in carrying out his life mission, as well as the upholding of Buddhist missionary works throughout his entire life. This particular aspect, i.e., the staunch and firm personality of I-tsing, in terms of his intra- and inter-personal skills can be further excavated as for establishing a role model among the young Buddhists, who are pursuing their higher levels (tertiary level) of Buddhist education at International Buddhist College. The International Buddhist College (IBC) has been established in Thailand since 2004, advocating the central conviction, i.e., through a systematic and dynamic training to demonstrate the validity and relevance of the Buddhist teachings as the foundation for building a universal humanistic culture for the globalized world. The motto of IBC sounds “*Bahunaṃ Vata Atthāya* - For the Good of the Many”. An in-depth study for excavating the I-tsing’s personal development skills can be pursued in conjunction with the setting up of an affiliate Mahāyāna Learning Center, which will be named after ‘I-tsing’. I-tsing’s contributions to the development of individuals and organizations, to enhance their performance in excellent and meaningful ways, and that the benefits to be accrued by the individual, the organization, and broader society can be significant and mutually be reinforcing.

5.4 Recommendations for Future Research

1. I-tsing, one of the great travelers, who traveled to India via the sea-route crossing over the South Seas (present-day the South China Sea). Through the vast learning and traveling experiences of I-tsing, an in-depth study can be conducted in line with Chinese invention of “The Belt and Road Initiative” to explore the cultural exchange, specifically relates to the topic of “21st-Century Maritime Silk Road”.

For instance, in 2013, the Chinese President Xi Jinping has first proposed the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road Initiative during his state visit to Indonesia. President Xi and President Jokowi Widodo have reached an important consensus on promoting synergy between China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and Indonesia’s “Global Maritime Fulcrum” Vision. Since then, China-Indonesia relations have

entered the fast track of development for mutual benefit and win-win results. Southeast Asia's first high-speed rail, the Jakarta-Bandung high-speed rail is the signature project of the first phase of synergizing strategies. During Premier Li Keqiang's visit to Indonesia, the two governments signed a memorandum of understanding on Regional Comprehensive Economic Corridors, the signature project of the second phase of synergizing development strategies between China and Indonesia.

This project will greatly stimulate growth in the outlying islands and reinvigorate alignment of development strategies (Source: Thejakartapost.com, April 2019) The construction of a new base to support China's archaeological studies in the South China Sea began in Qiong-hai, Hainan province recently. Hu Bing, deputy director of the National Cultural Heritage Administration, said the base is planned as a complex of facilities for research, underwater excavation, and conservation of historical heritage in the South China Sea. It will also be used to promote relevant international exchanges. The facilities will include a scientific research institute for maritime cultural heritage, a conservation workshop for salvaged shipwrecks and a training center for archaeologists. Hu added that the move fits well with the concept of the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road, a part of the Belt and Road Initiative. The underwater-heritage center led a major investigation off the coast of the Xisha Islands to study ancient Maritime Silk Road routes. With the help of robots and the manned submersible *Shenhai Yongshi*, or Deep-Sea Warrior, archaeologists investigated areas up to 1 kilometer below sea level.

As a pivotal passage on the 2,000-year-old trade route connecting China to the world, the South China Sea is home to myriads of shipwrecks. For example, *Nanhai One*, a merchant ship of the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279) that sank in the area and was found in 1987, is so far among the world's biggest discoveries of ancient wooden shipwrecks. More than 60,000 artifacts were found in the debris

Hence, it is worthwhile for conducting an in-depth study to investigate the cultural exchanges and the closer friendship ties between China and the nations in the region by tracking the earlier historical records of I-tsing back in the 7th century. The cultural exchanges may consist of many aspects, such as languages, art, education, living and practice, as well as the setting sail along the maritime silk road. Through

the genuine records of I-tsing's lived experiences for over a decade in South Seas (present-day South China Sea), particularly in Śrīvijaya (present-day Sumatra Island, Indonesia), which had been embracing these various aspects should be probed in-depth and search out. The vestige of close-relationship between China and the nations in the region could also be traced along with the study.

2. An in-depth study can be conducted to explore Buddhist inter-personal and intra-personal development skills through I-tsing life experiences. As observed, I-tsing is a well-learned Buddhist Dhamma and Vinaya Master, also a skilled and experienced traveler. I-tsing has significantly contributed not only to the Buddhist texts translations and interpretations but also to the richness of the socio-cultural exchange between China, India, as well as the South Sea. Therefore, it is worthwhile if to conduct a study looks into inter- and intra-personal skills of I-tsing throughout his personal life story, especially his over 25-year learning and traveling abroad.

3. An in-depth study on I-tsing's translation of "*Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinaya*" can also be conducted, and it is more valuable if a comparison study between "*Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinaya*" versus the "*Nan-shan Four-part of Vinaya*" is to be done. It is not merely a comparison of the literary works done by the two great Vinaya-Masters, but most importantly, the interpretation of the way of practice and living of the monastic sangha articulated and promulgated by both Vinaya-Masters.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Research Ethics Approval by the Ethics Committee



**แบบรายงานผลการพิจารณาจริยธรรมการวิจัย
คณะศึกษาศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยบูรพา**

๑. ชื่อวิทยานิพนธ์

ชื่อเรื่องวิทยานิพนธ์ (ภาษาไทย) การรุดงค์ของพระอาจารย์อิซิงในแถบทะเลตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ของทวีปเอเชีย

ชื่อเรื่องวิทยานิพนธ์ (ภาษาอังกฤษ) I-TSING AT SOUTH SEA: THE BUDDHIST LEARNING JOURNEY

๒. ชื่อนิติ MR. OOI HAN CHUN

หลักสูตร ปรัชญาดุขฎิบัณฑิต (หลักสูตรนานาชาติ)

รหัสประจำตัว ๕๘๘๑๐๑๕๗ สาขาวิชา การพัฒนาทรัพยากรมนุษย์

คณะศึกษาศาสตร์

☐ ภาคปกติ

☐ ภาคพิเศษ

๓. ผลการพิจารณาของคณะกรรมการจริยธรรมการวิจัย:

คณะกรรมการจริยธรรมการวิจัย ได้พิจารณารายละเอียดงานนิพนธ์/วิทยานิพนธ์/ดุขฎิพนธ์เรื่องดังกล่าวข้างต้นแล้วในประเด็นที่เกี่ยวข้องกับ

๑) การเคารพในศักดิ์ศรี และสิทธิของมนุษย์ที่ใช้เป็นตัวอย่างการวิจัย

๒) วิธีการอย่างเหมาะสมในการได้รับความยินยอมจากกลุ่มตัวอย่างก่อนเข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัย (Informed consent) รวมทั้งการปกป้องสิทธิประโยชน์และรักษาความลับของกลุ่มตัวอย่างในการวิจัย

๓) การดำเนินการวิจัยอย่างเหมาะสม เพื่อไม่ก่อความเสียหายต่อสิ่งที่ศึกษาวิจัยไม่ว่าจะเป็นสิ่งที่มีชีวิตหรือไม่มีชีวิต

คณะกรรมการจริยธรรมการวิจัย มีมติเห็นชอบ ดังนี้

(✓) อนุมัติโครงการวิจัย

() ไม่อนุมัติโครงการวิจัย

๔. วันที่ให้การอนุมัติ: ๒๒ เดือน กุมภาพันธ์ พ.ศ. ๒๕๖๒

(ลงชื่อ) สฎายุ อีระวนิชตระกูล

(รองศาสตราจารย์ ดร.สฎายุ อีระวนิชตระกูล)

คณบดีคณะศึกษาศาสตร์

ประธานคณะกรรมการพิจารณาจริยธรรมการวิจัย

APPENDIX B

Map of I-tsing's Route to India and Back, with some
Geographical Names Mentioned in His Record
(AD 671-695)

