

Literary Style and Composition of *Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Kingdoms*: Koreaness of a Buddhist Travelogue

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In the first half of the 8th century, a Korean monk named Hyech'o (704?-787 CE) went on a pilgrimage to India. It was not the first time a monk originating from the Korean Peninsula travelled to India; before Hyech'o, several Korean monks went to the border of the *oecumene*. The only survived travelogue of a Korean monk visited India is the one by Hyech'o, *Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Kingdoms* (往五天竺國傳). The preserved manuscript was found in Mogao caves by Paul Pelliot (1878-1945) and is held in the French National Library. There are two translations of the travelogue into English; however, none of them study stylistic features of the text, nor are travelogue's lexicon features researched, whereas Hyech'o's travelogue has distinctive style and does not follow standard Buddhist travelogue structure.

This paper shows preliminary results of a research which aims to study composition, lexical and stylistic features of the travelogue compared to notes of Xuanzang (*Records of the Western Regions*, 大唐西域記). The study is qualitative research. Comparative method was applied to check the structure and toponym differences in Hyech'o's text and *Records of the Western Regions*. Literary analysis is used to identify lexical features of the travelogue, to understand if Hyech'o uses specific phrases for introducing a new place he visits. Hyech'o, compared to other renowned Chinese pilgrims, is quite frank with the reader, especially in his poems, each of which shares Hyech'o's emotions. Hyech'o, being of Korean origin, might have left unique lexical and stylistic characteristics in the travelogue.

Keywords: pilgrimage, manuscript, Buddhism, Hyech'o

A Monk and a Text

Korean monks visited India. Accounts on them are preserved in *Biographies of Eminent Monks Who Went in Search of the Dharma of the Great Tang* (大唐西域求法高僧傳, Yijing, 711 CE)¹ and in *Biographies of Eminent Monks of Korea* (海東高僧傳, Kakhun, 1215 CE).² However, works of the Korean-origin monks travelled to India are not found yet. The only exception is travelogue *Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Kingdoms* (Wang Ŏ Ch'ŏnch'ukkuk Chŏn 往五天竺國傳), composed by a Korean monk named Hyech'o (慧超, 704?-787 CE).

¹ *Lives of Eminent Korean Monks* 海東高僧傳 is based on the *Biographies of Eminent Monks Who Went in Search of the Dharma of the Great Tang*, consequently exclude Hyech'o.

² See Yulia Boltach, "Biographies of Korean pilgrim monks in Haedong Kosŭng Chŏn and Da Tang Xiyu Qiu Fa Gao Seng Zhuan," *Written Monuments of the Orient*, no. 4 (2006): 22-45.

Hyech'o's name consists of two characters: *hye* 慧 (wisdom) and *ch'o* 超 (exceed). Many monks' names have character 慧, because of that we can suggest that Hyech'o is not an original name, but the one received after taking the tonsure. Hyech'o was born at the beginning of the 8th century CE during the reign of Silla king Söndok (702-737 CE).³ Hyech'o's Silla origin is clear from a mention of Hyech'o from Silla by Amoghavajra, the second teacher of Hyech'o⁴, and from a poem he wrote in the manuscript, where one stanza says⁵:

誰為向林飛⁶

Whom to send to fly to Kyerim?

Where character 林 (*lim/rim*) refers to toponym *Kyerim* 鷄林 which is a synonym for Silla. The poem is located in an account dedicated to South India, where Hyech'o, according to the poem, wants to send a message to "homeland, located at the far northern end of the sky" but yet, there is no one who can deliver news to Kerim, the homeland.⁷ The poem expresses loneliness, longing for home.

Hyech'o might have practised Tantric Buddhism as in Tang Empire he was a disciple of Vajrabodhi (671-741 CE) and Amoghavajra (705-774 CE). Both teachers followed Tantric Buddhism,⁸ probably a Chinese Tantric school called *Zhenyan* 真言 "Mantra School" evidence of which includes works of Hyech'o.⁹ After education under Vajrabodhi supervision, around 723 CE, Hyech'o went on a pilgrimage to India via maritime South East Asia. After returning to Tang by land, Hyech'o composed the travelogue *Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Kingdoms*. The exact date of the pilgrimage varies due to fragmentary of the travelogue, the possible period of the pilgrimage might be 723/4-727/8 CE.

The existing manuscript of *Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Kingdoms* was found in Mogao cave number seventeen by the French Expedition (1906-1908 CE), namely, French Orientalists Paul Pelliot (1878-1945 CE) in 1908 CE, and is now held in the French National Library.¹⁰ The manuscript is a horizontal scroll measuring 28.8 cm in width and 358.6 cm in length, containing

³ Yang Han-Sung, Jan Yun-Hua, Lida Shotaro, Laurence W. Preston, *The Hye Ch'o Diary: Memoir of the Pilgrimage to the Five Regions of India* (Korea: Asian Humanities Press, 1984), 14.

⁴ Orzech, Charles D., Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne, eds. *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia: A Handbook for Scholars*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2010, 282; Yi, Chöngsu 이정수. *Milgyosüng Hyech'oüi chaegoch'al – P'yojejibül chungsimüro* 밀교승 혜초의 재고찰 – 表制集을 중심으로 [A Reconsideration of the Esoteric Buddhist Monk Hyech'o – Focusing on Daizong Chao Zeng Sikong Da Bianzheng Guangzhi Sanzang Heshang Biao Zhi Ji]. *Pulgyo Hakpo* 佛敎學報 [Buddhist Journal], no. 55 (2010).

⁵ Here and hereafter my translation will be used for quotations of *Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Kingdoms*.

⁶ Hyech'o, *Wang Ŏ Ch'öñch'ukuk Chöñ* 往五天竺國傳. South India.

⁷ Hyech'o, *Wang Ŏ Ch'öñch'ukuk Chöñ* 往五天竺國傳. South India.

⁸ Richard K. Payne, *Tantra Across the Buddhist Cosmopolis* (Oxford University Press, 2025), 85.

⁹ Richard K. Payne, *Tantric Buddhism in East Asia* (MA USA: Wisdom Publications, 2005), 68-69.

¹⁰ Bibliothèque nationale de France, "Wang wu tian zhu guo zhuan 往五天竺國傳 par Hui chao 慧超", last modified March 23, 2020, gallica.bnf.fr.

5,893 characters arranged in 277 columns. The beginning and end of the travelogue are lost, and the remaining part contains lacunae.

There is a suggestion the surviving manuscript is a fragment, namely one volume, of a three-volume work or a draft of a larger text.¹¹ There is a possibility there were several versions of the travelogue; the conclusion is made on the basis of the mention of several versions in Fuchs's translation as well as the structural difference between the Fuchs and Jeong S. translations.¹² There was an attempt to read controversial characters in the first 144 columns of the original text; however, the research does not cover the whole manuscript.¹³ The travelogue was compared to other travel notes, including accounts of Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta, and claimed as a greatest one¹⁴ but this claim was rightly criticised.¹⁵

This research aims to point attention to some of Hyech'o's textual features as well as to some difference of Hyech'o and Xuanzang's vocabulary. This paper covers preliminary results of the first step of Hyech'o and Xuanzang's texts comparison. The comparison with other 7-8th century monks' lexicon will be provided further in the future.

Structure of the Travelogue

The beginning and end of the travelogue are lost; the surviving manuscript consists of roughly 40 accounts, each of which is dedicated to one place, state, or monastery. The travelogue follows the route taken by Hyech'o. Hyech'o does not refer to every place as a country using the character for state/country (*kuk* 國). For example, Hyech'o calls Kashmir a country using the character state (*Kasōmmira-kuk* 迦葉彌羅國), but when describing Gāndhāra Hyech'o does not do so (至建馱羅 "*Kandara*"). It seems the presence or absence of character *kuk* 國 "state/country" might reflect political reality by the time of Hyech'o. For instance, Gāndhāra, unlike Kashmir, was not an independent political actor, but a subject under the rule of the kings of Kābul¹⁶. In *Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to*

¹¹ Czekalska, Renata. *Indian Traces in Korean Culture*. (New York: Routledge, 2025), 51.

¹² Li, Lae-Won. "A Study on "Huei-ch'aos 慧超 Pilgerreise durch Nordwest-Indien und Zentral-Asien um 726" (W. Fuchs 1939), the first translation of Huei-ch'aos 往五天竺國傳." *T'eksūt'ū Onohak* 텍스트언어학 [Textlinguistics] no. 41 (2016): 199-218.

¹³ Pak, Pyōngsōn, Yuan, Xiao-Peng, Pak, Yongjin 박병선, 袁曉鵬, 박용진. "Wang Ō Ch'ōnch'ukuk Chōn kyogam (1) 往五天竺國傳 校勘 (1) [A Study on Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Kingdoms]." *Chungguk ō munyonyōk ch'onggan* 中國語文論譯叢刊 [A Series of Essays and Translations on Chinese language and literature], no. 36 (2014): 259-287.

¹⁴ Pak, Ŭisō 박의서. "Hyech'o Wang Ō Ch'ōnch'ukuk Chōnūi segye kojōn kihaeng munhaksau'i wisangwa kū hamūi 해초 '왕오천축국전'의 세계 고전 기행문학사의 위상과 그 함의 [The relative position and the implications of Hyech'o's Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Kingdoms among other classic works of travel literature in the world]." *International Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research*, no. 30(6) (2016): 59-69.

¹⁵ Tong Bo, Zhao ZiYin 佟波, 趙紫因. "Hyech'o Wang Ō Ch'ōnch'ukuk Chōne taehan ilko 慧超의 往五天竺國傳에 대한 一考 [Study on Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five India Kingdoms by Hyech'o]." *Yōksawa Segye* 역사와 세계 [History and the World], no. 58 (2020): 285-319.

¹⁶ Tatiana Anikeeva, Arina Mrachkovskaia, "The Turk Shahi Dynasty (7-9 centuries): on the Question of Origin," *Oriens*, no. 6 (2024): 46.

the Five Indian Kingdoms, reflecting the political situation, Gāndhāra is not called a state (至建馱羅 *Kandara*) opposite to Kashmir (Kasōmmira-kuk 迦葉彌羅國) and Kābul (Kyebin-kuk 罽賓國). By naming Kābul a state the travelogue designate it as a political center, which include Gāndhāra as reported in the description of the latter:

此國舊是罽賓王王化。¹⁷

This country was formerly under the influence of the king of *Jibin*.

Toponym *Jibin* (罽賓, in Korean readings, *Kyebin*) originally referred to Kāpiśī, one of administrative centers of Heliphanites. After the Turk Shāhī conquest of the city around 650 CE, the capital city was relocated from Kāpiśī to the outskirts of what is now Kābul, while the toponym describing a capital city in the region in Chinese sources remained unchanged.¹⁸ Therefore, by the time of Hyech'o toponym *Jibin* referred to Kābul, the capital of Turk Shāhī. Moreover, when describing the Turkic conquest of Kāpiśī, Hyech'o refers to the city Kāpiśī located north-east of Kābul; however, in the subsequent narrative after the conquest toponym *Jibin* refers to Kābul. The quote above is only one example of character “state” (國) usage to indicate an at least nominally independent political actor; however, to make this suggestion a theory more examples are needed.

From Confucian texts, originates the division of each account into two parts¹⁹: an initial, formal section describing the state, and a second, more varied section describing the sacred relics, legends, and traditions of a country. Hyech'o generally tends to follow this tradition. However, often inserts descriptions of traditions, especially those related to the history of a country, are inserted into the first, formal section.

When describing places, Hyech'o follows a certain sequence – at the beginning of an account, a new place, Hyech'o uses formula “Once again from [name of a country] came to [name of a place]” (又從 [name of the state]。至 [name of the state]). For example:

又從迦葉彌羅國西北隔山一月程。至建馱羅。²⁰

Once again from the country of Kashmir [I went] northwest through the mountains for a month. [I have] reached Gāndhāra.

¹⁷ Hyech'o, *Wang Ō Ch'ōnch'ukuk Chōn* 往五天竺國傳. Gāndhāra.

¹⁸ Minoru Inaba, “Nezak in Chinese Sources” in *Coins, Art and Chronology II. The First Millennium C.E. in the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, eds. M. Alarm, D. Klimburg-Salter, M. Inaba, M. Phisterer (Wien: Druck und Bindung, 2010), 192; Sosin Kuwayama, *Across the Hindukush of the First Millennium: a collection of the papers* (Institute for Research in Humanities Kyoto University, 2002), 198.

¹⁹ Max Deeg, “Describing the Own Other: Chinese Buddhist Travelogues Between Literary Tropes and Educational Narratives,” in *Primary Sources and Asian Pasts*, eds. Peter C. Bisschop, Elizabeth A. Cecil (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2020), 131; Nataliya Aleksandrova, *Route and Text: Chinese Pilgrims in India* (Moscow: Oriental Literature, 2008), 26.

²⁰ Hyech'o, *Wang Ō Ch'ōnch'ukuk Chōn* 往五天竺國傳. Gāndhāra.

However, this formula is not present in all accounts. Furthermore, Hyech'o skips some locations from the overall itinerary. Let us assume that there are three countries A, B, and C. A country omitted from the itinerary would appear as follows: "I arrived in country A." followed by a description of country A, then a description of country B, followed by "from country A I arrived in country C." Neither "from country A arrived in country B" nor "from country B arrived in country C." are included in the text, thus, country B is technically omitted from the route.

The absence of an introductory formula, as well as the omission of places from the itinerary leads me to suggest that Hyech'o probably did not visit the omitted places, but rather recorded the information he collected. The possible sources of collected information might be locals and monks, along with merchants.²¹ If consider absence of described above introductory formula, the unvisited places include: Vaiśālī (lacuna in the beginning of the account), Suvarṇagotra (蘇跋那具怛羅, *Sobalnagudalla*), Tāmasavana (多摩三磨娜, *Tamasammana*), Nāgārādhana (那揭羅馱娜, *Nagerat'ana*), Tibet (土蕃, *T'obōn*), Chitral (拘衛, *Kuwi*), Byzantine (大拂臨, *Taebullim*), Hu States (胡國, *Hoguk*)²², Ferghāna (跋賀那, *Palhana*), Khuttal (骨咄, *Kolt'al*), Land inhabited by Turks, Shighnān (識匿, *Singnik*), Khotan (于闐, *Ujōn*).

The length of each section varies, but Hyech'o always includes religion and geography (food and climate as an instance) in descriptions of places. The travelogue contains information on history, for example, the fall of states, politics (including alliance and tributary relations between states, Islamization of Central Asia), religions (Hyech'o mentions Buddhism, Brahmanic cults, Islam, and possibly Zoroastrism), the level of support for Buddhism such as the number of monasteries and monks in them, the presence or absence of offerings from laypeople, whether Mahāyāna or Theravāda Buddhism is practiced in the described region, and Buddhist legends, including places described in jātakas, of the places Hyech'o visited.

Notably, the length of the descriptions of each country varies. When describing countries located in India, Hyech'o devotes more attention to local legends, particularly those related to Buddhism, such as the legend of the construction of a monastery by *yakṣas*, nature spirits. Thus, the description of countries located in India is more comprehensive, probably due to the monk's personal interest. Northern India – the birthplace of Buddha Śākyamuni – was the destination of the pilgrimage.

於彼山中有一大寺。是龍樹菩薩使夜叉神造非人。²³

²¹ Alberto Riggio, "Hyech'o's Description of the Byzantine Empire and its Historical Reliability," in *Korea and the "Others": Studies on Korean Actions and Reactions Towards the Rest of the World*, ed. Maurizio Riggio (Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2024), 16.

²² Hu States (*Hoguk* 胡國) may be associated with six Sogdian regions. The six regions may be Bukhara, Ishtixon, Kish, Tashkent, Penjikent, and Samarkand.

²³ Hyech'o, *Wang Ō Ch'ōnch'ukkuk Chōn* 往五天竺國傳. South India.

There is a large monastery in the mountains. Indeed Nāgārjuna ordered *yakṣas* [to build the monastery], not people.

Moreover, Hyech'o includes *jātakas*, mentioning their contents only in passing references, as if assuming the reader already knows the contents of a *jātaka*, and the author only needs to mention the story for the reader to recall it on their own. For example the following part refers to the story about King Śibi²⁴:

□里卽是佛過去爲尸毗王救鴿處。見有寺有僧。²⁵
... [in] li [there is the] place where in a past life Buddha, being king Śibi, saved a dove. [There I] saw many monasteries and monks.

Hyech'o's records are not as detailed as those of Xuanzang, who was used to search for Kanishka stupa.²⁶ However, the travelogue contains valuable information about the early 8th century India and Central Asia, particularly on the movements of Muslim troops, histories and religions of the states described.

Vocabulary and Toponyms

Some of the vocabulary used by Hyech'o derives from Confucian texts, for example, *t'oji* 土地 – land, landscape. Hyech'o uses 土地²⁷ in two contexts: first, when describing the flora and fauna of the state. For example,

土地出羊馬氍布之屬。²⁸
[The] land produces sheep, horses, cotton cloth, textile and similar [goods].

The second use of 土地 is when describing climate. For example, in the section on Uḍḍiyāna:

土地寒冷。²⁹
The land is frigidly cold.

Some of Hyech'o's vocabulary differs from Xuanzang's. For example, Xuanzang uses *ũibok* 衣服 for “clothing”, while Hyech'o uses *ũich'ak* 衣着. To

²⁴ Reiko Ohnuma, *Head, Eyes, Flesh, and Blood: Giving Away the Body in Indian Buddhist Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 275.

²⁵ Hyech'o, *Wang Ō Ch'ōnch'ukuk Chōn* 往五天竺國傳. Gāndhāra.

²⁶ Nataliya Aleksandrova, *Route and Text: Chinese Pilgrims in India* (Moscow: Oriental Literature, 2008), 21.

²⁷ Here I decided to provide contemporary Korean readings of the characters used, including pronunciation of Xuanzang's vocabulary to not to confuse readers. I kindly ask dear readers to mind differences in contemporary and early Medieval pronunciation and focus on graphical differences of the characters given, as, for example, Gandgara is pronounced the same, but characters differ in Hyech'o's and Xuanzang's texts: *kōnt'ara* 健馱羅 by Hyech'o and *kōnt'ara* 健馱邏 by Xuanzang.

²⁸ Hyech'o, *Wang Ō Ch'ōnch'ukuk Chōn* 往五天竺國傳. Uḍḍiyāna.

²⁹ Hyech'o, *Wang Ō Ch'ōnch'ukuk Chōn* 往五天竺國傳. Uḍḍiyāna.

denote morals, Xuanzang uses the disyllable *p'ungsok* 風俗 found in the dynastic histories *The Book of Sui* (*Sui Shu* 隋書) and *History of the Northern Dynasties* (*Bei Shi* 北史);³⁰ Hyech'o uses *inp'ung* 人風 to describe morals. Xuanzang uses *kiso* 氣序 for "climate", while Hyech'o uses *chōlgi* 節氣. Differences also appear in Buddhist vocabulary. For example, in Xuanzang text, *Records of the Western Regions*, a monastery is written as *karam* 伽藍 and a monk as *sūngdo* 僧徒, *ido* 異道³¹ is used for "other beliefs". Simultaneously, "other beliefs" in *Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Kingdoms* is written as *oedo* 外道, while Hyech'o specifically refers to Brahmins as *paramun* 婆羅門. On the contrary to Xuanzang, in *Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Kingdoms* a monastery is *sa* 寺 and a monk *sūng* 僧 are written in single syllable words; for instance, in the description of Bāmyān:

足寺足僧。³²

[Here are] many monasteries and many monks.

Hyech'o uses the standard Chinese toponym for India, *ch'ōnchuk* 天竺 (Chinese reading: *tianzhu*). This toponym was first used in *Account of the Western Regions* (*Xiyu Zhuan* 西域傳).³³ *Tianzhu* (天竺) was probably pronounced during the Han period as "*Hinduq*", which is the Iranian pronunciation of India.³⁴ Other toponyms also differ between Hyech'o and Xuanzang. For example, regions around the Hindu Kush: Gāndhāra, Uḍḍiyāna, Kābulistān, and Zābulistān. Hyech'o uses *kōnt'ara* 建馱羅 for Gāndhāra, while Xuanzang – *kōnt'ara* 健馱邏. Hyech'o calls Uḍḍiyāna *ojang* 烏長, while Xuanzang – *ojangna* 烏仗那. Kābulistān is *kyebin* 罽賓 by Hyech'o and *kap'ingsi* 迦畢試 by Xuanzang. All of the above are attempts to convey the sound of the toponyms. Most of the place toponyms used by Hyech'o and Xuanzang differ, which might indicate the absence of a single, universally accepted "standard" for state names located in South and Central Asia. The Hyech'o language is different from the one used by Xuanzang as Hyech'o's phrases and toponyms differ. Kim believes that the phrase 足寺足僧 (many monasteries [and] many monks) is not originally Chinese, but bears the imprint of the Hyech'o native language.³⁵ However, to check if the language is specific

³⁰ Nataliya Aleksandrova, *Route and Text: Chinese Pilgrims in India* (Moscow: Oriental Literature, 2008), 26-27.

³¹ Nataliya Aleksandrova, *Route and Text: Chinese Pilgrims in India* (Moscow: Oriental Literature, 2008), 28.

³² Hyech'o, *Wang Ō Ch'ōnch'ukuk Chōn* 往五天竺國傳. Bāmyān.

³³ Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, *India and China: Interactions through Buddhism and Diplomacy* (India: Anthem Press India, 2011), 4.

³⁴ Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, *India and China: Interactions through Buddhism and Diplomacy* (India: Anthem Press India, 2011), 8.

³⁵ Poksun Kim 김복순. "Hyech'o Ch'ōnch'ukukūi mokjōngwa kwiroe kwanhan yōngu 혜초 天竺行의 목적과 歸路에 관한 연구 [A Study on Purpose of Hyech'o's Pilgrimage to the Five India Kingdoms and Return Trip to Tang]," *Silla Munhwa* 신라 문화 [Culture of Silla], no. 58 (2021): 360.

to Hyech'o more comparison is needed with other Chinese pilgrims' notes, which is the next step in this research.

Poems

Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Kingdoms is one of the few travelogues by an East Asian monk travelled to India, complete with poetry.³⁶ Hyech'o is quite frank with the reader, especially in poems, each of which shares Hyech'o's emotions. *Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Kingdoms* has five poems. Hyech'o wrote the first poem while staying in Vārāṇasī at the Mahābodhi Monastery; the second one while traveling to the South India; the third poem was composed in Nāgārādhana, where a Chinese monk died; the fourth in Tokharistan, when Hyech'o met a Tang ambassador; the last, fifth, poem describes a snowy day in Tokharistan. The poetry is an example of five-character poems, following Tang poetic standards.³⁷ In the poems, Hyech'o shares emotions and thoughts during an uneasy journey. For instance, near Mahābodhi monastery Hyech'o is surprised by distances, but excitement of witnessing major pilgrimage sites drives Hyech'o to continue the journey.

不慮菩提遠
焉將鹿苑遙³⁸

[I] did not expect Mahābodhi to be far,
why consider [way to the] Deer Park long?

Along the text Hyech'o shares fears that appeared during a dangerous journey. In the Pamir mountains Hyech'o openly expresses his emotions: terror by a dangerous route, full of robbers and wild animals.

平生不捫淚
今日灑千行³⁹

All my life, [my face] has not been touched by tears,
today [I] have shed a thousand [tears].

Outside poems Hyech'o is also quite frank to the readers, sharing feelings quite openly. The theme of the danger of the journey is found throughout the text of the travelogue: in poems, as shown above, and in the narrative part of the text.

向南爲道路險惡。多足劫賊。從茲已北惡業者多。⁴⁰

³⁶ Pyōngsam Chōng 정병삼. "Hyech'oga pon Indowa Chungang Asia 혜초가 본 인도와 중앙아시아 [Central Asia as Seen by Hyech' o]," *Tongguk sahak 동국사학* [Tongguk University History Department], no. 49 (2010): 64.

³⁷ Igor Alimov, Marina Kravtsova, *History of Classical Chinese Literature from Antiquity to the 13th Century: Poetry and Prose* (St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg Oriental Studies, 2014), 915.

³⁸ Hyech'o, *Wang Ō Ch'ōnch'ukuk Chōn* 往五天竺國傳. Mahābodhi

³⁹ Hyech'o, *Wang Ō Ch'ōnch'ukuk Chōn* 往五天竺國傳. Tokharistan.

⁴⁰ Hyech'o, *Wang Ō Ch'ōnch'ukuk Chōn* 往五天竺國傳. Gāndhāra.

Further South, the road is dangerous. [There are] many thieves [committing] robbery. From now on, [in] the North, there are many evil dealers.

此王雖是突厥甚敬信三寶。⁴¹

This king, although a Turk, deeply reveres Three Jewels.

Conclusion

Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Kingdoms is a travelogue covering a large scale of topics: politics, religions, history, traditions, and geography of India and Central Asia at the beginning of the 8th century CE.

Since the beginning and end of the travelogue are lost, the exact dates of Hyech'o's journey, as well as the length of the original text, cannot yet be determined. Therefore, there was no other choice but to work on the basis of the preserving manuscript, which might be a shortened version of the original text or a part of a later transcription of the original text.

Hyech'o's route and the entries in the travelogue differ, which may indicate that Hyech'o did not visit all the places described, as evidenced by the absence of the introductory formula "Once again from [name of a country] came to [name of a place]" (又從 [name of the state]。至 [name of the state]) in some accounts.

The length of each account varies. The longest accounts are those about places located in India, since the Northern India accounts are becoming shorter, and the length of the last surviving account is 2.5 columns, or 54 characters. Like Xuanzang's accounts, each major section of the Hyech'o travelogue can be divided into two parts: an introductory, formal section and a more informal section that follows. However, the Hyech'o adheres less strictly to this division. Between Hyech'o and Xuanzang, there are several linguistic differences. Despite using the same toponym for India (天竺), most of the toponyms used by Hyech'o and Xuanzang differ, suggesting the absence of a single accepted norm for names of counties located in Central and Southern Asia.

Hyech'o is also distinguished by a great deal of frankness in the travelogues, especially in the poems, in which Hyech'o describes the hardships and joys of pilgrimage and melancholy for home. Unconventional language, a less clear structure to each description, the presence of poems, and frankness distinguish Hyech'o's travelogue.

⁴¹ Hyech'o, *Wang Ō Ch'ōnch'ukuk Chōn* 往五天竺國傳. Gāndhāra.

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