GUNAVARMAN (367–431)

A Comparative Analysis of the Biographies found in the Chinese Tripitaka

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Scholars have taken an interest in Gunavarman for several reasons: he belonged to the royal house of Kusamiti, 2 his biography contains an early reference to the island of Java, 3 and to the spread of Buddhism there, 7 and Gunavarman’s name is connected with the establishment of the order of Buddhist nuns in South China. 4 He also deserves notice for his remarkable ability to adopt his teaching to the religious beliefs of his listeners, whether Hindu or Confucian.

In the present paper, the biography of Gunavarman in Hsuan-Chiao’s “Lives of Eminent Monks” (T. 2049 Kao Seng Chuan) will be used as the basis for comparison. This biography has been translated into French by E. Chavanne5 and by Robert Shih. 6 It has also been used by P. C. Bagchi in his summary of Gunavarman’s life in “The Canon Buddhist in China” 7.

Other texts used for the analysis are: 8

A T. 1145 Chu San T’ang Chi Chi, by Seng Yu, A.D. 515
B T. 2064 Shen Seng Chuan, by an unknown author with a preface dated 1417 A.D.
C T. 2122 Fa Yuan Chu Lu, by Tao Shih, 668 A.D.
D T. 2151 Ku Yin I Ching T’i Chi, by T’ing Mul, 664 A.D.
E T. 2154 Kai Yuan Che Chiao Lu, by T’ache Ching, 730 A.D.
F T. 2157 Cheng Yuan Hsi T’ung Che Chiao Mu Lu, by Yuan Chiao, 7th century
G T. 2194 Li Tai San Pao Chi, by Fei Chung-fung, 597 A.D.
H T. 2149 Ta Tang Nai Tien Lu, by Tao Huan, 7th century
I T. 2131 Fan I Ming I Chi, by Fa Yuen, 12th century
K T. 2035 Fu Tso T’ung Chi, by Chih Pan, 13th century
L T. 2106 Chi Shen Chou San Pao Kan T’ung Lu

Each episode of Gunavarman’s life as related in the Kao Seng Chuan, our basic text (BT), will be followed by parallels or variants in
other texts; the present writer’s remarks on some of the problems involved will follow at the end.

The Chu San Tang Chi Chi is the oldest of the texts used. It served as source for Hui Chiao’s Kao Song Chuan, and Arthur Link has shown that in some instances Hui Chiao copied long passages verbatim from Seng Yu. In other cases Hui Chiao supplemented the basic data with material taken from other sources. The Kao Song Chuan biography of Guanarman contains a number of episodes not found in the Chu San Tang Chi Chi, as for instance the advice given to the king of Java (§ 9 and 10 below) and the interview with Emperor Wen of the Song dynasty (§ 21 below).

The accounts of Guanarman’s life in the Kai Yuan Chi Chiao Lu and the Cheng Yuan Hua Ting Chi Chiao Hua Lu have been copied from the Kao Song Chuan; they agree in every detail, the only difference being that the authors have added some remarks on the texts translated by Guanarman.

I.

1

Ch’iu-na-pa-mo (Guanarman), that means “Armour of Virtue”1, originally belonged to the kshatriya caste. His family had ruled over Kashmir for generations. His grandfather was Ho-li-pa’o (Haribhadra), that means “Worthy as a Lion”, had been expelled because of his harshness. His father, called Seng-chia-man (Sanghananda), that means “Joy of the Community”, had to hide in valleys and mountains because of this.

| ST  | p. 340 a 15—18 |
| F   | p. 516 a 37—b 1 |
| F   | p. 813 a 17—19 |


B Ch’iu-na-pa-mo—that means “Armour of Virtue”—originally belonged to the kshatriya caste. His family had ruled over Kashmir for generations. p. 963 a 78—19.

C Ch’iu-na-pa-mo3—that means “Armour of Virtue”—was the son of the king of Kashmir. p. 616 c 71.

D The monk Ch’iu-na-pa-mo—that means “Armour of Virtue”—was a run from Kashmir; he was the younger son of the king of that country. p. 361 c 15—16.

6
**2.**

When he was fourteen years of age he was remarkably clever and he possessed great intelligence. He loved all beings. He cultivated virtue and did good works. One day his mother needed meat and shamed Gunavarman to get her some. He said: "All beings that have life cling to it, and a virtuous man will not deprive them of it." His mother replied angrily. "If you commit a sin, I will bear it for you."

When Gunavarman was fifteen years of age he left his home and became a novice.

**3.**

Another day, Gunavarman, while boiling some oil, burnt his finger. He asked his mother to bear the pain in his stead. The mother said: "'The pain is in your body, how can I bear it?'" Gunavarman replied: "You are not able to bear the present, visible pain, how much less will you be able to bear the pain of the three evil existences?" The mother understood and abstained from killing living beings till the end of her life.

When Gunavarman was eighteen years of age, a physiognomist, seeing him, predicted: "When the master will be thirty years of age, he will rule over a big country and he will turn South and he will be praised and venered. If, however, he does not care for worldly affairs, he will obtain the fruit of sanctity."
When Gunavarmana was twenty years of age he left his house and received ordination. He understood the nine sections of the Buddhist scriptures and mastered the four Agamas. He recited over a hundred thousand words of the Sutras. He grasped the chapters on the discipline and was very skillful in entering meditation. Therefore he was called "Master of the Law Trisataka".

A later he was ordained. He recited over a hundred times ten thousand words of the Sutras. He grasped the chapters on the discipline and studied the Tripiṭaka, therefore he was called thus.

C He left his home when he was still young and received the name 'Master of the Law Trisataka'.

D He understood the nine sections and mastered the four Agamas. He grasped the chapters on the discipline and was very skillful in entering meditation. He recited more than a hundred times ten thousand words of the Sutras.

When Gunavarmana was thirty years old, the king of Kashmir died without an heir. Everybody, discussing this, said: "Gunavarmana belongs to the royal family. Moreover, he is intelligent and virtuous. He should be asked to return to worldly life and ascend the throne." Several hundred ministers asked him two or three times, but Gunavarmana did not give in. He took leave of his masters and left the community. He lived in the forests and hid in the valleys. He crossed mountains and deserts alone and hid his traces from the world of men.
A When Gunavarman was thirty years of age, the king of Kashmir died without an heir. The people wished to make Gunavarman king, because he belonged to the royal family. Gunavarman felt oppressed, he left and reached Ceylon. 20 p. 104 b 5—7.

D When the king of Kashmir died, the people asked Gunavarman to ascend the throne. He feared an obstacle to his vows and went into the woods. He lived hidden in the valleys. He crossed mountains and deserts alone and hid his traces from the world of men.

E p. 1070 a 19—20

7.

Later, Gunavarman arrived in the kingdom of Ceylon. He observed the customs of the country and preached. Those who knew the truth all said that he obtained the first fruit. 21 His dignity impressed everybody, and those who saw him developed faith. 22

BT p. 340 b 5—6
E p. 576 b 16—19
F p. 823 b 1—5
A p. 104 b 7 (omitting last sentence)

D His dignity impressed everybody, and those who saw him developed faith. 23 p. 361 c 19.

I p. 1070 b 21—22

8.

Later, Gunavarman arrived at the kingdom of She-p'o (36c.20). A day before his arrival, the mother of the king of Java had seen in a dream how a holy man arrived in a flying boat. On the following day, Gunavarman actually arrived. The king's mother venerated him with holy rites and received the five precepts. 24 She told the king: "We are mother and son on account of the merits of previous existences. I have already received the precepts, but you do not (yet) believe. If fear that in a later life we will be cut off from the present merits."

9
The king, influenced by his mother's advice, respectfully received the precepts. Gradually he was influenced and his faith increased in the course of time.

A later, he came to the country of She-p'yo in the Southern Sea. He awakened those who had wrong views and converted (the people) beyond the sea. p. 134 b 8.

9.

The army of a neighbouring state invaded the kingdom (of Java). The king told Guavarman: "Foreign bandits, who rely on their strength, wish to invade my country. If I fight them, many people will surely be wounded and killed. If I do not fight, there will be great peril. Now I confide in you, my matter. I do not know what to decide." Guavarman answered: "If cruel bandits attack you, you must defend yourself. But you should develop compassion in your mind and have no thoughts of hatred."

10.

The king, at the head of his army, decided (the matter). The banner and shield had just met, when the enemy dispersed and fled. The king's foot was wounded by a stray arrow. Guavarman cured him with holy water and after two nights he was all right again.

11.

The king's faith increased further and he wanted to leave his home and become a monk. Therefore he said to the ministers:
"I wish to become an ascetic. You, my ministers, should choose another wise sovereign." The ministers, prostrating themselves, entreated the king: thus "If the king gives up his country, the people will be without support. The enemy's country is strong and wicked, they will take advantage and attack us. If the people lose the roof that protects them, where will they stay? Will your majesty, endowed with heavenly benevolence, not take pity? We are willing to show the sincerity of our request with our death."

12.

The king did not wish to refuse absolutely and therefore he expressed three wishes to his ministers. If they were granted, he would continue to rule the country. The first wish was that everybody within the king's realm should respect the maner (Gunawarman). The second wish was that throughout the country people should abstain from killing. The third wish was that the treasures saved should be distributed liberally to the poor and sick. The ministers were very happy and accepted respectfully and unanimously. In this manner the whole country received the precepts.

13.

Later the king built a Vihara for Gunawarman. The king himself brought (building) material and injured his toe. Gunawarman healed him with holy water. After a short while he was alright again.

A The king of Java built a Vihara for him and the master conducted the ceremonies. In the mountains there were many wild animals. They repeatedly damaged theuts of the people. Gunawarman asked leave to move his residence. He tamed the tigers and panthers in the mountains and the trouble was stopped suddenly.
The fame of his conversations spread far and near. The neighbouring countries, hearing about his reputation, all sent envoys to invite him. At that time there were famous and venerable monks in the capital (Nanking), Hsu Kuan, Hsu T'ou-ang and others had heard of his fame from far and wished to be taught by him. In the sixth month of the first year of the Yuan Chia period (426) they requested Emperor Wen at an audience to invite him. The emperor ordered the governor of Chiao Chou to send a bear to fetter his limbs. Hsu Kuan and the other monks also sent the monks Fa Ch'ang, Tao Ch'ung, Tao Ch'ou and others to invite him. They also wrote a letter to Gunavarman and to the king of Java, P'io-to-chia, asking him to come to the country of Sung (Chou) in order to preach.

BT p. 340 b 28—c 6
E p. 526 c 9—15
F p. 413 b 26—c 2

B omits the first and last sentence of this paragraph. The name of the third monk sent to meet Gunavarman is Tao Ch'uan.

V Emperor Wen of the Sung dynasty heard of his reputation from far. He ordered the governor of Chiao Chou to receive Gunavarman in accordance with the royal command. In the capital, there were famous monks, Hsu T'ou, Hsu Kuan and others, who relied on faith and acted with respect. They sent a petition to the king asking him to have the doctrine spread from Java and to make the venerable one preceptor of the country.

K (Under the heading: Seventh year of the Yuan Chia period). The emperor heard the name of the Tripiṭaka Master from Kashmir, Gunavarman (that means "Armour of Virtue"), for the first time. He gave an order to the governor of Chiao Chou to send the monk Tao Hsin across the seas to invite him. Gunavarman boarded a ship joyfully and arrived at Kuo-ting Chou.

15.

Gunavarman wished to spread the holy teaching far and wide; he was not afraid of travelling. He had already embarked on the ship of Chou
Nan-č! (the Hindu Nand) and wanted to visit a small country. He reached Kuang-Chun with a favourable wind. Therefore, it is said in his testament: "I came to the country of Sung driven by the wind of my actions (karma)." This is what it refers to. When the Emperor Wen heard that he had already arrived at Nan-lai, so he gave new orders to the prefect and the governor of the place to take Gunawan to the capital.

A In the course of time, before (the messenger) had been sent, Gunawan arrived at Chiang-Tung. Finally, not wishing to stay long, he arrived at the capital in the first month of the eighth year of the period Yuan Chia (431), and he stayed at the Chi Yuan monastery. 

B When the emperor heard that Gunawan had already arrived at Nan-lai, he gave a new order to the prefect and the governor of the place to take Gunawan to the capital.

C In the beginning of the Sung dynasty he came to the Middle kingdom and translated many books. There was nobody like him in disciplinary conduct and dignity. 

D He came to Chi'en yen (Nanking) in the middle of the Yuan era, Chi'en period of emperor Wen of the Sung dynasty.

E When the emperor heard that Gunawan had already arrived at Nan-lai, he gave a new order to the prefect and the governor of the place to take Gunawan to the capital.

F In the beginning of the Sung dynasty he came to Yang-Tu and converted many people.

Passing through Chi-hsing, Gunawan stayed there for about one year. In—Chi being there was the mountain of Shih-m of majestic appearance with a solitary peak, high and inaccessible. Gunawan said it looked like the Gedhkukus. Therefore; its name was changed to Vulture's Peak. Gunawan constructed a meditation hall outside the mountain monastery. As the monastery was several li's distance, no sound could be heard, but each time the gong was sounded, Gunawan had already arrived. He did not get wet to the rim nor dirty in the mud. Among the monks and laymen, there was none whose admiration and respect did not increase. In the monastery there was
the "Jewel Moon Hall". On the northern wall the Gunavarman himself painted a picture of Rahula and of Dipankara and his young nectic, who spread out his hat. Once the pictures were completed, every evening, they emitted a light that did not stop till a long time later.

17. The prefect of Che liing, Ts'ai Mu-che, venerated Gunavarman. Later when he was about to die, Gunavarman personally went to see him, preached the doctrine and gladdened and comforted him. Afterwards people from his family saw Mucibe in a dream sitting in the monastery and preaching to the monks. All this happened on account of Gunavarman's power of conversion.

18. This mountain was originally infested with many tigers, but Gunavarman stayed there, he came by day and went by night. Sometimes he met a tiger and touched him on the head with his staff, he struck him and went on. Those who lived in the mountains and came to the water could pass without hindrance. Seven or eight out of ten people were moved by Gunavarman's virtue and became converted.

19. Once, Gunavarman went into meditation in the separate hall and did not come out for several days. The monks in the monastery sent a novice to enquire about him. The novice saw a white lion which had climbed a column, and the whole space was filled with fresh blue lotus flowers. The novice was frightened and uttered a cry. He went to
chase the lion, and then nothing could be seen anymore. Guanavarman accomplished many extraordinary supernatural deeds like this.

BT p. 340 c 24—27
E p. 579 a 3 — 7
F p. 813 c 20—23
B p. 963 c 9 — 11 (omitting last sentence)

20.

Later Emperor Wen again ordered (Hupei) Kuan and the other (monks) to write Guanavarman. He took a boat to go to the capital. In the first month of the eighth year of the period Yuan Chia (431) he arrived at Cheien Yeh.

BT p. 341 e 1—3
E p. 579 b 7—11
F p. 813 c 24—27

G The Tripitaka Master Guanavarman from Kashmir, whose name means "Armour of Virtue" in the language of Sung, came to Nanking in the Yuan Chia period. p. 90 b 4—8.

H p. 158 b 22—23

I He came to Nanking in the Yuan Chia period of the Sung dynasty. p. 1070 c 11.

K The messenger accompanied him to Chin ling (Nanking) where he stayed in the Chi Yuan monastery. Masters and teachers alike treated him as their preceptor and asked him to recite the Hua Yen (T 278 Avatamsaka Sutra), of which sixty chapters had formerly been translated by Choo Hien. Before reciting the Avatamsaka Sutra, he said a prayer to Kuan Yia (Avalokitesvara). At night in a dream, he saw a strong man, who changed his head, 9 in the morning, when he got up it was as if he felt some slight pain, and from dawn on he preached. p. 344 b 24—28.

21.

The emperor received him and questioning him politely asked: "I, your pupil, want to keep a vow 40 not to kill, but oppressed by affairs, I cannot obtain fulfillment of my wish. You, Master of the Law, for whom ten thousand li are not too far to come and convert this country, what do you advise me?"
Ganavarman answered: "The path is in the heart, not in the affairs. The law comes from oneself and not from others. What is practised by an emperor is different from what is practised by a common man. The person of a common man is of little value, and his reputation is inferior. His words and orders are not imposing. If he does not subdue himself and practise asceticism, of what use is he? For an emperor, (the land within) the four seas is his home and all the people are his children. If he utters a good word, men and women will be happy. If he issues a good law, men and spirits will be in harmony. If he punishes, he does not take life; if he imposes work, he does not exhaust the strength. Then wind and rain will come at the right time, heat and cold in the proper season and the hundred kinds of grain will grow profusely. To keep a vow like this is really keeping a vow and to abstain from killing in this way is really a great virtue. To abstain from eating for half a day and save the life of one animal would that lead to salvation?"

Ganavarman answered: "There is a difference between what is practised by an Emperor and by ordinary people. p. 258 b 15.

The emperor, clapping on the table, said: 'Ordinary people are deluded about distant principles, the monks are obstructed by teaching what is near, cherishing sections and chapters (the letter of the law). What you, oh Master of the Law, teach is really penetrating and leading to under-
standing. One can talk to you about the boundaries between spirits and men.”

D The Emperor was very pleased and said: “What the Master of the law Gunavarman says is really penetrating and leading to understanding, one can talk to him about the boundaries between spirits and men.” p. 361 c 9—362 a 2.

K p. 344 c 5—7

I The Emperor was very pleased and said: “What the Master of the Law says really leads man’s mind to understanding and penetrates nature. One can talk to him about the boundaries between spirits and men.” p. 1370 b 2—3.

H The Emperor clapping on the table praised him. This matter (is related) in the King Sung Chuan. p. 258 b 26.

24.

(The Emperor) then ordered him to stay in the Ch’l Huan monastery and gave generous offerings. Among princes and scholars, there was not one who did not venerate him. Shortly afterwards, he preached the Apanamaka and the Dassbhumikasutra in the monastery. On the day he preached there was a congestion of carriages on the highways. The spectators came and went rubbing shoulders and following closely after each other. Gunavarman had wonderful natural talents and astonishing eloquence. Sometimes he used an interpreter and by questions and answers the difficulties were solved.

BT p. 341 a 16—20
E p. 377 a 13—17
F p. 314 a 16—13

A The Emperor gave generous offerings. p. 104 b 15.

D The Emperor ordered Gunavarman to stay in the Ch’l Yuan monastery and gave generous offerings. p. 361 a 2.

H p. 158 b 27
G p. 91 b 19

17
K. The master stayed in the Chi Yuan monastery and preached the
Avatamsaka and the Daibutsu-sutra. The emperor led duces and
high officials on the day of assembly at the (master’s) seat,
and the Buddhists praised him. p. 144 c 7–8.

Later, Hsü I of the Chi’l Yuan monastery asked him to publish the
Pa-cha shan chia ching (The good rules of Bodhisattva, T 1382. Saisho-
narabha).44 Gunavarman began and translated 28 chapters. Later,
a pupil published two chapters and 30 chapters were thus completed.
Before the copy was made, the introductory chapter and the chapter
on the precepts were lost. Therefore there are two texts today. This
text is also called Pa-cha chi’. (The stages in the precepts of a Bodhisattva).
Formerly, in the third year of the period Yuan Chia (436) the prefect
of Huo chou, Wang Chung-tch’u, had asked a foreigner I yeh po lo55
at P’ing ch’’ing46 to translate and publish the Ts’u hsin57
(Samuyakthöbharmabhīdhyā). When he came to the chapter on
investigation (pratīyāsa), some difficulty arose and he discon-
tinued his work. Gunavarman was asked to translate and publish
the last chapters, in all thirty rolls. Together with the texts he had pub-
lished previously, namely the Szu fen chie me C 1434. Dharmaguptakha-
manam), the Ts’o po shen chia jia lin (T 1437. Upanishanavarman),
the Ts’o po shen shen chi’ tia58 (The twenty two miles of a lay devotee),
there are in all 26 rolls. Sense and wording agree and there is no
difference between the Indic59 and the Chinese text.90

E. In the Chi’l Yuan monastery, Gunavarman translated the Pa-cha shan
ch’ing (The Sutras on the good rules of a Bodhisattva) and others,
in all ten sections. About this Sutra it is 524 in the Chang fang
Catalogue 51 and others that it has 50 rolls. Below, in the commen-
tary, it says that a pupil completed 30 rolls. That is not so. Today
there are only nine rolls, some 47 ten rolls. The character “two”52
must be regarded as a mistake in this text. Only in Seng Yu’s Cata-
logue 53 is it said that there are ten rolls, therefore one knows that
there is a mistake in the other texts. Further, according to the
Kao Seng Chou, Hsü I of the Chi’l Yuan monastery asked Gun-
avarman to translate and publish the Pa-cha shan chia ts’ing. Gunavar-
man began and published 28 chapters. Later a pupil published two
chapters and 30 chapters were thus completed. In the Chang and
other catalogues it is said that 30 rolls were completed. That is a
big mistake. In the Chang fang Catalogue and others it is also said
that Gunavarman translated the Ts’u Pa Ts’an Hsin (Samuyaktha-
bharmbhīdhyā). Gunavarman published his translation together with
the 30 rolls published (previously) by Fowua. It should not be said
that Gunavarman published a separate translation. Although this
is recorded in two places, it is not so. It has also been effaced in

18
the former catalogue. Sense and wording agree, and there is no difference between the Indian and the Chinese text. p. 578 b — b 6.

* Not long afterwards, he translated and published Sutras in the Ch’i’l Yuan monastery, namely the Pu-sha ti (The stages of a Bodhisattva), the T’an wu teh chi-mo, the Yu-po-sha wu chiai lu lun (The five rules of a lay devotee), the San-hui chi yu-po-sha erh she erh chiao (The twenty two rules of a lay devotee, who has taken the three refuges).

At the beginning of the third year of the Yuan chia period (476), the prefect of Hsuan chou, Wang Chung-teh, and asked a foreigner I rek po lo at P’ing ch’ing to translate and publish the Tao Hsin. When he came to the chapter on investigation, there arose some difficulty, and he discontinued his work. Therefore, Gunavarman was asked to complete it. He revised and corrected the text. He preached the Law and spread the doctrine. People came to him from far and near. Rich and poor venerated him, and horses and carriages knocked against each other. p. 104 b 15 — 31.

X

Apart from the texts mentioned in the biography of Gunavarman, the Chu San Tung Chi Chi contains a list of Gunavarman’s translations:

1. Pu-sha shan chiai (The good rules of a Bodhisattva) in ten rolls, it is also called Pu-sha ti (The stages of a Bodhisattva).
2. Yu-po-sha p’ien lu lun (The five rules of a lay devotee) in one roll. It is also called Yu-po-sha wu chiai hsiang (The characteristics of the five rules of a lay devotee).
3. San-hui chi yu-po-sha erh she erh chiao (The twenty two rules of a lay devotee, who has taken the three refuges) in one roll. It is also called Yu-po-sha chiao (The rules of a lay devotee).
4. T’an wu teh chu-mo in one roll. It is also called T’an chu-mo (Miscellaneous Karma).

These four titles, in all 13 rolls, have been published at Nanking by the T’i-shi-k’o Master Gunavarman of Kanshir during the time of Emperor Wen of the Sung dynasty. p. 12 b 14 — 19.

D

Then, in the Yuan Chia period at Yang Tu he translated the Pu-sha shan chiai sheng (The Sutra on the good rules of a Bodhisattva), 10 rolls, the T’u A p’i t’an hsin lun (Sanyuktibhidharmarojava), 12 rolls, the Sze fu pi-cho-at cho-mo (Ucaraguptabhisaktikarojanam), 1 roll, the Yu-po-sha wu chiai (The five rules of a lay devotee), 1 roll, the San chui chi yu-po-sha chiao (The rules of a lay devotee)
who has taken the three refuges), 1 roll, the **Sho-mi wei** 156 (The dignity of a novice), 1 roll, the **Wu men shan yao yang** 157 (Meditation on the five folds) meditation, 1 roll, the ching fun len i chih 158 (Detailed explanation of Sutra and Vihara), 1 roll. These eight 59 texts have 38 rolls. He obtained the second fruit.

p 362 a 2–7.

1. **Pu-sha thao chi i ching** (Sutra on the good rules of a Bodhisattva) is 9 rolls. One name is **Pu-sha ni** (The stages of a Bodhisattva) in 10 rolls. It was published in the Ch'1 Yuan monastery. See the two catalogues of Chi Tao Tsu, Sung Yu as well as the **Kao Sing Chan**. In the Chang fang Catalogue and others it is also called **Shan chi i ching** (Sutra on the good rules) in 10 rolls. Further it is said that a pupil published two chapters and thus completed 37 rolls. That is not so.

2. **Pu-sha thao chi i ching** (Theutra on the good rules of a Bodhisattva) in 1 roll. Until now the Bodhisattva about the precepts. See **Pao Ch’ang** Catalogue. As it is recorded by Sung Yu, this was the first roll, together with the former nine rolls (of the text mentioned under 1) they formed ten rolls. So is the North the Sutra become separated and could not be united and then the old arrangement was adhered to.

3. **Pu-sha mien chi i ching** (Sutra on the internal rules of a Bodhisattva, V1 1891). This is in the above catalogue.

4. **Pu-pesha mien mui i ching** (Sutra on the dignity of the five rules of a lay devotee), in 1 roll. See the **Pao ching** Catalogue.

5. **Sho-mi wei 1** (The dignity of a novice) in 1 roll. It is also called **Sho-mi wei i ching** (Sutra on the dignity of a novice). See **Chang fang** Catalogue.

6. See fun pi chih ot chih ma fe (Dharanagpatebekanshunang) in 1 roll (Sung Yu calls it **Tai mu teh chi ma** and also **Ta chin-mo**. It was published in the eighth year of the Yuan Chia period (441) at the Ch'1 Yuan monastery. See the two catalogues of Pao Chiang and Sung Yu, as well as the **Kao Sing Chao**. It is also called **Sae go chin-mo**.

7. **Yop-sha mien chi i ching** (Sutra on the characteristics of the five rules of a lay devotee), in 1 roll. Another name is **Yop-sha mien chi i ching** (Summary of the five rules of a lay devotee). It was published in the eighth year of the Yuan Chia period in the Ch'1 Yuan monastery. See the two catalogues of Sung Yu and Pao Chiang, as well as the **Kao Sing Chao**.

8. Long shu pu-sha wei Chito-chi shen yang shan fe yang shih (The Bodhisattva Nagarjuna preaches to the king Chandaka) is
1 roll (Nj. 1464 Nagarambodhisattvatrasaṃgha). See the T'ang chiu lu. 61

9. Shan hsin erh she erh chiai (The twenty two rules of one who has good faith), in 1 roll. It is also called Li yu yu po she yu po yi hua hsiing erh she erh chiai (The twenty two rules of conduct for male and female lay devotees who have renounced desires). It is also called San kai Yu po sha chiai (The rules of a lay devotee who has taken the three refuge). (Seng) Yu calls it Yu po sha chiai (The rules of a lay devotee). See Kao Song Chuan and the two catalogues of Seng Yu and Pao Chang.

10. Ching lu fen i chi (Record on the detailed explanation of Sutra and Vinaya), 1 roll. See Chang fang Catalogue.

p. 536 a 9 — 538
F. p. 822 c 24 — 823 a 13

G 1. Pu sha sheu chiai ching (The Sutras on the good rules of a Bodhisattva) in 26 rolls. It has been translated in the Ch'i Yuan monastery. It is the second publication, there are minor differences between the edition of Ch'an (Dharma-sema). 62 See the Chou tao tu catalogue and the Kao Song Chuan. Later, a pupil published two chapters in the Ching long monastery, thus completing 30 rolls.

2. Tao A pi t'an han (Sannyasatadvairadarshados) in 13 rolls. It has first been published by Li ver, up to the chapter on investigation. The present, complete edition has 13 rolls. 63 See Kao Song Chuan.

3. See fen chieh ma (Dharmaguptabhikumarkrama) in 1 roll. It has been published in the eighth year of the Yuan Chia period (431) in the Ch'i Yuan monastery. This is the second translation, it agrees with the one made by Tan ti (Dharma-sema) 64 of the Wei dynasty. See Kao Song Chuan, Pao Chang Lu, Pith Lu and others.

4. Yu po sha ju chiai lih len (Summary of the five rules for lay devotees), in 1 roll. It has been published in the eighth year of the Yuan Chia period in the Ch'i Yuan monastery. It is also called Wu chiai huang (Characteristics of the five rules) and Wu chiai lih len (Summary of the five rules). See Kao Song Chuan and Pao Chang Lu.

21
5. Shao hui (b) shi (a) chiai (The twenty two rules of those who have good faith) in 1 roll. It is also called: Li yu (b) po (a) shu (b) po (a) shu (b) po (a) shu (b) po (a) shu (b) po (a) shu (b) shi (a) chiai (The twenty two rules of conduct for male and female lay-devotees, who have renounced desires) and San shu (a) po (b) shu (b) chiai (The rules for lay devotees, who have taken the threefold refuge). See Kao Seng Chuan.
6. She-mi ve-i (The diguity of a novice), in 1 roll.
7. Chi-yu (a) fei-i (Detailed explanation of Sutras and Vinaya) in 1 roll. p. 90 a 19-b 3.
H p. 258 b 15-21
1 In the seventh year of the Yuen Chia period of Sung dynasty at Yung Tu he translated the Shen Chia (Good rules) and other Sutras concerning the ordination of nuns. p. 107 b 3-4.

26.

At that time the nuns of the Ying Tu monastery, Hwei Kuo, Chao Yiu and others respectfully said to Gunavarman: "Six years ago, eight nuns from Ceylon came to the capital and said: 'In the country of Sung there is no Sutra but there are nuns. How did you get ordination in the two communities." We fear that the sects on the precepts was not complete.'

Gunavarman answered: 'The precepts originally arose in the big community. If the original conditions are not fulfilled, this is no hindrance for ordination, as in the case of Guntara." The nuns also feared that they had not yet attained the right age. Therefore they wanted to be recollected. Gunavarman agreed and said: 'Alright, if you wish to increase your understanding that will lead to conscientious. But the nuns from the West have not yet attained the right age. They are not ten persons.' Therefore he asked them to learn the language of Sung, and he also asked a brahchelder from the West to invite foreign nuns to come and complete the number ten.

BT p. 54 a 28-b 7
F p. 524 b 7-14
F p. 814 b 23-31
1 Further, there were eight nuns from Ceylon who came and said: 'In the country of Sung there is no Sutra but there are nuns. How can they have obtained the precepts in the two communities?' Gunavarman replied: 'Nuns who do not act according to the original law and obtain ordination become guilty. If one examines the intention of Buddha's regulation, the law ordinates in the big community, and only if the communities and the law are complete then one
obtains ordination. Those who in former times and now-days act according to the original Law wish to develop faith by means of the ordination. The ordination is conferred during the formal act of the community." The nun soulfully asked to be ordained again. Gunavarman said: "Alright. Conduct of discipline, meditation and insight, which is not yet there will become manifest from the minute. If one wishes to increase one’s knowledge this will be conducive to contentment."

Further he asked the nun from the West to learn the language and to go to the Middle Kingdom to invite some nuns to complete the number ten.

In the tenth year of the Yuan Chia period (434) there was the monk Sung chih po mo (Sanghavarman) that means ‘Armour of the Community’. He knew the Vinaya and the Abhidharmakakaya well. He traversed the moving sands and came to Yang Chou. Originally, Gunavarman had wanted to ordain the nun, but he died before doing so. Shortly afterwards, a Ceylonese nun, Tien-ho-lo and others (in all three persons) came to the capital and completed the number ten. and then Sanghavarman was asked to confer ordination on the nun instead of Gunavarman. p. 1070 b 3—16

K (Under the heading: Eleventh year of the Yuan Chia period): Gunavarman had instituted an ordination altar in the Nan lin monastery for the ordination of nuns. This was the first ordination altar (for nuns) in China. At that time eight nuns had come from Ceylon, and they were not sufficient (for the ordination). Later, the nun Tien-so-lo (and others, in all) three nuns came, enough to make up a community of ten. Sanghavarman was asked to be the preceptor for the nun Hueil Kuei and others from the Ching Pu nunery, who were reordained at the ordination altar of the Nan lin monastery before the two communities. More than three hundred people were present.

Siu says: The Sung-chih-chih says: In the Han period, a Pang took the threefold refuge (i.e. she was the first female lay devotee), in the Tain dynasty, Ching lin was ordained before one community (i.e. before the community of monks). The beginning of a complete ordination before the two communities was made in that year with Hueil Kuei.

p. 346 c 25—346 a 1.
Gunavarman spent the retreat of that year's summer in a minor vihara of the Ting Lin monastery. At that time there were some devotees who gathered flowers to spread on the mats. The flowers on Gunavarman's seat remained fresh, and everybody venerated him as a saint.

C The monk Hueti Kuan respected Gunavarman's virtue and fame. He wished him to come to the capital, where the master was to stay at the Chi Yuan monastery. Those who came to visit him, doubted whether he was an ordinary mortal, or there was nobody, who could fathom the depth of his spirit. Later, he was invited to the Ting Lin monastery on the Eastern mountain. At that time, priests and laymen picked many flowers to spread on the mats of the monks. They wanted to find out who was a holy man. The flowers on the seats of all monks faded, only the flowers on Gunavarman's mat stayed fresh like in the beginning. Thereupon the veneration (for Gunavarman) in the capital increased.

p. 616 c 73—78.

G Gunavarman spent the summer retreat in the Ting Lin monastery. At that time there were some devotees who gathered flowers to spread on the mats. The flowers on Gunavarman's seat remained fresh, and everybody was surprised.

p. 90 b 21—22.

H There were people, who put flowers on his seat and they remained fresh.


L At that time there were people, who wanted to know who was a holy man and they spread flowers on all seats. All the flowers faded, only Gunavarman's stayed fresh.

p. 433 c 10—11.

28.

At the end of the summer he returned to the Chi Yuan monastery. On the 28th day of the ninth month of that year, when the midday meal was not yet over, Gunavarman got up first and returned to his cell. When his pulse followed later, he found that Gunavarman had died all of a sudden. He was 65 years of age. Before his death he had prepared a testament in 36 verses. He discusses cause and effect and says he had obtained the second fruit. He sealed it himself and gave it to
his disciple, A-sha-lo, saying: "After my death, you may return with this document to India and show it to the monks there, and you may also show it to the monks of this country."

After his death, he was placed on a string bed. His colour and his appearance had not changed. He resembled someone in meditation. Thousands of monks and laitymen came to see him. Everybody noticed fragrant perfumes, some saw an animal like a serpent or a dragon about one P'T long. It came from the right side of the corpse and ascended straight to heaven. Nobody could name it. He was cremated according to the foreign custom in front of the ordination altar of Nan lin. The fourfold community had assembled.

Fragrant firewood had been gathered for the pyre and perfumed oils were poured over it to cremate the remains. A five coloured flame arose which spread and beautified the space. At that moment, the sky became light, priests and laitymen sighed and moaned. A white pagoda was erected on this spot. The nuns, who had wished to be reclassified, cried incessantly and could not control themselves.

When Gunavarman first came to the capital, the emperor had wished to receive from him the precepts of a Bodhisattva, but some enemies made raised and he could not carry out his intention. He asked the monks to translate the testament.

BT p. 341 b 9 — 15
E p. 572 b 17—15
F p. 814 b 1 — 15

A

On the 28th day of the ninth month of that year, when the midday meal was not yet over, Gunavarman got up first and went to his cell. When his disciple followed later, he had already died all of a sudden. He was 65 years old. Before his death, he had composed a testament in 36 verses. He discusses cause and effect and says he obtained the second fruit. He kept it under his mat and nobody knew about it. It was found after his death. He was placed on a string bed. His appearance did not change. He resembled a person in meditation. Thousands of monks and laitymen came to see him. Everybody noticed fragrant perfumes, and some saw an animal like a dragon or a snake, about one P'T in length. It arose from the side of the corpse and went straight to heaven. Nobody could name it. He was cremated according to the foreign custom in front of the ordination altar of Nan lin and thousands of people attended the ceremony. In all quarters there were singing girls, music, banners and flowers. Fragrant firewood had been gathered for the pyre and perfumed oil was poured over it. When the pyre was
burning a five coloured flame arose and the sky was clear and bright. Priests and laitymen sighed and mourned. Later, a white pagoda was erected on that spot. p. 124 b 12—c 4.

Before his death, he composed a testament in 36 verses. He discussed cause and effect and said he had obtained the secon d fruit. He sealed it personally and gave it to his disciple A-sha-lo saying: "After my death you can show this testament to the monks of India, and you can also show it to the monks of this country."

After his death he was placed on a string bed. His appearance did not change, he looked as if he were in meditation. Thousands of monks and laymen came to see him. Everybody noticed fragrant perfumes, and some saw an animal like a dragon, about one P'1 long. It came from the right side of the corpse and ascended straight to heaven. Nobody could name it. He was cremated according to the foreign custom in front of the ordination stūpa of Nia lin. He was 64 years old. p. 963 c 11—19.

He died on the 28th day of the ninth month of the eighth year of the Yuan Chia period. He was placed without difficulty on his mat with crossed legs and folded hands. He stayed there for two nights and his appearance did not change; some thought at that time that he was in deep meditation. His testament was found under his seat. It said he had obtained the second fruit of an ascetic. When they realised he was dead, disciples and attendants perceived fragrant smells. More than two hundred people assembled to see the master in the capital. When evening came, those assembled outside the door filled the steps. During the cremation, there were suddenly vapours in the South-West. Then there was an animal, about one P'1 in length, which coiled round the corpse and disappeared. Those who were assembled all and they saw it. Before his death, Ganavarman had composed 36 verses. He handed them over to his disciple and said: "You can show them to the monks of India." p. 616 c 19—617 a 7.

Later, he returned to the Ch'i Yuan monastery, where he died suddenly. Before his death, he had composed his testament. It has 36 verses, and he says he obtained the second fruit. He gave it to his disciple A-sha-lo saying: "You may show this to the monks of India and also to the monks of this country after my death." At the time of Ganavarman's death people saw an animal like a dragon about one P'1 in
length. It came from the right side of the corpse and ascended straight to heaven. p. 90 b 23-28.

II

Gumaranmañu died later in the Ch'i Yuen monastery. He had composed a testament in 36 verses, in which he 3475 he had obtained the second fruit. This document is in the (Kao Song) Chan. p. 158 b 38-29.

I

After his death he was seen upright with folded hands. One would have thought he was in deep meditation. For many days he was not raised. A testament with more than thirty verses was found under his mat. It said he had obtained the second fruit. More than two hundred people assembled at night. Some saw an animal one P'i in length. It coiled round the corpse and departed to the South-West. p. 435 c 10-14.

II

Gumaranmañu's life spans some forty-five years of the history of the Buddhist faith, and the scenes were Kashmir, India, Ceylon, Java and South China, thus encompassing a large part of the area in which the doctrine of the Buddha became known.

Gumaranmañu having entered the Buddhist order of monks in Kashmir, was probably originally a follower of the Sarvastivada school of Buddhism, as Kashmir was a stronghold of this sect in the 5th cent. He must have become acquainted with Mahayana doctrines sometime in his career, for he preached the Adi Aṣṭasahasrika and Dasa Mahāmāya Sutra in China, and he translated Mahayana texts like the Bodhisattvabhumi besides Hinayana texts like the Dharmaprajñāpāramitā-kṛtva. His testament begins with a recitation of the three jewels, (Buddha, Dharma and Sangha), and of the pure elders. He then describes the meditations on the impurities (unwholes), which were favoured more by the Hinayana adherents than by the Mahayanaists. In the testament there is no indication of any idea that show a leaning towards the Greater Vehicle.

Gumaranmañu was ordained at the age of twenty years. He left Kashmir when he was thirty years old, that is in 357 A.D. (The date of his birth can be calculated from the date of his death in 451 A.D., when, in the Kao Song Chan 3475, he was 85 years of age.) Except for the Ko Yin t' Cheng T' u Chi and the Fan Hsiung T' u Chi, all texts say that he went to Ceylon. In the testament, it is said that he obtained the first fruit of an ascetic in the kingdom of Mo lo po. Whether this is Malwa in Central India, Malabar (the Malabar coast) or some district in Ceylon is not clear.

27
The biographies do not mention the place which Gunawan
man stayed at in Ceylon. In the testament he says he lived in Chich-po-li.
It has not been possible to identify this name either. It might be
Kappakagama, 99 as Chich is used for Sonkot kapla, Paki kappu. 99
The transcription comes nearest to Kappura pativena, a building in the
Abhayagiri vihara, which however was only built in the 7th century by Dathaparisara I (610–59). 90

Fa Hsien who visited Ceylon in 422–13, is at about the
same time that Gunavarman did, records in his travel account that there
were 100 monks in the Abhayagiri vihara as against 100 in the Mahavi-
har. Fa Hsien also describes the festival of the Tooth Relic, held
with great pomp at the Abhayagiri vihara. 91 The Tooth Relic
was the personal possession of the king and the Abhayagiri vihara must
have been held in special regard in the country at that time. 92 This
monastery had been founded by king Vattugamani Abhayi in the first
century B.C. and the monks residing in this monastery were often in
opposition to the Mahavira, who regarded them as heretics. In
the third century, they had adopted the Vetusavada, which S. Parama-
vitana takes to be Mahayamist 93 "The Abhayagiri monks seem to
have kept up constant contact with various Buddhist sects and new
movements in India... They were liberal in their views and always
welcomed new ideas from abroad and tried to be progressive. They
studied both Theravada and Mahayana and widely diffused the Tripitakas."
94 It is very likely that a foreign monk like Gunavarman was received
by this fraternity rather than by the monks of the Mahavira. But,
as Gunavarman's biographers say, he studied the customs of the country,
we may assume that he also had contacts with the Mahavira group.
Whether he met Buddhagosa who is supposed to have been active
in Ceylon at this period, 95 we are in no position to say.

From Ceylon Gunavarman went to the kingdom of Sha-po
which most scholars take to be Java. 96 Here, he converted the
queen mother and the king to Buddhism. None of the biographies
say which religion the royal family had adhered to before their
conversion, but from Fa Hsien we know that "Teresa and Brahmirnism
were flourishing." 97 Gunavarman's biography in the Kao Seig Chunan,
the Kao Yan Chin Chao Lu, the Chen Yan Hsin Chao Chi Chao Mu Lu
and the Shen Teng Chuan contain an indirect indication that the king had
been a Hindu before embracing the Buddhist faith. When the kingdom
was attacked by an insurrection, the king asked his mentor what he should
do in face of the attack. He was afraid his subjects would suffer if
he did not defend them, but he did not like the idea of a war in which
people were bound to be killed. Gunavarman tells the king to fight,
as it is a king's duty to defend his subjects, but he asks him not to have

28
any feelings of hatred. This advice is very similar to the one given by Krishna to Arjuna on the eve of the war of the Bharatas:

II. 31

madhurapadi vasugra na vikramma marati dharmiddhi yuddhasthanam "may our karmas be victorious in battle (having regard to thine own duty also, thou oughtst not to waver"

For, to a kshatriya, there is nothing more wholesome than a lawful battle.

II. 33

othe etsattam imamdharmam sangramam na kuryam

swah madharmam kirm ca hitra papa amasyant

(Now, if thou wouldst not fight this lawful battle, then, having abandoned thine own duty and fame, thou shouldst incur sin).

III. 19

aumad aukha vasatam kermam karma samvara

aukha hyacarat karma pratam api utapi purushah

Therefore, without attachment constantly perform the action which should be done, for performing action without attachment man reaches the supreme.88

It seems likely that Gauravarman supposed the king to know the Bhagavadgita and that he had been a Hindu before. The Mahabharata is known in Old Javanese only from the time of king Jayabhaya (12th century). The prose rendering of the Bhagavadgita was fairly extensive. 100 That Sanskrit was known in Gauravarman’s time in Java may be seen from the four inscriptions of king Purnavarman written in Sanskrit in a South Indian script. 101

The king not only embraced Buddhism, but wished to become a monk. His ministers dissuaded him and accepted three conditions by the king, namely, that the whole country should respect Gauravarman and abstain from killing and that the poor and needy should be given alms. We have here one instance of a kingdom accepting the religion of its ruler. “It must be assumed that the religious practices introduced from India were known at first primarily in the palace cities of India until rulers. In the villages, ritual worship probably continued for a long time under the direction of priestly elders and” conjures divinities who of old had been the mediators between the human and the spirit world. The philosophical and mystical tenets of India’s great religions remained for many centuries the prerequisite of the priesthood, in monasteries and other sacred foundations for religious learning.” 102
The last event recorded about Guanwaram’s stay in Java is that the king built a whara for him. It is probable that Guanwaram gave some instruction about this building, and this must have happened in other instances as well. No building of this period is extant in Java. The oldest Hindu monuments in that island date from the seventh and eighth centuries.\(^3\)

Guanwaram’s fame spread to China, where the Emperor Wen of the Liang Song dynasty heard about him and sent a delegation to invite Guanwaram. When this delegation arrived in 444 A.D., Guanwaram had already left. He intended to visit a small country, but "driven by the wind of his karma" he landed in China. There is some confusion about the period of his stay in China. The Chi San Tung Chi Chi for instance does not mention the date the messengers were sent but it does say that Guanwaram had already left Java before the arrival of the imperial party and that he came to the capital in 433 A.D. According to the Kao Song Chuan, the delegation was sent in 414 and did not meet Guanwaram in Java, as he had already departed. He arrived at the capital in 431 A.D., having spent approximately one year (i.e. 430) in the Hsing on the way. The Kao Song Chuan does not account for the years in between, i.e. for the years 431–430.

The Li Tsu San Pao Chi and the Fan I Ming I Chi record that Guanwaram came to Nanking in the Yum Chieh period, but they do not specify the exact year. According to the Fo Tsu Ting Chi, Guanwaram came to China on an invitation from the emperor and not by chance as the Kao Song Chuan implies. Guanwaram himself says in his testament that he spent some time at Lin Yi (Changle) before being driven by the wind of his karma to the coast of China. None of the biographies mentions his stay at Lin Yi. It is unlikely that Guanwaram came to China in A.D. 414, as it appears from the Kao Song Chuan account, and only had the interview with the emperor—who had sent missions to bring Guanwaram to the capital—seven years later. If Guanwaram had already left Java when the imperial messengers arrived in 434, he must have stayed somewhere else before coming to the capital, and he must not only have learnt Chinese very well in order to preach and translate texts, but he must also have penetrated deeply into Chinese philosophy in order to have the interview with the emperor that is recorded in the Kao Song Chuan, the Kui Yuan Chi Chiao Lu, the Ching Hsien Hsin Ting Chi Chiao Lu. In the Ke Yi I Ching I Chi, the Li Tsu San Pao Chi and the Fan I Ming I Chi, if Guanwaram did not learn Chinese and study Chinese scriptures at the capital, he must have done so at some other place in South China. The conversation with emperor Wen shows a remarkable adaptability to foreign ideas.
Buddhism had infiltrated into China from the North-West along the silk road which entered Chinese territory at Tun Huang. This infiltration must have taken place between the first half of the first century B.C. — the period of the consolidation of Chinese power in Central Asia — and the middle of the first century A.D., when the existence of Chinese Buddhism is attested for the first time in contemporary Chinese sources. Buddhism had been the religion of foreigners, Parthians, Sogdians and Indo-Scythians living at the Hexi capital Loyang. Buddhism only spread among the Chinese after translations of texts had been made and the upper classes became acquainted with the new doctrine. In the turbulent times after the downfall of the Han dynasty, the Han invasions of the North and the division of China, Confucianism, which had been the state doctrine, did not satisfy the spiritual needs of the people, and they turned to "Dark Learning". Dark Learning is primarily based on the "Book of Changes" mingled with ideas extracted chiefly from Lao Tze and Chuang Tze. "Talk about emptiness and non-being" played an important role in these circles. In the late third and early fourth centuries Buddhist doctrine and traditional Chinese scholarship were combined so that a particular kind of Buddhism developed among the upper classes. Buddhism in the South was oriented towards the higher strata of society, the government and the court.

In "The Buddhist Conquest of China", Zurcher has shown that in the extreme South, in Chao Chou, a hybrid form of Buddhism had developed and that some kind of contact existed between the foreign clergy and the Chinese cultivated minority of that region. Of the Sogdian monk Kang Song but it is known that he was widely read in the Confucian classics. To quote Zurcher: "The first phase in the development of Dark Learning is connected with the names of a number of literati who were active in the second quarter of the third century: Chuang Hui (225-265), Ho Yen and Wong Pi (276-299). The starting point of their speculations was that of Chinese philosophy in general: the concept of the Sage Ruler who by means of his wisdom and supernatural insight and by conforming to certain cosmic principles is able to make the affairs of the whole world run smoothly and automatically, without any intervention or conscious exertion on his part. Their particular representation of the Sage Ruler was that of the I-ching, the ancient divinatory handbook with its 64 hexagrams symbolizing various situations, its cryptic explanation of these symbols and their individual lines, and its appendices. The study of the I-ching was much in vogue in the first half of the third century."

Ganavyana must have lived in circles that practiced these forms of "dark learning" before having his interview with Emperor Wen whom he advised to conform to the ideals of the Sage Ruler. Ganavyana applied the principle laid down by Mou-Lie in his spohs.
getic writing Li Hua lin where the opponent asks why Confucian and 
Taoist terms are used to explain Buddhist concepts. The apologetic 
replies, "I know that you were familiar with the ideas of the Chinese 
classics, and for this reason I quoted from them. If I had spoken in 
the words of the Buddhist scriptures or discussed on the niceties of 
action, it would have been like speaking of the five colours to a blind 
man or playing the five sounds to one who is deaf." 110

While staying at Nanking, Gunavirman preached on two 
Mahayana texts, on the "Avatamsaka" and on the "Dhadharmakutra." 
The "Avatamsaka" in 36,000 Slokas was brought by Fa Lin from 
Khotan and was translated by Buddhishvara in 415-16 in the Southern 
capital.112 The "Dhadharmakutra" had been translated by Dharmakaja 
(c. 270-308). It discusses the ten stages in the career of a Bodhisat 
(tva. 113

There is no agreement in the biographies about the number of 
texts translated by Gunavirman, as can be seen from the table below.

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Our Text and A (Kao Sing Ch'ian and Chu San Tung Ch'i Chi) agree on the number of translations ascribed to Gunavarma, and in the other biographies also contain the titles of these texts, we may assume that these were actually translated by Gunavarma.

The Bodhisattvabhumi had already been translated by Dharmakirti in 418 A.D. Gunavarma’s translation was published in 441 A.D. and the text was later translated again by Hsuan Tsang in 645 A.D. The Bodhisattvabhumi forms about one sixth of Asanga’s Yogacarabhumi-stra, this being the chief work of one of the great schools of Indian philosophy. 114 Paul Demieville, discussing these texts, says the Yogacarabhumi of Asanga must belong to the middle of the fourth century, and must belong to a literary tradition which flourished in Kashmir from the second century onwards in the Sarvastivada-school. This great treatise is divided into two parts, the first of which is the Bodhasukhakumara; an exposition of the 37 stages (bhumi) in the Yoga practice. The 11th of the 37 stages is that of the Bodhisattva, the Bodhisattvabhumi. Dharmakirti’s version is entitled Paśubhā (b) the ching (or kaa) which corresponds to Bodhisattvabhumi-dharmakāra (or sūtra). Gunavarma’s version P’su-sha (b) shun ching ching would be Bodhisattvabhumi-dharmakāra. It is a regular Sūtra with introduction and closing remarks. According to the French scholar who translated the chapter on meditation (chihang) and compared the three texts, Gunavarma’s translation is correct and shows many divergencies due to faulty rendering rather than to textual variations. 115

The Lai Yu Chieh Chiao Liu and the Ch'eng Yu Hsin T'ing Chieh Chiao Mo Li (F and P) mention that the F. 15 roll of this text was transla-
The text is also found in the Taishō Tripiṭaka under No. 3145; its name has been restored by Nanjō as Vajrapratipadāya Utpalaprajñāpa. Taishō No. 1466 is another text called Utpaliprayōkha, which is also ascribed to Gunavarman to the year 476 A.D. As not one of the biographies mentions this text, and as the Kao Yuen Chieh Chuan lays the translation was made by an unknown author of the later Han dynasty, it is probably wrong that Gunavarman translated this text also. The Utpaliprayōkha T. 1466 (Nanjō No. 1159) is called Yōpo-ji wa Fo (upali asks the Buddha, not the Bodhisattva). This text is a Buddhist Prajñāpāramitā, containing the rules under which a monk becomes guilty and exceptions to these rules in which a monk is not guilty. This Utpaliprayōkha has literal parallels in the Pāli canon, although the order of the rules does not agree with the Pāli. The language of the original seems to have been Pali or Pukrit rather than Sanskrit.

The Tsa Hsin, (Sampathalabharmaka-yantra) was first translated in 416 by Iwara at Peng cheng. He, however, did not complete the work, which was handed over to Gunavarman, Gunavarman finished the translation, but apparently did not publish it. Therefore in 434 Sanghavittana was again entrusted with the translation of this text. He revised it during one year and published it. This translation is extant under Taishō No. 1552. Iwara's and Gunavarman's translations are mentioned as being lost by the Kao Yuen Chieh Chuan.120

The Abhidharmatāta is a collection of 400 verses, 250 of which were composed a hundred years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa by Fa Sheng. Later, Fa mo-to-lo (Dharmaratru) added another 150 verses to the collection, after careful examination of the sutras.121 This text must have been very popular because other translations were made in the North. The Kao Seng Chuan relates that Tso-an (4th century) had asked a monk Dharmasattvā to translate this Abhidharmic work, but as he did not know Chinese very well, there were many mistakes and dubious passages in this translation. Therefore Sanghadeva, a monk from Kashmir, was asked to publish a new translation in 391. He had already published a complete translation of the text at Loyang in 384. The second version was only an extract of the original text, which is preserved in the canon of Taishō No. 1558, 122

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The Shu Mi Sui (The Sutra on the dignity of a novice) is listed in Niniuí’s Catalogue under No. 1164 as Sūlamāra Karmanasa. A.C. Bunker mentions one text Yoe-po-sat erh shih erh oih translated by Gunavarman which contains ordination rules for novices. According to Bagchi, however, the Chuan an ed-chi ni chia (chan bia erh shih erh shih) is the twenty-two rules of those who have good faith is mentioned as lost by the K’ai Yuan Chu Hsiao Lu. In the Yoe-po-sha shih Meng ching (7476) The characteristics of the five rules on lay devoters that the Buddha is approached by his father, king Suddhodana, who asks him to give rules for the lay devotees as he has done for monks, nuns, and male and female novices. The Sutra treats extensively with the same rules and these cases which can be ascribed for confusion and those in which confusion is of no avail. The translation of these three texts is well as that of the Dharmagupta Bhikshunigraha show Gunavar- man’s interest in disciplinary matters. Zhang also thinks that the most basic monastic rules are probably transmitted orally by the first missionaries, and he says that the Vinaya is not represented among the scriptures attributed to Han transactors in early catalogues. During the Wei dynasty (323-366) several treatises on monastic discipline appeared which mark the introduction of the Vinaya in written form in China. In 350 A.D., Dharmakirta made a Chinese version of the Protocols of the Mahasangiikas, shortly afterwards the Karmanasa of the Dharmagupta school was translated. Before the 6th century no complete Vinaya of any school was known in China. In the middle of the fourth century the Chinese monk Tao-an had formulated a number of rules and regulations for his disciples which were taken over by other communities. In a letter written by Tao-an he said that the monastic rules form the very roots of a monk’s conduct, on which eventually even the teachings of the Pratyagatitas are based. Towards the end of his life, Tao-an did obtain more satisfactory texts on monastic discipline and he expressed his satisfaction about them in the preface to the translation. The interest in acquiring the complete set of Vinaya rules is also shown by the fact that Fa Hsien set out on the arduous journey to India in order to obtain such texts. Most of the canonical Vinaya texts and commentaries on the discipline were translated during the fifth century.

The last event in Gunavarman’s life mentioned in the Kao Seng Chuan is the fact that several Chinese masters approached him. They told him that some nuns from Ceylon had drawn their attention to the fact that they were not properly ordained. A Vinaya for nuns had been “compiled or concocted” by Milii, a disciple of the monk Srimitra; these rules were however, attacked heretically by Chhi T’an (ca 346-366) and Chhi Po-K’u (378-389). According to Szechi T’o T’o T’eng, who came to Loyang in 370, introduced a more complete set of monastic
rules and took the initiative of establishing the order of Buddhist nuns on Chinese soil. He ordained the nun An-ling-shou. This ordination was however not canonical, as she was ordained by Fo Tu tect in the presence of Ching Chien. Ching Chien was the first nun in the North, the daughter of a governor of Lieng chou, who read about nuns in Buddhist scriptures. She made enquiries and was informed that an order for nuns existed in India but not in China. Ching-chien regretted that there was no Pravachana for nuns but together with 14 other women she entered the order in the first half of the fourth century. The first nun in the South was Ming-lan who had crossed over the Yang Tse with ten other sisters in 344 or 348 and lived in a nunnery established for her by Ho Chuan. The nun Hsiu Chuan from P'ing ch'eng was also lodged there. In 358 Empress Ho founded another nunnery. In 385 the nun Min-yin was abbess over more than a hundred nuns at the Chien-ching nunnery founded for her. “She was influential at court and was revered and served by rich and poor alike” Otto Franke discusses the existence of nuns in the fourth century and the fact that the Fo Tu T'ung Chi ascribes the establishment of the order of nuns to Gunvarman, and he thinks that there is some mistake and contradiction. This is not the case. The Fo Tu T'ung Chi makes it quite clear that Gunvarman built the “ordination altar”, but Sanghamitra actually ordained the nuns. The Fo Tu T'ung Chi also states that Ching Chien had only been ordained before one community, i.e. in the presence of monks only. The Vinaya rules lay down that a woman wishing to enter the order should first be a novice for two years and then be ordained before the order of monks and nuns. When Buddhism was introduced in Ceylon the nun Sanglamitta was sent from India in order to ordain queen Avalu and other Singhalese ladies. Similarly, monks could only be ordained by a numerically complete chapter of monks. When in the 18th century Buddhism was at a low ebb in Ceylon ordination could only be conferred after elders had arrived from Thailand. As none of the early Chinese nuns had been ordained according to the Vinaya rules, the arrival of the Singhalese nuns gave an opportunity to have a valid ordination for nuns performed. However, there were only eight nuns instead of the necessary ten, and these nuns had not yet acquired the prescribed twelve years standing. Gunvarman could not confer the ordination immediately but had to send for further nuns, who arrived after his death in 434. Sanghamitas, the same monk who had completed the translation of the Abhagavagga, ordained the Chinese nuns. It is not stated expressly whether the nun T'ieh-so-lo and the two others, who came from Ceylon to China, were

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those sent for but it is highly probable. Relations between the two countries had been established during the Chin dynasty, when Emperor An received a letter from a king of Ceylon in 413. The Fa Tien Tang Chia records under the 56th year of the Yuan Chin period (479 A.D.) that Emperor Wen of the Liu Sung dynasty received tribute from the king Mahanama of Ceylon. Emperor Wen answered Mahanama:

‘I have too few Sutras of the Lesser Vehicle. Whatever there is in your country should be copied and sent.’

The answer given by Gunvarman to the monks as recorded in the basic text, 1 and 2, differs from the account in 3. In the first instance, Gunvarman says that the incompleteness of the order is no hindrance to a valid ordination in the first nun, Mahapatjati Gunvarman was ordained without other nuns being present. In the second case Gunvarman is reported as saying, an ordination is only valid if performed according to the rules, which prescribe that a chapter of monks and nuns should be present.

When Gunvarman died he was cremated according to the foreign custom.” The emperor had wished to accept the precepts of a Bodhisattva, but had been prevented by his duties to do so. In 431, the year of Gunvarman’s death, the king of Lin-yi (China) intended to visit Chien-juo. Emperor Wen had also planned an expedition against the North a year earlier. The term “Bodhisattva” was applied to both monks and lay devotees in the early church. The Bodhisattva-pratimokṣa, T 1990, contains extracts of the Bodhisattva-pratimokṣa and the Upasāṅga-pratimokṣa. It deals with the ordination rules for a Bodhisattva. The candidate has to request a master for initiation into the disciplinary rules. He has to confess his sins and take refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha by uttering the Triratna formula and by transferring the merits acquired by him to all beings.

Other emperors before Wen had become by devotees and had accepted the five rules for laymen. Of the Emperor Ming of the Chin dynasty it was said: ‘The majestic ancestor Emperor Ming, whom heaven truly had endowed with virtue was the first monarch to receive this Way.... His observance of the (five) commandments was stricter than that of a mountain recluse.” The Kao Sung Choua and the Chin Sho record that Emperor Hsiao Wu accepted the Buddhist doctrine. The same emperor also contributed to the funeral expenses of two monks which, according to Zhang, was customary at that period. In the same way Emperor Wen had a vihāra erected for Gunvarman.
Postscript

The author wishes to thank Dr. H. Durt, Kyoto, for kindly sending her the biographical material on Gunavarman, which forms the basis of this paper. For other material and advice given the author is indebted to Prof. Dr. H. Dieckert, Gottingen; the late Prof. Dr. F. Bernhard, Hamburg; Dr. Dencker, Colombo; Prof. De Jong, Czebeka; Dr. C. Kanzler, Kyoto; Prof. Liu Mu-Tao, Hamburg; Dr. W. Bachow, Peradeniya; Dr. and Mrs. Roth, Gottingen; and Prof. Dr. D. Schlingloff, Munich.

NOTES

(See the Bibliography)  
1) Bomai: History, p. 97.  
2) Pelliot: Itineraires, p. 247 f.  
3) Zoetmulder: Religions, p. 242 f.; Krom: Geschichte, p. 82.  
8) Texts marked with an asterisk have been used by Bagchi, op. cit.  
10) De Jong: Surrey, p. 197.  
11) E and F add "in the language of Sung" (Chinese).  
12) The Taizho edition has "in the language of Chi", whereas the three editions read "Sung". As the Ch' dyn. came to power only after the death of Gunavarman, the reading of the three editions must be right. It was a general practice to refer to the Chinese language as the language of the ruling dynasty. Zucher: Conquest, p. 438.  

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13) Instead of Ch'iu to seek (Mathews, Dictionary No. 1217), ch'iu-a rival (Mathews, Dictionary No. 1332) has been used. ch'iu is prefixed to the name; compare note 12.

14) The characters used to express love are Jen ai (Mathews, Dictionary No. 7999 and No. 9). Jen, perfect virtue, is the ideal of Confucius. We have here a minor example of the adaptation of Buddhism to Confucianism. See Chen: Buddhism, p. 471. Chen mentions the 11th century Neo-Confucianist Chu Hsi, who extended the meaning of Jen to embrace all under heaven. He thinks that the Buddhist conception of the universality of life played a role.

15) The three evil existences are as in animal (bhavanga), in hell (naraka), and as a hungry ghost (preta).

16) Robert Sith: Kao Seng Tschoum, p. 71 n. 43 points out that the expression ‘‘to turn South’’ is taken from classical Chinese literature.

7) A similar prediction was made by King Asta about the Buddha in the Lattavastika, p. 73, 1. 26: Sā ca sattva dīpamāyogavat raja bhavati. . . . Sā ca phalat aparādha aparajita pravrajat sābhavita viduta ṣuddhāḥ Sambuddhāh.

8) Lamotte: Histoire, p. 157, discusses the division of Buddhist scriptures into nine sections used by the Theravadin of Ceylon, the Mahayana and in some Mahayana Sutras, as contrasted with the division into twelve sections used in the Sanskrit sources of the Hinayana and in most Sutras and Sutras of the Mahayana.

9) Lamotte: Histoire, p. 165, mentions that some Buddhist schools have four Agamin as against the five Nikayas of the Pali canon, the Khuddakasikaya corresponding to a Khuddakapitaka, others exclude the minor texts from their Tripitaka. Among the texts recognized four Agamin only are the Mahapratisamantavas, the Vajrapanis, the Dhaphassana in Chinese, the Dhyayavada and other Sarvastivada texts.

20) Rendered by ‘‘the country of the lion’’ Simahladvipa.

21) The first fruit is that of a Srotapanna, one who has entered the stream, the first of four stages of Hinayana religious development, the others being Sakredgamin, one who returns once, Anagamin, one who does not return, and Bodhisattva, a saint. See Edgerton, Dictionary, s.v. srotapanna.
12) Literally: they developed affection. R. Shi: Kao Seng Tchousan, p. 126, translates this sentence as: ceux qui le vivent produisissent la pensée de bodhi.

13) D does not say Gunavarma went to Ceylon, therefore this sentence following on Gunavarma's life in the wilderness is somewhat strange.

14) For a discussion of the identification of She-po with Java see Pelliot: Histoires, p. 225f., 231f.; Chavannes: Gunavarma p. 193. Lochmanovsky: Indian Art, p. 198 thinks Fa Hien and Gunavarma visited Sumatra, not Java; he derives Chi-po (She-po) from Sriwijaya.

15) I.e. she became a by devotee. The five precepts are: 1) not to kill, 2) not to steal, 3) not to tell lies, 4) not to be unchaste, and 5) not to drink alcohol.

16) Literally: water, over which some spells had been uttered.

17) Chiao Chou was the name of a Southern province created during the late Han dynasty. It comprised parts of present day Tonking and Annam. See Franke: Geschichte, Vol. II, p. 276. Zarcher: Conquest, p. 61, says it must have been a Buddhist centre from the early 3rd century on.

18) Present day Kanton.

19) The testament is found in BT, E, F, and G at the end of Gunavarma's biography.

20) Nan-hoi was a name for present day Kuan chou (Kanton). Franke: Geschichte, Vol. I, p. 245.

21) Chung Tung is the region of the lower course of the Yang Tse, particularly the area around Chin yen (Nanking). R. Shi: Kao Seng Tshou-n, p. 170.

22) Chin yen, present day Nanking, had been the capital after the fall of the Han by the Wu dynasty, it was the centre of Southern Buddhism. Franke: Vol. II, p. 289.


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34) The Vulture Peak, Grāhakūta, was one of the five hills enwirling Rājagṛha. The Buddha often stayed there. It is not quite clear to me how the transcription Pa (Mathews: Dictionary, No. 1990-thieves' ball) Chi (Mathews: Dictionary, No. 212, a man of sixty, desirous of) and Si or Sh (Mathews: Dictionary, No. 1364-the tower over a city gate) comes about. Zürcher: Conquest, p. 208 and p. 394—n. 1. 136 and n. 137, points out that several mountains in China were called Grāhakūta. Referring to the dictionary Chang ku kuo chia ti-ning ti sū-ting he says that six mountains of this name are enumerated. A Tiger Hill North of Chu Chang in Kiang Tung was changed to Grāhakūta by the monk Shih Seng Is who stayed there between 402 and 408.

35) Chavannes: Guṇavarman, p. 100, n. 1, points out that the scene of the young ascetic, the future Buddha, spreading his hair on the road for the Buddha Dépanakara was very popular in Gandhara, and he refers to A. Foucher's study les bas re- liefs du Supta de Sikri (Gandhara)' in Journal Asiatique, Sept.-Oct. 1901, p. 199-219.

36) Wright: Biography, p. 386, states that Hui Chi, the author of the Kao Seng Chuan, is at pains to establish the prestige his subjects enjoyed in the Chinese society of their time. "He stresses the friendship of his subjects and the leading political and literary figures of their times."

37) Franké: Geschichtle III, p. 179, discusses the name Chiu-ling (Chi-ling) and refers to the work of Peter Louis Galland, according to whom the city was founded in 333 B.C. by the king of Yue. Under Shi Hsia Ti the name was changed to Mo-ling, and later under Sun K'ang to Kien-y (Chien-yeh). In the later Twon dynasty, Kien K'ang was used instead of Kien-y.

38) Chio Iien's biography is found in the Kao Seng Chuan, p. 354 b ff. (Robert Shih: Biography, p. 96 ff.). He translated in 418 the Avasamakasutta, which had been brought from Khotan.

39) The Kao Seng Chuan, p. 344 b 10 ff., records that Gamahadra was asked to preach the Avasamakasutta and other texts, but as he did not know Chinese sufficiently, he felt unable to do so. In a dream, a man dressed in white cut off his head and replaced it by another one. The next morning, Gamahadra knew Chinese perfectly.

41
Zurcher: Conquest, p. 374 x. 17, says that Chai (Mathew, Dictionary, No. 112) is an ancient term denoting the ritual purification which the celebrant had to undergo before offering, and the period of self-purification during which he "prevents contact with nefarious things, suppresses his desires, and does not allow his ears to listen to music." (Ish-ch XXII, chapter Shi-t'ung, shu shu ed., 49, 40); hence used in Buddhist works as a translation for "suaño" (denoting, for the layman, the six fast days of each month, and, in addition, the three months of fasting each year, originally the first months of the three Indian seasons). Zurcher: Conquest, p. 164, quotes from the "Essentials of Religion" in the Hung-ming ch'i, T. 2101, on the period of fasting:

"Once having decided to practise the five rules, (the Saññ) must observe the three (long) fasting periods in a year and the six monthly fast days. The three (long) fasting periods in a year are from the first to the fifteenth day of the first, the fifth and the ninth month. The six monthly fast days are the 8th, the 14th, the 19th, the 23rd, the 29th and the 30th of (each) month. On all fast days neither meat nor fish should be provided; (the devotee) must (only) eat before noon and when noon is past, he is not allowed to take any kind of swesinelling or delicious food. (During these periods of fasting) he clears his mind and thinks about the Way. Surrendering himself to the three venerable ones (the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha), he repents of his sins and reproves himself and practices the four thoughts of general (i.e., all-pervading) love and compassion. He keeps far from the (women's) apartments in order not to be envied by the six passions. (On these days) he must not bea (people or animals) with a whip or a stick or use abusive language. He must not drive in an ox-cart or ride on horseback, or carry arms. When fasting, the devotee must perform this for the sake of all who have passed away or who are still alive, for his acquaintances and relatives, as well as for all living beings. In all these occasions he must use this (fasting) to extend his sincerity and by hidden thoughts move and stimulate (their minds). Once (their) minds have been moved and stimulated, they will forever avoid sin and suffering. Therefore loyal and filial gentlemen exert themselves to the utmost (in observing the fast-days) in order to do the meritorious work of helping all together. It is not merely for his own sake. During the fast days, he must exclusively concentrate his thoughts on the vision of the Mystery and recite the words of the Doctrine. If he is unable to practice (the contemplation of) Essence, he must perform the Six Remembrances."
41. The same idea is expressed in "the Essentials of Religion" (see the above note), quoted by Zurcher: Conquest, p. 169. "When a sage monarch rules the world, there are already no excesses (in the application of punishments)."

42. E. Chavannes: Guanyunm, p. 201, and R. Shi: Kao Seng Tsehsoua, p. 111, translate this as Sudharmagautarka. The text has an abbreviated title, Fa Hsu (Mathews Nos. 1761 and 2127). The full title of the Sudharmagautarka is Hsiao Fa Hsu Hsiao Chieh (Mathews Nos. 4474, 1761, 4014, 2127, 1123). One of the titles of the Aratamahakun is Ta Ta Hsiao Ching (Mathews Nos. 2127, 5941, 1761, 2127, 1123), therefore Fa Hsu could also be used as an abbreviation of this Sutra. As the Fa Tai T'ung Chi says that Guanyunm translated the Hsin Yen (Mathews Nos. 2127, 7147) which stands for another title of the Aratamahakun; Ta Fung Kang Fa Hsin Yen Ching (Mathews Nos. 5941, 1863, 3901, 1921, 2711, 7347, 1123) I take Fa Hsu to stand for the latter text.

43. Literally: by going and coming.

44. The Bodhisattvabhumi has been published by U. Wegihara, Tokyo 1930-36.

45. Some data on civil law are found in Bagchi: Canon, p. 376.

46. P'eng ch'ing is present day Hsia hou in Kiang kai. It was a flourishing centre of commerce, situated on the highway from Loyang to the South-East, which actually formed an Eastern extension of the continental silk route, and as foreigners had settled there, Buddhism had penetrated there already in the first century A.D. See Zurcher: Conquest, p. 26.

47. See below, p. 35.

48. According to the Kai Yun Che Chou Lu this translation was lost. T. 4154, p. 516 a 21.

49. "Indian" is rendered by Fan, the language of the Brahmis, and "Chinese" by Fan and not as usual in this text by Seng. The "people of Han" is a common designation for the Chinese.

50. See below, p. 35.

51. Bagchi: Canon, gives a list of ancient catalogues in the introduction.
52) Twenty in Chinese is made up of the characters "ten" and "ten".

53) In the Chu San Tsung Chi Chú, p. 62 c 24—63 a 20, Seng Yu discusses the Pa-shā dhan chiai (the good rules of a Bodhisattva) and the Pa-shā ti (the stages of a Bodhisattva). He refers to old catalogues and says the text has ten rolls, and he mentions seven titles of this work, i.e., (1) Shan chiai (good rules), (2) Pa-shā ti (stages of a Bodhisattva), (3) Pa-shā ti (Buddhāvatara
gamakathā), (4) Ya-lai Tsung (treasures of a Tathāgata), (5) Shā dhan ši hēng pen (root of all good dheroas), (6) Ās lo gūo (realm of dīn), (7) Te-lo-ni chia (collection of Vessantara). The first roll was published first, it is called Yu-pēi-sên shou chiai fu (Upaniṣads questions about the precepts). The other rolls begin with "Thus have I heard!" (Yam nay a smūta). The work is divided into three sections, the first having 18 chapters, the second four and the third eight.

The Pa-shā ti (stages of a Bodhisattva) is also divided into three sections and divided into three sections of 18, 4 and 1 chapters. Lokakṣema’s translation was made in Luang chou at the time of Emperor As of the T’o t’a dynasty (397-419). The text begins with a veneration of the three jewels. There is no "Thus have I heard!". See below, p. —33 f.

54) This is another name for the Dhammadārābhadhākumāra. The Dhammadāra Vinita was widely popular in China, and the first Pratibhavak and Kārvakkōta texts translated belonged to that school. See Lamote: Historie, p. 395.

55) According to Bagchi: Canon, p. 374, this translation was already lost at the time of the Kai Yuan Che Chiao Lü was written.

56) This text corresponds to Nanjo No. 1164 Stavamana Karmavac. See Bagchi: Canon, p. 375.

57) Edgerton: Dictionary, s.v. samadhi gives a lot of the five fold samadhi from the Pali: pitiṣamadhi, abha, ātta, aloka, and patañjālīsamadhi.

58) This work, too, was lost by the 8th century. Bagchi: Canon, p. 375.

59) The Taishō edition says seven texts, but as actually eight are listed, the reading of the three editions (Sūng, Kūng and Yuen) must be correct.

44
66) Compare note 53 above and p. 53 below. Bagchi: Canon, p. 375, 1:35 this is Nānkyo No. 1169 (Upalapoṣapramapadā T 1466). This is apparently a mistake, because the text in question is a Pali text, which cannot have formed part of a Mahāyāna creation.

67) Bagchi: Canon, p. 375, calls this the oldest catalogue of the T'ang dynasty.

68) See note 53. Bagchi: Canon, p. 375, notes that the first translation was made by Lokaksema of the Han dynasty. This is obviously a mistake, as this Sūtra is not mentioned among Lokaksema's translations (Bagchi: Canon, p. 137 ff.), whereas on p. 2:8 this work is ascribed to Dharmakṣema.

69) The T'ourought edition says 33 against 31 in the preceding sentence. As 31 is also found in the three editions, this reading is the right one.

70) Bagchi: Canon, p. 78-79, gives a short note on Dharmaratna, a Parthian monk of a noble family who translated the Karmavaca of the Dhammadhāra school in 255 A.D.

71) Chavannes: Gunavasum, p. 204, translates this sentence: "Sur le territoire des Song, il n'y avait pas des supérieurs de religion." Robert Bibik: Kao Seng Ychouan, p. 157, also translates this sentence as meaning: "There have up to now been no monks in the country of Sung." I think the meaning is: "There has not yet been a Sutra on the ordination for nuns, but there are nuns (who have therefore not been ordained properly).

72) Nuns should be ordained in the community of nuns and nuns.  

73) Miss Horner's translation is: "I allow, monks, ordination (of a man) in the order of monks after she has been ordained as the one side and has chased herself in the order of nuns." Beck of the Discipline, part 5, p. 375.

74) Chavannes: Gunavasum, p. 306, translates this as: "la supposer qu'il se présente un cas qui ne soit pas le cas d'origine, rien ne s'oppose à ce qu'on puisse obtenir les défenses, cela était considéré comme par l'amour pour la religion." R. Sh: Kao Seng Ychouan, p. 132, has: "et si l'on ne se conformait pas au rituel, cela n'invaliderait pas l'ordination comme on fait le cas pour Gauṇāmi"
Maḥaprajñapā Gāsatama, Buddha's foster mother, was the first nun to be ordained, there was not yet a community of nuns. See Roth: Bhiksuniśīla, §§ 1-17.

65) Nuns were not allowed to be ordained before having attained 20 years of age. See Roth: Bhiksuniśīla, § 210.

69) Nuns were not allowed to confer ordination before having been nuns for 14 years. Roth: Bhiksuniśīla § 206.

70) See page 36 below.

71) The "Middle Kingdom" was a common designation for China, but it was also used to translate "Madyadesa", e.g. by Fa Hien. For Chinese Buddhists, the true Middle Kingdom was India, "the centre of Heaven and Earth, dwelling in equilibrium and harmony". Zschcher: Conquest, p. 266.


75) This is the same monk who translated the Aṭṭhakathāmaṇḍūkya.

76) Literally: for the master in the pagoda.

77) Franke; Geschichte, III, p. 166, discusses the origin of the name Tshen tun for China; quoting the Buddhist dictionary Fe hiao to tei he explains Tshen as name of the Tsin dynasty and ten as Sanskrit athana. Tshen ten means the country of the rising sun.

78) Compare T. 2116 p. 238 b 23-c 8, where it says that 167 years after A. Pang became a lay devotee the first complete ordination for nuns was performed.

79) During the rainy season monks in India were to go into retreat (vārasana). The rainy season corresponds to summer in Chinese. See Rosen: Vinayavibhanga, p. 139 n. 1.

80) This testimony is appended to Gunavennuva's biography in the Kao Seng Chuan, it is also found in E, F, and G.

82) See note 21.

86) Mathews; Dictionary, No. 5120, forty feet.

88) That is the community of monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees.
81) See below, p. 37.
83) Mathew: Dictionary, No. 3169, one foot.
84) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 107; Baresa: Sects, p. 39.
85) See below, p. 33.
86) ibid. Doyal: Bodhinatha Doctrine, p. 95, 1899: "In justice to Mahayana writers it must be stated that most of them do not assume these speculations at all."
87) In Ceylon for instance, there was a district Malavala, a village Malavanda and a place in Rohuna called Malavannakal. Malalasekera: Dictionary, s.v.
88) Malalasekera: Dictionary, s.v.
89) Mathew: No. 731.
90) Malalasekera: Dictionary, s.v.
91) Fa Hsien: Travels, p. 67, p. 70.
92) Encyclopedia, s.v. Akhyayogri.
93) Paranavitana: Mahayanaism, p. 16.
96) See note 14 above.
97) Ya Hsien: Travels, p. 28.
99) Hall: History, p. 64.
100) Zoetmulder: Religionen, p. 163.

102) Holt: Art, p. 36.

103) Wagner: Indonesasia, p. 93, says that there must have been many monasteries built of wood, of which little remains. The oldest Hindu monuments in Java built of stone are the temples on the Dieng plateau, ibid., p. 104.

104) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 23.

105) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 46.

106) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 46.

107) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 47.

108) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 51 f.


111) See above, note 38.


113) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 196.

114) Demieville: Bodhisattvabhumi, p. 111.

115) Demieville: Bodhisattvabhumi p. 110.

116) Indian Historical Quarterly No. 7, 1931.

117) Vol. 55, p. 483 c. 11. The Li Tai Kuan Pao Chi mentions two translations by an unknown translator, one dating from the later Han and the other from the Eastern Chin. Vol. 49, p. 54 c. 24 and 24 b. 9.

118) Pachaw: Pratinikta, had already noted a close affinity between the Upali-pra-prakasha and the Pali Pitumokka. Almost every passage in the Upality-pra-prakasha can be traced in different places in the Pali Vinaya. A translation of the text is in preparation.
119) R. Slikh: Kuo Seng Tsehoan, p. 139.
120) Bagchi: Canon, p. 314.
121) Chu San Tsang Chi Chi, p. 74 b.
122) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 130, 236 and 408 n. 71.
123) Sanejee: Vinaya Texts, Bagchi: Canon, p. 373.
125) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 36.
126) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 201.
127) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 188.
128) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 197.
129) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 201.
130) A list of those translations is found in Bapat: Shon Chin P‘i P’o Sha, p. XIV.
131) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 103.
135) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 114.
137) Roth: Blikomivinaya, § 218.
139) Geiger: Medieval Ceylon, p. 198.
140) See above, note 69.
142) Ho Tsi T'ong Chi, p. 344 b 16.
144) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 32.
145) Banerjee: Vinaya Texts; Dutt, Bodhisattvavatimsakasutra, p. 360.
146) See note 15.
147) Hsi Tou-ch’ih in a letter to Tso an, dated 365; quote fom Zurcher: Conquest, p. 105.

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