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GUNAVARMAN (367–431)

A Comparative Analysis of the Biographies found in the Chinese Tripitaka

Valentina Stache—Rosen

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

In the present paper, the biography of Gunavarmar in Hai-Chiao’s “Vies des Eminent Maîtres” (T 2019 Kao Seng Chu-an) will be used as the basis for comparison. This biography has been translated into French by E. Chavanne and by Robert Shih. It has also been used by P.C. Bagchi in his summary of Gunavarmar’s life in “Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine”.

Other texts used for the analysis are:

- A T 2165 Chu San Tang Chi Chi, by Seng Yu, A.D. 515
- B T 2064 Shen Seng Chu-an, by an unknown author with a preface dated 1417 A.D.
- C T 2122 Fu Yuan Chu Li, by Tao Shih, 668 A.D.
- D T 2151 Ka Yin I Ching T’ie Chi, by Ting Ma, 664 A.D.
- E T 2154 Kai Yuan Chi Shao Lu, by Tsehe Ching, 730 A.D.
- F T 2157 Cheng Yuan Hui T’eg Chu Chiao Mu Lu, by Yuan Chao, 7th century
- G T 2034 Li Tai San Pao Chi, by Fei Cheng-fung, 597 A.D.
- H T 2149 Tsang Nai Tea Lu, by Tao Huan, 7th century
- I T 2131 Fan I Ming I Chi, by Fa Yun, 12th century
- K T 2035 Fu T’ou Weng Chi, by Chih Pan, 13th century
- L T 2106 Chi Shen Chou San Pao Kan T’oung Lu

Each episode of Gunavarmar’s life as related in the Kao Seng Chu-an, 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 Sung Chuan, and Arthur Lieu 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 Sung Chuan biography of Gunavarni 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 Gunavarni's life in the Kao Yuan Chi Chieh Lu and the Chang Yuan Chi Chieh Chi Lu have been copied from the Kao Sung Chuan; they agree in every detail, the only difference being that the authors have added some remarks on the texts translated by Gunavarni.

I 1

Ch'iu-na-pa-mo (Gunavarni), that means "Armour of Virtue," originally belonged to the Kshatriya caste. His family had ruled over Kashmir for generations. His grandfather named Ho-li-pa-t'o (Haribhadra), that means "Worthy as a Lion," had been expelled because of his harshness. His father, called Sung-chia-mo (Sanghamandha), that means "Joy of the Community," had to live in valleys and mountains because of this.


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. 96 9 28—19.

C Ch'iu-na-pa-mo—that means "Armour of Virtue"—was the son of the king of Kashmir. p. 616 c 21.

D The monk Ch'iu-na-pa-mo—that means "Armour of Virtue"—was a nun from Kashmir; he was the younger son of the king of that country. p. 361 c 15—16.
ICH’U-na-pa-mo means “Armour of Virtue” in (the language of) Sung. He was the younger son of the king of Kashmir. p. 107 a 17.

L Ch’u-na-pa-mo was a man from a city in the West. p. 633 c 9.

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 she asked 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 sin, I will bear it for you.”

BT p. 340 a 18—22
F p. 516 b 1—5
Fp. 513 a 10—13
B p. 961 a 29—b3 (Omitting the mother’s answer)

A When Gunavarman was fifteen years of age he left his home and became a novice. p. 104 b 1.

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.

BT p. 340 a 22—15
F p. 516 b 3—7
Fp. 513 a 23—26

4.

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 South66 and he will be praised and venerated. If, however, he does not care for worldly affairs, he will obtain the fruit of sanctity.” 17
5. When Gunavarman was twenty years of age he left his house and received ordination. He understood the nine sections of Buddhist scriptures and mastered the four Agamas. He recited over a hundred thousand words of Sutras. He grasped the chapters on the discipline and was very skilful in entering meditation. Therefore he was called "Master of the Law Tripitaka".

6. When Gunavarman was thirty years old, the king of Kashmir died without an heir. Everybody, discussing this, said: "Gunavarman 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 Gunavarman 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 wanted 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.

p. 361 c 17—19

I 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.

BT p. 340 b 5—6
E p. 576 b 16—19
F p. 823 b 5—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 (Jon.24). 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. 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. I 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.

BT p. 340 b 5—12
E p. 516 b 18—27
F p. 823 b 5—11
B p. 963 b 9—14

A later, he came to the country of She-p'o 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 Gunavarman: "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 consider in you, my master, I do not know what to decide." Gunavarman answered: "If cruel bandits attack you, you must defend yourself. But you should develop compassion in your mind and have no thoughts of hatred."

BT p. 340 b 12—16
E p. 516 b 13—17
F p. 823 b 10—14
B p. 963 b 14—19

10.

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

BT p. 340 b 16—18
E p. 516 b 77—79
F p. 823 b 14—17
B p. 963 b 19—21

11.

The king's faith increased further and he wanted to leave his home and become a monk. Therefore he said to the minstrels:

10
"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."

BT p. 140 b 19—23
E p. 516 c 1—4
F p. 873 b 15—20

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.

BT p. 140 b 25—27
E p. 516 c 9—15
F p. 873 b 10—24

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 all right again.

BT p. 140 b 27—28
E p. 516 c 9—15
F p. 873 b 14—15
B p. 962 b 24—25

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 the tents 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.

p. 104 b 9—10

11
The fame of his conversions spread far and near. The neighbouring countries, hearing about his reputation, all sent envoys to invite him. At that time there were famous and virtuous monks in the capital (Nanking), Hsu K’un, Hsu T’o-yung 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 (424) they requested Emperor Wen at an audience to invite him. The emperor ordered the governor of Chiao Chou11 to send a boat to fetch him. Hsu K’un and the other monks also sent the monks Fa Ch’ang, Tao Ch’u-ang, Tao Ch’u and others to invite him. They also wrote a letter to Gunavarman and to the king of Java, P’o-to-chia, asking him to come to the country of Sung (Chou) in order to preach.

ST 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 same of the third monk sent to meet Gunavarman is Yao Ch’u-ung.  
 p. 963 b 21—25.

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’o-yung, Hsu K’un 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.  
 p. 104 b 15—19.

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 "Arbour 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 Kueang 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

12
Nam c'i (the Hindu Naal) and wanted to visit a small country. He reached Kuang Chou 24 with a favourable wind. Therefore, 'it is said in his testament: 'I came to the country of Song driven by the wind of my actions (karma)' 25. This is what it refers to. When the emperor Wen heard that he had already arrived at Nam c'ai, so he gave new order to the prefect and the governor of the place to take Guanvarman to the capital.

A. In the course of time before (the messenger) had been sent Guanvarman 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. p. 164 b 13-14.

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. p. 616 c 22-23.

D. He came to Chien yeh 32 (Nanking) in the middle of the Yuan Chia period of emperor Wen of the Sung dynasty. p. 361 c 19-20.

B. When the emperor heard that Guanvarman had already arrived at Nam c'ai, he gave a new order to the prefect and the governor of the place to take Guanvarman to the capital. p. 963 b 25-26.

1. In the beginning of the Sung dynasty he came to Yang Tu and converted many people. p. 344 c 9-10.

16.

Passing through Che-ling 33 Guanvarman stayed there for about one year. Here being there were the mountain Hu Shih of majestic appearance with a solitary peak, high and inaccessible. Guanvarman said it looked like the Gesharakuts. Therefore, it's name was changed to Vulture's Peak. 34 Guanvarman 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, Guanvarman had already arrived. He did not get wet to the rain 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 Gunavaran himself painted a picture of Rahula and of Dipankara and the young ascetic, 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.

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<th>BT</th>
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<tr>
<td>p. 340 c 11-18</td>
<td>p. 216 c 20-28</td>
<td>p. 811 c 7-14</td>
<td>p. 963 b 16-c 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17.

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

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<th>BT</th>
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<td>p. 340 c 18-21</td>
<td>p. 524 c 27-537 a 1</td>
<td>p. 811 c 7-17</td>
<td>p. 963 c 4-7 (omitting last sentence)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18.

This mountain was originally infested with many tigers, but Gunavaran 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 stroked 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 Gunavaran's virtue and became converted.

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<tr>
<td>p. 340 c 21-24</td>
<td>p. 527 a 7-9</td>
<td>p. 811 c 17-19</td>
<td>p. 963 c 7-9 (omitting last sentence)</td>
</tr>
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19.

Once, Gunavaran 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. Gunavarman accomplished many extraordinary supernatural deeds like this.

BT p. 340 c 24—27
E p. 537 a 3 — 7
F p. 821 c 20—23
B p. 965 c 7 — 11 (omitting last sentence)

20.

Later Emperor Wen again ordered (Hsü) Kuan and the other (monks) to invite Gunavarman. He took a boat to go to the capital. In the first month of the eighth year of the period Yuan Chia (451) he arrived at Chisen Yeh.

BT p. 341 a 1 — 3
E p. 517 a 7—11
F p. 823 c 25—27

G The Tripitaka Master Gunavarman from Kashmir, whose name means "Armour of Virtue" in the language of Sung, came to Nanking in the Yuan Chia period. p. 40 b 4—5.

H p. 158 b 22—23

I He came to Nanking in the Yuan Chia period of the Sung dynasty. p. 1070 c 21

K The messenger accompanied him to Chih 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 (778 Avatamsaka Sutra), of which sixty chapters had formerly been translated by Chao Hsien. Before reciting the Avatamsaka Sutra, he said a prayer to Kun Yü (Avalokitesvara). At night in a dream, he saw a strong man, who changed his head. 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: "If, your pupil, want to keep a vow 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?"
Gunavarman answered: "The path is in the heart, not in the affairs. The law comes from oneself and not from others. What is practiced by an emperor is different from what is practiced 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 practice 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 utter 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 eating for half a day and save the life of one animal would this lead to salvation?"

Gunavarman answered: "There is a difference between what is practiced 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. Those who are obstructed by teaching what is near cherish sections and chapters (the letter of the law). What you, oh Master of the Law, teach is really penetrating and leading to u-
standing. Cne 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."

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."

H The Emperor clipping on the table praised him. This matter (is related) in the (Koi) Seng 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 Avantimaka42 and the Dasshnumikesastra 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.43 Sometimes he used an interpreter and by questions and answers the difficulties were solved.

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

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

H p. 158 b 37
G p. 94 b 20
The master stayed in the Chi Yuan monastery and preached the Avatamsaka and the Daśabhūmikaśutra. The emperor led dukes and high officials on the day of assembly at the master's request, and the Buddhists praised him. p. 144 e 7-8.

Later, Hsüan I of the Chi Yuan monastery asked him to publish the Puṣa-chien ch'ien ching (The good rules of Bodhisattva, T 1482: Sūtrakara-vibhūṣyāntasya). Guṇavarmā 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 Puṣa-chien (The stages in the precepts of a Bodhisattva). Formerly, in the third year of the period Yuan Chia (426) the prefect of Hsia ch'ou, Wang Chung-tch, had asked a foreigner I yeh po lu46 at P'ing ch'ing46 to translate and publish the Ts'ā hsien27 (Samyuktaśālokabhārāṇi). When he came to the chapter on investigation (pratītyas), some difficulty arose and he discontinued his work. Guṇavarmā was asked to translate and publish the last chapters, in all thirty rolls. Together with the texts he had published previously, namely the Sūtra on the rule of a Bodhisattva and others, in all ten sections. About this Sūtra it is said in the Ch'ang feng Catalogue 51 and others that it has 50 rolls, below, in the commentary, it says that later a pupil completed 30 rolls. That is not so. Today there are only nine rolls, some 30 ten rolls. The character "two" must be regarded as a mistake in this text. Only in Hsing Yu's Catalogue 51 it is 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, Hsüan I of the Chi'ying Yuan monastery asked Guṇavarmā to translate and publish the Puṣa-chien ch'ien ching. Guṇavarmā began and published 28 chapters. Later a pupil published two chapters and 30 chapters were thus completed. In the Ch'ang and other catalogues it is said that 50 rolls were completed. That is a big mistake. In the Ch'ang feng Catalogue and others it is also said that Guṇavarmā translated the Ts'ā Pi T'an Han (Samyuktaśālokabhārāṇi). Guṇavarmā published his translation together with the 30 rolls published (previously) by Hsüan. It should not be said that Guṇavarmā published a separate translation. Although this is recorded in two places, it is not so. It has also been effaced in
the former catalogue. Sense and wording agree, and there is no
difference between the Indian and the Chinese text. p. 577 a—b 6.

Not long afterwards, he translated and published Sutras in the
Ch‘i‘i Yuan monastery, namely the Pu-sha ti (The stages of a Bodhis-
attva), the T’an wu teh chie-mo, the Yu-po-sha wu chiai lu lun
(The five rules of a lay devotee), the San-kun chi yu-po-sha erh she
erh chiai (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 (426),
the prefect of Hsuan chou, Wang Chung-teh, and asked a foreigner
I reh po lo at Peng 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, Gunavar-
man 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 horse-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 trans-
lations:

1. Pu-sha shan chiai (The good rules of a Bodhisattva) is ten
rolls, it is also called Pu-sha ti (The stages of a Bodhisattva).
2. Yu-po-sha wu chiai 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-kun chi yu-po-sha erh she erh chiai (The twenty two rules
of a lay devotee, who has taken the three refuges) in one roll.
It is also called Yu-po-sha chiai (The rules of a lay devotee).
4. T’an wu teh chie-mo in one roll. It is also called Tao chie-mo
(Miscellaneous Karma).

These four titles, in all 15 rolls, have been published at Nanking
by the Tripiṭaka Master Gunavarman of Kashmir during the

D Then, in the Yuan Chia period at Yang Tu he translated the Pu-sha
shan chiai ching (The Sutra on the good rules of a Bodhisattva), 10
rolls, the To A p‘i tan him lun (Sanyuktabhidharmahridaya), 12
rolls, the Sse fen pi-chiai ai chie-mo (Dharmaguptabhikarmaṇa),
1 roll, the Yu-po-sha wu chiai (The five rules of a lay devotee),
1 roll, the San kün chi yu-po-sha chiai (The rules of a lay devotee

19
who has taken the three refuges), 1 roll, the Shao mi wei 15 (The dignity of a novice), 1 roll, the Wu men than yao yung 9 (Manual on the five fold meditation), 1 roll, the ching han fen i chih 10 (Detailed explanation of Sutra and Yin), 1 roll. These eight 59 texts have 35 rolls. He obtained the second fruit. p 562 a 1–2.

1. Po-sho than chiai ching (Sutra on the good rules of a Bodhisattva) is 9 rolls. One name is Po-sho 11 (The stages of a Bodhisattva) in 10 rolls. It was published in the Chi 1 Yuan monastery. See the two catalogues of Chi Tso Tsiu, Seng Yu as well as the Kao Song Chuan. In the Chang feng Catalogue and others it is also called Thran chiai ching (Sutra on the good rules) in 10 rolls. Further it is said that a pupil published two chapters and thus completed 30 rolls. That is not so.

2. Po-sho than chiai ching (Theutra on the good rules of a Bodhisattva) in 10 rolls. Until now the Bodhisattva about the precepts. See Pao Ching Catalogue. As it is recorded by Seng Yu, this was the first roll, together with the former nine rolls (of the text mentioned under 1) they formed ten rolls. If the North the Sutra becames separated and could not be united and then the old arrangement was adhered to.

3. Pu-sha ng chiai ching (Sutra on the internal rules of a Bodhisattva, Yi 189). This is in the above catalogue.

4. Pu-po-sha nu chiai mi i ching (Sutra on the dignity of the five rules of a lay devotee), in 1 roll. See the Pao Ching Catalogue.

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

6. See fan pi chiao et chia mi fe (Dharanagathaabhikaranarnay) in 1 roll (Seng Yu calls it Tai mu teh shu and also Tai chie-nam. It was published in the eighth year of the Yuan Chi period (431) at the Chi 1 Yuan monastery. See the two catalogues of Pao Chiang and Seng Yu, as well as the Kao Song Chuan. It is also called Sze fan chie-nam.

7. Yoo-po-sha nu chiai Siang ching (Sutra on the characteristics of the five rules of a lay devotee), in 1 roll. Another name is Yoo-po-sha nu chiai lin lim (Summary of the five rules of a lay devotee). It was published in the eighth year of the Yuan Chi period in the Chi 1 Yuan monastery. See the two catalogues of Seng Yu and Pao Chiang, as well as the Kao Song Chuan.

8. Long sha pu-sha mer Cho-to-choh moy chao fa yao dih (The Bodhisattva Nagarjuna preaches to the king Chandra) is

20
9. Shan hito erh she erh chiai. (The twenty two rules of one who has good faith), in 1 roll. It is also called Li ye ye po she yu po yi hsia hing 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 kuo Yu po shu chiai. (The rules of a lay devotee who has taken the three refuge). (Seng) Yu calls it Yu po shu chiai. (The rules of a lay devotee). See Koa Seng 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.

G 1. Yu po shu shen chiai ching. (The Sutra on the good rules of a Bodhisattva) in 16 rolls. It has been translated in the Ch'1 Yuan monastery. It is the second publication, there are minor differences between the edition of Ch'1 (Dharma-sema). See the Chou tao tu catalogue and the Koa Seng Chuan. Later, a pupil published two chapters in the Ching long monastery, thus completing 16 rolls.

2. Tso A pi t'an han. (Sanskritbhidharmachedaya) in 13 rolls. It has first been published by Leven, up to the chapter on investigation. The present complete edition has 13 rolls. See Koa Seng Chuan.

3. See fen chie-mu. (Dharmauguptahkimulkaran) in 2 roll. It has been published in the eighth year of the Yuan Chia period (431) in the Ch'1 Yuan monastery. This is the second translation, it agrees with the one made by Tan ti (Dharmasaya) in the Wei dynasty. See Koa Seng Chuan, Pao Chang Lu, Peh Lu and others.

4. Yu po shu shu chiai lue fen. (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'1 Yuan monastery. It is also called Wu chiai hsiang (Characteristics of the five rules) and Wu chiai lue fen. (Summary of the five rules). See Koa Seng Chuan and Pao Chang Lu.

21
5. Shen hui egh she egh chiai. (The twenty-two rules of those who have good faith) in 1 roll. It is also called Li yu-yu-po-shu yu po-shu yu po yu hong egh she egh chiai (Twenty-two rules of conduct for male and female lay-devotees, who have renounced desires) and San yu-yu-po-shu chiai (The rules for lay devotees, who have taken the threefold refuge). See Kao Seng Chuan.
6. Shou mei wei i. (The dignity of a novice), in 1 roll.
7. Ching hse fei i. (Detailed explanation of Sutras and Vinayas) in 1 roll. p. 90 a 19 b 3.

H p. 258 b 15 22

1 In the seventh year of the Yuen Chia period of Sung dynasty at Yang Tu he translated the Shen Chiai (Good rules) and other Sutras concerning the ordination of nuns. p. 1072 b 3 4.

26.

At that time the nuns of the Yung fu monastery, Huei Kuo, Ching Yu and others respectfully said to Gunvarman: "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.'"

Gunvarman 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 Guntan1.26 The nuns also feared that they had not yet attained the right age. Therefore they wanted to be recordeated. Gunvarman agreed and said: "Alright, if you wish to increase your understanding that will lead to consecration. But the nuns from the West have not yet attained the right age, and they are not ten persons." Therefore he asked them to learn the language of Sung, and he also asked a bhikshu-hold from the West to invite foreign nuns to come and complete the number ten.

BT p. 544 a 28 b 7
Ep. p. 524 b 7 14
F p. 874 b 3 35

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?' Gunvarman replied: 'Nuns who do not act according to the original law and obtain ordination become guilty. If one examines the intention of Buddha's regulations 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 nowadays 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 monks joyfully 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 nuns 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 (414) there was the monk Seng chih po mo (Sangha Varman) that means 'Armed of the Community'. He knew the Vinaya and the Abhidharmakosa well. He traversed the moving sands and came to Yang Chou. Originally, Gunavarman had wanted to ordain the nuns, but he died before doing so. Shortly afterwards, a Ceylonese nun, Tied-sao-lo and others (in all three persons) came to the capital and completed the number ten. And then Sangha Varman was asked to confer ordination on the nuns instead of Gunavarman. 44 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. 73 At that time eight nuns had come from Ceylon, and they were not sufficient (for the ordination). Later, the nun Tied-sao-lo (and others, in all) three nuns came, enough to make up a community of ten. Sangha Varman was asked to be the preceptor for the nun Huei Kuei and others from the Ch'ing Fu monastery, who were ordained at the ordination altar of the Nan Lin monastery before the two communities. More than three hundred people were present.

Stu says: The Sung-shih-shih 74 says: In the Han period, a Pang took the threefold refuge (i.e. she was the first female lay devotee), in the Tsin 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 Huei Kuei. p. 344 c 35—345 a 3.

25
Gunavarman spent the retreat of that year's summer in a minor vihara of the Ting lim 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.

BT p. 546 a 7—9
E p. 579 b 15—17
F p. 514 a 31—b 1

C The monk Fuei 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, there was nobody, who could fathom the depth of his spirit.

Later, he was invited to the Ting lim 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 lim 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.


I 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.

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, left and returned to his cell. When his parih followed later, he found that Gunavarman had died all of a sudden. He was 67 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

24
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 laymen came to see him. Everybody noticed fragrant perfumes, some saw an animal like a serpent or a dragon about one P'iu 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 space. At that moment, the sky became light, priests and laymen sighed and moaned. A white pagoda was erected on this spot. The nuns, who had wished to be retrained, cried incessantly and could not control themselves.

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

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 66 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 laymen came to see him. Everybody noticed fragrant perfumes, and some saw an animal like a dragon or a snake, about one P'iu 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 in 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 laymen sighed and moaned. 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 second 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'il 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 Nin 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 difficulties on his mat with crossed legs and folded hands. He stayed there for two nights and his appearance did not change; some thought that 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'il in length, which coiled round the corpse and disappeared. Those who were assembled all and they saw it. Before his death, Ganavarmma 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 Ganavarmma's death people saw an animal like a dragon about one P'il in
length. It came from the right side of the corpse and ascen-
ded straight to her-on. p. 90 b 23—18.

Guanyuan died later in the Chi'i Yuan monastery. He had
composed a testament in 36 verses, in which he said he had
obtained the second fruit. This document is in the (Kao Seng)
Chuan. p. 248 b 38-29.

I

After his death he was seated 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. 433 c 10—14.

II

Guanyuan'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.

Guanyuan 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 that sect in the 5th cent.84
He must have become acquainted with Mahayana doctrines
sometime in his career, for he preached on the Aṣṭasāhasrika and Dīnī
Māhāvīra Sutra in China, 85 and he translated Mahayana texts like
the Bodhisattvabhumi besides Hinayana texts like the Dharmaśāntikabodhi-
karuṇa. 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 (unbhīt), which were
favoured more by the Hinayana adherents than by the Mahayanaists.86
In the testament there is no indication of any ideas that show a leaning
in the direction of the Greater Vehicle.

Guanyuan 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 Seng Chuan 353, he was 85 years of age.) Except for
the Ke Yin ti Ch'ing T'se Chi and the Fan Hsiang T'se 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
Mālāwa in Central India, Malabar (the Malabar coast) or some district
in Ceylon is not clear. 87

27
The biographies do not mention the place which Gunavarman stayed at in Ceylon. In the testament he says he lived in Cheh-po-li. It has not been possible to identify this name either. It might be Kappakagama, 89 as Cheh is used for Senekrit kolpa, Pali koppa. 89

The transcription comes nearest to Kappura parivena, a building in the Abhayagiriwara, which however was only built in the 7th century by Dathaparisena I (620–59). 90

Fa Hsien, who visited Ceylon in 412–13, states that at about the same time that Gunavarman did, records in his travel account that there were 2,000 monks in the Abhayagiriwara, as against 1,000 in the Mahavihara. Fa Hsien also describes the festival of the Tooth Relic, held with great pomp at the Abhayagiriwara. 91 The Tooth Relic was the personal possession of the king and the Abhayagiriwina must have been held in special regard in the country at that time. 92 This monastery had been founded by king Vattagamani Abhayare in the first century B.C. and buildings existing in this monastery were often in opposition to the Mahavihara, who regarded them as heretics. In the third century, they had adopted the Vatulyavada, which S. Paramasivam takes to be Mahayani. 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 Tripitaka. 94

It is very likely that a foreign monk like Gunavarman was received by this fraternity rather than by the monks of the Mahavihara. But, as Gunavarman’s biographers say, he studied the customs of the country, we may assume that he also had contacts with the Mahavihara group. Whether he met Buddhagossa who is supposed to have been active in Ceylon at this period, we are in no position to say.

From Ceylon Gunavarman went to the kingdom of She-po which most scholars take to be Java. 95 Here, he converted the queen 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 "Buddhism and Brahmanism were flourishing." 97 Gunavarman’s biography in the Kan Son Chuan, the Chen Yuan Chi Chao Lu, the Chen Yuan Hsin Ting Chi Chi Mo Lu and the Shen Tang Chuan contain an indirect indication that the king had been a Hindu before embracing the Buddhist faith. When the kingdom was attacked by an enemy, the king asked his minister 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
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 madhurapi cakraya na vibhngya matahi
bhuyayddhi yudhyadhnya 'ayat karmayya na vidhat
(flaving regard to thine own duty also, thou oughtst
not to waver
For, to a ksatrya, there is nothing more wholesome than a
lawful battle).

II. 33 atha ettram imam bharyann sarngaram na kartip
vah sah bharyam kartim ca hita pragam avastg
Now, if thou wouldst not fight this lawful battle, then, having
abandoned thine own duty and fame, thou shouldst incur sin.

III. 19 tasmat asahah satatam keram karma samvarga
aske bhasyame karma param apnati purushah
Therefore, without attachment constantly perform the
action which should be done,
for performing action without attachment man reaches the
supreme.58

It seems likely that Kanavarman suppressed 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 (11th
century).59 The prose rendering of the Bhagavadgita was fairly
extensive.60 That Sanskrit was known in Kanavarman's time in
Java may be seen from the four inscriptions of king Purnavarman
written in Sanskrit in a South Indian script.61

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 Kanavarman
and abstain from killing and that the poor and needy should be given
alm. 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 Indone
san rulers. In the villages, ritual worship probably continued for a
long time under the direction of priestly elders and" conjurors diviners
who of old had been the mediators between the human and the spirit
worlds. The philosophical and mystical tenets of India's great religions
remained for many centuries the prerogative of the priesthood, in
monasteries and other sacred foundations for religious learning."62

29
The last event recorded about Gunavaran's stay in Java is that the king built a whara for him. It is probable that Gunavaran 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 century.

Gunavaran's fame spread to China, where the Emperor Wen of the Lin Song dynasty heard about him and sent a delegation to invite Gunavaran. When this delegation arrived in 414 A.D., Gunavaran 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 Chu San Tung Chi Chi for instance does not mention the date the messengers were sent but it does say that Gunavaran 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 Ken Song Chuan, the delegation was sent in 414 and did not meet Gunavaran 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 Heung on the way. The Ken Song Chuan does not account for the years in between, i.e. for the years 424-429.

The Li Te San Poo Chi and the Fai I Ming I Chi record that Gunavaran came to Nanking in the Yun Chio period, but they do not specify the exact year. According to the Fai Tung Chi, Gunavaran came to China on an invitation from the emperor and not by chance as the Ken Song Chuan implies. Gunavaran himself says in his testament that he spent some time at Lin Yi (Changsha) before being driven by the wind of his karma to the court of China. None of the biographies mentions his stay at Lin Yi. It is unlikely that Gunavaran came to China in A.D. 424, as it appears from the Ken Song Chuan account, and only had the interview with the emperor—who had sent messs to bring Gunavaran to the capital—seven years later. If Gunavaran had already left Java when the imperial messengers arrived in 424, 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 Ken Song Chuan, the Kai Yuan Chi Chiao Lu, the Chung Hua Hsin Tung Chi Chiao Mu, in the Kai I Yi Gun I Chi, the Li Te San Poo Chi and the Fai I Ming I Chi. If Gunavaran 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 has infiltrated into China from the North-West along the silk road which entered Chinese territory at Tun Huang. The 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. 104 Buddhism had been the religion of foreigners, Perfrians, Scylians and Indoscylians living at the Han capital Loyang. Buddhism only spread among the Chinese after translation 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 Tse and Chuang Tse. 105 “Talk about emptiness and non-being” played an important role in these circles. 106 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 orientated towards the higher strata of society, the government and the court. 107 In “The Buddhist Conquest of China”, Zurcher has shown that in the extreme South, in Chiao Chou, a hybrid form of Buddhism had developed and that some kind of contact existed between the foreign clergy and the Chinese learned minority of that region. Of the Sogdian monk Kang Song has it is known that he was widely read in the Confucian classics. 108 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 Hsi (215-264), Ho Yen and Wong Pi (276-349). 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.” 109

Guanavarma 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. Guanavarma applied the principle laid down by Mou Lie in his spoh.
getic writing Li Hsin lan where the opponent asks why Confucian and Taoist terms are used to explain Buddhist concepts. The apologetic reply: “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 inaction, it would have been like speaking of the five colours to a blind man or playing the five sounds to one who is deaf.”

While staying at Nanking, Gunavirman preached on two Mahayana texts, on the Avanamsakamra and on the Doshhuminakamra. The Avanamsakamra in 36,000 Slokas was brought by Fa liing from Khotan and was translated by Buddhaghosa in 418-19 in the Southern capital. The Doshhuminakamra had been translated by Dharmakirti (ca. 330-338). It discusses the ten stages in the career of a Bodhisattva.

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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<td>Pu-Sha Shan Chai Ching or Pu-Sha 11 Bodhisattvaabumi</td>
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<td>Pu-Sha Shan Chai Ching The Good Rules of a Bodhisattva</td>
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32
Our Basic Text and A (Kuo Sheng Chuan and Chu San Tung Chi Chi) agree on the number of translations ascribed to Guanvarman, and in the other biographies also contain the titles of these texts, we may assume these were actually translated by Guanvarman.

The Bodhisattvabhumi had already been translated by Dharma-krtsnas in 418 A.D. Guanvarman's translation was published in 437 A.D. and the text was later translated again by Huan Tsang in 645 A.D. The Bodhisattvabhumi forms about one third of Asanga's Yogacarabhumisutra, this being the chief work of one of the great schools of Indian philosophy. 114 Paul Demiéville, discussing these texts says the Yogacarabhumisutra 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 Sautrāntika-school. This great treatise is divided into two parts, the first of which is the Bodhisattva-mukha-pratipada an exposition of the 37 stages (āśrama) in the Yoga practice. The 35th of the 37 stages is that of the Bodhisattva, the Bodhisattvabhumi. Dharma-krtsnas's version is entitled Pañca (5) the ching (or less) which corresponds to Bodhisattvabhumi dharmapracīśa (or vatsa). Guanvarman's version Pañca (5) shan ching ching would be Bodhisattvabhumi dharmatilāma. It is a regular Sutra with introduction and closing remarks. According to the French scholar who translated the chapter on meditation (āśrama) and compared the three texts, Guanvarman's translation isarrivée and shows many divergencies due to faulty rendering rather than to textual variations. 115

The Lai Yuan Che Chiao Lin and the Ching Yuan Hsin Ting Che Chiao Mo Li (F and P) mention that the 5 is roll of this text was transla-
The text is also found in the Taiho Tripiṭaka under No. 325; its name has been restored by Nanjo as Vangavijñākāya Upaliparyācāra. Taiho No. 1466 is another text called Upaliparyācāra, which is also ascribed to Gunavarman to the year 424 A.D. As not one of the biographies mentions this text, and as the Ka Yuen Chie Chia Lu says the translation was made by an unknown author of the later Han dynasty it is probably wrong that Gunavarman translated this text also. The Upaliparyācāra T. 1466 (Nanjo No. 1109) is called Yūgo-ji yon Fu (upali asks the Buddha (not the Bodhisattva)). This text is a Hitayu Pratimokṣa-sūtra, containing the rules under which a monk becomes guilty and exceptions to these rules in which a monk is not guilty. This Upaliparyācāra has literal parallels in the Pali canon, although the order of the rules does not agree with the Pali. The language of the original seems to have been Pali or Sanskrit rather than Sanskrit.

The Tsu Hsin, (Sangaiśhāhīdharma-yantra) was first translated in 436 by Ivara 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 Senghawittana was again entrusted with the translation of this text. He revised it during one year and published it. This translation is extant under Taiho No. 1552. Ivara's and Gunavarman's translations are mentioned as being lost by the Ka Yuen Chie Chia Lu.

The Abhidharma-sūtra is a collection of 660 verses, 250 of which were composed a hundred years after the Buddhist Nirvāṇa by Fa Sheng. Later, Ta-mo-to-lo (Dharmaratna) added another 350 verses to the collection, after careful examination of the sutras. This text must have been very popular because other translations were made in the North. The Kao Sheng Chuan relates that Tso-an (4th century) had asked a monk Dharmasanghita to translate this Abhidharma work, but as he did not know Chinese very well, there were many mistranslations and dubious passages in this translation. Therefore Sanghadeva, a monk from Kashmīr, 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 Taiho No. 1555.
The Shi Mi Wai (The Sutra on the dignity of a novice) is listed in Nianju’s Catalogue under No. 1164 as Sanchuo Karamatsu. A.C. Bunker mentions one text Ye-po-sat erh shih erh ooho translated by Gunarana, which contains ordination rules for novices. According to Bapchi, however, the Chu an ta-shen chia (Shih hsiao erh shih erh wal the twenty-two rules of those who have good faith) is mentioned as lost by the Koi Tuan Che Chiao Loi.131 In the Ye-po-sha wu chien Mong ding (7474), the characteristics of the five rules for lay-devotees by the Buddha is approached by his father, king Sundodana, 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 those five rules and those cases which can be stated for by confession and those in which confession is of no avail. The translation of these three texts, as well as of that of the Dharmaagga Bhikshunigga show Gunarana’s interest in disciplinary matters. Zunber thinks that the most basic monastic rules were probably transmitted orally by the first missionaries, and he says that the Vinaya is not represented among the scriptures attributed to Han translators in early catalogues.134 During the Wei dynasty (316-420) several treatises on monastic discipline appeared which mark the introduction of the Vinaya in written form in China. In 250 A.D., Dhammakada made a Chinese version of the Protocols of the Mahasanghika, shortly afterwards the Kanvaagama of the Dharmaagga school was translated.135 Before the 6th century no complete Vinaya of any school was known in China.136 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.137 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 Prajnaparamita are based.138 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.139 The interest in acquiring the complete set of Vinaya rules is also shown by the fact that Fa Hien 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.140

The last event in Gunarana’s life mentioned in the Kao Seoy Chuan is the fact that several Chinese monks approached him. They told him that some monks from Ceylon had drawn their attention to the fact that they were not properly ordained. A Vinaya for monks had been “compiled or connected” by Milii, a disciple of the monk Srimitra; those rules were however, attacked in his treatise by Chih Tun (ca 344-464) and Chu Po-cal (370-389).141 According to Zunber, Po Ch’eng, who came to Loyang in 370, introduced a more complete set of monastic

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rules and took the initiative of establishing the order of Buddhist nuns on Chinese soil. He ordained the nun As-ling-shou. This ordination was however not canonical, as she was ordained by Fo Tu ting 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 Lon who had crossed over the Yang Tse with ten other sisters in 344 or 348 and lived in a monastery established for her by Ho Chou. The nun Hui Chia from T'ing ch'eng was also lodged there. In 356 Empress Ho founded another monastery. 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 Ta T'ang Gui ascribes the establishment of the order of nuns to Gunavaran, and he thinks that there is some mistake and contradiction. This is not the case. The Fo Ta T'ang Gui makes it quite clear that Gunavaran built the 'ordination altar', but Sanghavarama actually ordained the nuns. The Fo Ta T'ang Gui 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 Aula and other Singhalese ladies. Similarly, monks could only be ordained by a numerically complete chapter of monks. When in the 19th 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 as these nuns had not yet acquired the prescribed twelve years standing, Gunavaran could not confer the ordination immediately but had to send for further nuns, who arrived after his death in 414. Sanghavarama, the same monk who had completed the translation of the Almaharacahitya ordained the Chinese nuns. It is not stated expressly whether the nun T'ien-so-lo and the two others, who came from Ceylon to China, were
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 the king of Ceylon in 411.143 The Fa Tzu Tung Chih 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 kahariy king Mahanama of Ceylon. Emperor Wen answered Mahanama:

"We have too few Sutras of the Lesser Vehicle. Whatever there is in your country should be copied and sent." 142

The answer given by Gunvarman to the monks as recorded in the basic text, and differs from the account in 1. In the first instance, Gunvarman says that the incompleteness of the order is no hindrance to a valid ordination in the first nun, Mahaprajapati Gautami, was ordained without other nuns 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 Buddhist, but had been prevented by his duties to do so. In 411, the year of Gunvarman’s death, the king of Lin-yi (Champa) intended to visit Chia-nou. Emperor Wen had also planned an expedition against the North a year earlier.143 The term "Buddhista" was applied to both monks and lay devotees in the early church.144 The Bodhisattvaprajñaptapramitā, T 1290, contains extracts of the Bodhisa-

trahānya and the Upāpyāgaprajñapti.145 It deals with the ordination rites 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.146 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 (lay) commandments was stricter than that of a mountain recluse." 147 The Kao Sung Chuan and the Chin Shu record that Emperor Hsiao Wu accepted the Buddhist doctrine.148 The same emperor also contributed to the funeral expenses of two monks which, according to Zuricher, was customary if that period. In the same way Emperor Wen had a châitya erected for Gunvarman.

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Postscript

The author wishes to thank Dr. H. Durt, Kyoto, for kindly sending her the biographical material on Guanarmon, which forms the basis of this paper. For other material and advice given the author is indebted to Prof. Dr. T. Sechter, Gottingen; the late Prof. Dr. F. Bernhardt, Hamburg; Dr. Dencker, Colombo; Prof. De Jong, Calcutta; Dr. C. Kaerfel, Kyoto; Prof. Liu Mao Ts'ai, Hamburg; Dr. W. Pachow, Peradeniya; Dr. and Mrs. Roth, Gottingen; and Prof. Dr. D. Schlingloff, Munich.

NOTES

(Please refer to the Bibliography)

3) Ziegenhauer: Religions, p. 233 f.; Krom: Geschiedenis, p. 82.
8) Texts marked with an asterisk have been used by Bagchi, op. cit.
11) E and F add "in the language of Sung" (Chinese).

12) The Taizo edition has "in the language of Chi", whereas the three editions read "Sung". As the Chi' dynasty came to power only after the death of Guanarmon, 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.
Instead of Ch'iu to seek (Mathews, Dictionary No. 1217), ch'iu-a rival (Mathews, Dictionary No. 1332) has been used. ch'i is prefixed to the name; compare note 12.

The characters used to express love are Jen ai (Mathews, Dictionary No. 1999 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 Chung Ts'ui, 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.

The three evil existences are as an animal (thingga), in hell (nezha), and as a hungry ghost (petra).

Robert Sih: Kao Seng Tschou, p. 71 n. 47 points out that the expression "to turn South" is taken from classical Chinese literature.

A similar prediction was made by saim Asita about the Buddha in the Sāvatthi, p. 71, 1. 26: so ceq agram adihava sa raja bhavati.... so ceq purav agora anagāraka pravrjati tathāgato bhavīputi vidhurinabhābhā samyakamuddhābhā.

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

Lamotte: Histoire, p. 165, mentions that some Buddhist schools have four Agamas as against the five Nigayas of the Ājīva canon, the Khuddakokiy:ya corresponding to a Khudrakapitaka, others exclude the minor texts from their Tripitaka. Among the texts recognized are the Mahāparinirvana, the Vinayapitaka, the Dīgha-nikāya in Chinese, the Divyavadana and other Sravastivada texts.

Rendered by "the country of the lion" Sinhaladesa.

The first fruit is that of a Srotasapana, one who has entered the stream, the first of four stages of Hinayana religious development, the others being Sakadgamin, one who returns once, Anagamin, one who does not return, and Arihat, a saint. See Edgerton, Dictionary, s.v. srotasapana.

39
12) Literally: they developed affection. R. Shih; Kao Seng Tchou-n, p. 176, translates this sentence as: eux qui le vissent produisirent la pensee de bodhi.

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

14) For a discussion of the identification of She-po with Java see Pelliot: litteratures, p. 224f., 271 f.; Chavannes: Gunavarman p. 193. Somavarman: Indian Rev., p. 198 thinks Fa Hien and Gunavarman visited Sumatra, not Java; he derives Ch’i’s-po (She-po) from Srivijaya.

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. 278. Zarcher: Conquest, p. 63, 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 Gunavarman’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 at the lower course of the Yang Ts’i, particularly the area around Chien yeh (Nanking). R. Shih: Kao Seng Tchou-n, p. 170.

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

34) The Vulture Peak, Gränzka, was one of the five hills enwrapping Rajagaha. The Buddha often stayed there. It is not quite close to me, how the transcription Fu (Matthew : Dictionary, No. 1990-dubbed name, Chi (Matthew : Dictionary, No. 212, a man of sixty, desirous of) and Sha or Shu (Matthew : Dictionary, No. 1501-ten tower over a city gate) comes about. Zürcher : Conquest, p. 208 ind p. 398-9 ox. i. 136 and n. 137, points out that several mountains in China were called Gränzka. Referring to the dictionary Chang ku ju-chin-shih, he says that six mountains of this name are extant. A Tiger Hill North of Chu Ching in Kuang Tung was changed to Gränzka by the monk Shih Seng Ts'ao, who stayed there between 495 and 498.

35) Chavannes: Gunawan, p. 290, n. 1, points out that the scene of the young acetic, the future Buddha, spreading his hair on the road for the Buddha Dipamkara was very popular in Gandhara, and he refers to A. Foucher's study les hés de Surs de Sikri (Gandhara)" in Journal Asiatique, Sept-Oct. 1901, p. 199-219.

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

37) Franke: Geschichte III, p. 175, discusses the name Chi-lung (Kan-lung) 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 Huang Ti the name was changed to Mo-lung, and later under Sun K'un to Kien-ye (Chien-yeh). In the later Ten dynasty, Kien K'ang was used instead of Kien-ye.

38) Chi Shih's biography is found in the Kao Sung Chuan: p. 394 b ff. (Robert Shih: Biographies, p. 96 ff.). He translated it in 418 the Aṭṭhākāravī Saṅga, which had been brought from Bharhat.

39) The Kao Sung Chuan, p. 344 b 10 f., records that Gunabhadra was asked to preach the Aṭṭhākāravī Saṅga 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, Gunabhadra knew Chinese perfectly.
Zurcher: Conquest, p. 174 x 17, says that Chai (Mathews, "Dictionary, No. 114) 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' (T'ie-ch XXII, chapter 36; 'chi-yung, chu shu ed. 49, 4b); hence used in Buddhist works as a translation for upacara (denoting, for the beseechment, 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 chi, T. 3191, on the period of fasting: "Once having decided to practise the five rules, (the upacara) 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 21st, the 27th, the 34th and the 40th of each month. On all fasts neither meat nor fish should be provided; (the devotee) must (only) eat before noon and when noon is past, he is not allowed to taste any kind of sweeetsmelling or delicious food. (During these periods of fasting) he cleans 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 ensnared by the six passions. (On these days) he must not box (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 exhort 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) Empyrean, 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 so excesses (in the application of punishments)."

42) E. Chavannes: Ganavarmma, p. 101, and R. Shi: Kao Seng 766-781, p. 111, translate this as 'Saddharmapundarika'. The text has an abbreviated title, 'Fa Hua (Mathews Nos. 1761 and 2717). The full title of the Saddharmapundarika is 'Fa Fa Hua Hua Ching' (Mathews Nos. 4474, 1761, 4014, 2717, 1121). One of the cities of the Arhatashrama is Ta Fa Hua Ching (Mathews Nos. 5941, 1767, 2717, 1121), therefore Fa Hua could also be used as an abbreviation of this Sutra. As the Fa Tai T'ung Chi says that Gunavarman translated the Hua Yen (Mathews Nos. 2717, 7347) which stands for another title of the Arhatashrama; Ta Fah Kuang Fa Hua Yen Ching (Mathews Nos. 5943, 1862, 3991, 1921, 2717, 7347, 1121) I take Fa Hua to stand for the latter text.

43) Literally: by going and coming.

44) The Bodhisattvabhumi has been published by U. Wögihara, Tokyo 1925-36.

45) Some data on śiva are found in Bagchi: Canon, p. 376.

46) P'eng ch'eng is present day Hau shoo in Kwang hai. 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 road, 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. 34.

48) According to the Kaif Yuan Che Chou Lu this translation was lost. T. 515, p. 516 a 31.

49) "Indian" is rendered by Fan, the language of the Brahminas, and "Chinese" by Lan and not as usual in this text by Sang. 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 "two" and "ten".

53) In the *Chu San T'ang Chi Chh*, p. 61 c 24—63 a 28, Seng Yu discusses the *Pu-sha shan chihs* (the good rules of a Bodhisattva) and the *Pu-sha 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 chihs* (good rules), (2) *Pu-sha ti* (stages of a Bodhisattva), (3) *Pu-sha jhien mo-ti* (Bodhisattvarupa-maṇḍala?), (4) *Yu-lai T'ang* (treasures of a Tathāgata), (5) *Jwu shan fa keng pen* (root of all good dharmas), (6) *As lo guo* (realm of bliss), (7) *Lo-bo-shi chi* (collection of Petavita). The first roll was published first, it is called *Yu-pi-ti wen shou chihs fe* (Upali questions about the precepts). The other rolls begin with "thus have I heard!" *tsen no municip.* The work is divided into three sections, the first having 18 chapters, the second four and the third eight.

The *Pu-sha ti* (stages of a Bodhisattva) is also divided into three sections of 18, 4 and 4 chapters. Lokakṣema's translation was made in Liang chou at the time of Emperor As of the T'ao dynasty (397-419). The text begins with a enumeration of the three jewels. There is no "thus have I heard!". See below, p. 33 ff.

54) This is another name for the *Dharmaguptabhākarmāna*. The Dharmagupta Vihara was specially popular in China, and the first Pratiharika and Kāsaṇāvāsa texts translated belonged to that school. See Lamotte: *Histoire*, p. 595.

55) According to Bagchi: Canon, p. 374, this translation was already lost at the time of the Kai Yuan Chou Ch'ih Lu was written.

56) This text corresponds to No. 1164 *Stavastas Karmavaca*. See Bagchi: Canon, p. 375.

57) Edgerton: Dictionary, s.v. *samudhi* gives a list of the five fold *samudhi* from the Pali: *patisparipatata, akṣa, ocra, oloka*, and *pattamanditamittan*.

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

59) The Taisho edition says seven texts, but as actually eight are listed, the reading of the three editions (Sung, K'ung and Yuan) must be correct.

44
66) Compare note 53 above and p. 375 below. Bagchi: Canon, p. 375, i.e., this is Nihilo No. 1169 (Upalavyayanautra. T 1466). This is apparently a mistake, because the text in question is a Pali text, which cannot have formed part of a Mahayana treatise.

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

68) See note 53. Bagchi: Canon, p. 373, says that the first translation was made by Lokakarma of the Han dynasty. This is obviously a mistake, as this Sutra is not mentioned among Lokakarma's translations (Bagchi: Canon, p. 137 ff.), whereas on p. 2:8 this work is ascribed to Dharmakirta.

69) The Teasa edition says 33 as against 31 in the preceding sentence. As 31 is also found in the three editions, this reading is the right one.

64) Bagchi: Canon, p. 78-79, gives a short note on Dharamasatas, a Paurish monk of a noble family who translated the Karmavaca of the Dharmagupta school in 255 A.D.

63) Chavannes: Gunavaran, p. 204, translates this sentence: "Sur le territoire des Song, il n'y avait pas d'autorité religieuse."

Robert Shen: Kao Setg Yshoan, p. 117, also translates this sentence as meaning: "There used to be no kings in the country of Song." 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)."

66) Nuns should be ordained in the community of nuns and monks. Dhammahikavipassana dhamma dhiksamahatho vvadhipa bikkhunambhuto senavipassana dhammo (Dharmanaga X, 71, 2). Miss Horner's translation is: "I allow, monks, ordination (of a nun) in the order of monks after she has been ordained in the one order and has chosen herself in the order of nuns." Book of the Discipline, part 2, p. 375.

67) Chavannes: Gunavaran, p. 101, 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 étant comme motiver par l'amour pour la religion." R. Sheh: Kao Setg Yshoan, p. 132, has: "et si l'on ne se conformait pas au rituel, cela n'invalidait pas l'ordination comme on fut le cas pour Gautami."
Mahaprajapati Gautami, Buddha’s foster mother, was the first nun to be ordained, there was not yet a community of nuns. See Roth: Bhikkuniottama§§ 1-17.

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

69) Nuns were not allowed to confer ordination before having been nuns for 10 years. Roth: Bhikkuniottama § 286.

70) See page 36 below.

71) The “Middle Kingdom” was a common designation for China, but it was also used to translate “Majapadesa”, 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”. Zurcher: Conquest, p. 266.


73) This is the same monk who translated the Abhidharma Mahasanga.

74) Literally: for the master in the pagoda.

75) Franke; Geschichte III, p. 266, discusses the origin of the name Tchien tan for China; quoting the Buddhist dictionary Fe hao to te’s tiao he explains Tchien as name of the Tsin dynasty and tao as Sanskrit ashana. Tchien tan means the country of the rising sun.

76) Compare T 2116 p. 238 h: 23 c 8, where k shoy that 167 years after a Pang became a lay devotee the first complete ordination for nuns was performed.

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

78) This testimony is appended to Gunawarna’s biography in the Kuo Seng Chuan, it is also found in E, F, and G.

79) See note 21.

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

81) That is the community of monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees.
81) See below, p. 17.
83) Mathew: Dictionary, No. 5169, one foot.
84) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 107; Barca: Sectes, p. 38.
85) See below, p. 13.
86) rat Doyal: Bodhisattva Doctrine, p. 93, 1872: "In justice to Mahayanic writers it must be stated that most of them do not assume these conclusions at all.
87) In Ceylon for instance, there was a district Malavala, a village Malavanda and a place in Rohana called Malawanzoll, Malalasekera: Dictionary, s.v.
88) Malalasekera: Dictionary, s.v.
89) Mathews No. 711.
90) Malalasekera: Dictionary, s.v.
91) Fa Hsien: Jottings, p. 67, p. 70.
92) Encyclopedia, s.v. Abhayagiri.
93) Paranavitane: Mahayanaism, p. 16.
95) Niccolao and Paranavitane: History, p. 91; Adikaram: History, p. 41; Malalasekera: History, p. 76.
96) See note 14 above.
97) Fa Hsien: Jottings, p. 78.
99) Hall: History, p. 64.
100) Zoetmulder: Religionen, p. 163.

102) Holt: Art, p. 36.

103) Wagner: Indokorai, p. 73, 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, Abd., 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. 57 f.


111) See above, note 38.


113) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 196.

114) Demieville: Bodhinustvabhumi, p. 111.

115) Demieville: Bodhinustvabhumi, p. 110.

116) Indian Historical Quarterly No. 7, 1931.

117) Vol. 55, p. 483 c 11. The Li Tai Shan 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: Prajinoktra, had already noted a close affinity between the Upali-pradaksinata and the Pali Patimokkha. Almost every passage in the Upali-pradaksinata can be traced in different places in the Pali Vinaya. A translation of the text is in preparation.
119) R. Skib: Kuo Seng Tshoaan, p. 139.
120) Bagchi: Canon, p. 314.
121) Chu San Tsang Chi Chi, p. 74 b.
122) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 136, 246 and 408 n. 71.
123) Kanesjee: Vinaya Texts; Bagchi: Canon, p. 373.
125) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 56.
127) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 88.
128) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 197.
129) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 204.
130) A list of these translations is found in Bapat: Shan Chien P'i Po Sha, p. XIV.
131) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 103.
134) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 199.
135) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 114.
137) Roth: Blukumivinaya, § 110.
139) Geiger: Medieval Ceylon, p. 198.
140) See above, note 69.
142) Fo Tzu T'ung Chi, p. 244 b 16.
144) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 32.
145) Banerjee: Vinaya Texts; Dutt, Dvaitavargabhikkhūsūtra, p. 260.
146) See note 15.
147) Hsi Tso-ch'ih in a letter to Tso an, dated 565; quote in Zurcher: Conquest, p. 105.

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NOTE I

BUDDHIST TERMS IN A CHRISTUS-PRAYER OF THE ROHONCI CODEX

At the scientific treatment of the Rohonci-Codex—dated to the 1st century A.D.—discovered by Professor J. Primorsky in Budapest, Hungary, buddhist terms. The codex is written in an Arabic-Turkish language, and has a writing in which the letters are borrowed from different oriental writings.

In a Christus-prayer we can find in an incorrect form the following Pali, Sanskrit words: sangha, upasika and upasaka. In the Text: sang, upasa, upas.

The codex consists of 450 pages, and was presented in the year 1838 to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences by the Count G. Batthyany.

The paper comes from Italy from the first part of the 6th century A.D. Originally the pages are not numbered. The paper, we are interested, is according to the author the 17th one.

The scientific transcription of the 17th page:

Line 1: Amgeldin ana okighil. Amgeldin clmate:

2: Jeses, Bis, Iki clamate: kyrie eleison, Bis: Christe eleison.


4: Esi: upasa, mana, upa, Cokil, unum, clamate:


6: Iki: tayininca. — Aghna säng: jaktun

7: Kiyincı tayan, edin stit: jactus, 0tu/g/.

8: San kilur yikkilir, tange klutan. — Ankil

9: Biragu. — Aghi, san, Kl yikkilisinta. — Kalıyor


12: Aghna säng ikigu: og, òvaha, Qiw yikti.

13: Amo /: 'Ammanuel/, una. Mama tyan asin, 0tu/g/ lylín köyzünin.

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The translation:

Line 1: With the angels cries the Mother. With the angels cry you too!

"2: Jesus! Five times. And cry you two times: Kyrie eleison! And five times: Christe eleison!

"3: [And] two times: Benedictus!—Fall on their knees to his feet the Community: four times,

"4: five times: the Sisters [and] the Brothers.

"5: Agios Jesus! Sanctus Jesus! [And] fall on your knees: Community

"6: two times, /ad/ stand up. — /And again/ fall on your knees to his feet/ Community: the Queen.

"7: the suffering, she stands; the others; fall on your knees. Prayer:

"8: "Heavenly Queen, be with them who kneel here!! Bow you

"9: all. "Precious Treasure be for ever with them who lie here. Remain with us/

"10: the Lord!!" You guilty, be hard to yourself. Fall on your knees, you Community.

"11: Two time: "Gloria! Kyrie!" Cry again: "Gloria!!" How get up you all.

"12: [And again] fall on their knees the Community by twos: Mothers and Fathers, The Mighty One: Messiah descended to the Earth:

"13: Immanuel! / God with us! Mothers get up you all, [and] pray with devotion.

Thus, the Buddhist terms occur in the lines 3, 4, 5, 6, 10 and 17, in their original meaning.

Dr. Ernest HETENYI
[Budapest, Hungary]
A SHORT HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN HUNGARY

The Hungarians are of oriental origin. In the Hungarian popular customs, traditions, folk tales and art the inwardness of the East even nowadays is still living. According to our everyday experience the ideals of Buddhism are not alien to the Hungarian people.

Before the conquest of this land by the Hungarians, in the people’s migration period, there lived here for a time nomadic peoples of Asiatic origin, the most important of whom were the Huns. There are archeological finds representing astral motifs from that period. The ancient Hungarian religion was Shamanism; it is therefore to be supposed that the ancient Hungarians were acquainted with Buddhism and perhaps some of them held it as their religion. The religious tolerance of Buddhism made it possible for them to confess Shamanism and Buddhism simultaneously, as other formerly Shamanist peoples did, e.g. the Tibetans and Mongols. Unfortunately the relics from which we could have got a definite answer to this question have been annihilated in consequence of the intolerance of Christian fanaticism.

We can find some traces about knowledge of Buddhism in the fifteenth century. It is by Professor Dr. Zoltan Takacs de Felvincz that our attention was called to the book, of Fr. T. Kandor, entitled “The Age of the Humanism in Hungary”. There is written that Galottai, the famous humanist poet, philosopher and astrologer (1477-1537), escaping from the Italian inquisition, took refuge at King Matthias’ court, and there he played a considerable role. Galottai wrote of Buddha as an “Indian Sage” and thought it was the “Budhha” from whom the capital of Hungary, Budapest had got its name. We know that the Hungarian King Matthias debated often with his scientists therefore it can be taken for certain that Buddhism was an subject of their debates.

After long centuries, in Alexander Csoma de Koros’ heart the memory of the long forgotten past resuscitated again. After a long wandering in the mountains of West-Tibet the Buddha-Dharma was wakened in him again. Csoma de Koros noted down numerous words from the Sanskrit, Pali and Bengali languages, which display a similarity to some Hungarian family— and place-names. Dr. V. Deka, the bibliographer of A. Csoma de Koros, offers an interesting conjecture on the origin of the name of Hungary’s capital. In his opinion, on some of the mountains of Buda-Budapest was built lying on both banks of the river Danube, Buja.

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on the west bank and Pest on the east bank (on a plain lowland) — there may have stood a Stupa /stupaː/ or a Buddhist statue of perhaps a lama-monastery /dogs-pa/, and the place got its name from that. Below that on the other bank's habitation was built, as it used to take place in the vicinity of every lama-settlement. That habitation is now a part of the capital and it is called Pest. The "past" or "pést" is a Persian word meaning low. It expresses the topographical relation between Buda and Pest. "Lower-of-Buda, Lower-of-Gompa" = Buda-Pest.

In consequence of Alexander Csoma de Koros' pioneering work there arose in the last century a keen interest in Buddhism in Hungary. This is evidenced by the literature. There were many people who after having studied the Teachings of the Buddha confessed Buddhist faith, and there have been formed small Buddhist communities of a private nature.

Theosophists by their publications and lectures helped to keep the interest in Buddhism alive.

A small group of seekers for the Noble Path in the thirties of the nineteenth century endeavoured to establish Sangha in Hungary for the first time. Mr. G. Kovács—now the librarian of the Francis Hopp Museum of East Asiatic Arts in Budapest—was one of those who used every effort in those days to establish a Buddhist community in Hungary.

From about January of 1913 there used to meet at irregular intervals some people, chiefly artists and pedagogues, at first to get acquainted with one another. Later this opened and closed their meetings with a short and simple ceremony, holding some lectures in between. Thus in the year 1933 they used to meet in the second week of every month; 20-30 people attended. The number of inquirers was increasing. In 1934 still there were held some meetings, but was of a proper place and other difficulties arose, and by 1935, in the menacing approach of the second world war the movement ceased.

Soon after the first attempt to establish a Sangha in Hungary terminated, in 1937-1938 three came letters of a Buddhist Abbott of Hungarian origin, from China /tiɛ̂stʃin/, in which he declared to his friends of his returning home in order to found a Buddhists Sangha in Hungary. This pan of extraordinary interest was Chao-kung, formerly called Treibs Lincoln. He was born in 1879 in Hungary /Paks/. From these letters it is clear that he intended to return to Hungary with two Chinese disciples and work for the promotion of the holy Dharma. But the then Hungarian government did not give him permission to do so.

These two efforts in the thirties aiming at establishing a Buddhist organisation in Hungary failed.

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The third effort was assigned by the Karma to be successful then, when in 1971 the author of these lines visited Italy as a journalist on the main road leading to Bari was brought into contact with a Buddhist priest of German origin, called Pemba. By this lama were uttered the words which were destined to bring the Buddha-Drarims into bloom in the native country of Alexander Csoma de Koros, the Hungarian Bodhisattva.

The establishment of the Western Branch of the Arya-Maitreya-Mandala, based on the traditions of the Tibetan bKa'-rgyud-pa 'Vajrayana-School', was announced in India (Sanchi-Bhopal) on 2 of November 1957 by the Lama Anagrika Govinda. To his Vajrayana-Order joined the Hungarian Buddhist Mission working since 1951, continued its activity within the scope of this order, having its centre in Budapest. Hungarian Buddhist Mission has been declared as "East European Centre" in order to aid in the development the Buddhist organizations in the neighbouring countries. In the year 1956 in the scope of the 250th Buddhist Anniversary Jayanti was established by the Arya-Maitreya-Mandala an International Institute of Buddhology which bearing the name of the Hungarian Bodhisattva Alexander Csoma de Koros. The agenda of the Institute inquires the whole circle of the Buddhist science of religion.

The Hungarian Buddhist Mission, as the East-European Centre of the Arya-Maitreya-Mandala and the Alexander Csoma de Koros International Institute for Buddhology functions in the principles of religious freedom laid down in the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The aim of the Mission and Institute conveying of the Buddha's noble teachings to those who want to walk on the Path shown by the Enlightened One, revealing the East's cultural values, its true spirit, dispelling of the delusions and ignorance, making the people better and nobler in the spirit of the human dignity, the all-embracing love and compassion, peace and mutual understanding, in the interest of the prosperity and salvation of all beings.

Dr. ERNEST HETENYI,
Leader of the Mission,
Director of the Institute.

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NOTE III

PHALIC SYMBOLS

In the bulletin of Tibetology Vol 3 No 1 dated 14th July 1932, Mr Hugh E. Richardson has made some observation on the Phallic Symbols in Tibet. In this note I humbly make some observation on the same subject.

In the manuscript, Khrod-par-plug byed (mchusa-stubs) written by Shes-don-tho-brtan-grub-rje (400 B.C.) and in its commentary by Shes-don-shes-rab-ga-cha from Bengal, the reason for the Hindu worship of the linga is given.

It is said that long ago, in the jungle covered with pine trees there lived many Rishis with their families following strictly the practice of ascetics. Goddess Uma having seen them, approached Mahadeva, and requested Mahadeva to help the Rishis obtain Nirvana as they were following the strict rule of ascetics. Mahadeva replied that the Rishis could not obtain Nirvana as they had not freed themselves from the three poisons—lust, hate, ignorance.

Godess Uma insisted that they be helped to obtain Nirvana as they had freed themselves from the three poisons.

In order to test the Rishis, Mahadeva appeared to them in a beautiful, handsome, sexy form. The wives and daughter of the Rishis saw the handsome man and came out from their huts made from leaves in the jungle. They looked at him, touched all over his beautiful body and gained such great pleasure and excitement that some fainted.

The Rishis came out from their huts made from leaves and seeing the condition of their wives and daughters were very angry and told the handsome man that he was evil and lustful. The Rishi put a curse on him for his organ to fall off on to the earth. Just then his sexual organ fell off.

Godess Uma went to the Rishis and told them that the handsome man was no other but Mahadeva who had appeared in that form to test them. On knowing this they picked up the linga, placed it erect, worshipped and made offerings to it. Since then the linga was worshipped in India.

The above is also mentioned in the manuscript, 'Lha-las-phul-byung gi-sned-pa, written by shes-bde-byed-dge'ba.'
In the manuscript, Bde-mchog-rgyud-ram-don-pal written by Bstan-'rnam-Rin-po-che mentions that Dbang-phyug dragged-po "jigs-hbyed-mi-po and his wife goddess Dus-mtshan ma (kha-'lugs) remained clasped in sexual embrace in the centre of the world-Magadha. At that time twenty-four powerful god and demon attendants of Dbang-phyug dragged-po came from the sky and took charge of twenty-four sacred places. They worshipped Dbang-phyug dragged-po daily and requested him to come to the sacred centres.

Dbang-phyug dragged-po, being always clasped in sexual embrace with his wife was unable to visit the sacred centres. With miraculous powers he made stone lingas and placed one in each sacred centre to represent himself. The god and demon attendants worshipped the stone lingas as it represented Dbang-phyug dragged-po.

The gods and demons of the twenty-four sacred centres being filled with lust could not live without sex; they being full of hate always ate human flesh and drank their blood, and due to ignorance they had no idea of the Doctrine of retribution and true nature. The attendants of the twenty-four gods and demons were venomous, and they together with the gods and demons ruled the world, and did a lot of harm to beings who suffered a great deal.

At that time Rdo-rje 'chang (Vajradhara) came on top of Ri-rab (Sumera) and in order to suppress the gods and demons and protect the suffering beings he took the form of tutelary deity Bde-mchog (Sunvara) Buddha Mi-bkyod-pa (Avalokiteshvara) presented Rdo-rje 'chang with a palace and a throne, and Dhyani Buddha Ratnasambhava presented emanations of himself in the form of twenty-four Dpa-bo (VIRA) Dpa-mo (VIRANGNA). Finally Dbang-phyug dragged-po and his attendants were suppressed and overcome.

In the manuscript, Bde-mchog bskyod-rim by Rje Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho, it is said that Dbang-phyug dragged-po and his wife ruled the world from the top of ri-rab (Sumera). From among his gods and demon attendants the twenty-four most venomous attendants took control of the twenty-four sacred centres. In each of the twenty-four sacred centres they placed a linga to represent Dbang-phyug dragged-po for worship. The gods and demons were perpetually harming the beings and so the five Dhyani Buddhas requested Rdo-rje 'chang (Vajradhara) to control Dbang-phyug dragged-po. Rdo-rje 'chang took the form of Bde-mchog (Sunvara) suppress Dbang-phyug dragged-po and his wife dus-mtshan ma under his feet. The five Dhyani Buddhas presented emanations
of themselves in the form of twenty-four Bodhisattvas and their Shaktis. The Bodhisattvas and the Shaktis controlled the gods and demons. In
many Tantric manuscripts the above is stated. Phallic symbols are
not worshipped in Tibet.

On the east of the has is a hill which has the shape of the privatepart
of a male demon. The evil emanating from this hill had to be opposed
by setting up phallic representing Dilong-phyug-drug-po pointing in that
direction.

In Tibet, phallic signs representing the male organ made from wood
surrounded by a bush of yak hair, is often seen hanging from the ceiling
in several mills, to ward off evil.

Rechung Rinpoche.
THE NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY

The Namgyal Institute of Tibetology is a unique contribution to the cause of learning. The word Tibetology means the study of the Chhoö (Dharma) and the culture and all arts and sciences associated with Chhoö. Chhoö has been the energizing force in the spiritual, social and cultural life of the people living in the vast mass of land from the southern slopes of the Himalayas to the northern slopes of the Altai Karakoram and even beyond.

2. The Foundation Stone of the Institute was laid by His Holiness the Dalai Lama on the 10th February 1957 and the Institute was declared open by the late Prime Minister of India Shri Jawaharlal Nehru on the 1st October 1958. According to the Royal Charter of Incorporation dated 28th October 1958 granted by the Chogyal XI the Institute enjoys the status of an autonomous body with a Governing Council to administer it. It is financed by the Government of Sikkim and the Government of India on a matching basis. The present Chogyal has been the President of the Governing Council from its inception and as a result of his leadership and interest the Institute has grown to its present standing. It has now been listed in the International Universities like the "World of Learning" and the "International Universities Bureau".

3. The building of the Institute is one of the most imposing Monuments in Sikkim. It is a splendid example of Sikkimese architecture by virtue of its pagoda-like tin roofs, painted turquoise. The building was incomplete in so far as the two rear towers consisting of six rooms had yet to be completed. The work of completion of the two rear towers was undertaken in 1971 and completed in the latter half of 1972 and thus this has provided much needed space. Security arrangements have also been installed in the building to prevent fire and theft.

4. The Chogyal has empowered the Institute to cover the study of the doctrines of all associated Sects and Schools of Mahayana Buddhism. Consequently under the powers of the Charter the Institute has been collecting books of all the Sects and has a representative collection of over 10,000 books and treatises on Nyingma, Kagyupa, Sakya and Gelugpa works. Further some rare Lepcha Manuscripts have been added to the collection. Thus this Institute is a unique

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public establishment under Government auspices anywhere in the Tibetan speaking countries where books of different sects are being stored and preserved in one repository. As such this Institute may be destined to serve the interests of Chos in a move lasting manner that perhaps any establishment anywhere in the Mahayana world.

5. Over the years the technical and administrative staff of the Institute has grown from 2 in 1959 to its present strength of 17 and during 1972-73 the staff has been placed on a permanent footing.

6. Apart from providing research facilities to scholars interested in the study of Chos, the learned Lamas and scholars are individually engaged in research activities; imparting instruction in the Holy Dharma and the teaching of Tibetan language. The young scholars are being trained for collecting research material from Sikkimese monasteries. Thus their learning at the Institute will not only be confined to theory, as the Lama scholars will put into practice in the villages, the ideals and instructions they absorb in the Institute.

To brief facilities study, there is a Hostel attached to the Institute where genuine scholars can stay at a small charge.

7. The Institute brings out regular publications of its Bulletin of Tibetology. Articles from learned scholars on religion and philosophy figure conspicuously in the issues of the Bulletin. So also there are contributions on linguistics and philosophy, history and social institutions of Tibet and epigraphy and geography. Apart from the Bulletin of Tibetology some of the other important publications are:

(i) Vimurtshik Vijnapitaratra-Sudāna
(ii) Socha Gyalpo Korzo
(iii) Mekong Del-chon-yang-can-ngag-gi-rol-losb Nying-po
(iv) Rgyan-Droog Mchog-Gyon (reprinted 1975)

8. The Institute has a programme of initiating study along a few lines viz. (a) Tibetan Medicine, (b) Translation of Tibetan works and (c) Collection of Tibetan works. Apart from these important developments, the Institute has recently awarded scholarships to young scholars for full time research work, has initiated a project for the establishment of a Museum and introduced a guide system. During 1972-73 the Institute acquired manuscripts and xylographs totalling 134 from Mr G. Tarchin and also established a programme of lectures. Further
steps are being taken to provide staff quarters for the employees and the programme of microfiling work started a few years ago, is making satisfactory progress. The growing number of visitors and scholars is an indication of the ever growing interest in the Institute.

A.M. D'ROZARIO.