GUNAVARMAN (367–433)

A Comparative Analysis of the Biographies found in the
Chinese Tripitaka

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Scholars have taken an interest in Gunavarman for several rea-
sons: he belonged to the royal house of Kushan; his biography con-
tains an early reference to the island of Java; and to the spread of Buddhism
there, and Gunavarman’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 Gunavarman in Hai-
Chiao’s “Lives of Eminent Monks” (T 2079 Kao Seng Chuan) 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 Gunavarman’s life in “Le Canon Bouddhique en
Chine”.

Other texts used for the analysis are:

- A T 2145 Chu Sen Tang Chi Chi, by Seng Yu, A.D. 515
- B T 1064 Shen Seng Chuan, by an unknown author with
  a preface dated 1417 A.D.
- C T 2122 Fu Yuan Chu Lu, by Tao Shih, 668 A.D.
- D T 2151 Ku Yin I Ching T’ie Chi, by Ting Mu, 664 A.D.
- E T 2154 Kai Yuan Che Chiou Lu, by Tseh Ching, 730 A.D.
- F T 2157 Cheng Yuan Hse Teng Che Chiou Mu Lu, by Yuun
  Chao, 7th century
- G T 2034 Li Tai San Pao Chi, by Fei Chung-fung, 897 A.D.
- H T 2149 Ta Tang Nai Tuan Lu, by Tao Huan, 7th century
- I T 2131 Fan I Ming I Chi, by Fu Yuen, 12th century
- J K T 2035 Fu Tou T’ung Chi, by Chih Pan, 13th century
- L T 2106 Chi Shen Chou San Pao Kan T’ung Lu

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

The Chu San Tang Chi Chi is the oldest of the texts used. It served as source for Hui Chiao's Kao Sung Chau, and Arthur Link has shown that in some instances Hui Chiao copied long passages verbatim from Seng Yu. In other cases Hui Chiao supplemented the basic data with material taken from other sources. The Kao Sung Chau biography of Gunavarma 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 Sung dynasty (§ 22 below).

The accounts of Gunavarma's life in the Kao Yuan Chi Chiao Lu and the Cheng Yuan Hua Ting Chi Chiao Kuo Lu have been copied from the Kao Sung Chau; they agree in every detail, the only difference being that the authors have added some remarks on the texts translated by Gunavarma.

I

1

Ch'iu-na-pa-mo (Gunavarma), 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-Lo (Haribhutra), that means "Worthy as a Lion", had been expelled because of his harshness. His father, called Sung-chiu-man (Sanghananda), that means "Joy of the Community", had to hide in valleys and mountains because of this.

ST p. 340 a 15—18
F p. 576 a 37—b 1
F p. 823 a 27—19

A Ch'iu-na-pa-mo means "Armour of Virtue" in the language of Sung. He was a descendant of the king of Kashmir. p. 204 b 1.

B Ch'iu-na-pa-mo—that means "Armour of Virtue"—originally belonged to the kshatriya caste. His family had ruled over Kashmir for generations. p. 963 a 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'iu-na-pa-mo means "Armour of Virtue" in (the language of) Sung. He was the younger son of the king of Kashmir. p. 1077 a 17.

2. Ch'iu-na-pa-mo was a man from a city in the West. p. 633 c 9.

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 Gunavarmas to get her some. He said: "All beings that have life cling to it, and a virtuous man will not deprive them of it." His mother replied angrily: "If you commit a sin, I will bear it for you."

BT p. 340 a 18—22
F p. 516 a 1—5
FP p. 823 a 19—23
A p. 965 a 29—b 3 (Omitting the mother's answer)

A When Gunavarmas was fifteen years of age he left his home and became a novice. p. 104 b 7.

3. Another day, Gunavarmas, 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?"

Gunavarmas 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 11—15
F p. 516 b 3—7
FP p. 823 a 23—26

4. When Gunavarmas was eighteen years of age, a physiognomist, seeing him, predicted: "When the master will be thirty years of age, he will rule over a big country and he will turn South and he will be praised and venerated. If, however, he does not care for worldly affairs, he will obtain the fruit of sanctity." 17
A Masters and monks saw his extraordinary intelligence and they all revered him. He was by nature kind, unassuming, obedient and yet the best. p. 104 b 2—3.

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 hundred times ten 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.

A later he was ordained. He recited over hundred times ten thousand words of Sutras. He grasped the chapters on the discipline and studied the Tripitaka, therefore he was called thus. p. 104 b 3—5.

C He left his home when he was still young and received the name "Master of the Law Tripitaka". p. 616 c 27.

D He understood the nine sections and mastered the four Agamas. He grasped the chapters on the discipline and was very skilful in entering meditation. He recited more than a hundred times ten thousand words of Sutras. p. 367 c 16—17

I p. 1090 a 17—18

6.

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

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. 22

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

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

I p. 1070 b 21—22

8.

Later, Gunavarman arrived at the kingdom of She-p'o (Java). A day before his arrival, the mother of the king of Java had seen in a dream how a holy man arrived in a flying boat. On the following day, Gunavarman actually arrived. The king's mother venerated him with holy rites and received the five precepts. 24 She told the king: "We are mother and son on account of the merits of previous existences, I have already received the precepts, but you do not (yet) believe. 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—22
F p. 823 b 5—11
B p. 963 b 9—14

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

9.

The army of a neighbouring state invaded the kingdom ofJava. 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 confide in you, try matter, 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 11—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 dharma 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 17—19
F p. 823 b 14—16
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 ministers:

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. 340 b 19—21
E p. 516 c 1—4
F p. 813 b 16—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 (Gumawarman). 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. 340 b 23—27
E p. 516 c 4—9
F p. 813 b 10—14

13.

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

BT p. 340 b 27—28
E p. 516 c 8—9
F p. 813 b 14—15
B p. 962 b 26—27

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. Gumawarman 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.
14.

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 (Shanghai). Hsiu Kuan, Hsiu Teung and others had heard of his fame from far and wished to be taught by him. In the sixth month of the first year of the Yuan Chia period (426) they requested Emperor Wen at an audience to invite him. The emperor ordered the governor of Chiao Chou (2) to send a bear to fetter him. Hsiu Kuan and the other monks also sent the monks Fa Ch'ang, Tao Ch'uang, Tao Chux and others to invite him. They also wrote a letter to Guanavarm and to the king of Java, P'o-to-chia, asking him to come to the court of Sung (Chou) in order to preach.

BT p. 340 b 28—c 6
E p. 526 c 9—15
F p. 813 b 26—c 2

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

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 Guanavarm in accordance with the Royal command. In the capital, there were famous monks, Hsiu Yen, Hsiu Kuan and others, who relied on faith and acted with respect. They sent a petition to the king asking him to have the doctrine spread from Java and to make the venerable one preceptor of the country. p. 104 b 11—13.

K (Under the heading: Seventh year of the Yuan Chia period: The emperor heard the name of the Tripiṭaka Master from Kashmir, Guanavarm (that means "Armour of Virtue"), for the first time. He gave an order to (the governor of) Chiao Chou to send the monk. Two kins across the seas to invite him. Guanavarm boarded a ship joyfully and arrived at Sung Chou. p. 344 b 22—24.

15.

Guanavarm wished to spread the holy teaching far and wide; he was not afraid of travelling. He had already embarked on the ship of Chou
Nan-ch'i (the Hindu Naad) 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 Sang driven by the wind of my actions (karma)."\(^{29}\) This is what it refers to. When the emperor Wen heard that he had already arrived at Nan-lai, he gave new orders 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 Yuen 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 Nan-lai, he gave new orders to the prefect and the governor of the place to take Guanvarman to the capital. p. 963 b 25—26.

**L** 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-hsing\(^{33}\) Guanvarman stayed there for about one year. Is—Che being there was the mountain Hu Shih of majestic appearance with a solitary peak, high and inaccessible. Guanvarman said it looked like the Gedhukuts. Therefore, its 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 hair 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 Guanavarman himself painted a picture of Rahula and of Dipankara and his young ascetics, who spread out his hair. Once the pictures were completed, every evening, they emitted a light that did not stop till a long time later.

17.

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

18.

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

19.

Once, Guanavarman 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
The emperor received him and questioned him politely: "I received you as my pupil, but have known you for many, many years. Will you promise to keep the vow of non-violence?"

"I have kept the vow all my life."

"Then why have you killed many people?"

"I have killed many people, but..."

"Your wish is that I..."

"I wish that I..."

"Your wish is that I..."

"I wish that I..."

"Your wish is that I..."

"I wish that I..."

"Your wish is that I..."

"I wish that I..."

"Your wish is that I..."

"I wish that I..."

"Your wish is that I..."

"I wish that I..."

"Your wish is that I..."

"I wish that I..."

"Your wish is that I..."
22. 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 practise austerity, 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 killing in this way is really a great virtue. To abstain from eating for half a day and save the life of one animal would that lead to salvation?"

23. 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 under-
standing. One can talk to you about the boundaries between spirits and men."

D The Emperor was very pleased and said: "What the Master of the law Gunavarman says is really penetrating and leading to understanding, one can talk to him about the boundaries between spirits and men." p. 361 c 16—362 a 2.

I The Emperor was very pleased and said: "What the Master of the Law says really leads man's mind to understanding and penetrates nature. One can talk to him about the boundaries between spirits and men." p. 1.27b 2—3.

H The Emperor clapping on the table praised him. This matter (is related) in the Kao Sung Chun. 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 preach the Avatamsaka and the Dassbhunikastra in the monastery. On the day he preached there was a congestion of carriages on the highways. The spectators came and went rubbing shoulders and following closely after each other. Gunavarman had wonderful natural talents and astonishing eloquence. Sometimes he used an interpreter and by questions and answers the difficulties were solved.

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 7
G p. 92 b 10
K The master stayed in the Chi Yuan monastery and preached the Avatamsaka and the Daabharmakasutra. The emperor lead dukes and high officials on the day of assembly at the master's seat, and the Buddhists praised him. p. 144 c. 7-8.

Later, Hsue I of the Chi Yuan monastery asked him to publish the Pu-hua chen chiao ching (The good rules of Bodhisattva, T 1382: Buddha-utthita). Guanvarman 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 Pu-hua chia-ti (The stages in the precepts of a Bodhisattva). Formerly, in the third year of the period Yuan Chia (426) the prefect of Huo chou, Wang Ch'ung-tch, had asked a foreigner I yen po le at P'ing ch'ang to translate and publish the Ts'ai hsien (Samyuktabhādharmabārthasamgraha). When he came to the chapter on investigation (proving), some difficulty arose and he discontinued his work. Guanvarman was asked to translate and publish the last chapters, in all thirty rolls. Together with the texts he had published previously, namely the Se su chieh (T 1434: Dharmanirattihinnavimokṣa), the Ta-po-shu-ch'iao in lu (T 1476: Upasakacaritavatamsa), the Ta-po-shu-ch'iao chi chien (The twenty two miles of a lay devotee) there are in all 26 rolls. Sense and wording agree and there is no difference between the Indic text and the Chinese text.

E In the Chi Yuan monastery, Guanvarman translated the Pu-hua chen chiao ching (The Sutta on the good rules of a Bodhisattva) and others in all ten sections. About this Sutta it is said in the Chang fang 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 say ten rolls. The character "two" must be regarded as a mistake in this text. Only in Seng Yu's Catalogue 53 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, Hsue I of the Chi Yuan monastery asked Guanvarman to translate and publish the Pu-hua chen chiao ching, Guanvarman began and published 28 chapters. Later a pupil published two chapters and 30 chapters were thus completed. In the Fang and other catalogues it is said that 30 rolls were completed. That is a big mistake. In the Chang fang catalogue and others it is also said that Guanvarman translated the Ts'ai Ch'iao Han (Samyuktabhādharmabārthasamgraha). Guanvarman published his translation together with the 30 rolls published (previously) by Fowua. It should not be said that Guanvarman 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. 517 a—b 6.

A Not long afterwards, he translated and published Sutras in the Chi T'ou monastery, namely the Pu-sha {14} (The stages of a Bodhisattva), the T'an wu teh chi-mo, the Yu-po-sha wu chai tsu lun (The five rules of a lay devotee), the San-hui chi yu-po-sha erh shi (The twenty two rules of a lay devotee, who has taken the three refuges).

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

X Apart from the texts mentioned in the biography of Gunavarman, the Chu San T'ung Chi Chi contains a list of Gunavarman's translations:

1. Pu-sha shan chai (The good rules of a Bodhisattva) in ten rolls, it is also called Pu-sha ri (The stages of a Bodhisattva).
2. Yu-po-sha wu chai tsu lun (The five rules of a lay devotee) in one roll. It is also called Yu-po-sha wu chai hungh (The characteristics of the five rules of a lay devotee).
3. San-hui chi yu-po-sha erh shi erh chai (The twenty two rules of a lay devotee, who has taken the three refuges) in one roll.
4. T'an wu teh chi-mo in one roll. It is also called Ts'ao chi-mo (Miscellaneous Karma).

These four titles, in all 13 rolls, have been published at Nanking by the Tripiika Master Gunavarman of Kashmir during the time of Emperor Wen of the Sung dynasty. p. 12 b 14—19.

D Then, in the Yuan Chia period at Yung Tu he translated the Pu-sha shan chai ching (The Sutra on the good rules of a Bodhisattva) in 10 rolls, the Ts'ao A piel tan hun lun (Sanyuktbhidharmahyavo), 12 rolls, the Sze for pi-chia-ui chie-jo (Dharmaguptabhikarmak), 1 roll, the Yu-po-sha wu chai (The five rules of a lay devotee), 1 roll, the San kei chi yu-po-sha chai (The rules of a lay devotee)

19
who has taken the three refuge), 1 roll, the Shu-mi wei 15 (The dignity of a novice), 1 roll, the Wu men shan yao yang7 (Manual on the five fold meditation) 1 roll, the ching fu ten i chih8 58 (Detailed explanation of Sutra and Vihaya), 1 roll. These eight 59 texts have 38 rolls. He obtained the second fruit.

p 362 a 2–7.

1. Pu-sha shu chih ching (Sutra on the good rules of a Bodhiattva) is 9 rolls. One name is Pu-sha n (The stages of a Bodhiattva) in 10 rolls. It was published in the Chi 'i Yuan monastery. See the two catalogues of Chi Tao Tsu, Seng Yu as well as the Kao Song Chaon. In the Chang fung Catalogue and others it is also called Tsa chia ching (Sutra on the good rules), in 50 rolls. Further it is said that a pupil published two chapters and thus completed 30 rolls. That is not so.

2. Pu-sha shu chih ching (The sutra on the good rules of a Bodhiattva) in 1 roll. Until asks the Bodhiattva about the precepts. See Pao Ching's Catalogue. As it it recorded by Seng Yu, this was the first roll, together with the former nine rolls (of the two mentioned under 1) they formed ten rolls. 60 Is the North the Sutra became 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 Bodhiattva, Vj 188). This is in the above catalogue.

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

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

6. See fen pi chi i chia mao fei (Dharmaprajna's homeland) in 1 roll. Seng Yu calls it Tao mu teh the name and also Tao chieh-jo. It was published in the eighth year of the Yuan Chia period (451) at the Chi 'i Yuan monastery. See the two catalogues of Pao Ching and Seng Yu, as well as the Kao Song Chaon. It is also called Sce on chieh-jo.

7. Yoo-sha shu shi hong ching (Sutra on the characteristics of the five rules of a lay devotee), in 1 roll. Another name is Yoo-sha shu shi lin lin (Summary of the five rules of a lay devotee). It was published in the eighth year of the Yuan chia period in the Chi 'i Yuan monastery. See the two catalogues of Seng Yu and Pao Ching, as well as the Kao Song Chaon.

8. Long shu pu-sha wei Cho-to-book way shao fa yan chih (The Bodhiattva Nagarjuna preaches to the king Chandaka) is
1. Pu-sha shen chiai ching (The Sutra on the good rules of a Bodhisattva) in 26 rolls. It has been translated in the Ch'î Yuan monastery. It is the second publication, and there are minor differences between the edition of Ch'an (Dharma-sema). See the Chou tao tu catalogue and the Kao Sang Chuan. Later, a pupil published two chapters in the Ching long monastery, thus completing 30 rolls.

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

3. See fen chie-mo (Dharmaupaṭṭīhashūkakram) in 1 roll. It has been published in the eighth year of the Yuan Chia period (433) in the Ch'î Yuan monastery. This is the second translation, it agrees with the one made by Tan ti (Dharma-sema) 66 of the Wei dynasty. See Kao Sang Chuan, Pao Chang Lu, Pib Lu and others.

4. Yu-po-sha wu chiai lishen (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'î Yuan monastery. It is also called Wu chiai lisan (Characteristics of the five rules) and Wu chiai lishen (Summary of the five rules). See Kao Sang Chuan and Pao Chang Lu.
5. *Shan hui er she shen chiai* (The twenty-two rules of those who have good faith) in 1 roll. It is also called: *Li ju-ye po-dai ju po-dai ju ye* (Twenty-two rules of conduct for male and female lay devotees, who have renounced desires) and *San ju-ye po-dai chiai* (The rules for lay devotees, who have taken the threefold refuge). See Kao Seng Chuan.

6. *She-er we-i* (The dignity of a novice), in 1 roll.


H P. 258 b 15–21

In the seventh year of the Yen Chia period of Sung dynasty at Yang Tu he translated the *Shan Chiai* (Good rules) and other Sutras concerning the ordination of nun. P. 107b 3–4.

26.

At that time the nun of the Ying Tu monastery, Huei Kuo, Ching Yin 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 nun. 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 Ceylon. If the nuns also feared that they had not yet attained the right age, therefore they wanted to be recollected. Gunvarman agreed and said: 'Alright, if you wish to increase your understanding that will lead to correctness. 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 bachelor from the West to invite foreign nun to come and complete the number ten.

BT p. 544 a 28 b 7
EP p. 554 b 7–14
FP p. 814 b 23–25

Further, there were eight nun from Ceylon who came and said: 'In the country of Sung there is no Sutra but there are nun. 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 now-
asdays 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 sold
asked to be ordained again. Gunvarman 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 Kingdom21 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 (Sangharman) that means 'Armour
of the Community'11. He knew the Vinaya and the Abhidhar-
ma-sayas well. He traversed the moving sands and came to
Yang Chou. Originally, Gunavarman had wanted to receive
the nuns, but he died before doing so. Shortly afterwards, a
Ceylonese nun, Tsch-ch'e-lo22 and others (in all three persons)
came to the capital and completed the number ten. and then
Sangharman was asked to confer ordination on the
nuns instead of Gunavarman.24 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 ordaining of nuns. This was the first
ordination altar (for nuns) in China.25 At that time eight
nuns had come from Ceylon, and they were not sufficient
(for the ordination). Later, the nun Tsch-so-lo (and others,
in all) three nuns came, enough to make up a community of
ten. Sangharman was asked to be the preceptor for the nun
Huî K'ue and others from the Ching Pu nunnery, who were
ordained at the ordination altar of the Nan lin monastery
before the two communities. More than three hundred
people were present.

Siu says: The Seng-dih-luhh 24 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 Hui K'ue.

p. 346 c 15–346 e 3.
Gunavarman spent the retreat of that year's summer in aminor
vihara of the Ting lin monastery. At that time there were some devotees
who gathered flowers to spread on the mats. The flowers on Gunavarman's
seat remained fresh, and everybody venerated him as a saint.

C The monk Hsüan Koou respected Gunavarman's virtue and fame. He
wished him to come to the capital, where the master was to stay
at the Ch'i 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 lin monastery on the Eastern
mountain. At that time, priests and laymen picked many flowers
to spread on the mats of the monks. They wanted to find out who
was a holy man. The flowers on the seats of all monks faded, only
the flowers on Gunavarman's seat stayed fresh like in the beginning.
Thereupon the veneration (for Gunavarman) in the capital increased.
p. 616 c 73—78.

G Gunavarman spent the summer retreat in the Ting lin monastery.
At that time there were some devotees who gathered flowers to
spread on the mats. The flowers on Gunavarman's seat remained
fresh, and everybody was surprised. p. 90 b 21—22.

H There were people, who put flowers on his seat and they remained
fresh. p. 358 b 27—28.

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. 443 c 10—11.

28.
At the end of the summer he returned to the Ch'i Yuan monastery. On
the 28th day of the ninth month of that year, when the midday meal was
not yet over, Gunavarman got up first and returned to his cell. When
his meal 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
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 FП 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 ordained, cried incessantly and could not control themselves.

When Gunavarman first came to the capital, the emperor had wished to receive from him the precepts of a Bodhisattva, but some enemies made raided and he could not carry out his intention. He asked the monk 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 63 years old. Before his death, he had composed a testament in 38 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 FП in length. It arose from the side of the corpse and went straight to heaven. Nobody could name it. He was cremated according to the foreign custom in front of the ordination altar of Nan lin and thousands of people attended the ceremony.

In all quarters there were singing girls, music, banners and flowers. Fragrant firewood had been gathered for the pyre and perfumed oil was poured over it. When the pyre was

25
burning a five coloured flame arose and the sky was clear and bright. Priests and laymen sighed and mourned. Later, a white pagoda was erected on that spot. p. 124 b 32—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-ša-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'ì long. It came from the right side of the corpse and ascended straight to heaven. Nobody could name it. He was cremated according to the foreign custom in front of the ordination stūpa of Nin-lin. He was 61 years old. p. 963 c 11—19.

He died on the 28th day of the ninth month of the eighth year of the Yuan Chia period. He was placed without difficulty on his mat with crossed legs and folded hands. He stayed there for two nights and his appearance did not change; some thought at that time that he was in deep meditation. His testament was found under his seat. It said he had obtained the second fruit of an ascetic. When they realised he was dead, disciples and attendants perceived fragrant scents. 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'ì in length, which coiled round the corpse and disappeared. Those who were assembled all and they saw it. Before his death, Ganavarman had composed 36 verses. He handed them over to his disciple and said: "You can show them to the monks of India." p. 616 c 19—617 a 7.

Later, he returned to the Ch'i Yuan monastery, where he died suddenly. Before his death, he had composed his testament. It has 36 verses, and he says he obtained the second fruit. He gave it to his disciple A-ša-lo saying: "You may show this to the monks of India and also to the monks of this country after my death." At the time of Ganavarman's death people saw an animal like a dragon about one P'ì in

26
length. It came from the right side of the corpse and ascended straight to heaven, p. 90 b 23–18.

Guan wanman died later in the Chi’i Yuan monastery. He had composed a testament in 35 verses, in which he said he had obtained the second fruit. This document is in the (Kao Seng) Chan, p. 258 b 28–29.

After his death he was seen upright with folded hands. One would have thought he was in deep meditation. For many days he was not raised. A testament with more than thirty verses was found under his mat. It said he had obtained the second fruit. More than two hundred people assembled at night. Some saw an animal one P‘i in length. It coiled round the corpse and departed to the South-West, p. 453 c 10–14.

Guan wanman’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.

Guan wanman having entered the Buddhist order of monks in Kashmir, was probably originally a follower of the Sarvastivada school of Buddhism, as Kashmir was a stronghold of this sect in the 5th cent.84 He must have become acquainted with Mahayana doctrines sometime in his career, for he preached the Avatamsaka and Dasa Mahamita Sutra in China, 85 and he translated Mahayana texts like the Bodhisatvatattva besides Hinayana texts like the Dharmaprapthakarmarupa. 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 (unholy), 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 towards the Greater Vehicle.

Guan wanman 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 431 A.D., when, at the Kao Seng Chan, he was 64 years of age.) Except for the K'o Yen T Ching T‘u Chi and the Fan Hsiang T‘u chi, all texts say that he went to Ceylon. In the testament, it is said that he obtained the first fruit of an ascetic in the kingdom of Mo lo po. Whether this is Malwa in Central India, Malabar (the Malabar coast) or some district in Ceylon is not clear. 87

27
The biographies do not mention the place which Gunavarman stayed at in Ceylon. In the testament he says he lived in Cheel-po-li. It has not been possible to identify this name either. It might be Kappakagama, 88 Cheel is used for Sunkrit kula, Pali kupa. 89 The transcription comes nearest to Kappura purivena, a building in the Abhayagiri vihara, which however was only built in the 7th century by Dathurarissa I (650—58). 90

Fa Haien who visited Ceylon in 422-13, that is at about the same time that Gunavarman did, records in his travel account that there were 500 monks in the Abhayagiri vihara as against 3500 in the Mahavihara. Fa Haien also describes the festival of the Tooth Relic, held with great pomp at the Abhayagiri vihara. 91 The Tooth Relic was the personal possession of the king and the Abhayagiri vihara must have been held in special regard in the country at that time. 92 This monastery had been founded by king Vattugamini Abhayas in the first century il.C, and the monks residing in this monastery were often in opposition to the Mahavihara, who regarded them as heretics. In the third century, they had adopted the Vimalakirti, which S. Paranavitane takes to be Mahayanaist. 93 “The Abhayagiri monks seem to have kept up constant contact with various Buddhist sects and new movements in India... They were liberal in their views and always welcomed new ideas from abroad and tried to be progressive. They studied both Theravada and Mahayana and widely diffused the Tripitakas.” 94 It is very likely that a foreign monk like Gunavarman was received by this fraternity rather than by the monks of the 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 Buddhagosa who is supposed to have been active in Ceylon at this period, 95 we are in no position to say.

From Ceylon Gunavarman went to the kingdom of Shinpo which most scholars take to be Java. 96 Here, he converted the queen-mother and the king to Buddhism. None of the biographies say which religion the royal family had adhered to before their conversion, but from Fa Haien we know that “Buddhism and Brahmanism were flourishing.” 97 Gunavarman’s biography in the Kan Seck Chuan, the Chen Yuan Chi Chiao Lu, the Chen Yuan Hsin Ting Chi Chiao Mu Lu and the Shen Seung 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 mentor what he should do in face of the attack. He was afraid his subjects would suffer if he did not defend them, but he did not like the idea of a war in which people were bound to be killed. Gunavarman tells the king to fight, 98 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 \[\text{sraddhakdy ukti}\] na vihitgna matnati \[\text{bhavyadhi yuddhacharya} \] apatit bhojagya na vidhate

(splitting regard to thine own duty also, thou oughtest not to waver

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

II. 33 \[\text{adbhitram} \] imam bhatyam santagamam na kartina

svast svadhitam kirtim ca hita papa avyayat

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

III. 19 \[\text{tasmad asaktam sataram karmad karma samadara asato hramas karma patan opaati purvarah} \]

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

It seems likely that Ganasvarman supposed the king to know the Bhagavadgita and that he had been a Hindu before. The Mahabharata is known in Old Javanese only from the time of King Jayabhaya (12th century). The prose rendering of the Bhagavadgita was fairly extensive. That Sanskrit was known in Ganasvarman's time in Java may be seen from the four inscriptions of king Purnavarmaman written in Sanskrit in a South Indian script. 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 Ganasvarman and abstain from killing and that the poor and needy should be given alms. We have here one instance of a kingdom accepting the religion of its ruler. "It must be assumed that the religious practices introduced from India were known at first primarily in the palace cities of indone- sian rulers. In the villages, ritual worship probably continued for a long time under the direction of priestly elders and" conjuron diviners who of old had been the mediators between the human and the spirit world. The philosophical and mystical tenets of India's great religions remained for many centuries the preoccupation of the priesthood, in monasteries and other sacred foundations for religious learning."
The last event recorded about Guanvarman’s stay in Java is that the king built a wharf for him. It is probable that Guanvarma 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.

Guanvarman’s fame spread to China, where the Emperor Wen of the Liang-Song dynasty heard about him and sent a delegation to invite Guanvarma. When this delegation arrived in 414 A.D. Guanvarma had already left. He intended to visit a real country, but “driven by the wind of his karma” he landed in China. There is some confusion about the period of his stay in China. The Chi Sen Tang Chi Chi for instance does not mention the date the messengers were sent but it does say that Guanvarma had already left Java before the arrival of the imperial party and that he came to the capital in 411 A.D. According to the Kao Sung Chuan, the delegation was sent in 414 and did not meet Guanvarman in Java, as he had already departed. He arrived at the capital in 411 A.D., having spent approximately one year (i.e. 410) in the Things on the way. The Kao Sung Chuan does not account for the years in between, i.e. for the year 414-410.

The Li Te So Po Chi and the Fa Yi Ming I Chi record that Guanvarman came to Nanking in the Yuan Chi period, but they do not specify the exact year. According to the Fa Yi Ting Chu, Guanvarman came to China on an invitation from the emperor and not by chance as the Kao Sung Chuan implies. Guanvarman 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 Guanvarman came to China in A.D. 414, as it appears from the Kao Sung Chuan account, and only had the interview with the emperor—who had sent messa to bring Guanvarman to the capital—seven years later. If Guanvarman had already left Java when the imperial messengers arrived in 414, he must have stayed somewhere else before coming so the capital, and he must not only have learnt Chinese very well in order to preach and translate texts, but he must also have penetrated deeply into Chinese philosophy in order to have the interview with the emperor that is recorded in the Kao Sung Chuan, the Kao Yen Chi Chiao Lu, the Chung Yue Hsin Ting Chi Chiao Mu, in the Fa Yi I Gung P’Y Chi, the Li Yen So Po Chi and the Fa Yi Ming I Chi. If Guanvarman did not learn Chinese and study Chinese scriptures at the capital, he must have done so at some other place in South China. The conversation with emperor Wen shows a remarkable adaptability to foreign ideas.
Buddhism had infiltrated into China from the North-West along the silk road which entered Chinese territory at Tun-huang. This infiltration must have taken place between the first half of the first century B.C.—the period of the consolidation of Chinese power in Central Asia—and the middle of the first century A.D., when the existence of Chinese Buddhism is attested for the first time in contemporary Chinese sources.104 Buddhism had been the religion of foreigners, Parthians, Sogdians and Indo-Scythians living at the Han capital Loyang. Buddhism only spread among the Chinese after translations of texts had been made and the upper classes became acquainted with the new doctrine. In the turbulent times after the downfall of the Han dynasty, the Han invasions of the North and the division of China, Confucianism, which had been the state doctrine, did not satisfy the spiritual needs of the people, and they turned to “Dark Learning”. Dark Learning is primarily based on the “Book of Changes” mingled with ideas extracted chiefly from Lao Tze and Chuang Tze.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 cultured 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 Hui (215-264), Ho Yen and Wong Pi (176-249). 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 confessing 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

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

While staying at Nanking, Gunavirman preached on two Mahayana texts, on the *Avatamsaka sutra*111 and on the *Dharmaguptaka sutra*. The *Avatamsaka sutra* in 36,000 Slokas was brought by Fa Hsing from Khotan and was translated by Buddhhabuddha in 415-1 in the Southern capital.112 The *Dharmaguptaka sutra* had been translated by Dharmasena (ca 330-334). It discusses the ten stages in the career of a Buddha

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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<th>Text</th>
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32
Our basic Text and A (Kao Ting Ch'ao and Chu San Ts'ung Chi Chi) agree on the number of translations ascribed to Gunavatman, and in the other biographies also contain the titles of these texts, we may assume that the were actually translated by Gunavatman.

The Bodhisattvabhumi had already been translated by Dharmakirta in 418 A.D. Gunavatman's translation was published in 441 A.D. and the text was later translated again by Huaiw Ts'ung in 645 A.D. The Bodhisattvabhumi forms part of one third of Asanga's Yogacara-samuccaya, this being the chief work of one of the great schools of Indian philosophy. 114 Paul Demieville, discussing these texts say the Yogacara-samuccaya 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 Samvatvada-school. This great treatise is divided into two parts, the first of which is the Bodhisattvabhumi, an exposition of the 37 stages (abhisamayalankara) in the Yogacara practice. The 17th of the 37 stages is that of the Bodhisattva, the Bodhisattvabhumi. Dharmakirta's version is entitled Pārśva (ii) the ch'ing (or kia) which corresponds to Bodhisattvabhumi-abhidharmakosa (or samuccaya). Gunavatman's version Prachha (iii) shun ch'ing ching would be Bodhisattvabhumi-abhidharmakosa. It is a regular Sutra with introduction and closing remarks. According to the French scholar who translated the chapter on meditation (abhyasa) and compared the three texts, Gunavatman's translation is cursive and shows many divergencies due to faulty rendering rather than to textual variations. 119

The Lai Yuen Ch'ao Hsin and the Ching Yuen Hsin Tong Ch'in Chiao Ma Li (E and F) mention that the E's roll of this text was translat-
The text is also found in the Taisho Tripitaka under No. 326; its name has been restored by Nanjio as "Vinayavartiyanam "Upaliprajya". It is also ascribed to Guanwarman to the year 424 A.D. As not one of the biographies mentions this text, and as the Kao Yuan Chi Chia Lu says the translation was made by an unknown author of the later Han dynasty, it is probably wrong that Guanwarman translated this text also. The Upaliprajya has a more exacted form as Upaliprajya. This text is a T'ien-yuan P'ei mei-kaksantra, containing the rules under which a monk becomes guilty and exceptions to these rules in which a monk is not guilty. This Upaliprajya 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 Pukrit rather than Sanskrit.

The Kao Yuan (Sung-pa-taihshih-ma-leh-panoua) was first translated in 426 by Icvara at Peng cheng. He, however, did not complete the work, which was handed over to Guanwarman. Guanwarman finished the translation, but apparently did not publish it. Therefore in 434 Sangbharitman was again entrusted with the translation of this text. He revised it during one year and published it. This translation is extant under Taisho No. 1552. Icvara's and Guanwarman's translations are mentioned as being lost by the Kao Yuan Chi Chia Lu.

The Aksharabhyasa is a collection of 600 verses, 250 of which were composed a hundred years after the Buddha's Nirvana by Fa Sheng. Later, Ta-mo-to-lo (Dharmaratraya) added another 150 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 Sung Chee-nan relates that Tao-an (4th century) had asked a monk Dharmadhatun to translate this Aksharabhyasa work, but as he did not know Chinese very well, there were many mistranslations in this translation. Therefore Sanghadeva, a monk from Kashmirs, was asked to publish a new translation in 381. 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 as Taisho No. 1552. 122

34
The Shih Mi Wu (The Sutra on the dignity of a novice) is listed in Nienjue's Catalogue under No. 1,664 as Странство Бхайманов. A.C. Banerjee mentions one text Nyo-pa-sat erh shih erh oih translated by Gunasvarman which contains ordination rules for novices. According to Bagchi, however, the Chao an ed-che-mi chue (then bia erh shih erh shih) the twenty two rules of those who have good faith is mentioned as lost by the Koi Tuan Chi Chiao Lu. In the Yen-pa-sha su chant Sheng ting (7476) The characteristics of the five rules for lay devotees the Buddha is approached by his father, king Sudhodana, 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 these 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 that of the Dharmagupta Bhikshunivada show Gunasvarman's interest in disciplinary matters. Zander 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. During the Wei dynasty (330-366) several treatises on monastic discipline appeared which mark the introduction of the Vinaya in written form in China. In 150 A.D., Dharmakula made a Chinese version of the Pratimoksha of the Mahayangika, shortly afterwards the Karmamutra of the Dharmagupta school was translated. Before the 5th century no complete Vinaya of any school was known in China. In the middle of the fourth century the Chinese monk Tao-an had formulated a number of rules and regulations for his disciples which were taken over by other communities. In a letter written by Tao-an he said that the monastic rules form the very roots of a monk's conduct, on which eventually even the teachings of the Prajnaparamita are based. Towards the end of his life, Tao-an did obtain more satisfactory texts on monastic discipline and he expressed his satisfaction about them in the preface to the translation. The interest in acquiring the complete set of Vinaya rules is also shown by the fact that Fa Hsien set out on the arduous journey to India in order to obtain such texts. Most of the canonical Vinaya texts and commentaries on the discipline were translated during the 5th century.

The last event in Gunasvarman's life mentioned in the Kao Sey 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 mitha had been "compiled or concocted" by Mil, a disciple of the monk Srimitra; those rules were however, attacked by a heretical by Chih Tung (ca 314-346) and Chii Fu Chih (318-349). According to Zander, Fa Hsien, who came to Loyang in 370, introduced a more complete set of monastic
rules and took the initiative of establishing the order of Buddhist nuns on Chinese soil. He ordained the nun Xing-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 Liang 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 Pravahaaka 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 Cham. The nun Hui Cham from P'ing Chi'eng was also lodged there. In 355 Empress Ho founded another monastery. In 385 the nun Min yun was abbess over more than a hundred nuns at the Chien ching monastery founded for her. "She was influential at court and was revered and served by rich and poor alike."

Ootto Franke discusses the existence of nuns in the fourth century and the fact that the Fo Tu T'ung Chi ascribes the establishment of the order of nuns to Gunavarman, and he thinks that there is some mistake and contradiction. This is not the case. The Fo Tu T'ung Chi states that Gunavarman built the 'ordination hall', but Gunavarman actually ordained the nuns. The Fo Tu T'ung Chi also states that Ching Chien had only been ordained before one community, i.e. in the presence of monks only. The Vinaya rules lay down that a woman wishing to enter the order should first be a novice for two years and then be ordained before the order of monks and nuns. When Buddhism was introduced in Ceylon the nun Sanglamitta was sent for from India in order to ordain queen Axula and other Sinhalese ladies. Similarly, monks could only be ordained by a numerically complete chapter of monks. When in the 3rd 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 Sinhalese 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. Gunavarman could not confer the ordination immediately but had to send for further nuns, who arrived after his death in 414. Gunavarman, the same monk who had completed the translation of the Abhacaramitaya ordained the Chinese nuns. It is not stated expressly whether the nun Tich-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 a king of Ceylon in 411. The Fa Tien Chuan records under the 5th year of the Yuan Chin period (479 A.D) that Emperor Wen of the Liu Sung dynasty received tribute from the konhatiyi king Mahanama of Ceylon. Emperor Wen answered Mahanama:

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

The answer given by Gunavarnma to the monks as recorded in the basic text, I., and F., differs from the account in l. In the first instance, Gunavarnma says that the incompleteness of the order is no hindrance to a valid ordination in the first mon. Mahaprajapati Gunavarnma was ordained without other monks being present. In the second case Gunavarnma is reported to have said, an ordination is only valid if performed according to the rules, which prescribe that a chapter of monks and nuns should be present.

When Gunavarnma died he was cremated "according to the foreign custom." The emperor had wished to accept the precepts of a Bodhisattva, but had been prevented by his duties to do so. In 411, the year of Gunavarnma's death, the king of Lin-yi (Champa) intended to visit Chien-chou. Emperor Wen had also planned an expedition against the North a year earlier. The term "Bodhi-
sattva" was applied to both monks and lay devotees in the early church. The Bodhisattvaprajnaparamita, T 1390, contains extracts of the Bodhisattvabrahma and the Upaprajnaparamita. It deals with the ordination rites for a Bodhisattva. The candidate has to request a matter 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 laity. Of the Emperor Ming of the Chin dynasty it was said: "The august ancestor Emperor Ming, whom heaven had endowed with virtue was the first monarch to receive this Way......His observance of the (five) commandments was stricter than that of a mountain recluse." The Kao Sung Chuan and the Chin Shu record that Emperor Hsai wu accepted the Buddhist doctrine. The same emperor also contributed to the funeral expenses of two monks which, according to Zu Chong, was customary at that period. In the same way Emperor Wen had a stupa erected for Gunavarnma.
Postscript

The author wishes to thank Dr. H. Durt, Kyoto, for kindly sending her the biographical material on Gunavarman, which forms the basis of this paper. For other material and advice given the author is indebted to Prof. Dr. H. Sechert, Göttingen; the late Prof. Dr. F. Bernhard, Hamburg; Dr. Dencker, Colombi; Prof. De Jong, Czebrowa; Dr. C. Kaeser, Kyoto; Prof. Liu Shao Tsai, Homburg; Dr. W. Bachow, Peradeniya; Dr. and Mrs. Roth, Göttingen; and Prof. Dr. D. Schlingloff, Munich.

NOTES

(Please refer to the Bibliography)

1) Bomai: History, p. 97.
2) Pelliot: Itineraires, p. 247 f.
3) Zoetmulder: Religioni, 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 Taisho edition has "in the language of Chi", whereas the three editions read "Sung". As the Ch‘I dynasty came to power only after the death of Gunavarman, the reading of the three editions must be right. It was a general practice to refer to the Chinese language as the language of the ruling dynasty. Zucher: Conquest, p. 438.
13) Instead of Ch'iu to seek (Matthew, Dictionary No. 1217), ch'i is a rival (Matthew, Dictionary No. 1332) has been used. ch'i is prefixed to the name; compare note 12.

14) The characters used to express love are Jen ai (Matthew, Dictionary No. 3096 and No. 9). Jen, perfect virtue, is the ideal of Confucius. We have here a minor example of the adoption of Buddhism to Confucianism. See Chen: Buddhism, p. 471. Chen mentions the 11th century Neo-Confucianist Chung T'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.

15) The three evil existences are as an animal (dhyaṃga), in hell (nārga), and as a hungry ghost (peta).

16) Robert Sth: Kao Seng Tschen, p. 71 n. 43 points out that the expression "to turn South" is taken from classical Chinese literature.

7) A similar prediction was made by kaśī Atītā about the Buddha in the Latavatara, p. 71, 1. 26: Sa ced agaram adhyavasati raja bhave...Sa ced pūrer agarā angadhata pravrajeya tavatyāvat vikārtasāh Sampakumubuddhah.

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

9) Lamotte: Histoire, p. 165, mentions that some Buddhist schools have four Āgamas as against the five Nikayas of the Pali canon, the Khuddakasākyya corresponding to a Khuddakapāṭha, others exclude the retina texts from their Tripiṭaka. Among the texts recognizing four Āgamas only are the Mahāparinirvāṇa, the Vinaya-ṭrākti, the Dīghaṇka in Chinese, the Dīsavatana and other Sāvatīvadāna texts.

20) Rendered by "the country of the lion" Sinhālāvīpa.

21) The first fruit is that of Srotasāpana, one who has entered the stream, the first of four stages of Hinayana religious development, the others being Saṅkṣepaṁ, one who returns once, Anagomī, one who does not return, and Aḥvat, a saint. See Edgerton: Dictionary, s.v.精装.
13) Literally: they developed affection. R. Shi: Kao Seng Tchous, p. 126, translates this sentence as: ceux qui le voulent produisissent la pensee de bodhi.

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

16) For a discussion of the identification of She-po with Java see Pelliot: Littéraires, p. 215ff., 293f.; Charoen: Gunavarman p. 193. Eveson: Indian Art, p. 198 thinks Pu Hien and Gunavarman visited Sumatra, not Java; he derives Ch’o-po (She-po) from Sriwijaya.

17) I.e. she became a lay 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.

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

20) Chiao Chou was the name of a Southern province created during the late Han dynasty. It comprised parts of present day T’ungking and Annam. See Franke: Geschichte, Vol. II, p. 270; Zarcher: Conquest, p. 61, says it must have been a Buddhist centre from the early 3rd century on.

21) Present day Kanton.

23) The testament is found in BT, F, E, and G at the end of Gunavarman’s biography.

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

31) Chung Tung is the region at the lower course of the Yang Tse, particularly the area around Chien yeh (Nanking). R. Shi: Kao Seng Tchou-n, p. 170.

32) Chien yeh, present day Nanking, had been made 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, Grāhakuta, was one of the five hills envircling Rajagaha. The Buddha often stayed there. It is not quite clear to me, how the transcription Fú (Matthew: Dictionary, No. 1990: Chinese Vaidika) is to be made. Lü (Mathews: Dictionary, No. 1990: Chinese Vaidika) states, that the tower over a city gate comes about. Zürcher: Conquest, p. 208 ind p. 294—n. 1. 136 and n. 137, points out that several mountains in China were called Grāhakuta. Referring to the dictionary Chang hseu hsia chin shih-shu he says that six mountains of this name are mentioned. A Tiger-Hill North of Chu Chang in Kuang Tung was changed to Grāhakuta by the monk Shih Seng Is who stayed there between 405 and 408.

35) Chavannes: Gana-varman, p. 190, 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 Gandharv, and he refers to A. Foucher's study les lois régie du Sūtra de Sīkri (Gandhāra)' in Journal Asiatique, Sept.-Oct. 1903, p. 199-219.

36) Wright: Biography, p. 386, states that Hui Chiao, the author of the Kao Seng 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) Frankel: Geschichte III, p. 179, discusses the name Chin-ling (Kia-ling) and refers to the work of Peter Louis Gaillard, according to whom the city was founded in 333 B.C. by the king of Yue. Under Shi Hsia Ti the name was changed to Mo-ling, and later under Sun K'uan to Kiu-ye (Chien-yeh). In the later T'ang dynasty, Kien K'ang was used instead of Kien-ye.

38) Chio Isien's biography is found in the Kao Seng Chuan. p. 334 b ff. (Robert Shih: Biography, p. 91 ff.). He translated it 418 the Avatamsaka Sutra, which had been brought from Shōken.

39) The Kao Seng Chuan, p. 344 b 10 f., records that Gunabhadra was asked to preach the Avatamsaka Sutra 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.

41
Zurcher: Conquest, p. 374 x 17, says that Chai (Mathews, Dictionary, No. 115) 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 noxious things, suppresses his desires, and does not allow his ears to listen to music." (Up-ch XXII, chapter Sin-shung, ch. 49, 45); hence used in Buddhist works as a translation for upasana (denoting, for the hymn, 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. 2193, on the period of fasting:

"Once having decided to practise the five rules, (the upasana) 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 sixth, the eighth, the tenth, the twelfth, the sixteenth and the sixteenth of each month. On all fast days neither meat nor fish should be provided; (the devotees) must (only) eat before noon and when noon is past, he is not allowed to taste any kind of sweatsmelling or delicious food. (During these periods of fasting) he clears his mind and thinks about the Way. Surrendering himself to the three venerable ones (the Buddhas, the Dharma and the Sangha), he repents of his sins and reprouses 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 bear (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 devotees must perform this for the sake of all who have passed away or who are still alive, for his acquaintances and relatives, as well as for all living beings. In all these occasions he must use this (fasting) to extend his sincerity and by hidden thoughts move and stimulate (their minds). Once (their) minds have been moved and stimulated, they will forever avoid sin and suffering. Therefore loyal and filial gentlemen exert themselves to the utmost in observing the fast-days in order to do the meritorious work of helping all together. It is not merely for his own sake. During the fast days, he must exclusively concentrate his thoughts on the vision of the Mystery and recite the words of the Doctrine. If he is unable to practice (the contemplation of) Emptiness, he must perform the Six Remembrances."
41) The same idea is expressed in "the Essentials of Religious" (see the above note), quoted by Zurcher: Conquest, p. 169. "When a sage monarch rules the world, there are already so exences (in the application of punishments)."

42) E. Chavannes: Gananarman, p. 202, and B. Shi: Kao Seng Tsochoua, p. 111, translate this as Saddhanasamgupadriks. The text has an abbreviated title, Fa Hsia (Mathews Nos. 1761 and 2212). The full title of the Saddhanasamgupadriks is Hsia Fa Hsia Hsia Ching (Mathews Nos. 4474, 1761, 4914, 2217, 1123). One of the cities of the Aratamashawna is Ta Fa Hsia Ching (Mathews Nos. 5841, 1767, 2217, 1123), therefore Fa Hsia could also be used as an abbreviation of this Sutra. As the Fa Tai T'ung Ch'ên says that Gananarman translated the Hsia Yen (Mathews Nos. 2217, 7147) which stands for another title of the Aratamashawna; Ta Fang Kao Hsia HvAn Ching (Mathews Nos. 5941), 1862, 3190, 1871, 2217, 7347, 1123) I take Fe Hsia to stand for the latter text.

43) Literally: by going and coming.

44) The Bodhisattvabhumi has been published by U. Wegihara, Tokyo 1920-36.

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

46) P'eng ch'eng is present day Hsia chou in Kiang kai. It was a flourishing centre of commerce, situated on the highway from Loyang to the South-East, which actually formed an eastern extension of the continental silk 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. 39.

48) According to the Kaif Yum Che Chou Lu this translation was lost. T. 5134, p. 516 a 21.

49) "Indian" is rendered by fan, the language of the Brahmas, and "Chinese" by fan and not as usual is this text by Sany. The "people of Hoin" 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 Tsung Chi Chih, p. 63 c 24–63 a 20, Seng Yu discusses the Pa-sha shan chiai (the good rules of a Bodhisattva) and the Pa-sha ti (the stages of a Bodhisattva). He refers to old catalogues and says the text has ten roles, and he mentions seven titles of this work, i.e. (i) Shan chiai (good rules), (ii) Pa-sha ti (stages of a Bodhisattva), (iii) Pa-sha pi-li-four (Bodhisattva-collections), (iv) Yu-lai Tung (treasures of a Tathagata), (v) I shu shan fu heng pen (root of all good dharmas), (vi) As lo guo (realm of wisdom), (vii) Ye-le-ni chia (collection of Parinirvānas). The first roll was published first, it is called Yu-ped-wei shw chiai fe (Upali questions about the precepts). The other rolls begin with "thus have I heard" (tsem nya statam). The work is divided into three sections, the first having 18 chapters, the second four and the third eight.

The Pa-sha ti (stages of a Bodhisattva) is also divided into three sections of 18, 4 and 1 chapters. Lokakṣema's translation was made in Ling chou at the time of Emperor As of the T'ai dynasty (337–419). The text begins with a verification of the three jewels. There is no "thus have I heard". See below, p. 33 f.

54) This is another name for the Dharmaguptabhikkhūmapa. The Dharmagupta Vinaya was specially popular in China, and the first Prātimokṣa and Karmavina texts translated belonged to that school. See Lamotte: History, p. 595.

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

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

57) Edgerton: Dictionary, s.v. samadhi gives a list of the five fold samadhi from the Pali: pitiyamadhatu, sukha, esa, abhava, and pannaivavatissamettam.

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

59) The Taiho edition says seven texts, but as actually eight are listed, the reading of the three editions (Sung, Kying and Yuan) must be correct.
66) Compare note 53 above and p.—55 below. Bagchi: Canon, p. 375; i.e., this is Ninjyo No. 1169 (Upaprajaparvadha). T 1466. This is apparently a mistake, because the text in question is a Hkhaya text, which cannot have formed part of a Mahayana treatise.

61) Bagchi: Canon, p. 375, calls this the oldest catalogue of the Yung dynasty.

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

63) The Tsho phrase says 31 against 13 in the preceding sentence. As 31 is also found in the three editions, this is the right one.

64) Bagchi: Canon, p. 78-79, gives a short note on Dharmasatyas, a Parthian monk of a noble family who translated the Karmayoga of the Dharmapalas school in 255 A.D.

65) Chavannes: Gunavarman, p. 204, translates this sentence: "Sur le territoire des Song, il arrive que l'empereur de religieux." Robert Bish: Kao Setg Yoschun, p. 137, also translates this sentence, meaning: "There have up to now been no nuns in the country of Sung." I think the meaning is: "There has not yet been a Sutra on the ordination of nuns, but there are nuns (who have therefore not been ordained properly).

66) Nuns should be ordained in the community of nuns and monks. "Dharmasatyas bhikṣuṇi bhikkhu bhikkhuṇi bhikkhu bhikkhuṇi bhikkhu bhikkhu bhikkhuṇi bhikkhu bhikkhuṇi. 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 and has chosen herself in the order of nuns." Beck of the Discipline, part 1, p. 375.

67) Chavannes: Gunavarman, p. 107, translates this as: "à 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 défences, cela étant comme motiver par l'amour pour la religion." R. Shi: Kao Setg Yoschun, p. 132, has: "et si l'on ne se conformait pas à un rituel, cela n'invalidait pas l'ordination comme un fait le cas pour Gautami."
Nuns were not allowed to be ordained before having attained 20 years of age. See Both: Bhikkuni-mata, § 210.

See page 36 below.

The “Middle Kingdom” was a common designation for China, but it was also used to translate “Mālayasā”, 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”. Zschemer: Conquest, p. 266.


This is the same monk who translated the Abhidhammapada.

Literally: for the master in the pagoda.

Franke: Geschichte Ml, p. 366, discusses the origin of the name Tschenn san for China; quoting the Buddhist dictionary Fe Jun to te’s text he explains Tschien as name of the Tsin dynasty and tan as Sanskrit sthana. Tschien tan means the country of the rising sun.

Compare T 2126 p. 238 b. 23- e, 8, where it says that 167 years after A Fang became a lay devotee the first complete ordination for nuns was performed.

During the rainy season monks in India were to go into retreat (vāraṇana). The rainy season corresponds to summer in Chinese. See Rosen: Vinaya-śāstra, p. 139 n. 1.

This testimony is appended to Gunaverma’s biography in the Koo Seng Chuan, it is also found in E, F and G.

See note 21.

Mathews: Dictionary, No. 5120, forty feet.

That is the community of monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees.
11) See below, p. 37.
13) Mathew: Dictionary, No. 5169, one foot.
14) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 107; Barotsa: Sects, p. 36.
15) See below, p. 33.
16) Ivar Doyal: Bodhism doctrine, p. 95, 1899; "In justice to Mahayana writers it must be stated that most of them do not maintain these conclusions at all."
17) In Ceylon for instance, there was a district Malavalam, a village Malavandi and a place in Rohana called Malavanathol. Malalasekera: Dictionary, s.v.
18) Malalasekera: Dictionary, s.v.
19) Mathews No. 721.
20) Malalasekera: Dictionary, s.v.
21) Fa Hsien: Travels, p. 67, p. 70.
22) Encyclopedia, s.v. Ahākagārī.
23) Paranavitane: Mahayanaism, p. 36.
26) See note 14 above.
27) Ta Hsien: Travels, p. 78.
29) Hall: History, p. 64.
30) Zoetmulder: Religions, p 163.

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102) Holt: Art, p. 36.

103) Wagner: Indonzia, p. 92, 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, Ndi., p. 104.

104) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 23.

105) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 46.

106) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 46.

107) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 47.

108) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 51 f.


111) See above, note 38.


113) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 196.

114) Demieville: Bodhisattvadhyam, p. 111.

115) Demieville: Bodhisattvadhyam p. 110.

116) Indian Historical Quarterly No. 7, 1931.

117) Vol. 55, p. 485 c 11. The Li Tai-shan Po Ch'i 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 ab 24 b 9.

118) Pachaw: Pratiyokta, had already noted a close affinity between the Upali-sariputra and the Pali Pratinikkhita. Almost every passage in the Upali-sariputramata can be traced in different places in the Pali Vinaya. A translation of the text is in preparation.
119) R. Shih: Kao Seng Tsehoan, p. 139.
120) Bagchi: Canon, p. 374.
121) Chu San Tsang Chi Sui, p. 74 b.
122) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 136, 246 and 408 n. 71.
123) Kanerjee: Vignya Tamil; Bagchi: Canon, p. 375.
124) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 137.
125) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 56.
126) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 201.
127) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 188.
128) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 197.
129) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 201.

130) A list of these translations is found in Bapat: Shan Chien P'i P'o Shao, p. XIV.

131) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 103.
132) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 182.
135) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 114.
137) Roth: Bhumiviveka, § 710.
139) Geiger: Medieval Ceylon, p. 198.
140) See above, note 69.
142) Fo Tse T'ong Chi, p. 244 b 16.
144) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 32.
145) Banerjee: Vinaya Texts; Dutt, Bodhisattvaprajñāpāramārttakasūtra, p. 260.
146) See note 15.
147) Hsi Tou-ch’ih in a letter to Tso an, dated 365; quoted from Zurcher: Conquest, p. 107.

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