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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 Gunavarman for several reasons: he belonged to the royal house of Kushan, his biography contains 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 adapt his teaching to the religious beliefs of his followers, whether Hindu or Confucian.

In the present paper, the biography of Gunavarman in Hui-Chiao's "Lives of Eminent Monks" (T 2049 Kas Sang Chuan) will be used as the basis for comparison. This biography has been translated into French by E. Chavannes 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 San Tang Chi Chi, by Seng Yu, A.D. 515
- B T 2064 Shen Sang Chuan, by an unknown author with a preface dated 1417 A.D.
- C T 2122 Fu Yuan Chu Lin, by Tao Shih, 668 A.D.
- D T 2151 Ku Yin I Ching T'ie Chi, by Ting Mu, 664 A.D.
- E T 1554 Kai Yuan Chu Chao Lu, by Tai Ching, 730 A.D.
- F T 2157 Cheng Yuan Hsia T'ao Che Chiao Ma Lu, by Yuan Chao, 7th century
- G T 2034 Li Tai San Pou Chi, by Fu Ch'eng-fung, 597 A.D.
- H T 2149 Fu Tang Nai T'ou Lu, by Tao Huan, 7th century
- I T 2131 Fan I Ming I Chi, by Fa Yuen, 12th century
- K T 2035 Fu Tso T'ung Chi, by Chih Pan, 11th century
- L T 2106 Chi Shen Chou San Pou Kan T'ung Lu

Each episode of Gunavarman's life as related in the Kas Sang 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 Chuan, and Arthur Link has shown that in some instances Hui Chiao copied long passages verbatim from Seng Yu. In other cases Hui Chiao supplemented the basic data with material taken from other sources. The Kao Sung Chuan biography of Gunawanaman contains a number of episodes not found in the Chu San Tang Chi Chi, as for instance the advice given to the king of Jawa (§ 9 and 10 below) and the interview with Emperor Wen of the Sung dynasty (§ 21 below).

The accounts of Gunawanaman's life in the Kao Yuan Chi Chao Lu and the Chao Yuan Hoa Ting Tse Chao Hsu 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 Gunawanaman.

I

1

Ch'iu-na-pa-mo (Gunawanaman), 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-chu (Haribhadra), that means "Worthy as a Lion," had been expelled because of his harshness. His father, called Sen-chhi-tám (Sanghananda), that means "Joy of the Community," had to hide in valleys and mountains because of this.

ST p. 340 a 15—18
E p. 526 a 32—b 1
F p. 523 a 17—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. 264 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 run from Kashmir; he was the younger son of the king of that country. p. 361 c 15—16.

6
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. 107 e 17.

L Ch’iu-na-pa-mo was a man from a city in the West. p. 433 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 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 b 1—5
F p. 823 a 19—23
B p. 953 b 29—39 (Omitting the mother’s answer)

A When Gunavarmas was fifteen years of age he left his home and became a novice. p. 104 d 2.

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 b 12—15
c. p. 516 b 3—7
F 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 South36 and he will be praised and venerated. If, however, he does not care for worldly affairs, he will obtain the fruit of sanctity.” 17

7
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.

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 Tripiṭaka".

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 Tripiṭaka, 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 Tripiṭaka". 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. 1092 a 17—18

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. 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. 22

BT p. 340 b 5—6
E p. 526 b 16—19
F p. 873 b 2—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 (Jaō). 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. 526 b 18—22
F p. 833 b 5—11
B p. 963 b 9—14

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

9.

The army of a neighbouring state invaded the kingdom of Java. The king told 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, 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. 526 b 23—27
F p. 833 b 10—14
B p. 963 b 14—19

10.

The king, at the head of his army, decided (the matter). The banner and divinities 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. 526 b 77—79
F p. 833 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 ministers:
"I wish to become an ascetic. You, my ministers, should choose another wise sovereign." The ministers, prostrating themselves, entreated the king: thus "If the king gives up his country, the people will be without support. The enemy's country is strong and wicked; they will take advantage and attack us. If the people lose the roof that protects them, where will they stay? Will your majesty, endowed with heavenly benevolence, not take pity? We are willing to show the sincerity of our request with our death."

12.

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

13.

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

A. The king of Java built a Vihara for him and the master conducted the ceremonies. In the mountains there were many wild animals. They repeatedly damaged the tents of the people. Gumavarman 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.
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 I, Hsueh Tso-ying, 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 Chou to send a bear to fetter him. Hsueh Kuan and the other monks also sent the monks Fa Ch'ang, Tao Ch'ang, Tao Ch'in, 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 court of Sung (Chou) in order to preach.

BT p. 360 b 28—c 6
E p. 326 c 9—15
F p. 413 b 26—c 2

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

p. 363 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 Tsen, Hsueh 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 preacher of the country.


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

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
Nan c'’i (the Hindu Nandi) and wanted to visit a small country. He reached Kuang Chou 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).” This is what it refers to. When the Emperor Wen heard that he had already arrived at Nan hsi, he gave new order to the prefect and the governor of the place to take Gunvarman to the capital.

A In the course of time before (the messenger) had been sent Gunvarman 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 Yuen Chia (433), and he stayed at the Chi Yuan monastery. p. 164 b 11—14.

B When the emperor heard that Gunvarman had already arrived at Nan hsi, he gave a new order to the prefect and the governor of the place to take Gunvarman to the capital. p. 164 b 15—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 Gunvarman stayed there for about one year. It was there that was the mountain Hu Shih of majestic appearance with a solitary peak, high and inaccessible. Gunvarman said it looked like the Grehrakuts. Therefore its name was changed to Vulture’s Peak. Gunvarman constructed a meditation hall outside the mountain monastery. As the monastery was several li from the monastery, no sound could be heard, but each time the gong was sounded, Gunvarman 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 Gunavarman himself painted a picture of Rahula and of Dipankara and of a young novice, who spread out his hut. Once the pictures were completed, every evening, they emitted a light that did not stop till a long time later.

17. The prefect of Chi hsiing, Tu'ei Mu-che, venerated Gunavarman. 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-shu 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 stroke him and went on. Those who lived in the mountains and came to the water could pass without hindrance. Seven or eight out of ten people were moved by Gunavarman's virtue and became converted.

19. Once, 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
chase the lion, and then nothing could be seen anymore. Gunavarmān accomplished many extraordinary supernatural deeds like this.

BT p. 340 c 24—27
E p. 527 b 3 — 7
F p. 821 c 20—25
B p. 306 b 9 — 11 (omitting last sentence)

20.

Later Emperor Wen again ordered (Hsiui) Kuan and the other (monks) to invite Gunavarmān. He took a boat to go to the capital. In the first month of the eighth year of the period Yuan Chia (435) he arrived at Chien Yeh.

BT p. 341 b 1 — 3
E p. 517 b 7—11
F p. 875 c 25—27

G The Tripitaka Master Gunavarmān from Kashmir, whose name means “Armour of Virtue” in the language of Sung, came to Nanking in the Yuan Chia period. p. 340 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 a 21.

K The messenger accompanied him to Chin ling (Nanking), where he stayed in the Chi Yuan monastery. Masters and teachers alike treated him as their preceptor and asked him to recite the Hua Yen (7 278 Avatamsaka Sūtra), of which sixty chapters had formerly been translated by Chou Hsien. Before reciting the Avatamsaka Sūtra, he said a prayer to Kuan Yiu (Avalokiteśvara).

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 14—16.

21.

The emperor received him and questioning him politely asked: “If your pupil wants 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?”

15
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 subdued 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 utters a good word, men and women will be happy. If he issues a good law, men and spirits will be in harmony. If he punishes, he does not take life. If he imposes work, he does not exhaust the strength. Then wind and rain will come at the right time, heat and cold in the proper season and the hundred kinds of grain will grow profusely. To keep a vow like this is really keeping a vow and to abstain from killing in this way is really a great virtue. To abstain from eating for half a day and save the life of one animal would that lead to salvation?"

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 distant, principles say that the path is void. 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. He 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 Guanvarman says is really penetrating and leading to understanding, one can talk to him about the boundaries between spirits and men." p. 361 c 19-362 a 2.

K p. 344 c 5 - 7

I The Emperor was very pleased and said: "What the Master of the Law says really leads man's mind to understanding and penetrates nature. One can talk to him about the boundaries between spirits and men." p. 170 b 2-3.

H The Emperor clipping on the table praised him. This matter (is related) in the (Kao) Seng Chuan. p. 258 b 26.

24.

(The Emperor) then ordered him to stay in the Ch' i Huan monastery and gave generous offerings. Among princes and scholars, there was not one who did not venerate him. Shortly afterwards, he preached the Avatamsakasutra and the Dharmahimukasutra 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' i Yuan monastery and gave generous offerings. p. 361 a 2.

H p. 158 b 17
G p. 94 b 20
K The master stayed in the Chi Yuan monastery and preached the Avatamsaka and the Daśabhūmajātra. The emperor led dukes and high officials on the day of assembly at the (master's) nest, and the Buddhists praised him. p. 144 c 7–8.

Later, Hsiu I of the Chi Yuan monastery asked him to publish the Paṣha chien chiao ching (The good rules of Bodhisattva). 12 Adhibhūtaniruttaravatā, 44 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 Paṣha cha jā i (The stages in the precepts of a Bodhisattva). Formerly, in the third year of the period Yuan Chia (436) the prefect of Hou chou, Wang Ch'ung-teh, had asked a foreigner I yeh po to translate at Peng ch'ang to translate and publish the Tsā kan. (Samyuktādhipatiḥarmadhīdaya). When he came to the chapter on investigation (pratiyās), 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 Su chern chen it (T 1434 Dharmaprajñāpryāna), the Ta-po-ch'ien tsung ti (T 1476 Upasampadaśāvatāra), the Ta-po-ch'ien shen ti chiao (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 and the Chinese text. 50

E In the Chi Yuan monastery, Guṇavarmā translated the Paṣha ch'ien chiao ching (The Sūtras on the good rules of a Bodhisattva) and others, in all ten sections. About this Sūtra it is said in the Chang fang Catalogue 51 and others that it has 50 rolls. Below, in the commentary, it is said that a pupil completed 30 rolls. That is not so. Today there are only nine rolls, some 27 ten rolls. The character "two" 32 must be regarded as a mistake in this text. Only in Seng Yu's Catalogue 53 is it said that there are ten rolls. Therefore one knows that there is a mistake in the other texts. Further, according to the Kao Sung Chien, Hsiu I of the Chi Yuan monastery asked Guṇavarmā to translate and publish the Paṣha chien chiao ching, Guṇavarmā began and published 28 chapters. Later a pupil published two chapters and 30 chapters were thus completed. In the Chang and other catalogues it is said that 50 rolls were completed. That is a big mistake. In the Chang fang Catalogue and others it is also said that Guṇavarmā translated the Tsā k'ien Han (Samyuktādhipatiḥarmadhīdaya). Guṇavarmā published his translation together with the 50 rolls published (previously) by Fa-hsuan. 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 efficacious in
the former catalogue. Sense and wording agree, and there is no
difference between the Indian and the Chinese text. p. 127 a—b 6.


A

Not long afterwards, he translated and published Sutras in the
Chi li Yuan monastery, namely the Pu-sha ti (The stages of a Bodhi-
sattva), the T'an wu teh chi-mo, the Yu-po-sha wu chia-tu lun
(The five rules of a lay devotee), the San-kun chi Yu-po-sha er th chia-i
(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 Hun chou, Wang Chung-teh, and asked a foreigner
I seh po lo at Peng chieh to translate and publish the Tsu 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 horses and
carriages knocked against each other. p. 104 b 15—31.

X

Apart from the text mentioned in the biography of Gunavarman,
the Chu San Tsang Chi Chi contains a list of Gunavarman's trans-
lations:

1. Pu-sha shan chia-i (The good rules of a Bodhisattva) in ten
rolls, it is also called Pu-sha ti (The stages of a Bodhisattva).
2. Yu-po-sha wu chia-tu lu lun (The five rules of a lay devotee)
in one roll. It is also called Yu-po-sha wu chia-i shuang (The
characteristics of the five rules of a lay devotee).
3. San-kun chi Yu-po-sha er th chia-i (The twenty two rules
of a lay devotee, who has taken the three refuges) in one roll.
It is also called Yu-po-sha chia-i (The rules of a lay devotee).
4. T'an wu teh chi-mo is one roll. It is also called Tsu chi-mo
(Miscellaneous Karma).

These four titles, in all 13 rolls, have been published at Nanking
by the Tripiṭaka Master Gunavarman of Kashimar during the

D

Then, in the Yuan Chia period at Yang Tu he translated the Pu-sha
shen chia-i ting (The Sutra on the good rules of a Bodhisattva), 10
rolls, the Tsu A p'i tan hsin lun (Sanyuktabhiddhamahayoga), 12
rolls, the Sze for pi-chia-ai chi-mo (Dharanaguptabhisakam-Karma),
1 roll, the Yu-po-sha wu chia-i (The five rules of a lay devotee),
1 roll, the San kui chi Yu-po-sha chia-i (The rules of a lay devotee)
who has taken the three refuges), 1 roll, the Sho-mi weI 15 (The
dignity of a novice), 1 roll, the Hu men shan yao yang7 (Mental
on the five fold meditation) 1 roll, the ching hun len i chi18
28 (Detailed explanation of Surva and Vihaya), 1 roll. These
eight 59 texts have 58 rolls. He obtained the second fruit.
p 362 a 2-7.

E 1. Pu-sha thao chiao ching (Sutra on the good rules of a Bodhisattva)
in 9 rolls. One name is Pu-sha ii (The stages of a Bodhisattva).
It was published in the Chi\'1 Yuan monastery. See
the two catalogues of Chi\'1 Tsu\', Seng Yu as well as the Kao
Seng Chau. In the Chang fang Catalogue and others it is also
called Sattva chiao ching (Sutra on the good rules), in 10 rolls.
Further it is said that a pupil published two chapters and thus
completed 20 rolls. That is not so.

2. Pu-auto chiao ching (The sutra on the good rules of a Bodhisat-
tva) in 1 roll. Until asks the Bodhisattva about the precepts.
See Pao Chiao 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. 60
In the North the Sutras became separated and could not be
united and then the old arrangement was adhered to.

3. Pu-sha ng chiao ching (Sutra on the internal rules of a Bodhi-
sattva, VI 1883). This is in the above catalogue.

4. Pu-sha-tha nu mii i ching (Sutra on the dignity of the five
rules of a lay devotee), in 1 roll. See the Pao Chiao Catalogue.

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

6. Sue fei pi chiao et chia me fu (DharanagathabhadramangAY) in 1 roll.
Seng Yu calls it Tao mei teh me and also Fei chiao-me.
It was published in the eighth year of the Yuan Chia period
(421) at the Chi\'1 Yuan monastery. See the two catalogues
of Pao Chiao and Seng Yu, as well as the Kao Seng Chau.
It is also called Sue fei mei-me.

7. Yopp-sha mi chiao Siang ching (Sutra on the characterstics
of the five rules of a lay devotee), in 1 roll. Another name
is Yopp-sha mi chiao 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\'1 Yuan monastery. See
the two catalogues of Seng Yu and Pao Chiang, as well as the Kao Seng Chau.

8. Long shu pu-sha weI Cho-to-sha (way thao fa yao shih (The
Bodhisattva Nagarjuna preaches to the king Chandika) is
9. Shan hsio eh she eh chiai (The twenty two rules of one who has good faith), in 1 roll. It is also called Li ye yu pa-sha ye-pu-yi hsa hsiung eh she eh chiai (The twenty two rules of conduct for male and female lay devotees who have renounced desires). It is also called San kao Yu-po-sha chiai (The rules of a lay devotee who has taken the three refuge). (Seng) Yu calls it Yu-po-sha chiai (The rules of a lay devotee). See Kao Seng Chuan and the two catalogues of Seng Yu and Pao Chang.

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

G

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

2. Tao A pi t’an hsiu (Samyuktahridaya-dharmatadgaya) in 13 rolls. It has first been published by Irona, up to the chapter on investigation. The present, complete edition has 13 rolls. See Kao Seng Chuan.

3. See fen chia-mo (Dharmaguptasamkhulkrama) in 1 roll. It has been published in the eighth year of the Yuan Chia period (431) in the Ch’i Yuan monastery. This is the second translation, it agrees with the one made by Tan ti (Dharmasutra) 64 of the Wei dynasty. See Kao Seng Chuan, Pao Chang Lu, Pih Lu and others.

4. Yu-po-sha wu chiai lish ben (Summary of the five rules for lay devotees), in 1 roll. It has been published in the eighth year of the Yuan Chia period in the Ch’i Yuan monastery. It is also called Wu chiai hisang (Characteristics of the five rules) and Wu chiai lish ben (Summary of the five rules). See Kao Seng Chuan and Pao Chang Lu.
5. Shun hui ching the chhi chiao (The twenty-two rules of those who have good faith) in 1 roll. It is also called Li yu-pu-sha pu-po-sha pu po-sha pu pu lie hing ching the chhi chiao (Twenty-two rules of conduct for male and female lay devotees, who have renovated desires) and Sin hui pu-po-sha chiao (The rules for lay devotees, who have taken the triple refuge). See Koan Seng Chuan.

6. Sha-mi we i (The dignity of a novice), in 1 roll.

7. Ching hui fei i (Detailed explanation of Sutras and Vinaya) in 1 roll. p. 98 a 19—b 3.

H p. 248 b 15—21

1 In the seventh year of the Yen Chia period of Sung dynasty at Yang Tu he translated the Shun Chiao (Good rules) and other Sutras concerning the ordination of nunns. p. 197 b 3—4.

26.

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

Gunvarman answered: "The precepts originated arose in the big community. If the original conditions are not fulfilled, this is no hindrance for ordination, as in the case of Gunvarman." The nunns 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 comprehension. But the nunns 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 brahchelder from the West to invite foreign nunns to come and complete the number ten.

BT p. 214 a 28—b 7
F p. 524 b 7—14
F p. 814 b 23—31

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

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

In the tenth year of the Yuan Chia period (414) there was the monk Song chi po mo (Sangharman) that means 'Armour of the Community'. He knew the Vinaya and the Abbhādhāmrādaya very well. He traversed the moving sands and came to Yang Chou. Originally, Gunavarman had wanted to ordain the nun, but he died before doing so. Shortly afterwards, a Ceylonese nun, Tīch-ec-lo 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 nun instead of Gunavarman.

K (Under the heading: Eleventh year of the Yuan Chia period): Gunavarman had instituted an ordination altar in the Nan lin monastery for the ordination of nuns. This was the first ordination altar (for nuns) in China. At that time eight nuns had come from Ceylon, and they were not sufficient (for the ordination). Later, the nun Tīch-ec-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 Hui Kuei and others from the Ching Pi nunneries, 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-sheh-kuei 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 Hui Kuei.
Gunavarman spent the retreat of that year's summer in a minor vihara of the Ting Lin monastery. At that time there were some devotees who gathered flowers to spread on the mats. The flowers on Gunavarman's seat remained fresh, and everybody venerated him as a saint.

C. The monk Hui Kuan 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 mat stayed fresh like in the beginning. Thereupon the veneration for Gunavarman in the capital increased.

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.

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.

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 parelu followed, 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 P'29 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 community80 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,81 but some enemies made haste82 and he could not carry out his intention. He asked the monks to translate the testament.

BT p. 341 b 9 — 15
E p. 377 b 17—23
F p. 824 b 1 —15

A

On the 28th day of the ninth month of that year, when the midday meal was not yet over, Gunavarman got up first and went to his cell. When his disciple followed later, he had already died all of a sudden. He was 63 years old. Before his death, he had composed a testament in 36 verses. He discusses cause and effect and says he obtained the second fruit. He kept it under his mat and nobody knew about it. It was found after his death. He was placed on a string bed. His appearance did not change. He resembled a person in meditation. Thousands of monks and laymen came to see him. Everybody noticed fragrant perfumes, and some saw an animal like a dragon or a snake, about one P'1 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 moaned. Later, a white pagoda was erected on that spot. p. 124 b 72—c 4.

Before his death, he composed a testament in 36 verses. He discussed cause and effect and said he had obtained the seven virtues. 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'î 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 stūha of Nin lin. He was 65 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 fragrance 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'î 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'ai Yuan monastery, where he died suddenly. Before his death, he had composed his testament. It has 36 verses, and he says he obtained the second fruit. He gave it to his disciple A-sha-lo saying: "You may show this to the monks of India and also to the monks of this country after my death." At the time of Ganavarman's death people saw an animal like a dragon about one P'î in
Gunavarma died later in the Chi yi 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. 158 b 28-29.

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 17' 15" in length. It coiled round the corpse and departed to the South-West. p. 433 6 10-14.

Gunavarma'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.

Gunavarma having entered the Buddhist order of monks in Kashmir, was probably originally a follower of the Sarvastivada school of Buddhisim, as Kashmir was a stronghold of this sect in the 5th cent. He must have become acquainted with Mahayana doctrines sometime in his career, for he preached on the Ashtavaktra and Dasa Mahamita Sutra in China, 85 and he translated Mahayana texts like the Bodhisattvavatamsa beside Hinayana texts like the Dharanipraveshadhara-krama. His testament begins with a recitation of the three jewels, (Buddha, Dharma and Sangha), and of the pure elders. He then describes the meditations on the impurities (unwholes), which were favoured more by the Hinayana adherents then by the Mahayanaists. In the testament there is no indication of any ideas that show a leaning towards the Greater Vehicle.

Gunavarma 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 155, he was 85 years of age.) Except for the Ko Yin I Ching T'ai Chi and the Fan Ming T'ai 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, Malbars (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 Kapukaguna, 89 as Cheh is used for Senthir kulpa, Pali kupa. The transcription comes nearest to Keppura purivena, a building in the Abhayagirivihara, which however was only built in the 7th century by Dathapurusinha I (620–58). 90

Fa Hsien who visited Ceylon in 420–13, that is at about the same time that Gunavarman did, records in his travel account that there were 500 monks in the Abhayagirivihara as against 1200 in the Mahavihara. Fa Hsien also describes the festival of the Tooth Relic, held with great pomp at the Abhayagirivihara. 91 The Tooth Relic was the personal possession of the king and the Abhayagirivisima must have been held in special regard in the country at that time. 92 This monastery had been founded by king Vattugamani Abhaya in the first century B.C., and the monks residing in this monastery were often in opposition to the Mahavhara, who regarded them as heretics. In the third century, they had adopted the Vinayavada, which S. Paranavitane takes to be Mahayaminist 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."

It is very likely that a foreign monk like Gunavarman was received by this fraternity rather than by the monks of the Mahavhara. But, as Gunavarman's biographer says, he studied the customs of the country, we may assume that he also had contacts with the Mahavhara group. Whether he met Buddhaghosa 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 She-po which most scholars take to be Java. 96 Here, he converted the queen-mother and the king to Buddhism. None of the biographies say which religion the royal family had adhered to before their conversion, but from Fa Hsien we know that "Ceresies and Brahmanism were flourishing." 97 Gunavarman's biography in the Kao Say Chuen, the Chuen Yuan Che Chiao Lu, the Chuen Yuan Hsin Ting Che Chiao Mu Lu and the Shen Lung 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, 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 Mahabharata:

II. 31 sastraivyai vacaya na vihtaye matihai
bhavyakshayi yadahakashayo 'mayet karasya na vidhyate
(having 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 atha ettrum imam dharamy asa grameyam na karigam
svah sadharanyam kram ca hitra papam aravasti
(Now, if thou wouldst not fight this lawful battle, thou, having
abandoned thine own duty and fame, thou shouldst incur sin).

III. 19 tasma adho stryam kram karman samayav
asaka bhuracan karman param aparati purnah
(Therefore, without attachment constantly perform the
action which should be done,
for performing action without attachment man reaches the
supreme. 88

It seems likely that 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). 99 The prose rendering of the Bhagavadgita was fairly
extensive. 100 That Sanskrit was known in Ganasvarman's time in
Java may be seen from the four inscriptions of king Puruvavarma
written in Sanskrit in a South Indian script. 101

The king not only embraced Buddhism, but wished to become
a monk. His ministers dissuaded him and accepted three conditions
by the king, namely, that the whole country should respect 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 who conjured divinities
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." 102

29
Gunavarma's fame spread to China, where the Emperor Wen of the Liang dynasty heard about him and sent a delegation to invite Gunavarma. When this delegation arrived in 414 A.D., Gunavarma had already left. He intended to visit a neutral country, but "driven by the wind of his karma" he landed in China. There is some confusion about the period of his stay in China. The Chi San Tung Chi Chi for instance does not mention the date the messengers were sent but it does say that Gunavarma had already left Java before the arrival of the imperial party and that he came to the capital in 431 A.D. According to the Kao Song Chuan, the delegation was sent in 414 and did not meet Gunavarma in Java, as he had already departed. He arrived at the capital in 431 A.D., having spent approximately one year (i.e. 430) on the way. The Kao Song Chuan does not account for the years in between, i.e. for the years 415–430.

The Li Te San Po Chi and the Fan I Ming I Chi record that Gunavarma came to Nan-hai in the Yuen Chi period, but they do not specify the exact year. According to the Fo Tzu Tung Chi, Gunavarma came to China on an invitation from the emperor and not by chance as the Kao Song Chuan implies. Gunavarma 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 Gunavarma came to China in A.D. 474, as it appears from the Kao Song Chuan account, and only had the interview with the emperor—who had sent missions to bring Gunavarma to the capital—seven years later. If Gunavarma had already left Java when the imperial messengers arrived in 474, he must have stayed somewhere else before coming to the capital, and he must not only have learnt Chinese well in order to preach and translate texts, but he must also have penetrated deeply into Chinese philosophy in order to have the interview with the emperor that is recorded in the Kao Song Chuan, the Kei Yuan Chi Chiao Lu, the Ching Hsia Hsin Ting Chi Chiao Mu. In the Kei Yi I Ching 7 Chi, the Li Te San Po Chi and the Fan I Ming I Chi, if Gunavarma 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 Hsiang. This infiltration must have taken place between the first half of the first century B.C. and the period of the consolidation of Chinese power in Central Asia and the middle of the first century A.D., when the existence of Chinese Buddhism is attested for the first time in contemporary Chinese sources. Buddhism had been the religion of foreigner, 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. "Talk about emptiness and non-being" played an important role in these circles. In the late third and early fourth centuries Buddhist doctrine and traditional Chinese scholarship were combined so that a particular kind of Buddhism developed among the upper classes. Buddhism in the South was orientated towards the higher strata of society, the government and the court. In "The Buddhist Conquest of China", Zurcher has shown that in the extreme South, in Chiao Chou, a hybrid form of Buddhism had developed and that some kind of contact existed between the foreign clergy and the Chinese educated minority of that region. Of the Sogdian monk Kang Seng hai it is known that he was widely read in the Confucian classics. To quote Zurcher: "The first phase in the development of Dark Learning is connected with the names of a number of literati who were active in the second quarter of the third century: Chuang Hsi (225-264), Ho Yen and Wong Pi (276-293). 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 action on his part. Their particular representation of the Sage Ruler was that of the I-ching, the ancient divinatory handbook with its 64 hexagrams symbolising 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." Ganavanma 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. Ganavanma applied the principle laid down by Mou-Tze in his spok. 31
getic writing *Li Hua lan* where the opponent asks why Confucian and Taoist terms are used to explain Buddhist concepts. The apologetic replies, "I knew 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." 110

While staying at Nanking, Gunavarman preached on two Mahayana texts, on the *Avadana-samgata*111 and on the *Dharmkshetra*. The *Avadana-samgata* in 36,000 Slokas was brought by Fa liing from Khotan and was translated by Buddhishshara in 415-416 in the Southern capital.112 The *Dharmkshetra* had been translated by Dharmakosa (ca 170-308). It discusses the ten stages in the career of a Bodhisatva.113

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

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<th>Text</th>
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<th>Extent (+1) or loss (−)</th>
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<td>Pu-Sha Shan Chai Ching or Pu-Sha Ti Bodhisatvacchumi</td>
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Our basic Text and A (Kao Sing Chaa and Chi Sun Tung Chi Chi) agree on the number of translations ascribed to Gunvarman, and the other biographies also contain the titles of these texts, we may assume that these were actually translated by Gunvarman.

The Bodhidatta ishadi had already been translated by Dharmakarma in 418 A.D. Gunvarman’s translation was published in 417 A.D. and the text was later translated again by Huai Pu-Tung in 645 A.D. The Bodhidatta ishadi forms about one sixth of Assag’s Yognetiyo, and this is the chief work of one of the great schools of Indian philosophy. Paul Demiéville, discussing these texts says the Yognetiyo of Assag must belong to the middle of the fourth century and must belong to a literary tradition which flourished in Kashmir from the second century onwards in the Sarvastivada-school. This great treatise is divided into two parts, the first of which is the Bodhidatta ishadi, and the second part is the Bodhisattvabhumi. Dharmakarma’s version is entitled Five (5) chin (or les) which corresponds to Bodhidatta ishadi above (or centre). Gunvarman’s version Five (5) chin chin chin would be Bodhidatta ishadi ishadi ishadi ishadi. It is a regular Sutra with introduction and closing remarks. According to the French scholar who translated the chapter on meditation (Pienso) and compared the three texts, Gunvarman’s translation is verbose and shows many divergencies due to faulty rendering rather than to textual variations.

The Lai Yuan Chi Chao Lu and the Ching Yuan Han Ting Che Chao Ma Lu (E and F) mention that the E, as roll of this text was translated.
The text is also found in the Taino Tripitaka under No. 325; its name has been restored by Nanjo as *Prajñavibhoga Upalpatiprakasha*. Taino No. 1466 is another text called *Upalpatiprakasha*, which is also ascribed to Gunawantra to the year 474 A.D. As not one of the biographies mentions this text, and as the *Kai Yuan Che Chiao Lu* says the translation was made by an unknown author of the later Han dynasty it is probably wrong that Gunawantra translated this text also. The *Upalpatiprakasha* T 1466 (Nanjo No. 1159) is called Yupa-li by Fa (Upali asks the Buddha, not the Bodhisattva!). This text is a Hinayana Pratimoksa sutra, containing the rules under which a monk becomes guilty and exceptions to these rules in which a monk is not guilty. This *Upalpatiprakasha* 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 Prakrit rather than Sanskrit.

The *Tu Hsin* (Somaprabuddhakarma-sramana) was first translated in 476 by Ivara at Pengl cheng. He, however, did not complete the work, which was handed over to Gunawantra, Gunawantra finished the translation, but apparently did not publish it. Therefore in 434 Samghavaitana was again entrusted with the translation of this text. He revised it during one year and published it. This translation is extant under Taino No. 1552. Ivara’s and Gunawantra’s translations are mentioned as being lost by the *Kai Yuan Che Chiao Lu*.

The *Abhidharmalastyaya* is a collection of 600 verses, 250 of which were composed a hundred years after the Buddha’s Nirvāṇa by Fa Sheng. Later, Tsam-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 *Kai Seng Chuan* relates that Tao-an (4th century) had asked a monk Dharmamahin to translate this Abhidharma work, but as he did not know Chinese very well there were many mistakes and dubious passages in this translation. Therefore Sanghadeva, a monk from Kashinūr, was asked to publish a new translation in 391. He had already published a complete translation of the *Lotus* in 384. The second version was only an extract of the original text which is preserved in the canon as Taino No. 1550.
The Shu Mi Wu (The Sutra on the dignity of a novice) is listed in Nianju's Catalogue under No. 1164 as "Sanamoku Bannamok." A.C. Bantière mentions one text Yau-po-sam erb edh erb oub translated by Gunavarman which contains ordination rules for novices. According to Bapchi, however, the Chau edh-chit-ju xia (toan oub edh rithi the twenty-two rules of those who have good faith) is mentioned as lost by the Kei Tuan Che Chuan Lo. In the Yau-po-sam edh Chau Mong-ting (T. 9476) The characteristics of the five rules for lay-devotees the Buddha is approached by his father, king Siddhodana, who asks him to give rules for the lay devotes 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 stanza'd 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 Bhumivatita show Gunavar- man'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 (220-265) 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 Protocols of the Mahasanghatas, shortly afterwards the Kanavatana of the Dharmagupta school was translated. Before the 6th century no complete Vinaya of any school was known in China. In the middle of the fourth century the Chinese monk Tao-an had formulated a number of rules and regulations for his disciples which were written down by other communities. In a letter written by Tao-an he said that the monastic rules form the very root of a monk's conduct, on which eventually even the teachings of the Pratimaranitas are based. Towards the end of his life, Tao-an did obtain more satisfactory texts on monastic discipline and he expressed his satisfaction about them in the preface to the translation. The interest in acquiring the complete set of Vinaya rules is also shown by the fact that Fa Hsien set out on the arduous journey to India in order to obtain such texts. Most of the canonical Vinaya texts and commentaries on the discipline were translated during the fifth century.

The last event in Gunavarman's life mentioned in the Kao Soeg Chuan is the fact that several Chinese monks approached him. They told him that some monks from Ceylon had drawn attention to the fact that they were not properly ordained. A Vinaya for Sinu had been "compiled or connected" by Mi, a disciple of the monk Srimita; these rules were however, attacked in a letter by Chih Tun (ca 314-346) and Chih Pu-Chu (310-385). According to Szechu To T'eng-ning, who came to Loyang in 375, introduced a more complete set of monastic
rules and took the initiative of establishing the order of Buddhist nuns on Chinese soil. He ordained the nun An-ling-shou. This ordination was however not canonical, as she was ordained by Fo Tu tse 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 Premonstrata 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 Chien. The nun Huil Chien from P‘eng ch‘eung was also lodged there. In 354 Empress Ho founded another monastery. In 385 the nun Ming yin was abbot over more than a hundred nuns in the Chien ching monastery founded for her. "She was influential at court and was revered and served by rich and poor alike." Otto Franke discusses the existence of nuns in the fourth century and the fact that the Fo Tu T‘ung Chi subscribes the establishment of the order of nuns to Gunawanma, and he thinks that there is some mistake and contradiction. This is not the case. The Fo Tu T‘ung Chi makes it quite clear that Gunawanma built the "ordination altar", but Sungharman 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 Sungharman was sent from India to order queen Anula and other Singhalese ladies. Similarly, monks could only be ordained by a numerically complete chapter of monks. When in the 18th century Buddhism was at a low ebb in Ceylon ordination could only be conferred after elders had arrived from Thailand. As none of the early Chinese nuns had been ordained according to the Vinaya rules, the arrival of the Singhalese monks 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, Gunawanma could not confer the ordination immediately but had to send for further nuns, who arrived after his death in 434. Sungharman, the same monk who had completed the translation of the Adbhutaratna- sûtra ordained the Chinese nuns. It is not stated expressly whether the nun Tiat-so-lo and the two other, who came from Ceylon to China, were

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those sent for but it is highly probable. Relations between the two countries had been established during the Chin dynasty, when Emperor An received a letter from a king of Ceylon in 411. The Fo Tsin Tung Chi records under the 5th year of the Yuan Chin period (428 A.D.) that Emperor Wen of the Liu Sung dynasty received tribute from the king Mahanama of Ceylon. 'Emperor Wen answered Mahanama: If we have too few Sutras of the Lesser Vehicle. Whatever there is in your country should be copied and sent.'

The answer given by Gunawarman to the monks as recorded in the basic text, 'and if,' differs from the account in it. In the first instance, Gunawarman says that the incompleteness of the order is not hindrance to a valid ordination in the first mon. Mahapajapati Gunawarman was ordained without other monks being present. In the second case Gunawarman is reported as saying, an ordination is only valid if performed according to the rules, which prescribe a chapter of monks and nuns should be present.

When Gunawarman died, he was cremated 'according to the foreign custom.' The emperor wished to accept the precepts of a Bodhisattva, but had been prevented by his duties to do so. In 431, the year of Gunawarman's death, the king of Lin-yi (Champa) intended to visit Chin-shou. Emperor Wen had also planned an expedition against the North a year earlier. The term 'Bodhisattva' was applied to both monks and lay devotees in the early church. The Bodhissattvapramitamarga, T 1900, contains extracts of the Bodhinatha-avatam and the Upadhyayaprabadha. It deals with the ordination rites for a Bodhisattva. The candidate has to request a master for instruction 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 majestic ancestor Emperor Ming, whom heaven truly endowed with virtue was the first monarch to receive this Way. . . . His observance of the (lax) commandments was stricter than that of a mountain recluse.' The Kao Sung Chouan and the Chin Shu record that Emperor Hsiao Wu accepted the Buddhist doctrine. The same emperor also contributed to the funeral expenses of two monks which, according to Zurcher, was customary at that period. In the same way Emperor Wen had a stupa erected for Gunawarman.

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Postscript

The author wishes to thank Dr. H. Durt, Kyoto, for kindly sending her the biographical material on Gunawan, which forms the basis of this paper. For other material and advice given the author is indebted to Prof. Dr. H. Schert, Gottingen; the late Prof. Dr. F. Bernhard, Hamburg; Dr. Dencker, Colombo; Prof. De Jong, Cathay; Dr. C. Kaenel, Kyoto; Prof. Liu Shao Tsai, Hongburg; Dr. W. Bachow, Peradeniya; Dr. and Mrs. Roth, Gottingen; and Prof. Dr. D. Schlinglof, Munich.

NOTES

(Please refer to the Bibliography)

1) Bomai; History, p. 97.
2) Pelliot; itinéraires, p. 247 f.
3) Zestevin; Religionen, p. 234 f.; Krom; Geschichteit, p. 82.
4) Fransé; Geschichte, Voi. III, p. 267.
6) Robert Shih; Biographies des Moines Eminents (Kao Sung T'ahouan) de Hsueh K'ou, Bibliothèque du Muséum Vol. 54, Louvain 1948, pp. 125-137.
8) Texts marked with an asterisk have been used by Bagchi, op. cit.
9) A. F. Link; Remarks, p. 194; A. Wright; Biography, p. 421.
10) De Jong; Surrey, p. 192.
11) E and F add "in the language of Sung" (Chinese).
12) The Taizho edition has "in the language of Chii", whereas the three editions read "Sung". As the Chii dynasty came to power only after the death of Gunawan, the reading of the three editions must be right. It was a general practice to refer to the Chinese language as the language of the ruling dynasty. Zucher; Conquest, p. 438.

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

14) The characters used to express love are jen ai (Matthews, Dictionary No. 3969 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 Tsoi, 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 (tyagga), in hell (naraka), and as a hungry ghost (preta).

16) Robert Stl: Kao Seng Tschenaw, 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 nimi Astha about the Buddha in the Lavavastu, p. 71, 1. 26: Sa sud agrama adishvatari raja bhavati... Sa sud pratar agaro amagakri pravrajyato thavagata huvirupati vidukkarapah Samparakshbudhab.

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

9) Lamotte: Histoire, p. 165, mentions that some Buddhist schools have four Agamas as against the five Nikayas of the Pali canon, the Khuddakakaya corresponding to the Khudakapitaka, others exclude the minor texts from their Tripitaka. Among the texts recognized as Agamas only are the Mahaparinirvanagama, the Vajravamsa, the Dhagagama in Chinese, the Divyavadana and other Sarvavada texts.

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

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

12) 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: litterateurs, p. 225 f.; 293 f.; Chavannes: Guanavarman p. 193. Coomaraswamy: Indian Art, p. 198 thinks Fu Hien and Gunavarman visited Sumatra, not Java; he derives Ch’o-po (She-po) from Siwirija.

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

21) Chung Tung is the region of the lower course of the Yang Tse, particularly the area around Chien yeh (Nanking). R. Shi: Kao Seng Tchousen, p. 170.

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


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34) The Vulture Peak, Grēnakuta, was one of the five hills envircling Rājagha. The Buddha often stayed there. It is not quite clear to me, how the transcription Ti (Matthew: Dictionary, No. 1990: listbeveled bai), Chi (Matthew: Dictionary, No. 212, a man of sixty, desireous of) and Sh or Tu (Matthew: Dictionary, No. 1510) the tower over a city gate) comes about. Zurcher: Conquest, p. 208 ind p. 394—n. 1. 126 and n. 137, points out that several mountains in China were called Grēnakuta. Referring to the dictionary Chiang by kue-chin ti-noi yu (i.e. he says that six mountains of this name are mentioned). A Tiger Hill North of Chu Chang in Kuan Tung was changed to Grēnakuta by the monk Shih Seng Ts who stayed there between 405 and 408.

35) Chavannes: Ganavarma, p. 106, n. 1, points out that the scene of the young ascetic, the future Buddha, spreading his hair on the road for the Buddha Dipankara was very popular in Gandhara, and he refers to A.Foucher's study Les bas re- liefs du Sopa de Sikri (Gandhara)" 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: Geschichts III, p. 319, discusses the name Chou-ling (Ken-ling) and refers to the work of Peter Louis Galland, according to whom the city was founded in 333 B.C. by the king of Yue. Under Shi Huang Ti the name was changed to Mo-ling, and later under Sun Kuan to Kien-ye (Chien-ye). In the later Tsin dynasty, Kien Kiang was used instead of Kien-ye.

38) Choo Yien's biography is found in the Kao Seng Chuan. p. 334 b ff. (Robert Shih: Biographies. p. 96 ff.). He translated in 410 the Asavasamaka Sutta, which had been brought from Sri Lanka.

39) The Kao Seng Chuan, p. 344 b 12 f., records that Gunasaha was asked to preach the Asavataramaka Sutta 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, Gunasaha knew Chinese perfectly.
Zurcher: Conquest, p. 374 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 noxious things, suppresses his desires, and does not allow his ears to listen to music." (U-ch XXII, chapter Shi-t'ung, shu shu ed., 49, 4b); hence used in Buddhist works as a translation for upanisa (denoting, for the layman, the six fast-days of each month, and, in addition, the three months of fasting each year, originally the first months of the three Indian seasons). Zurcher: Conquest, p. 164, quotes from the "Essentials of Religion" in the Hung-ming chi, T. 2192, on the period of fasting: "Once having decided to practise the five rules, (the upanisa) 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 17th, the 23rd, the 29th and the 30th of (each) month. On all fast days neither meat nor fish should be provided; (the devotee) must (only) eat before noon and when noon is past, he is not allowed to taste any kind of awesomelling or delicious food. (During these periods of fasting) he cleas 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 practises 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 be with (people or animals) with a whip or a stick or use abusive language. He must not drive in an ox-cart or ride on horseback, or carry arms. When fasting, the devotee must perform this for the sake of all who have passed away or who are still alive, for his acquaintances and relatives, as well as for all living beings. In all these occasions he must use this (fasting) to extend his sincerity and by hidden thoughts move and stimulate (their minds). Once (their) minds have been moved and stimulated, they will forever avoid sin and suffering. Therefore loyal and filial gentlemen exert themselves to the utmost (in observing the fast-days) in order to do the meritorious work of helping all together. It is not merely for his own sake. During the fast days, he must exclusively concentrate his thoughts on the vision of the Mystery and recite the words of the Doctrine. If he is unable to practice (the contemplation of) Emptiness, he must perform the Six Remembrances."

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41) The same idea is expressed in "the Essentials of Religion" (see the above note), quoted by Zurcher: Commens, p. 169: "When a sage monarch rules the world, there are already so many exences in the application of punishments."

42) E. Chavannes: Guanavarmava, p. 103, and R. Shi: Kao Seng T'ao-koua, p. 111, translate this as Saddatamsakavatkaraka. The text has an abbreviated title, Fa Hua (Mathews Nos. 1765, 204, 2217). The full title of the Saddatamsakavatkaraka is Hua Fa Hua Hua Ch'ing (Mathews Nos. 4474, 1765, 4014, 2217, 1123). One of the cities of the Avatamsakavasa is Ta Fa Hua Ching (Mathews Nos. 1765, 2217, 1123), therefore Fa Hua could also be used as an abbreviation of this Sutra. As the Fa T'ung Ch'ing says that Guanavarmava translated the Hua Yen (Mathews Nos. 2217, 7347) which stands for another title of the Avatamsakavasa; Ta Ch'ing K'ung Fa Hua Yen Ching (Mathews Nos. 5945, 1852, 3790, 1921, 2217, 7347, 1123) I take Fe Hua to stand for the latter text.

43) Literally: by going and coming.

44) The Bodhisattavasana has been published by U. Wegrzyn, Tokyo 1930-36.

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

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

47) See below, p. 32.

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

49) "Indian" is rendered by Sanskrit, the language of the Brahmins, and "Chinese" by Yen and not as usual is this text by Sany. 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.
In the Chu San T'ang Chi Ch'i, p. 63 c 24—63 a 20, Seng Yu discusses the Pu-sha shan chiai (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 roles, and he mentions seven titles of this work, i.e., (1) Shan chiai (good rules), (2) Pu-sha ti (stages of a Bodhisattva), (3) Pu-sha 'pi-i-ku-ti (Bodhisattvaviveka-yamakavi), (4) Yu-lo T'ang (treasures of a Tathagata), (5) I shu shan fa heng pen (root of all good dharmas), (6) As lo guo (realm of dharma), (7) Pu-lo-mi shu (collection of Par nibana). The first work was published first, it is called Yu-pedi wen shu shou chiai fa (Upali questions about the precepts). The other roles begin with "this have I heard!" (tevan saya smaran). 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 1 chapters. Lokakṣema's translation was made in Leng chou at the time of Emperor As of the T'ang dynasty (397—419). The text begins with a veneration of the three jewels. There is no "this have I heard!". See below, p. 33 f.

This is another name for the Dharmaguptabhadhakarmakaranam. The Dharmagupta Vinaya was specially popular in China, and the first Pravahaka and Karmavacana texts translated belonged to that school. See Lamote: Historie, p. 595.

According to Bagchi: Canon, p. 374, this translation was already lost at the time the Kai Yuan Ch'en Chia Lu was written.

This text corresponds to No. 1164 Stavanaras Karmavacana. See Bagchi: Canon, p. 375.

Edgerton: Dictionary, s.v. samadhi gives a list of the five fold samadhi from the Pali: pitulkarama, sīha, upe, aloka, and pavesbhaktinimittam.

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

The Taisho edition says seven texts, but as actually eight are listed, the reading of the three editions (Sung, Hsing and Yun) must be correct.

44
66) Compare note 52 above and p. 34 below. Bagchi: Canon, p. 734, l. 20: this is Njóho No. 1109 (Upalrajyopacarita, T 1466). This is apparently a mistake, because the text in question is a Khayana text, which cannot have formed part of a Mahayana text.

67) Bagchi: Canon, p. 775, calls this the oldest catalogue of the T'ang dynasty.

68) Bagchi: Canon, p. 775, 652, that the first translation was made by Lokaksema of the Han dynasty. This is obviously a mistake, as this Sutra is not mentioned among Lokaksema's translations (Bagchi: Canon, p. 137 H.), whereas on p. 2:8 this work is ascribed to Dharmakṣema.

69) The Teiho edition says 3:1 against 3:2 in the preceding sentence. As 3:2 is also found in the three editions, this reading is the right one.

70) Bagchi: Canon, p. 78:79, gives a short note on Dharmasutta, a Persian monk of a noble family who translated the Karmavacana of the Dhermigupta school in 255 A.D.

71) Chavannes: Guṇaṭarṇa, p. 204, translates this sentence: "Sur le territoire des Song, il y avait pas eu auparavant de religieuses." Robert Stbh; Kao Setg Yschuan, p. 137, also translates this sentence as 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 for nuns, but there are nuns (who have therefore now been ordained properly).

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

73) Guṇaṭarṇa, bhikṣuṇīs ekate sāpaṇaṇaṇa bhikṣaṇaṇaṃ bhaddhāraṇaṁ visuddhaṁ bhaddhaṃ vajraṁ māyākiṁ (Gallavizza X, 73, 3). Miss Horner's translation is: "I allow, monks, ordination (of a nun) in the order of monks after she has been ordained as the one side and has choosed herself to the order of nuns." Beck of the Discipline, part 5, p. 775.

74) Chavannes: Gunavarmann, p. 106, translates this as: "la supposer qu’il se présente un cas qui ne soit pas le cas d’origine, rien ne s’oppose à ce qu’on puisse obtenir les défenses, cela était comme motiver par l’amour pour la religion." R. Stb: Kao Setg Yschuan, p. 132, has: "et si l’on ne se conformait pas au rituel, cela n’invalidait pas l’ordination comme on le fait pour Guṇaṭarṇa."
Mahaprajnapati Gautami, Buddha’s foster mother, was the first nun to be ordained, there was not yet a community of nuns. See Roth: Bhiksuni Sutra-pp. 1-17.

62) Nuns were not allowed to be ordained before having attained 20 years of age. See Roth: Dharmasutra-§ 216.

69) Nuns were not allowed to confer ordination before having been nuns for 10 years. Roth: Dharmasutra-§ 256.

70) See page 36 below.

71) The ‘Middle Kingdom’ was a common designation for China, but it was also used to translate “Madhysadesa”, e.g. by Fa Hien. For Chinese Buddhists, the true Middle Kingdom was India, “the center of Heaven and Earth, dwelling in equilibrium and harmony.” Zschok: Conquest, p. 166.


73) This is the same monk who translated the Aitkadasabhūtaváṣana.

74) Literally: for the master in the pagoda.

75) Franke: Geschichte, p. 166, discusses the origin of the name Tschem ton for China; quoting the Buddhist dictionary Fe hiao to te’a t’ieh he explains Tschem as name of the Tsin dynasty and tan as Sanskrit athana. Tschem tan means the country of the rising sun.

72) Compare T 2116. p. 238 b 23-24, where & says that 567 years after A Pang became a lay devotee the first complete ordination for nuns was performed.

76) During the rainy season monks in India were to go into retreat (varanam). The rainy season corresponds to summer in Chinese. See Rosen: Vinaya Pitaka, p. 139 no. 1.

77) This testament is appended to Gunawan Mon’s biography in the Kuo Seng Chuan, it is also found in E, F, and G.

78) See note 21.

79) Matthes: Dictionary, No. 5120, forty feet.

80) That is the community of monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees.
81) See below, p. 37.
83) Mathew: Dictionary, No. 5169, one foot.
84) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 127; Baresa: Sects, p. 39.
85) See below, p. 33.
86) Sir Doyal: Bodhidatta Doctrine, p. 95, 1899: "In justice to Mahayana writers it must be stated that most of them do not assume these usalinations at all!"
87) In Ceylon for instance, there was a district Malavalam, a village Malavaram and a place in Rohinta called Malavarnthala. Malalasekera: Dictionary, s.v.
88) Malalasekera: Dictionary, s.v.
89) Mathews No. 711.
90) Malalasekera: Dictionary, s.v.
91) Fa Hsien: Travels, p. 67, p. 70.
92) Encyclopedia, s.v. Abhayagiri.
93) Paranavitana: Mahayanas, p. 36.
96) See note 14 above.
97) T.A. Hsien: Travels, p. 28.
99) Hall: History, p. 64.
100) Zoetmulder: Religionen, p. 163.

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117) Vol. 55, p. 465 c. 11. The Li Tai-han 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 b 4d 24 b 9.

118) Pachaw: Pratimoksa, had already noted a close affinity between the Upalatiprapakasana and the Pali Piilmokkha. Almost every passage in the Upalatiprapakasana can be traced in different places in the Pali Vinesa. A translation of the text is in preparation.
119) R. Skib: Kuo Seng Tshoan, p. 139.
120) Bagchi: Canon, p. 374.
121) Chu Sun Tsang Chi Chi, p. 74 b.
122) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 130, 146 and 468 n. 71.
123) Kaperjee: Vinaya Texts; Bagchi: Canon, p. 375.
125) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 56.
127) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 388.
128) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 197.
129) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 381.

130) A list of these translations is found in Bapat: Shan Chien Pi Po shuo, p. XIV.
131) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 103.
135) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 114.
137) Böhm: Bhikumivinaya, § 310.
139) Geiger: Medieval Ceylon, p. 198.
140) See above, note 69.
142) Fo Tsa T'ong Chi, p. 364 b 16.
144) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 32.
145) Banerjee: Vinaya Texts; Dutt, Bodhisattvapravadadharmasutra, p. 360.
146) See note 15.
147) Hsu Tso-ch'ih in a letter to Tso an, dated 361; quotei from 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 13. century A.C.—discovered J. Privitzer in Budapest, Hungary/ budhiss terms. The codex is written in an Archic-Turkic language, and has a writing in which the letters are borrowed from different oriental writings.

In a Christus-prayer we can find in an uncortect form the following /pali, sanskrit/ words: sangha, upasaka and upasika. In the Text: sang, upas, upasika.

The codex consists of 440 pages and was presented in the year 1838 to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences by the Count G. Bathiny.

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

The scientific transcription of the 17th page:

Line 1: Angoldin ana okighil. Angoldin clamaen:
2: Jesus, Bis. Iki clamaen: kyrie eleison, Bis: Christe eleison.
3: Iki: Benedictus. — Aghna sang: tortu,
4: Esi: upas, mana, upas, Cokil, unum, clamaen:
5: Agios Jeson, Sanctus Jesus. — Cokil, iactus. — Aghna sang,
6: Iki: tayuninimu. — Aghna sang: khatun
7: Kiyinci tayan, edin sitt: iactus, ou/g/:
8: San kilur yikklari, tangei khatun. — Ankil
9: Biragu. — Aghi, san, kil yikklisinta. — Kalior
12: Aghna sang ikigu: og, oka, Qiw yikti.

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The translation:

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/: Messias/ descended to the Earth:

13: Immmanuel /. 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
[Revd Post, 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 Asian origin, the most important of whom were the Huns. There are archaeological finds representing Eschatia motifs from that period. The old Hungarians' ancient 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 Takats de Felsév, that our attention was called to the book, of Fr. T. Kantis, entitled "The Age of the Humanism in Hungary". There is written that Galoetti, the famous humanist poet, philologist and astrologer, 1437-1497, escaping from the Italian inquisition, took refuge at King Matthias' court, and there he played a considerable role. Galoetti 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's heart the memory of the long forgotten past resurrected again. After a long wandering in the mountains of West-Tibet the Buddha-Dharma was awaken 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. T. Déka, 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 being on both banks of the river Danube, Buda
on the west bank and Pest on the east bank (on a plain lowland) — there may have stood a Stupa (stūpa), or a Buddhist temple (vihāra), 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 lamas settlement. That habitation is now a part of the capital and it is called Pest. The "past" or "east" 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 late 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 twentieth 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 1933 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 once 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 there came letters of a Buddhist Abbot of Hungarian origin, from China (Tsift-in), in which he declared to his friends that his returning home in order to found a Buddhists Sangha in Hungary. This pan of extraordinary interest was Chao-kung, formerly called Trebits 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.
The third effort was assigned by the Karmapa to be successful then, when in 1931 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 Pabong. By this lama were uttered the words which were destined to bring the Buddha-Dharma 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 'Vajrakila-School', was announced in India (Sanchi-Bhopal) on 2 of November 1957 by the Lama Anagarika Govinda. To his Vajrayana-Order joined the Hungarian Buddhist Mission working since 1957, continuing 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 their development the Buddhist organizations in the neighbouring countries. In the year 1956 in the scope of the 2500th Buddhist Anniversary Jayanti was established by the Arya-Maitreya-Mandala in International Institute of Buddhism which bearing the name of the Hungarian Bodhisattva Alexander Csoma de Koros. The agenda of the Institute uncovers the whole circle of the Buddhist sciences of religion.

The Hungarian Buddhist Mission, as the East-European Centre of the Arya-Maitreya-Mandala and the Alexander Csoma de Koros International Institute of Buddhism 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 Roman 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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In the bulletin of Tibetology Vol 9 No 2 dated 14th July 1972, Dr Hugh E. Richardson has made some observations on the Phallic Symbols in Tibet. In this note I humbly make some observation on the same subject.

In the manuscript, Khrod-par-plugs bzang (richesa-stoves) written by Slob-dpon-tho-brtan-grub-rije (400 B.C.) and in its commentary by Slob-dpon-shes-rab-go-ch'a from Bengal, the reason for the Hindus 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 asceticism. Goddess Uma having seen them, approached Mahadeva, and requested Mahadeva to help the Rishis obtain Nirvana as they were following the strict rule of asceticism. 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 tease 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-byang-gi-skrol-pa, written by slob-dpon-byed-rje'-ba.
In the manuscript namely, Bde-ma-bhog-spyi-rnam-don-gsal written by R÷ston Rinpoche it mentions that Dbang phyug-drung-po's gnyis-byed-nag-po and his wife goddess Dus-mtshan ma (kals-rat) remained clasped in sexual embrace in the centre of the whole Mandala. At that time twenty-four powerful god and demon attendants of Dbang phyug-drung-po came from the sky and took charge of twenty-four sacred places. They worshipped Dbang phyug-drung-po daily and requested him to come to the sacred centres.

Dbang phyug-drung-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-drung-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 to-gather 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-'chung (Vajradhara) came on top of Ri-rab (Sumeru) and in order to suppress the Gods and demons and protect the suffering beings He took the form of tutelary deity Bde-mchog (Samsara) Buddha Mi-bskyod-pa (Akhobhya) presented Rdo-rje-'chung with a palace and a throne, and Dhyani Buddha Ratnasambhava presented emanations of himself in the form of twenty-four Dpa-bo (VIRA) Dpa-no (VIRANGNA). Finally Dbang phyug-drung-po and his attendants were suppressed and overcome.

In the manuscript, Bde-ma-bhog bskyod-rim by Rje Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho, it is said that Dbang phyug-drung-po and his wife ruled the world from the top of ri-rab (Sumeru). 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 lingo to represent Dbang phyug-drung-po for worship. The gods and demons were perpetually harming the beings and so the five Dhyani Buddhas requested Rdo-rje-'chung (Vajradhara) to control Dbang phyug-drung-po. Rdo-rje-'chung took the form of Bde-mchog (Samsara) suppress dbang phyug-drung-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 Thass there is a hill which has the shape of the private part of a she demon. The evil emanating from this hill had to be repelled by setting up phallics representing Döng-phyug-drang-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 Chhas (Dharma) and the culture and all arts and sciences associated with Chhas. Chhas 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 publications 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 Nyingmapa, Kargyupa, Sakya and Gelugpa works. Further some rare Lepcha Manuscripts have been added to the collection. Thus this Institute is a unique
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 Tibetans in a more lasting manner than perhaps any establishment anywhere in the Mahanar 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 Chhos, 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) Vimsatik: Vijnapitaritratu-Sudatti
(ii) Socha Gyalo Korzor
(iii) Mekong Del-chon-yang-can-ngong-gi-rul-shol Nying-po
(iv) Rgyan-Drag Mchog-Gnyis (reprinted 1973)

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. Tharchin 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 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.
Price per copy: Rs. 500 Five