

## 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 Kashmir,<sup>1</sup> his biography contains an early reference to the island of Java<sup>2</sup> and to the spread of Buddhism there,<sup>3</sup> and Gunavarman's name is connected with the establishment of the order of Buddhist nuns in South China.<sup>4</sup> He also deserves notice for his remarkable ability to adopt his teaching to the religious beliefs of his hearers, whether Hindu or Confucian.

In the present paper, the biography of Gunavarman in Hui-Chiao's "*Lives of Eminent Monks*" (T 2059 *Kao Seng Chuan*) will be used as the basis for comparison. This biography has been translated into French by E. Chavannes<sup>5</sup> and by Robert Shih.<sup>6</sup> It has also been used by P.C. Bagchi in his summary of Gunavarman's life in "*Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine*"<sup>7</sup>.

Other texts used for the analysis are:<sup>8</sup>

- |- A T 2145 *Chu San Tsang Chi Chi*, by Seng Yu, A.D. 515
- B T 2064 *Shen Seng Chuan*, by an unknown author with a preface dated 1417 A.D.
- C T 2122 *Fa Yuan Chu Lin*, by Tao Shih, 668 A.D.
- |- D T 2151 *Ku Yin I Ching T'u Chi*, by Tsing Mai, 664 A.D.
- |- E T 2154 *Kai Yuan Che Chiao Lu*, by Tsche Ching, 730 A.D.
- |- F T 2157 *Cheng Yuan Hsin Ting Che Chiao Mu Lu*, by Yuan Chao, 7th century
- |- G T 2034 *Li Tai San Pao Chi*, by Fei Chang-fang, 597 A.D.
- |- H T 2149 *Ta Tang Nei Tien Lu*, by Tao Hauan, 7th century
- I T 2131 *Fan I Ming I Chi*, by Fa Yun, 12th century
- |- K T 2035 *Fu Tsu T'ung Chi*, by Chih Pan, 13th century
- L T 2106 *Chi Shen Chou San Pao Kan T'ung Lu*

Each episode of Gunavarman's life as related in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, our basic text (BT), will be followed by parallels or variants in

other texts; the present writer's remarks on some of the problems involved will follow at the end.

The *Chu San Tsang Chi Chi* is the oldest of the texts used. It served as source for Hui Chiao's *Kao Seng Chuan*, and Arthur Link<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> The *Kao Seng Chuan* biography of Gunavarman contains a number of episodes not found in the *Chu San Tsang Chi Chi*, as for instance the advice given to the king of Java (§ 9 and 10 below) and the interview with Emperor Wen of the Sung dynasty (§ 22 below).

The accounts of Gunavarman's life in the *Kai Yuan Che Chiao Lu* and the *Cheng Yuan Hsin Ting Che Chiao Mu Lu* have been copied from the *Kao Seng Chuan*; they agree in every detail, the only difference being that the authors have added some remarks on the texts translated by Gunavarman.

## I.

### 1

Ch'iu-na-pa-mo (Gunavarman), that means "Armour of Virtue"<sup>11</sup>, originally belonged to the kshatriya caste. His family had ruled over Kashmir for generations. His grandfather named Ho-li-pa-t'o (Haribhadra), that means "Worthy as a Lion", had been expelled because of his harshness. His father, called Seng-chia-a-nan (Samghananda), that means "Joy of the Community", had to hide in valleys and mountains because of this.

BT p. 340 a 15—18

E p. 526 a 32—b 1

F p. 823 a 17—19

- A Ch'iu-na-pa-mo means "Armour of Virtue" in the language of Sung<sup>12</sup> He was a descendant of the king of Kashmir. p. 104 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—29.
- C Ch'iu-na-pa-mo<sup>13</sup>—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 man from Kashmir; he was the younger son of the king of that country. p. 361 c 15—16.

Ich'iu-na-pa-mo means "Armour of Virtue" in (the language of) Sung. He was the younger son of the king of Kashmir. p. 1070 a 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<sup>14</sup> all beings. He cultivated virtue and did good works. One day his mother needed meat and she asked Gunavarman to get her some. He said: "All beings that have life cling to it, and a virtuous man will not deprive them of it." His mother replied angrily. "If you commit a sin, I will bear it for you."

BT p. 340 a 18—22

E p. 526 b 1 — 5

F p. 823 a 19—23

B p. 963 a 29—b3 (Omitting the  
mother's answer)

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

## 3.

Another day, Gunavarman, while boiling some oil, burnt his finger. He asked his mother to bear the pain in his stead. The mother said: "The pain is in your body, how can I bear it?" Gunavarman replied: "You are not able to bear the present, visible pain, how much less will you be able to bear the pain of the three evil existences?"<sup>15</sup> The mother understood and abstained from killing living beings till the end of her life.

BT p. 340 a 22—25

E p. 526 b 5—7

F p. 823 a 23—26

## 4.

When Gunavarman was eighteen years of age, a physionomist, seeing him, predicted: "When the master will be thirty years of age, he will rule over a big country and he will turn South<sup>16</sup> and he will be praised and venerated. If, however, he does not care for worldly affairs, he will obtain the fruit of sanctity."<sup>17</sup>

BT p. 340 a 25—27  
E p. 526 b 8—10  
F p. 823 a 26—27

A Masters and monks saw his extraordinary intelligence and they all revered him. He was by nature kind, unassuming, obedient and yet the best. p. 104 b 2—3.

## 5.

When Gunavarman was twenty years of age he left his home and received ordination. He understood the nine sections<sup>18</sup> of Buddhist scriptures and mastered the four Agamas.<sup>19</sup> He recited over hundred times ten thousand words of Sutras. He grasped the chapters on the discipline and was very skilful in entering meditation. Therefore he was called "Master of the Law Tripitaka".

BT p. 340 a 27—29  
E p. 526 b 10—12  
F p. 823 a 27—30  
B p. 963 b 3—5

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

C He left his home when he was still young and received the name "Master of the Law Tripitaka". p. 616 c 22.

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. 361 c 16—17.

I p. 1070 a 17—18

## 6.

When Gunavarman was thirty years old, the king of Kashmir died without an heir. Everybody, discussing this, said: "Gunavarman belongs to the royal family. Moreover, he is intelligent and virtuous. He should be asked to return to worldly life and ascend the throne." Several hundred ministers asked him two or three times, but Gunavarman did not give in. He took leave of his masters and left the community. He lived in the forests and hid in the valleys. He crossed mountains and deserts alone and hid his traces from the world of men.

BT p. 340 b 1—4  
E p. 526 b 12—16  
F p. 823 a 30—b 3  
B p. 963 b 5—10

- 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. <sup>20</sup> 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. <sup>21</sup> His dignity impressed everybody, and those who saw him developed faith. <sup>22</sup>

BT p. 340 b 5—6  
E p. 526 b 16—19  
F p. 823 b 3—5  
A p. 104 b 7 (omitting last sentence)

- D His dignity impressed everybody, and those who saw him developed faith. <sup>23</sup> p. 361 c 19.

I p. 1070 a 21—22

### 8.

Later, Gunavarman arrived at the kingdom of She-p'o (Java<sup>24</sup>). 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.<sup>25</sup> 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."

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 6—12

E p. 526 b 18—23

F p. 823 b 5—11

B p. 963 b 9—14

A Later, he came to the country of She-p'o in the Southern Seas. He awakened those who had wrong views and converted (the people) beyond the seas. p. 104 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. 823 b 10—14

B p. 963 b 14—19

## 10.

The king, at the head of his army, decided (the matter). The banners and drums had just met, when the enemy dispersed and fled. The king's foot was wounded by a stray arrow. Gunavarman cured him with holy water<sup>26</sup> and after two nights he was allright again.

BT p. 340 b 16—18

E p. 526 b 27—29

F p. 823 b 14—15

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.”

BT p. 340 b 19—23  
E p. 526 c 1—4  
F p. 823 b 16—20

## 12.

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

BT p. 340 b 23—27  
E p. 526 c 4—8  
F p. 823 b 20—24

## 13.

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

BT p. 340 b 27—28  
E p. 526 c 8—9  
F p. 823 b 24—25  
B p. 962 b 20—21

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 huts of the people. Gunavarman asked leave to move his residence. He tamed the tigers and panthers in the mountains and the trouble was stopped suddenly.  
p. 104 b 9—10.

## 14.

The fame of his conversions spread far and near. The neighbouring countries, hearing about his reputation, all sent envoys to invite him. At that time there were famous and virtuous monks in the capital (Nanking). Huei Kuan, Huei Ts'ung and others had heard of his fame from far and wished to be taught by him. In the ninth 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<sup>27</sup> to send a boat to fetch him. Huei Kuan and the other monks also sent the monks Fa Ch'ang, Tao Ch'ung, Tao Chun 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 (China) in order to preach.

BT p. 340 b 28— c 6

E p. 526 c 9—15

F p. 823 b 26—c 2

**B** omits the first and last sentence of this paragraph. The name of the third monk sent to meet Gunavarman is Tao Ch'uan.  
p. 963 b 21—25.

**V** Emperor Wen of the Sung dynasty heard of his reputation from far. He ordered the governor of Chiao Chou to receive Gunavarman in accordance with the Royal command. In the capital, there were famous monks, Huei Yen, Huei Kuan and others, who relied on faith and acted with respect. They sent a petition to the king asking him to have the doctrine spread from Java and to make the venerable—one preceptor of the country. p. 104 b 11—13.

**K** (Under the heading: Seventh year of the Yuan Chia period): The emperor heard the name of the Tripitaka Master from Kashmir, Gunavarman (that means "Armour of Virtue"), for the first time. He gave an order to (the Governor of) Chiao Chou to send the monk Tao Min 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

Nan-t'i (the Hindu Nandi) and wanted to visit a small country. He reached Kuang Chou<sup>28</sup> with a favourable wind. Therefore 'it is said in his testament: "I came to the country of Sung driven by the wind of my actions (karma)."<sup>29</sup> This is what it refers to. When the Emperor Wen heard that he had already arrived at Nan hai, <sup>30</sup> he gave new order to the prefect and the governor of the place to take Gunavarman to the capital.

BT p. 340 c 6—11

E p. 526 c 15—20

F p. 823 c 3—7

- A In the course of time before (the messenger) had been sent Gunavarman arrived at Chiang Tung. <sup>31</sup> Finally, not wishing to stay long, he arrived at the capital in the first month of the eighth year of the period Yuan Chia (431), and he stayed at the Chi Yuan monastery. p. 104 b 13—14.
- C In the beginning of the Sung dynasty he came to the Middle kingdom and translated many books. There was nobody like him in disciplinary conduct and dignity. p. 616 c 22—23.
- D He came to Chien yeh <sup>32</sup> (Nanking) in the middle of the Yuan Chia period of Emperor Wen of the Sung dynasty. p. 361 c 19—20.
- B When the emperor heard that Gunavarman had already arrived at Nan hai, he gave a new order to the prefect and the governor of the place to take Gunavarman to the capital. p. 963 b 25—26.
- L In the beginning of the Sung dynasty he came to Yang Tu and converted many people. p. 344 c 9—10.

## 16.

Passing through Che-hsing <sup>33</sup> Gunavarman stayed there for about one year. In—Che hsing there was the mountain Hu Shih of majestic appearance with a solitary peak, high and inaccessible. Gunavarman said it looked like the Grdhrakuta. Therefore it's name was changed to Vulture's Peak.<sup>34</sup> Gunavarman constructed a meditation hall outside the mountain monastery. As the monastery was several li's distance, no sound could be heard, but each time the gong was sounded, Gunavarman had already arrived. He did not get wet in 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 the young ascetic, who spread out his hair<sup>35</sup>. Once the pictures were completed, every evening, they emitted a light that did not stop till a long time later.

BT p. 340 c 11—18  
E p. 526 c 20—28  
F p. 823 c 7—14  
B p. 963 b 26—c 4

### 17.

The prefect of Che hsing, Ts'ai Mu-che, venerated Gunavarman.<sup>36</sup> Later when he was about to die Gunavarman personally went to see him, preached the doctrine and gladdened and comforted him. Afterwards people from his family saw Mu-she in a dream sitting in the monastery and preaching to the monks. All this happened on account of Gunavarman's power of conversion.

BT p. 340 c 18—21  
E p. 526 c 27—527 a 1  
F p. 823 c 15—17  
B p. 963 c 4—7 (omitting last sentence)

### 18.

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

BT p. 340 c 21—24  
E p. 527 a 1—3  
F p. 823 c 17—19  
B p. 963 c 7—9 (omitting last sentence)

### 19.

Once, Gunavarman went into meditation in the separate hall and did not come out for several days. The monks in the monastery sent a novice to enquire about him. The novice saw a white lion which had climbed a column, and the whole space was filled with fresh blue lotus flowers. The novice was frightened and uttered a cry. He went to

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

BT p. 340 c 24—27  
E p. 527 a 3 —7  
F p. 823 c 20—23  
B p. 963 c 9 —11 (omitting last sentence)

## 20.

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

BT p. 341 a 1—3  
E p. 527 a 7—11  
F p. 823 c 25—27

G The Tripitaka Master Gunavarman from Kashmir, whose name means "Armour of Virtue" in the language of Sung, came to Nanking in the Yuan Chia period. p. 90 b 4—5.

H p. 258 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<sup>37</sup> (Nanking,) where he stayed in the Chi Yuan monastery. Masters and teachers alike treated him as their preceptor and asked him to recite the Hua Yen (T 278 Avatamsaka Sutra), of which sixty chapters had formerly been translated by Chio Hsien.<sup>38</sup> Before reciting the Avatamsaka Sutra, he said a prayer to Kuan Yin (Avalokitesvara). At night in a dream, he saw a strong man, who changed his head.<sup>39</sup> In the morning, when he got up it was as if he felt some slight pain, and from dawn on he preached. p. 344 b 24—28.

## 21.

The emperor received him and questioning him politely asked: "I, your pupil, want to keep a vow<sup>40</sup> not to kill, but oppressed by affairs, I cannot obtain fulfilment 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?"

BT p. 341 a 1—3  
E p. 527 a 7—11  
F p. 823 c 23—27  
D p. 361 c 20—22 (The last sentence is:  
“What does the Master of the Law  
advise?”)  
G p. 90 b 4—6  
K p. 344 b 29 - 30 (omitting last sentence)

## 22.

Gunavarman answered: “The path is in the heart, not in the affairs. The law comes from oneself and not from others. What is practised by an emperor is different from what is practised by a common man. The person of a common man is of little value, and his reputation is inferior. His words and orders are not imposing. If he does not subdue himself and practise austerities, 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.<sup>41</sup> If he imposes work, he does not exhaust the strength. Then wind and rain will come at the right time, heat and cold at 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?”

BT p. 341 a 3 —12  
E p. 527 a 11—19  
F p. 823 c 27—824 a 6  
D p. 361 c 22—29  
G p. 90 b 8 —16  
I p. 1070 a 24—b 2

K p. 344 b 30—c 5 (omitting first two sentences as well as “If he punishes, he does not take life, if he imposes work, he does not exhaust the strength”).

Gunavarman answered: “There is a difference between what is practised by an Emperor and by ordinary people. p. 258 b 25.

## 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 deluded by 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. One can talk to you about the boundaries between spirits and men."

BT p. 341 a 12—17  
E p. 527 a 19—23  
F p. 824 a 6 —10  
G p. 90 b 16 —19

D The Emperor was very pleased and said: "What the Master of the law Gunavarman says is really penetrating and leading to understanding, one can talk to him about the boundaries between spirits and men." p. 361 c 29—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. 1070 b 2—3.

H The Emperor clapping 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 Avatamsaka<sup>42</sup> and the Dasabhumikasutra 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.<sup>43</sup> Sometimes he used an interpreter and by questions and answers the difficulties were solved.

BT p. 341 a 16—20  
E p. 527 a 23—27  
F p. 824 a 10—13

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. 362 a 2.

H p. 258 b 27  
G p. 90 b 20

K The master stayed in the Chi Yuan monastery and preached the Avatamsaka and the Dasabhumikasutra. The emperor lead dukes and high officials on the days of assembly at the (master's) seat, and the Buddhists praised him. p. 344 c 7—8.

25.

Later, Hwei I of the Ch'i Yuan monastery asked him to publish the *Pu-sha shan chia ching* (The good rules of Bodhisattva, T 1582 *Bodhisattvabhumi*).<sup>44</sup> Gunavarman began and translated 28 chapters. Later, a pupil published two chapters and 30 chapters were thus completed. Before the copy was made, the introductory chapter and the chapter on the precepts were lost. Therefore there are two texts today. This text is also called *Pu-sha chia ti* (The stages in the precepts of a Bodhisattva). Formerly, in the third year of the period Yuan Chia (426) the prefect of Hsu chou, Wang Chung-teh, had asked a foreigner I yeh po lo<sup>45</sup> at Peng ch'eng<sup>46</sup> to translate and publish the Tsa hsin<sup>47</sup>. (Samyuktabhidharmahridaya). When he came to the chapter on investigation (*pravicaya*), some difficulty, arose and he discontinued his work. Gunavarman was asked to translate and publish the last chapters, in all thirty rolls. Together with the texts he had published previously, namely the *Sze fen chie mo* (T 1434 *Dharmaguptabhiksunikarman*), the *Yu-po-sha wu chiai lu lin* (T 1476 *Upasakapancasilarupa*), the *Yu-po-sha erh she erh chia*<sup>48</sup> (The twenty two rules of a lay devotee) there are in all 26 rolls. Sense and wording agree and there is no

difference between the Indian<sup>49</sup> and the Chinese text.<sup>50</sup>

E In the Ch'i Yuan monastery, Gunavarman translated the *Pu-sha shan chiai ching* (The Sutra on the good rules of a Bodhisattva) and others, in all ten sections. About this Sutra it is said in the Chang fang Catalogue 51 and others that it has 20 rolls. Below, in the commentary, it says that later a pupil completed 30 rolls. That is not so. Today there are only nine rolls, some say ten rolls. The character "two"<sup>52</sup> must be regarded as a mistake in this text. Only in Seng Yu's Catalogue 53 it is said that there are ten rolls, therefore one knows that there is a mistake in the other texts. Further, according to the *Kao Seng Chuan*, Hwei I of the Ch'ing Yuan monastery asked Gunavarman to translate and publish the *Pu-sha shan chiai ching*. Gunavarman began and published 28 chapters. Later a pupil published two chapters and 30 chapters were thus completed. In the Fang and other catalogues it is said that 30 rolls were completed. That is a big mistake. In the Chang fang Catalogue and others it is also said that Gunavarman translated the *Tsa A P'i T'an Hsin* (Samyuktabhidharmahridaya). Gunavarman published his translation together with the 10 rolls published (previously) by Fswara. It should not be said that Gunavarman published a separate translation. Although this is recorded in two places, it is not so. It has also been effaced in

the former catalogue. Sense and wording agree, and there is no difference between the Indian and the Chinese text. p. 527 a—b 6.

F p. 824 a 14—22

- A Not long afterwards, he translated and published Sutras in the Ch'i Yuan monastery, namely the *Pu-sha ti* (The stages of a Bodhisattva), the *T'an wu teh chie-mo*<sup>54</sup>, the *Yu-po-sha wu chiai lu lun* (The five rules of a lay devotee), the *San-kuei chi yu-po-sha erh she erh chiai* (The twenty two rules of a lay devotee, who has taken the three refuges).

At the beginning of the third year of the Yuan chia period (426), the prefect of Hsun chou, Wang Chung-teh, had asked a foreigner I yeh po lo at Peng ch'eng to translate and publish the *Tsa Hsin*. When he came to the chapter on investigation, there arose some difficulty, and he discontinued his work. Therefore, Gunavarman was asked to complete it. He revised and corrected the text. He preached the Law and spread the doctrine. People came to him from far and near. Rich and poor venerated him, and horses and carriages knocked against each other. p. 104 b 15—21.

- X Apart from the texts mentioned in the biography of Gunavarman, the *Chu San Tsang Chi Chi* contains a list of Gunavarman's translations:

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

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

- D Then, in the Yuan Chia period at Yang Tu he translated the *Pu-sha shan chiai ching* (The Sutra on the good rules of a Bodhisattva), 20 rolls, the *Tsa A p'i tan hsin lun* (Samyuktabhidharmahrdaya), 12 rolls, the *Sze fen pi-chiu-ni chie-mo* (Dharmaguptabhiksunikarman), 1 roll, the *Yu-po-sha wu chiai* (The five rules of a lay devotee), 1 roll, the *San kuei chi yu-po-sha chiai*<sup>55</sup> (The rules of a lay devotee

who has taken the three refuges), 1 roll, the *Sha-mi wei i* 56 (The dignity of a novice), 1 roll, the *Wu men shan yao yung* 57 (Manual on the five fold meditation 1 roll, the *ching lun fen i chi* 58 (Detailed explanation of Sutra and Vinaya), 1 roll. These eight 59 texts have 38 rolls. He obtained the second fruit. p 362 a 2—7.

- E
1. *Pu-sha shan chiai ching* (Sutra on the good rules of a Bodhisattva) in 9 rolls. One name is *Pu-sha ti* (The stages of a Bodhisattva) in 10 rolls. It was published in the Ch'i Yuan monastery. See the two catalogues of Chu Tao Tsu, Seng Yu as well as the *Kao Seng Chuan*. In the Chang fang Catalogue and others it is also called *Shan chiai ching* (Sutra on the good rules), in 20 rolls. Further it is said that a pupil published two chapters and thus completed 30 rolls. That is not so.
  2. *Pu-sha shan chiai ching* (The sutra on the good rules of a Bodhisattva) in 1 roll. Upali asks the Bodhisattva about the precepts. See Pao Ch'ang 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 nei chiai ching* (Sutra on the internal rules of a Bodhisattva, Nj 1082). This is in the above catalogue.
  4. *Yu-po-sha wu chiai wei i ching* (Sutra on the dignity of the five rules of a lay devotee), in 1 roll. See the Pao chang Catalogue.
  5. *Sha-mi wei i* (The dignity of a novice) in 1 roll. It is also called *Sha-mi wei i ching* (Sutra on the dignity of a novice). See Chang fang Catalogue.
  6. *Sze fen pi chiu ni chie mo fa* (*Dharmaguptabhiksunikarman*) in 1 roll. (Seng) Yu calls it *Tan wu teh chie mo* and also *Tsa chie-mo*. It was published in the eighth year of the Yuan Chia period (431) at the Ch'i Yuan monastery. See the two catalogues of Pao Chang and Seng Yu, as well as the *Kao Seng Chuan*. It is also called *Sze fen chie-mo*.
  7. *Yu-po-sha wu chiai hsiang ching* (Sutra on the characteristics of the five rules of a lay devotee), in 1 roll. Another name is *Yu-po-sha wu chiai lioh lun* (Summary of the five rules of a lay devotee). It was published in the eighth year of the Yuan chia period in the Ch'i Yuan monastery. See the two catalogues of Seng Yu and Pao Chang, as well as the *Kao Seng Chuan*.
  8. *Lung shu pu-sha wei Cha-to-chia wang shuo fa yao chie* (The Bodhisattva Nagarjuna preaches to the king Chandaka) in

1 roll (Nj. 1464 *Nagarjunabodhisattvasuhrlekha*).  
See the *T'ang chiu lu*. 61

9. *Shan hsin erh she erh chiai* (The twenty two rules of one who has good faith), in 1 roll. It is also called *Li yu yu-po-sha yu-po-yi hsu hsing erh she erh chiai* (The twenty two rules of conduct for male and female lay devotees who have renounced desires). It is also called *San kwei Yu-po-sha chiai* (The rules of a lay devotee who has taken the three refuges). (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 chi* (Record on the detailed explanation of Sutra and Vinaya), 1 roll. See Chang fang Catalogue.

p. 526 a 9 —28

F. p. 822 c 24—823 a 13

- G
1. *Pu-sha shan chiai ching* (The Sutra on the good rules of a Bodhisattva) in 20 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).<sup>62</sup> See the *Chou tao tsu* catalogue and the *Kao Seng Chuan*. Later, a pupil published two chapters in the Ching ling monastery, thus completing 30 rolls.
  2. *Tsa A pi t'an hsin* (*Samyuktabhidharmahrdaya*) in 13 rolls. It has first been published by Isvara, up to the chapter on investigation. The present, complete edition has 13 rolls.<sup>63</sup> See *Kao Seng Chuan*.
  3. *Sze fen chie-mo* (*Dharmaguptabhiksunikarman*) in 1 roll. It has been published in the eighth year of the Yuan Chia period (431) in the Ch'i Yuan monastery. This is the second translation, it agrees with the one made by Tan ti (*Dharma-setya*)<sup>64</sup> of the Wei dynasty. See *Kao Seng Chuan*, *Pao Chang Lu*, *Pieh Lu* and others.
  4. *Yu-po-sha wu chiai lioh lun* (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 hsiang* (Characteristics of the five rules) and *Wu chiai lioh lun* (Summary of the five rules). See *Kao Seng Chuan* and *Pao Chang Lu*.

5. *Shan hsin erh she erh chiai* (The twenty two rules of those who have good faith) in 1 roll. It is also called *Li yu yu-po-sha yu po-sha yu po ye hsu hsing erh she erh chiai* (Twentytwo rules of conduct for male and female lay devotees, who have renounced desires) and *San kwei yu-po-sha chiai* (The rules for lay devotees, who have taken the threefold refuge). See *Kao Seng Chuan*.
  6. *Sha-mi wei i* (The dignity of a novice), in 1 roll.
  7. *Ching lun fen i* (Detailed explanation of Sutra and Vinaya) in 1 roll. p. 90 a 19—b 2.  
H p. 258 b 13—21
- 1 In the seventh year of the Yuan Chia period of Sung dynasty at Yang Tu he translated the *Shan Chiai* (Good rules) and other Sutras concerning the ordination of nuns. p. 1070 b 3—4.

## 26.

At that time the nuns of the Ying fu nunnery, Hwei Kuo, Ching Yin and others respectfully said to Gunavarman: "Six years ago, eight nuns from Ceylon came to the capital and said: 'In the country of Sung there is no Sutra but there are nuns.<sup>65</sup> How did you get ordination in the two communities,<sup>66</sup> We fear that the section on the precepts was not complete.'

Gunavarman answered: "The precepts originally arose in the big community. If the original conditions are not fulfilled, this is no hindrance for ordination, as in the case of Gautami."<sup>67</sup> The nuns also feared that they had not yet attained the right age.<sup>68</sup> Therefore they wanted to be reordained. Gunavarman agreed and said: "Allright: If you wish to increase your understanding that will lead to contentment. But the nuns from the West have not yet attained the right age,<sup>69</sup> and they are not ten persons." Therefore he asked them to learn the language of Sung, and he also asked a householder from the West to invite foreign nuns to come and complete the number ten.

BT p. 341 a 28—b 7

E p. 526 b 7 —14

F p. 824 b 23—31

- 1 Further, there were eight nuns from Ceylon who came and said: "In the country of Sung there is no Sutra but there are nuns. How can they have obtained the precepts in the two communities?" Gunavarman replied: "Nuns who do not act according to the original law and obtain ordination become guilty.<sup>70</sup> If one examines the intention of Buddha's regulation the law originates in the big community, and only if the communities and the law are complete then one

obtains ordination. Those who in former times and nowadays act according to the original Law wish to develop faith by means of the ordination. The ordination is conferred during the formal act of the community." The nuns sadly asked to be ordained again. Gunavarman said: "Allright. Conduct of discipline, meditation and insight, which is not yet there will become manifest from the minute. If one wishes to increase one's knowledge this will be conducive to contentment."

Further he asked the nuns from the West to learn the language and to go to the Middle Kingdom<sup>71</sup> to invite some nuns to complete the number ten.

In the tenth year of the Yuan Chia period (434) there was the monk Seng chia po mo (Sanghavarman) that means 'Armour of the Community'. He knew the Vinaya and the Abhidharma-rdaya well. He traversed the moving sands and came to Yang Chou. Originally, Gunavarman had wanted to reordain the nuns, but he died before doing so. Shortly afterwards, a Ceylonese nun, Tieh-so-lo<sup>72</sup> and others (in all three persons) came to the capital and completed the number ten, and then Sanghavarman<sup>73</sup> was asked to confer ordination on the nuns instead of Gunavarman.<sup>74</sup> p. 1070 b 3—16

K (Under the heading: Eleventh year of the Yuan Chia period): Gunavarman had instituted an ordination altar in the Nan lin monastery for the ordination of nuns. This was the first ordination altar (for nuns) in China.<sup>75</sup> At that time eight nuns had come from Ceylon, and they were not sufficient (for the ordination). Later, the nun Tieh-so-lo (and others, in all) three nuns came, enough to make up a community of ten. Sanghavarman was asked to be the preceptor for the nun Huei Kuo and others from the Ching Fu nunnery, who were reordained at the ordination altar of the Nan lin monastery before the two communities. More than three hundred people were present.

Shu says: The *Seng-shih-lueh* <sup>75a</sup> says: In the Han period, A Pang took the threefold refuge (i.e. she was the first female lay devotee), in the Tsin dynasty, Ching lin was ordained before one community (i.e. before the community of monks). The beginning of a complete ordination before the two communities was made in that year with Huei Kuo. p. 344 c 25—345 a 3.

## 27.

Gunavarman spent the retreat of that year's summer<sup>76</sup> 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.

BT p. 341 b 7—9

E p. 527 b 15—17

F p. 824 a 31—b 1

- C The monk Huei 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. p. 616 c 23—28.
- G Gunavarman spent the summer retreat in the Ting lin monastery. At that time there were some devotees who gathered flowers to spread on the mats. The flowers on Gunavarman's seat remained fresh, and everybody was surprised. p. 90 b 21—22.
- H There were people, who put flowers on his seat and they remained fresh. p. 258 b 27—28.
- L At that time there were people, who wanted to know who was a holy man and they spread flowers on all seats. All the flowers faded, only Gunavarman's stayed fresh. p. 433 c 10—11.

## 28.

At the end of the summer he returned to the 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 pupil followed later, he found that Gunavarman had died all of a sudden. He was 65 years of age. Before his death he had prepared a testament in 36 verses.<sup>77</sup> He discusses cause and effect and says he had obtained the second fruit.<sup>78</sup> 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 did 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'i<sup>79</sup> long. It came from the right side of the corpse and ascended straight to heaven. Nobody could name it. He was cremated according to the foreign custom in front of the ordination altar of Nan lin. The fourfold community<sup>80</sup> 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 reordained, 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,<sup>81</sup> but some enemies made raids<sup>82</sup> and he could not carry out his intention. He asked the monks to translate the testament.

BT p. 341 b 9 —25

E p. 527 b 17—32

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 65 years old. Before his death he had composed a testament in 36 verses. He discusses cause and effect and says he obtained the second fruit. He kept it under his mat and nobody knew about it. It was found after his death. He was placed on a string bed. His appearance did not change. He resembled a person in meditation. Thousands of monks and laymen came to see him. Everybody noticed fragrant perfumes, and some saw an animal like a dragon or a snake, about one P'i in length. It arose from the side of the corpse and went straight to heaven. Nobody could name it. He was cremated according to the foreign custom in front of the ordination altar of Nan in and thousands of people attended the ceremony. In all quarters there were singing girls, music, banners and flowers. Fragrant firewood had been gathered for the pyre and perfumed oil was poured over it. When the pyre was

burning a five coloured flame arose and the sky was clear and bright. Priests and laymen sighed and moaned. Later, a white pagoda was erected on that spot. p. 104 b 22—c 4.

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

After his death he was placed on a string bed. His appearance did not change, he looked as if he were in meditation. Thousands of monks and laymen came to see him. Everybody noticed fragrant perfumes, and some saw an animal like a dragon, about one P'i 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. He was 65 years old. p. 963 c 11—19.

C He died on the 28th day of the ninth month of the eighth year of the Yuan Chia period. He was placed without difficulties on his mat with crossed legs and folded hands. He stayed there for two nights and his appearance did not change; some thought at that time that he was in deep meditation. His testament was found under his seat. It said he had obtained the second fruit of an ascetic. When they realised he was dead, disciples and attendants perceived fragrant smells. More than two hundred people assembled to see the master in the capital. When evening came, those assembled outside the door filled the steps. During the cremation, there were suddenly vapours in the South-West. Then there was an animal, about one P'i in length, which coiled round the corpse and disappeared. Those who were assembled all said they saw it. Before his death, Gunavarman 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 29—617 a 7.

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

length. It came from the right side of the corpse and ascended straight to heaven. p. 90 b 23—28.

H Gunavarman died later in the Ch'i Yuan monastery. He had composed a testament in 36 verses, in which he says he had obtained the second fruit. This document is in the (*Kao Seng Chuan*. p. 258 b 28-29.

L After his death he was seated upright with folded hands. One would have thought he was in deep meditation. For many days he was not raised. A testament with more than thirty verses was found under his mat. It said he had obtained the second fruit. More than two hundred people assembled at night. Some saw an animal one P'i in length. It coiled round the corpse and departed to the South-West. p. 433 c 10—14.

## II

Gunavarman'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.

Gunavarman having entered the Buddhist order of monks in Kashmir, was probably originally a follower of the Sarvastivada school of Buddhism, as Kashmir was a stronghold of this sect in the 5th cent.<sup>84</sup> He must have become acquainted with Mahayana doctrines sometime in his career, for he preached on the *Avatamsaka* and *Dasa bhūmika* Sutra in China,<sup>85</sup> and he translated Mahayana texts like the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* besides Hinayana texts like the *Dharmaguptabhikṣuṅkarman*. His testament begins with a veneration of the three jewels, (Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha), and of the pure elders. He then describes the meditations on the impurities (*asubha*), which were favoured more by the Hinayana adherents than by the Mahayanists.<sup>86</sup> In the testament there is no indication of any ideas that show a leaning towards the Greater Vehicle.

Gunavarman was ordained at the age of twenty years. He left Kashmir when he was thirty years old, that is in 397 A.D. (The date of his birth can be calculated from the date of his death in 431 A.D., when, as the *Kao Seng Chuan* says, he was 65 years of age.) Except for the *Ku Yin I Ching T'u Chi* and the *Fan I Ming I 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 Malava in Central India, Malabara (the Malabar coast) or some district in Ceylon is not clear.<sup>87</sup>

The biographies do not mention the place which Gunavarman stayed at in Ceylon. In the testament he says he lived in Chieh-po-li. It has not been possible to identify this name either. It might be Kappakagama, <sup>88</sup> as Chieh is used for Sanskrit *kalpa*, Pali *kappa*. <sup>89</sup> The transcription comes nearest to Kappura parivena, a building in the Abhayagirivihara, which however was only built in the 7th century by Dathopatissa I (650—58). <sup>90</sup>

Fa Hsien who visited Ceylon in 412—13, that is at about the same time that Gunavarman did, records in his travel account that there were 5000 monks in the Abhayagirivihara as against 3000 in the Mahavihara. Fa Hsien also describes the festival of the Tooth Relic, held with great pomp at the Abhayagirivihara. <sup>91</sup> The Tooth Relic was the personal possession of the king and the Abhayagirivasins must have been held in special regard in the country at that time. <sup>92</sup> This monastery had been founded by king Vattagamani Abhaya in the first century B.C. and the monks residing in this monastery were often in opposition to the Mahavihara, who regarded them as heretics. In the third century, they had adopted the Vetulyavada, which S. Paranavitane takes to be Mahayanist <sup>93</sup> “The Abhayagiri monks seem to have kept up constant contact with various Buddhist sects and new movements in India. . . . They were liberal in their views and always welcomed new ideas from abroad and tried to be progressive. They studied both Theravada and Mahayana and widely diffused the Tripitakas.” <sup>94</sup> It is very likely that a foreign monk like Gunavarman was received by this fraternity rather than by the monks of the Mahavihara. But, as Gunavarman’s biographers say, he studied the customs of the country”, we may assume that he also had contacts with the Mahavihara group. Whether he met Buddhaghosa who is supposed to have been active in Ceylon at this period, <sup>95</sup> we are in no position to say.

From Ceylon Gunavarman went to the kingdom of She-po which most scholars take to be Java. <sup>96</sup> 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 “heresies and Brahmanism were flourishing.” <sup>97</sup> Gunavarman’s biography in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, the *Kai Yuan Che Chiao Lu*, the *Chen Yuan Hsin Ting Che Chiao Mu Lu* and the *Shen Seng 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 Bharatas :

- II. 31 *svadharmapi caveksya na vikampitu marhasi  
dharmyaddhi yuddhacchreyo 'myat ksatriyasya na vidyate*  
(Having regard to thine own duty also, thou oughtst  
not to waver  
For, to a ksatriya, there is nothing more wholesome than a  
lawful battle).
- II. 33 *atha cettvam imam dharmyam sangramam na karisyasi  
tatah svadharmam kirtim ca hitva papam avapsyasi*  
(Now, if thou wouldst not fight this lawful battle, then, having  
abandoned thine own duty and fame, thou shouldst incur sin).
- III. 19 *tasmad asaktah satatam karyam karma samacara  
asakto hyacaran karma param apnoti purushah*  
(Therefore, without attachment constantly perform the  
action which should be done,  
for performing action without attachment man reaches the  
supreme.<sup>98</sup>

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

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 Gunavarman 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 practises introduced from India were known at first primarily in the palace cities of Indonesian rulers. In the villages, ritual worship probably continued for a long time under the direction of priestly elders and conjuror diviners who of old had been the mediators between the human and the spirit worlds. The philosophical and mystical tenets of India's great religions remained for many centuries the prerogative of the priesthood, in monasteries and other sacred foundations for religious learning."<sup>102</sup>

The last event recorded about Gunavarman's stay in Java is that the king built a vihara for him. It is probable that Gunavarman gave some instruction about this building, and this must have happened in other instances as well. No building of this period is extant in Java. The oldest Hindu monuments in that island date from the seventh and eighth century.<sup>103</sup>

Gunavarman's fame spread to China, where the Emperor Wen of the Liu Sung dynasty heard about him and sent a delegation to invite Gunavarman. When this delegation arrived in 424 A.D. Gunavarman had already left. He intended to visit a small country, but "driven by the wind of his karma" he landed in China. There is some confusion about the period of his stay in China. The *Chu San Tsang Chi Chi* for instance does not mention the date the messengers were sent but it does say that Gunavarman 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 Seng Chuan*, the delegation was sent in 424 and did not meet Gunavarman in Java, as he had already departed. He arrived at the capital in 431 A.D., having spent approximately one year (i.e. 430) in Che Hsing on the way. The *Kao Seng Chuan* does not account for the years in between, i.e. for the years 424—430.

The *Li Tai San Pao Chi* and the *Fan I Ming I Chi* record that Gunavarman came to Nanking in the Yuan Chia period, but they do not specify the exact year. According to the *Fo Tsu Tung Chi*, Gunavarman came to China on an invitation from the emperor and not by chance as the *Kao Seng Chuan* implies. Gunavarman himself says in his testament that he spent some time at Lin Yi (Champa) before being driven by the wind of his Karma to the coast of China. None of the biographies mentions his stay at Lin Yi. It is unlikely that Gunavarman came to China in A.D. 424, as it appears from the *Kao Seng Chuan* account, and only had the interview with the emperor—who had sent monks to bring Gunavarman to the capital—seven years later. If Gunavarman had already left Java when the imperial messengers arrived in 424, he must have stayed somewhere else before coming to the capital, and he must not only have learnt Chinese very well in order to preach and translate texts, but he must also have penetrated deeply into Chinese philosophy in order to have the interview with the emperor that is recorded in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, the *Kai Yuan Che Chiao Lu*, the *Cheng Yuan Hsin Ting Che Chiao Mu lu*, the *Ku Yin I Ching T'u Chi*, the *Li Tai San Pao Chi* and the *Fan I Ming I Chi*. If Gunavarman did not learn Chinese and study Chinese scriptures at the capital, he must have done so at some other place in South China. The conversation with emperor Wen shows a remarkable adaptability to foreign ideas.

Buddhism had infiltrated into China from the North-West along the silk road which entered Chinese territory at Tun Huang. This infiltration must have taken place between the first half of the first century B.C.—the period of the consolidation of Chinese power in Central Asia—and the middle of the first century A.D., when the existence of Chinese Buddhism is attested for the first time in contemporary Chinese sources.<sup>104</sup> Buddhism had been the religion of foreigners, Parthians, Sogdians and Indo-Scythians living at the Han capital Loyang. Buddhism only spread among the Chinese after translations of texts had been made and the upper classes became acquainted with the new doctrine. In the turbulent times after the downfall of the Han dynasty, the Hun 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.<sup>105</sup> "Talk about emptiness and non-being" played an important role in these circles.<sup>106</sup> 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.<sup>107</sup> In "The Buddhist Conquest of China", Zurcher has shown that in the extreme South, in Chiao Chou, a hybrid form of Buddhism had developed and that some kind of contact existed between the foreign clergy and the Chinese cultured minority of that region. Of the Sogdian monk Kang Seng hui it is known that he was widely read in the Confucian classics.<sup>108</sup> 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: Chung Hui (225-264), Ho Yen and Wang Pi (226-249). The starting point of their speculations was that of Chinese philosophy in general: the concept of the Sage Ruler who by means of his wisdom and supernatural insight and by conforming to certain cosmic principles is able to make the affairs of the whole world run smoothly and automatically without any intervention or conscious exertion on his part. Their particular representation of the Sage Ruler was that of the *I-ching*, the ancient divinatory handbook with its 64 hexagrams symbolizing various situations, its cryptic explanations 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."<sup>109</sup>

Gunavarman must have lived in circles that practised these forms of "dark learning" before having his interview with Emperor Wen whom he advised to conform to the ideals of the Sage Ruler. Gunavarman applied the principle laid down by Mou-tze in his apolo-

getic writing *Li Huo lun* 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 discoursed on the essence 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."<sup>110</sup>

While staying at Nanking, Gunavarman preached on two Mahayana texts, on the *Avatamsakasutra*<sup>111</sup> and on the *Dasabhumikasutra*. The *Avatamsakasutra* in 36,000 Slokas was brought by Fa ling from Khotan and was translated by Buddhahadra in 418-20 in the Southern capital.<sup>112</sup> The *Dasabhumikasutra* had been translated by Dharmaraksa (ca 230-308). It discusses the ten stages in the career of a Bodhisattva.<sup>113</sup>

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

Text	BT	A	D	E	F	G	H	Extant (- -) or lost (—)
Pu-Sha Shan Chiai Ching or Pu-Sha Ti Bodhisattvabhumi	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
Pu-Sha Shan Chiai Ching The Good Rules of a Bodhisattva				- -	- -			- -
Tsa Hsin or Tsa A-Pi-Tan Hsin Samyuktabhidharmahridaya	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	—
Sze Fen (P'i-Chiu-Ni) Chieh Mo or Tan Wu Teh Chieh Mo Dharmaguptabhiksunikarman	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
Yu-Po-Sha Wu Chiai Lu Lun Yu-po Sha Wu Chiai Hsiang Upasakapancasilarupa	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
Yu-Po-Sha Wu Chiai Wei I Ching Sutra on the dignity of of the five rules for lay devotees				- -	- -			- -
Yu-po-Sha Erh Shi-Erh Chiai or San Kuei Chi Yu-Po-Sha Chiai or Shan Hsin Erh-Shih - Erh Chiai Twenty two rules for lay devotees	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	—

Text	BT	A	D	E	F	G	H	Extant (+) or lost (-)
Sha Mi Wei I Dignity of a Novice			- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
Wu Men Chang Yao Yung Manual of Fivefold meditation			- -					
Ching Lun Fen I Chi Detailed Explanation of Sutra and Vinaya			- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	—
Pu-Sha Nei Chiai Ching Sutra on the Internal Rules of a Bodhisattva				- -	- -			+ -
Lung-Shu Pu-Sha Wei Chan-To-Chia Wang Shuo Fa Nagarjunabodhisattva- suhrikleha				- -	- -			+ -

Our Basic Text and A (*Kao Seng Chuan* and *Chu San Tsang Chi Chi*) agree on the number of translations ascribed to Gunavarman, and as the other biographies also contain the titles of these texts, we may assume that these were actually translated by Gunavarman.

The *Bodhisattvabhumi* had already been translated by Dharmaksema in 418 A.D. Gunavarman's translation was published in 431 A.D. and the text was later translated again by Hsuan Tsang in 645 A.D. The *Bodhisattvabhumi* forms about one sixth of Asanga's *Yogacarabhūmisāstra*, this being the chief work of one of the great schools of Indian philosophy. <sup>114</sup> Paul Demieville, discussing these texts says the *Yogacarabhūmi* of Asanga must belong to the middle of the fourth century and must belong to a literary tradition which flourished in Kashmir from the second century onwards in the Sarvastivada-school. This great treatise is divided into two parts, the first of which is the *Bahubhūmikasaṃgraha* an exposition of the 37 stages (*bhūmi*) in the Yoga practise. The 15th of the 37 stages is that of the Bodhisattva, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. Dharmaksema's version is entitled *Pu-sa (ti) che ching* (or *lun*) which corresponds to *Bodhisattvabhūmiadharasūtra* (or *-sastra*). Gunavarman's version *P'u-sha (ti) shan chiai ching* would be *Bodhisattvabhūmibhadrasūtra*. It is a regular Sutra with introduction and closing remarks. According to the French scholar who translated the chapter on meditation (*dhyana*) and compared the three texts, Gunavarman's translation is careless and shows many divergencies due to faulty rendering rather than to textual variations. <sup>115</sup>

The *Kai Yuan Che Chiao Lu* and the *Cheng Yuan Hsin Ting Che Chiao Mu Lu* (F and G) mention that the first roll of this text was transla-

ted first and became separated and existed as an independent text "Upali asks the Bodhisattva about the precepts" (*Upalipariprcchasutra*). Sanskrit extracts of this Sutra have been published by N. Dutt.<sup>116</sup>

The text is also found in the Taisho Tripitaka under No. 325; its name has been restored by Nanjio as *Vinayaviniscaya Upalipariprccha*. Taisho No. 1466 is another text called *Upalipariprcchasutra*, which is also ascribed to Gunavarman to the year 424 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<sup>117</sup> it is probably wrong that Gunavarman translated this text also. The, *Upalipariprcchasutra* T 1466 (Nanjio No. 1109) is called *Yu-po-li wen Fu* (upali asks the Buddha (not the Bodhisattva)). This text is a Hinayana Pratimoksasutra, containing the rules under which a monk becomes guilty and exceptions to these rules in which a monk is not guilty. This *Upalipariprcchasutra* has literal parallels in the Pali canon, although the order of the rules does not agree with the Pali.<sup>118</sup> The language of the original seems to have been Pali or Prakrit rather than Sanskrit.

The *Tsa Hsin*, (*Samyuktabhidharmahrdayasutra*) was first translated in 426 by Isvara at Peng cheng. He, however, did not complete the work, which was handed over to Gunavarman. Gunavarman finished the translation, but apparently did not publish it. Therefore in 434 Samghavarman was again entrusted with the translation of this text. He revised it during one year and published it. This translation is extant under Taisho No. 1552.<sup>119</sup> Isvara's and Gunavarman's translations are mentioned as being lost by the *Kai Yuan Che Chiao Lu*.<sup>120</sup>

The *Abhidharmahrdaya* is a collection of 600 verses, 250 of which were composed a hundred years after the Buddha's Nirvana by Fa Sheng. Later, Ta-mo-to-lo (Dharmatrata) added another 350 verses to the collection, after careful examination of the sutras.<sup>121</sup> This text must have been very popular because other translations were made in the North. The *Kao Seng Chuan* relates that Tao-an (4th century) had asked a monk Dharmanandin 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 Samghadeva, a monk from Kashmir, was asked to publish a new translation in 391. He had already published a complete translation of the text at Loyang in 384. The second version was only an extract of the original text which is preserved in the canon as Taisho No 1550.<sup>122</sup>

The *Sha Mi Wei* (The Sutra on the dignity of a novice) is listed in Nanjio's Catalogue under No. 1164 as *Sramanera Karmavaca*. A.C. Banerjee mentions one text *Yu-po-sai erh shih erh chieh* translated by Gunavarman which contains ordination rules for novices. According to Bagchi, however, the *Cheu sin eul-che-eul chie* (*Shan hsin erh shih erh chiai* the twenty two rules of those who have good faith) is mentioned as lost by the *Kai Yuan Che Chiao Lu*.<sup>123</sup> In the *Yo-pu-sha wu chiai hsiang ching* (T 1476 The characteristics of the five rules for lay devotees) the Buddha is approached by his father, king Suddhodana, who asks him to give rules for the lay devotees as he has done for monks, nuns and male and female novices. The Sutra treats extensively with these five rules and those cases which can be atoned 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 Bhiksunivinaya* show Gunavarman's interest in disciplinary matters. Zurcher 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.<sup>124</sup> 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 250 A.D., Dharmakala made a Chinese version of the *Pratimoksa* of the Mahasanghikas, shortly afterwards the *Karmavacana* of the Dharmagupta school was translated.<sup>125</sup> Before the 5th century no complete Vinaya of any school was known in China.<sup>126</sup> In the middle of the fourth century the Chinese monk Tao-an had formulated a number of rules and regulations for his disciples which were taken over by other communities.<sup>127</sup> In a letter written by Tao-an he said that the monastic rules form the very roots of a monk's conduct, on which eventually even the teachings of the *Prajnaparamita* are based.<sup>128</sup> 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.<sup>129</sup> 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.<sup>130</sup>

The last event in Gunavarman's life mentioned in the *Kao Seng Chuan* is the fact that several Chinese nuns approached him. They told him that some nuns from Ceylon had drawn their attention to the fact that they were not properly ordained. A Vinaya for nuns had been "compiedl or concocted" by Mi-li, a disciple of the monk Srimitra; those rules were however, attacked as heretical by Chih Tun (ca 314-366) and Chu Fa-t'ai (320-387).<sup>131</sup> According to Zurcher Fo t'u-t'eng who came to Loyang in 320, introduced a more complete set of monastic

rules and took the initiative of establishing the order of Buddhist nuns on Chinese soil.<sup>132</sup> He ordained the nun An-ling-shou. This ordination was however not canonical, as she was ordained by Fo Tu teng in the presence of Ching Chien. Ching Chien was the first nun in the North, the daughter of a governor of Liang chou, who read about nuns in Buddhist scriptures. She made enquiries and was informed that an order for nuns existed in India but not in China. Ching Chien regretted that there was no Pratimoksa for nuns but together with 24 other women she entered the order in the first half of the fourth century.<sup>133</sup>

The first nun in the South was Ming kan who had crossed over the Yang Tse with ten other sisters in 344 or 348 and lived in a nunnery established for her by Ho Chun. The nun Hui Chan from P'eng ch'eng was also lodged there. In 354 Empress Ho founded another nunnery.<sup>134</sup> In 385 the nun Miao yin was abbess over more than a hundred nuns at the Chien ching nunnery founded for her. "She was influential at court and was revered and served by rich and poor alike".<sup>135</sup>

Otto Franke discusses the existence of nuns in the fourth century and the fact that the *Fo Tsu T'ung Chi* ascribes the establishment of the order of nuns to Gunavarman,<sup>136</sup> and he thinks that there is some mistake and contradiction. This is not the case. The *Fo Tsu Tung Chi* makes it quite clear that Gunavarman built the "ordination altar", but Samghavarman actually ordained the nuns. The *Fo Tsu 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.<sup>137</sup> When Buddhism was introduced in Ceylon the nun Samghamitta was sent for from India in order to ordain queen Anula and other Singhalese ladies.<sup>138</sup> 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.<sup>139</sup> As none of the early Chinese nuns had been ordained according to the Vinaya rules, the arrival of the Singhalese nuns gave an opportunity to have a valid ordination for nuns performed. However, there were only eight nuns instead of the necessary ten, and as these nuns had not yet acquired the prescribed twelve years standing,<sup>140</sup> Gunavarman could not confer the ordination immediately but had to send for further nuns, who arrived after his death in 434. Samghavarman, the same monk who had completed the translation of the *Abhidharmahrdaya* ordained the Chinese nuns. It is not stated expressly whether the nun Tieh-so-lo and the two others who came from Ceylon to China, were

those sent for but it is highly probable. Relations between the two countries had been established during the Chin dynasty, when Emperor An received a letter from a king of Ceylon in 413.<sup>141</sup> The *Fo Tsu Tung Chi* records under the fifth year of the Yuan Chia period (429 A.D) that Emperor Wen of the Liu Sung dynasty received tribute from the kshatriya king Mahanama of Ceylon. Emperor Wen answered Mahanama: i“We have too few Sutras of the Lesser Vehicle. Whatever there is in your country should be copied and sent.”<sup>142</sup>

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

When Gunavarman died he was cremated “according to the foreign custom.” The emperor had wished to accept the precepts of a Bodhisattva, but had been prevented by his duties to do so. In 431, the year of Gunavarman’s death, the king of Lin-yi (Champa) intended to raid Chiao-chou. Emperor Wen had also planned an expedition against the North a year earlier.<sup>143</sup> The term “bodhisattva” was applied to both monks and lay devotees in the early church.<sup>144</sup> The *Bodhisattvapratimoksasutra*, T 1500, contains extracts of the *Bodhisattvabhumi* and the *Upalipariprcchasutra*.<sup>145</sup> It deals with the ordination rites for a Bodhisattva. The candidate has to request a master for initiation into the disciplinary rules. He has to confess his sins and take refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Samgha by uttering the Trisarana formula and by transferring the merits acquired by him to all beings.

Other emperors before Wen had become lay devotees and had accepted the five rules for laymen.<sup>146</sup> Of the Emperor Ming of the Chin dynasty it was said: “The majestic ancestor Emperor Ming, whom heaven truly had endowed with virtue was the first (monarch) to receive this Way.....His observance of the (lay) commandments was stricter than that of a mountain recluse.”<sup>147</sup> The *Kao Seng Chuan* and the *Chin Shu* record that Emperor Hsiao wu accepted the Buddhist doctrine.<sup>148</sup> 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 chaitya erected for Gunavarman.

## Postscript

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## NOTES

(Please refer to the bibliography)

- 1) Bamzai: History, p. 97.
- 2) Pelliot: Itinéraires, p. 247 f.
- 3) Zoetmulder: Religionen, p. 233 f.; Krom: Geschiedenis, p. 82.
- 4) Franke: Geschichte, Vol. III, p. 267.
- 5) Chavannes: Gunavarman; T'oung Pao, Ser. II, Vol. V, pp. 193-206.
- 6) Robert Shih: Biographies des Moines Eminents (*Kao Seng Tschouan*) de Huei Kiao, Bibliotheque du Museon Vol. 54, Louvain 1968, pp. 125—137.
- 7) P.C. Bagchi: Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Paris 1927, pp. 370—375.
- 8) Texts marked with an asterik have been used by Bagchi, op, cit.
- 9) A.F. Link: Remarks, p. 292 f.; A. Wright: Biography, p. 421.
- 10) De Jong: Survey, p. 102.
- 11) E and F add “ in the language of Sung” (Chinese).
12. The Taisho edition has “in the language of Chi”, whereas the three editions read “Sung”. As the Ch'i dynasty came to power only after the death of Gunavarman, the reading of the three editions must be right. It was a general practice to refer to the Chinese language as the language of the ruling dynasty. Zurcher: Conquest, p. 438.

- 13) Instead of *Ch'iu-* to seek (Mathews, Dictionary No. 1217), *ch'iu-a* rival (Mathews, Dictionary No. 1332) has been used. *ch'i* is prefixed to the name; compare note 12.
- 14) The characters used to express love are *jen ai* (Mathews, Dictionary No. 3099 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 Chang Tsai, 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 (*tiryagyonī*), in hell (*naraka*), and as a hungry ghost (*preta*).
- 16) Robert Shih: Kao Seng Tschouan, p. 71 n. 47 points out that the expression "to turn South" is taken from classical Chinese literature.
- 17) A similar prediction was made by saint Asita about the Buddha in the Lalitavistara, p. 73, l. 26: *Sa ced agaram adhyavasati raja bhavati. . . . Sa ced punar agarad anagarikam pravrajati tathagato bhavisyati vidusthasabdah Samyaksambuddhah.*
- 18) Lamotte: Histoire, p. 157, discusses the division of Buddhist scriptures into nine sections used by the Theravadins of Ceylon, the Mahasamghikas 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 Sastras of the Mahayana.
- 19) Lamotte: Histoire, p. 165, mentions that some Buddhist schools have four Agamas as against the five Nikayas of the Pali canon, the Khuddakanikaya corresponding to a Ksudrakapitaka, others exclude the minor texts from their Tripitaka. Among the texts recognising four Agamas only are the *Mahaparinirvanasutra*, the *Vinayamatra*, the *Dirghagama* in Chinese, the *Divyavadana* and other Sarvastivada texts.
- 20) Rendered by "the country of the lion" Simhaladvipa.
- 21) The first fruit is that of a Srotaapanna, one who has entered the stream, the first of four stages of Hinayana religious development, the others being Sakrdagamin, one who returns once, Anagamin, one who does not return, and Arhat, a saint. See Edgerton; Dictionary, s.v. *srotaapanna*.

- 22) Literally: they developed affection. R. Shi: Kao Seng Tschouan, p. 126, translates this sentence as: ceux qui le virent produisirent la pensee de bodhi.
- 23) D does not say Gunavarman went to Ceylon, therefore this sentence following on Gunavarman's life in the wilderness is somewhat strange.
- 24) For a discussion of the identification of She-po with Java see Pelliot: Itinéraires, p. 225f., 271 f.; Chavannes: Gunavarman p. 193. Coomaraswamy: Indian Art, p. 198 thinks Fa Hsien and Gunavarman visited Sumatra, not Java; he derives Ch'o-po (She-po) from Srivijaya.
- 25) i.e. she became a lay devotee. The five precepts are: 1) not to kill, 2) not to steal, 3) not to tell lies, 4) not to be unchaste, and 5) not to drink alcohol.
- 26) Literally: water, over which some spells had been uttered.
- 27) Chiao Chou was the name of a Southern province created during the later Han dynasty. It comprised parts of present day Tonking and Annam. See Franke: Geschichte, Vol. III, p. 220. Zurcher: Conquest, p. 43, says it must have been a Buddhist centre from the early 3rd century on.
- 28) Present day Kanton.
- 29) The testament is found in BT, E, F, and G at the end of Gunavarman's biography.
- 30) Nan-hai was a name for present day Kuan chou (Kanton). Franke: Geschichte, Vol. I, p. 245.
- 31) Chiang Tung is the region of the lower course of the Yang Tse, particularly the area around Chien yeh (Nanking). R. Shih: Kao Seng Tschouan, p. 170.
- 32) Chien yeh, present day Nanking, had been made capital after the fall of the Han by the Wu dynasty, it was the centre of Southern Buddhism. Franke: Vol. II, p. 289.
- 33) Che-hsing was a boundary district between Hu-nan and Kuang-tung. Franke: Geschichte, Vol. II, p. 171.

- 34) The Vulture Peak, Grdhrakuta, was one of the five hills encircling Rajagrha. The Buddha often stayed there. It is not quite clear to me, how the transcription *Fu* (Mathew : Dictionary, No. 1990-dishevelled hair), *Chi* (Mathews: Dictionary, No. 512, a man of sixty, desirous of) and *She* or *Tu* (Mathews: Dictionary, No. 6502-the tower over a city gate) comes about. Zurcher: Conquest, p. 208 and p. 394—n. l. 136 and n. 137, points out that several mountains in China were called Grdhrakuta. Referring to the dictionary *Chung-kuo ku-chin ti-ming ta t'zu-tien* he says that six mountains of this name are mentioned. A Tiger Hill North of Chu Chiang in Kuang Tung was changed to Grdhrakuta by the monk Shih Seng lu who stayed there between 405 and 418.
- 35) Chavannes: Gunavarman, p. 200. n. 1, points out that the scene of the young ascetic, the future Buddha, spreading his hair on the road for the Buddha Dipamkara was very popular in Gandhara, and he refers to A.Foucher's study *les bas reliefs du Stupa de Sikri (Gandhara)*" in *Journal Asiatique*, Sept.-Oct. 1903, p. 199—209.
- 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) Franke: Geschichte III, p. 229, discusses the name Chin-ling (Kin-ling) and refers to the work of Pater Louis Gaillard, 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 K'uan to Kien-ye (Chien-yeh). In the later Tsin dynasty, Kien k'ang was used instead of Kien-ye.
- 38) Chio Hsien's biography is found in the *Kao Seng Chuan* p. 334 b ff. (Robert Shih: Biographies, p. 90 ff.). He translated in 418 the *Avatamsaka Sutra*, which had been brought from Khotan.
- 39) The *Kao Seng Chuan*, p. 344 b 10 f., records that Gunabhadra was asked to preach the *Avatamsaka Sutra* and other texts, but as he did not know Chinese sufficiently, he felt unable to do so. In a dream, a man dressed in white cut off his head and replaced it by another one. The next morning, Gunabhadra knew Chinese perfectly.

40) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 374 n. 27, says that *Chai* (Mathews, Dictionary, No. 115) is an ancient term denoting the ritual purification which the celebrant had to undergo before offering, and the period of self purification during which he 'prevents contact with nefarious things, suppresses his desires, and does not allow his ears to listen to music' (*Li-chi* XXII, chapter *Chi-t'ung*, *chu shu* ed. 49. 4b); hence used in Buddhist works as a translation for *uposatha* (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. 2102, on the period of fasting: "Once having decided to practise the five rules, (the *upasaka*) 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 15th, 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 sweetsmelling or delicious food. (During these periods of fasting) he cleans his mind and thinks about the Way. Surrendering himself to the three venerable ones (the Buddha, the Dharma and the Samgha), 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 those days) he must not beat (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 practise (the contemplation of) Emptiness, he must perform the Six Remembrances."

- 41) The same idea is expressed in “the Essentials of Religions” (see the above note), quoted by Zurcher: Conquest, p. 169: “When a sage monarch rules the world, there are already no excesses (in the application of punishment).”
- 42) E. Chavannes: Gunavarman, p. 202, and R. Shi: Kao Seng Tschouan, p. 131, translate this as *Saddharmapundarika*. The text has an abbreviated title, *Fa Hua* (Mathews Nos. 1762 and 2217). The full title of the *Saddharmapundarika* is *Miao Fa Lien Hua Ching* (Mathews Nos. 4474, 1762, 4014, 2217, 1123). One of the titles of the *Avatamsakasutra* is *Ta Fa Hua Ching* (Mathews Nos. 5943, 1762, 2217, 1123), therefore *Fa Hua* could also be used as an abbreviation of this Sutra. As the *Fo Tsu T’ung Chi* says that Gunavarman translated the *Hua Yen* (Mathews Nos. 2217, 7347) which stands for another title of the *Avatamsakasutra*: *Ta Fang Kuang Fu Hua Yen Ching* (Mathews Nos. 5943, 1802, 3590, 1982, 2217, 7347, 1123) I take *Fa Hua* to stand for the latter text.
- 43) Literally: by going and coming.
- 44) The *Bodhisattvabhumi* has been published by U. Wogihara, Tokyo 1930-36.
- 45) Some data on Isvara are found in Bagchi: Canon, p. 370.
- 46) P’eng ch’eng is present day Hsu chou in Kiang hsi. It was a flourishing centre of commerce, situated on the highway from Loyang to the South-East, which actually formed an Eastern extension of the continental silk road, and as foreigners had settled there, Buddhism had penetrated there already in the first century A.D. See Zurcher: Conquest, p. 26.
- 47) See below, p. 34.
- 48) According to the *Kai Yuan Che Chiao Lu* this translation was lost. T. 2154, p. 526 a 21.
- 49) “Indian” is rendered by *Fan*, the language of the Brahmins, and “Chinese” by *Han* and not as usual in this text by *Sung*. The “people of Han” is a common designation for the Chinese.
- 50) See below, p. 35.
- 51) Bagchi: Canon, gives a list of ancient catalogues in the introduction.

- 52) Twenty in Chinese is made up of the characters “two” and “ten”.
- 53) In the *Chu San Tsang Chi Chi*, p. 62 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 rolls, and he mentions seven titles of this work, i.e. (1) *Shan chia* (good rules), (2) *Pu-sha ti* (stages of a Bodhisattva), (3) *Pu-sha pi-ni-mo-ti* (*Bodhisattvavinyayamatrka?*), (4) *Yu-lai Tsang* (treasures of a Tathagata), (5) *I chu shan fa keng pen* (root of all good dharmas), (6) *An lo guo* (realm of bliss), (7) *Po-lo-mi chu* (collection of Paramita?). The first roll was published first, it is called *Yu-po-li wen shou chiai fa* (Upali questions about the precepts). The other rolls begin with “thus have I heard” (*evam maya srutam*). 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 5 chapters. Lokaksema’s translation was made in Liang chou at the time of Emperor An of the Tsin dynasty (397-419). The text begins with a veneration of the three jewels. There is no “thus have I heard”. See below, p.—33 f.
- 54) This is another name for the *Dharmaguptabhiksunikarman*. The Dharmagupta Vinaya was specially popular in China, and the first Pratimoksa and Karmavacana texts translated belonged to that school. See Lamotte: *Histoire*, p. 595.
- 55) According to Bagchi: *Canon*, p. 374, this translation was already lost at the time the *Kai Yuan Che Chiao Lu* was written.
- 56) This text corresponds to Nanjio No. 1164 *Sramanera Karmavaca*. See Bagchi: *Canon*, p. 375.
- 57) Edgerton: *Dictionary*, s.v. *samadhi* gives a list of the five fold *samadhi* from the Pali: *pitipharanata*, *sukha*, *ceto*, *aloka*, and *paccavekkhanimittam*.
- 58) This work, too, was lost by the 8th century. Bagchi: *Canon*, p. 375.
- 59) The Taisho edition says seven texts, but as actually eight are listed, the reading of the three editions (Sung, Ming and Yuan) must be correct.

- 60) Compare note 53 above and p.—34 below. Bagchi: Canon, p. 375, says this is Nanjio No. 1109 (*Upalipariprcchasutra*- T 1466). This is apparently a mistake, because the text in question is a Hinayana text, which cannot have formed part of a Mahayana treatise.
- 61) Bagchi: Canon, p. 375, calls this the oldest catalogue of the T'ang dynasty.
- 62) See note 53. Bagchi: Canon, p. 373, says 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 ff.), whereas on p. 218 this work is ascribed to Dharmaksema.
- 63) The Taisho edition says 33 as against 13 in the preceding sentence. As 13 is also found in the three editions, this reading is the right one.
- 64) Bagchi : Canon, p. 78-79, gives a short note on Dharmasatya, a Parthian monk of a noble family who translated the Karmavaca of the Dharmagupta school in 255 A.D.
- 65) Chavannes: Gunavarman, p. 204, translates this sentence: "Sur le territoire des Song, il n'y avait pas eu auparavant de religieuses." Robert Shih: Kao Seng Tschouan p. 132, 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 not been ordained properly).
- 66) Nuns should be ordained in the community of nuns and monks. *Anujanami bhikkhave ekato upasampannaya bhikkhunisamghe visuddhaya bhikkhusamghe upasampadan ti* (*Cullavagga* X, 17, 2). Miss Horner's translation is: "I allow, monks, ordination (of a nun) in the order of monks after she has been ordained on the one side and has cleared herself in the order of nuns." Book of the Discipline, part 5, p. 375.
- 67) Chavannes: Gunavarman, p. 205, translates this as: "a supposer qu' il se presente un cas qui ne soit pas le cas d'origine, rien ne s'oppose a ce qu'on puisse obtenir les defences, cela etant comme motive par l'amour pour la religion." R. Shi: Kao Seng Tschouan, p. 132, has: "et si l'on ne se conformait pas au rituel, cela n'invalidait pas l'ordination comme ce fut le cas pour Gautami".

Mahaprajapati Gautami, Buddha's foster mother, was the first nun to be ordained, there was not yet a community of nuns. See Roth: Bhiksunivinaya—§§ 1-12.

- 68) Nuns were not allowed to be ordained before having attained 20 years of age. See Roth: Bhiksunivinaya, § 210.
- 69) Nuns were not allowed to confer ordination before having been nuns for 12 years. Roth: Bhiksunivinaya § 206.
- 70) See page 36 below.
- 71) The "Middle Kingdom" was a common designation for China, but it was also used to translate "Madyadesa", e.g. by Fa Hsien. For Chinese Buddhists, the true Middle Kingdom was India, "the centre of Heaven and Earth, dwelling in equilibrium and harmony". Zurcher: Conquest, p. 266.
- 72) Tie-so-lo (Mathews, Dictionary Nos. 6332, 5459, 4099) is rendered by Lohasara in Franke: Geschichte, Vol. III, p. 268, and by Tissala in R. Shih: Kao Seng Tschouan, p. 138.
- 73) This is the same monk who translated the *Abhidharmahrdaya*.
- 74) Literally: for the master in the pagoda.
- 75) Franke: Geschichte III, p. 366, discusses the origin of the name Tschen tan for China; quoting the Buddhist dictionary *Fo kiao ta ts'e tien* he explains Tschen as name of the Tsin dynasty and tan as Sanskrit sthana. Tschen tan means the country of the rising sun.
- 75a) Compare T 2126 p. 238 b 23-c 8, where it says that 367 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 (*varsavasa*). The rainy season corresponds to summer in Chinese. See Rosen: Vinayavibhanga, p. 119 n. 1.
- 77) This testament is appended to Gunavarman's biography in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, it is also found in E, F, and G.
- 78) See note 21.
- 79) Mathews: Dictionary, No. 5170, forty feet.
- 80) That is the community of monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees.

- 81) See below, p. 37.
- 82) Franke: Geschichte, Vol II p. 148.
- 83) Mathews: Dictionary, No. 5169, one foot.
- 84) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 202; Bareau: Sectes, p. 39.
- 85) See below, p. 33.
- 86) Har Dayal: Bodhisattva Doctrine, p. 95, says: "In justice to Mahayanist writers it must be stated that most of them do not mention these meditations at all".
- 87) In Ceylon for instance, there was a district Malavalana, a village Malavatthu and a place in Rohana called Malavaratthali. Malalasekera: Dictionary, s.vv.
- 88) Malalasekera: Dictionary, s.v.
- 89) Mathews No. 771.
- 90) Malalasekera: Dictionary, s.v.
- 91) Fa Hsien: Travels, p. 67, p. 70.
- 92) Encyclopedia, s.v. Abhayagiri.
- 93) Paranavitane: Mahayanism, p. 36.
- 94) Rahula: History, p. 85.
- 95) Nicolas and Paranavitane: History, p. 93; Adikaram: History, p. 41; Malalasekera: History, p. 76.
- 96) See note 24 above.
- 97) Fa Hsien: Travels, p. 78.
- 98) The Bhagavadgita, translated by A. Mahadeva Shastri, Fourth edition, Madras 1947.
- 99) Hall: History, p. 64.
- 100) Zoetmulder: Religionen, p. 263.

- 101) Nilakanta Sastri: Influences, p. 104 ff.; Majumdar: Colonisation, p. 33.
- 102) Holt: Art, p. 36.
- 103) Wagner: Indonesia, p. 97, says that there must have been many monasteries built of wood, of which little remains. The oldest Hindu monuments in Java built of stone are the temples on the Dieng plateau, *ibid.*, p. 104.
- 104) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 23.
- 105) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 46.
- 106) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 46.
- 107) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 47.
- 108) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 51 f.,
- 109) Zurcher: Conquest p. 87/88.
- 110) Wright: Buddhism, p. 39.
- 111) See above, note 38.
- 112) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 407 n. 71.
- 113) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 196.
- 114) Demieville: Bodhisattvabhumi, p. 111.
- 115) Demieville: Bodhisattvabhumi p. 110.
- 116) Indian Historical Quarterly No. 7, 1931.
- 117) Vol. 55, p. 483 c 11. The *Li Tai San Pao Chi* mentions two translations by an unknown translator, one dating from the later Han and the other from the Eastern Chin. Vol. 49, p. 54 c 24 and 74 b 9.
- 118) Pachow: Pratimoksa, had already noted a close affinity between the *Upalipariprcchasutra* and the Pali Patimokkha. Almost every passage in the *Upalipariprcchasutra* can be traced in different places in the Pali Vinaya. A translation of the text is in preparation.

- 119) R. Shih: *Kao Seng Tschouan*, p. 139.
- 120) Bagchi: *Canon*, p. 374.
- 121) *Chu San Tsang Chi Chi*, p. 74 b.
- 122) Zurcher: *Conquest*, p. 230, 246 and 408 n. 72.
- 123) Banerjee: *Vinaya Texts*; Bagchi: *Canon*, p. 375.
- 124) Zurcher: *Conquest*, p. 32.
- 125) Zurcher: *Counquest*, p. 56.
- 126) Zurcher: *Conquest*, p. 203.
- 127) Zurcher: *Conquest*, p. 188.
- 128) Zurcher: *Conquest*, p. 197.
- 129) Zurcher: *Conquest*, p. 203.
- 130) A list of these translations is found in Bapat: *Shan Chien P'i P'o Sha*, p. XIV.
- 131) Zurcher: *Conquest*, p. 103.
- 132) Zurcher: *Conquest*, p. 183.
- 133) Franke: *Geschichte*, Vol. III, p. 267.
- 134) Zurcher: *Conquest*, p. 109.
- 135) Zurcher: *Conquest*, p. 154.
- 136) Franke: *Geschichte*, Vol. III, p. 268.
- 137) Roth: *Bhiksunivinaya*, § 210.
- 138) Bapat: *Shan Chien P'i P'o Sha*, p. 67.
- 139) Geiger: *Medieval Ceylon*, p. 198.
- 140) See above, note 69

- 141) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 152 and p. 371.  
 142) *Fo Tsu T'ung Chi*, p. 344 b 16.  
 143) Franke: Geschichte, Vol. II, p. 148.  
 144) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 32.  
 145) Banerjee: Vinaya Texts; Dutt, Bodhisattvapratimoksasutra, p. 260.  
 146) See note 25.  
 147) Hsi Tso-ch'ih in a letter to Tao an, dated 365; quoted from Zurcher: Conquest, p. 105.  
 148) Zurcher: Conquest, p. 151.

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