

*From Xiangyuan to Ceylon:
The Life and Legacy of
the Chinese Monk
Faxian (337–422)*

Edited by Jinhua CHEN, KUAN Guang



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Preface

From Xiangyuan to Ceylon: The Life and Legacy of the Chinese Monk Faxian (337–422)

JINHUA CHEN

The fourth and fifth century were a crucial period for the ‘Sinitification’ process of Buddhism. In this period, Faxian 法顯 (337–422), a Buddhist monk from a certain Gong 龔 family in the Xiangyuan 襄垣 County of Changzhi 長治, Shanxi Province, exerted profound influences on this process on many levels. As this anthology will make it clear, Faxian’s legacy is not limited to him being a wise master, a devoted Buddhist, a great traveller or an outstanding translator. Rather, his true legacy is symbolic: Faxian lived on as a perennial symbol of perseverance daring to overcome any distance and danger. Faxian is a spiritual monument that has inspired generations of Buddhists, including Xuanzang and Yijing, to follow in his steps to the West.

During Faxian’s time, China and India were connected only by a treacherous route that became even harder to access as the sovereignty of China splintered into southern and northern rules, whereas various kingdoms in Central Asia wedged between India and China further obstructed a smooth passage between them. But no peril swayed Faxian’s resolve to search *vinaya* texts: along with his fellow monks, Faxian crossed a vast ocean of sands, ascended the Pamir Mountains, voyaged through more than a dozen of foreign kingdoms and walked thousands of miles before finally arriving in India. During the journey, Faxian’s travel companions disappeared one after another—they

either fell victim to myriad hazards or returned to China intimidated by the prospect of greater dangers ahead, leaving Faxian the sole pilgrim soldiering on in this dangerous journey.

In the sacred land of India, Faxian paid homage to the traces of Buddha Śākyamuni and learned local languages and customs. But above all, Faxian was in quest of Dharma. He collected Buddhist classics and sought out prominent Buddhist masters, travelling to places as far as Laṅkā-dvīpa (the present-day Sri Lanka) in the Indian Ocean. Even today we could still find Faxian's traces in Sri Lanka. They are memorial that behooves any Chinese and foreign beholder to imagine and meditate on this great journey undertaken 1,600 years ago. It was also in Sri Lanka where Faxian made his decision to return to China: Faxian came across a silk fan and was overwhelmed by nostalgia towards his homeland. He was thus reminded of his original intent in coming to India: to bring back the Indian *Vinaya* texts to China. Compelled by his sense of responsibility, Faxian started his return journey which he barely survived before returning to China in 412. He brought back an abundant collection of Indian classics and images and dedicated the rest of his life to translating the texts and to spreading the Dharma. Three centuries later, Xuanzang followed in Faxian's steps and performed a similar pilgrimage to India across mountains and deserts. Xuanzang's 玄奘 (600–664) subsequent return and remaining career in China marked a period of incredible progress for the cause of Chinese Buddhist translation. We can therefore say that the legacy of Faxian resides not solely in his personal achievement but also in his posthumous status as a religious model and a cultural emblem who possesses unmatched spiritual appeal among monastic and lay Buddhists alike.

The significance of Faxian also lies in his role as one of the earliest cultural ambassadors between India and China. We could find Indian references to China as early as in the greatest Indian epic poem *Mahābhārata*, written in the second century B.C. as well as in its contemporaneous literature, proving that the two civilizations separated by the great peaks of Himalayas had already commenced feeble and difficult contacts before Buddhism arrived in China. Then during the diplomatic excursion of Zhang Qian 張騫 (164–114 B.C.), India and China only officially opened its portal to each other.

From this point on, Chinese literature increasingly referenced India as the two civilizations entered an epoch of vibrant cultural exchanges. During this exchange, Buddhism played a vital role of catalyst. By the end of the Eastern Han, Buddhism had spread from India to the Chinese heartland through Central Asia and the modern-day Xinjiang area, carried along by central Asian merchants. After its arrival in China, Buddhism quickly became a source of nourishment and inspiration for the general populace inflicted with fear and despair by numerous warfare during the dying years of the Han Dynasty. At the beginning, it was only Indian and Central Asians who brought Buddhist texts from the Indian subcontinent but soon Chinese Buddhists, especially monks also joined this religious mission by travelling to Central Asia and India. There, they paid homage to sacred sites and searched masters and scriptures. Among these pilgrim-monks, Faxian is the most well-known figure. He stayed in India for over a decade before deciding to return to China. He brought back a trove of Indian scriptures and would dedicate the rest of his life to translating them. Faxian also left us with a travelogue *Foguo ji* 佛國記 (Record of the Buddhist Kingdom). This travelogue not only records the politics, the religions and the social history of India at the time but more importantly, it offers a high-resolution snapshot of India at a specific point in time—a rare gem in the studies of India that otherwise lacked a written tradition emphasizing detailed and precise historical documentation. From this point on, all India-bound pilgrims and Dharma-seekers would follow the example of Faxian, including pilgrims from foreign areas in the Chinese cultural sphere such as Korean and Japan; they would all pilgrim to sacred Buddhist sites and afterwards wrote a detailed record of the pilgrimage. In this tradition comprising innumerable followers, Xuanzang is but one example. Ultimately, however, it is their intrepid and eager spirit to learn from foreign cultures that set them on the path of pilgrimage in search of Dharma, which also obliged them to write the travelogue. It seems therefore that the propagation of a religion not only entails the circulation of trade, commerce and human resources, but also that of culture. During the Tang Dynasty, India shared with China its advanced astronomy and calendrical calculation. Indian astronomers and mathematicians came to China in great numbers

to share their scientific erudition while Indian physicians have healed the ill of many Chinese people. Reversely, the Chinese technology of papermaking and sugar-refining also reached India. This history proves that civilizations could co-exist through exchange and mutual learning, thereby enhancing the well-being of their respective people rather than having to resort to conflicts and warfare. In our modern time when the ‘civilization clash’ becomes increasingly a popular discourse, we have all the more reasons to remember this symbiotic relationship between China and India.

In the spirit of interculturalism as embodied by Faxian and his followers, we hosted an international conference named ‘From Xiangyuan to Ceylon: The Life and Legacy of the Chinese Buddhist monk Faxian (337–422)’ from March 25 to March 29, 2017 in Faxian’s homeland, Xiangyuan, Shanxi Province. The conference was hosted by the Mount Wutai Research Institute for Eastern Buddhist Culture 五臺山東方佛教文化研究院 and co-hosted by Research Center for the Study of Buddhist Texts and Art at Peking University 北京大學佛典籍與藝術研究中心, King’s College London, the United Kingdom, also by the *From the Ground Up* project based at the University of British Columbia (www.frogbear.org). In total, thirty-three Buddhist scholars from thirteen countries and regions attended the conference (sixteen from mainland China, three from the United Kingdom, two each from Canada, Germany and Korea and one each from Singapore, Australia, Thailand, New Zealand, Sri Lanka, Hong Kong and Taiwan), making it a truly international conference.

The conference assembled a relatively small group of scholars, but each attendee was highly qualified and well prepared. The conference performed a comprehensive survey on the Faxian studies during the past century, specifically on Faxian’s life and his translated texts. Importantly, the conference adopted a macroscopic viewpoint by placing Faxian against the historical backdrop of South, Central and East Asia at the time. We used Faxian’s travelogue as a point of reference, from where we incorporated the religious and sociological studies of the entire Indian subcontinent and Sri Lanka during Faxian’s time, thereby studying the microscopic historical phenomena in an area that had only scarce historical records.

Conference participants applied this methodology also to studying the religions and societies in Central and East Asia during the time of Faxian but in addition to studying this period synchronically, we also stretched out our discussion diachronically by studying Faxian's symbolic significance that exerted enormous posthumous influences. As a perennial spiritual icon, Faxian commanded a profound and enduring influence among Buddhist followers but he also, through embodied actions, inspired an uncountable number of Buddhists to follow him as role model. Even in our own times, his influence could still be felt—in our very academic circle: Faxian studies has brought a corollary impact on the studies of the Indian subcontinent in general and challenged scholars in these fields to rethink the academic conventions.

The majority of the conference papers are included in the collection *Mount Xiantan and Faxian Culture: International Conference Papers on the Life of the Chinese Monk Faxian (337–422) and His Legacies* 僊堂山與法顯文化：漢僧法顯 (337–422) 其生平與遺產國際研討會論文集 (edited by Miaojiang 妙江, Chen Jinhua 陳金華, etc., Singapore: World Scholastic Publishers, 2019). In the preface, I introduced each paper as well as papers not included in the collection. For this English collection, we have included seven English articles and six articles translated from Chinese, in order to present our conference outcomes to the English-speaking Buddhist scholars.

In general, this conference was marked by the following highlights. First of all, the research topics were diverse but also in-depth: the conference concerned itself with the entire geographical sphere touched by the influence of Faxian—from the Indian subcontinent, Sri Lanka, Central Asia to the Chinese cultural zone, notably Japan; at the same time, the conference also reached a depth of sophistication deserving a world-class academic conference. Secondly, we employed diverse and interdisciplinary methodologies. We used not only the traditional methods that are common in historical, philological and philosophical research, but also a linguistically diverse range of primary sources (in addition to the classical Buddhist languages such as Sanskrit, Pali and Tibetan, we used Burmese and Thai sources) and secondary sources written in English, French, German and Japanese. This linguistic resourcefulness is a research principle that

we have been placing great emphasis on. Moreover, the present volume also includes research outcomes that show technology-savviness and willingness to join the rising trend that uses technology for the benefit of the Buddhist Studies research. Lastly, I feel compelled to say that this international conference is the fruit of the collaboration among thirty scholars from over ten countries and areas. It is a small platform that we built with our meager ability to host the sharing of knowledge among scholars from all over the world. Perhaps our efforts would delight Faxian himself who was a global Dharma seeker transcending the boundary of cultures. The present volume only contains fragments of all the academic inspirations produced from the conference, but we believe these fragments are the seeds that will one day grow and bear dazzling academic fruits. Such is the goal that guides the organization of every activity in the *From the Ground Up* project; and knowing that this goal could come true is the greatest reward to each of us in the organization team.

We also want to express our sincere gratitude to the Mount Wutai Research Institute for Eastern Buddhist Culture and the Xiangyuan municipal government whose support has made this publication possible. Mount Xiantan 僊堂山 sits to Mount Taihang's east, its path meandering, its precipice lofty and rugged, and its ranges layered one behind the other in an infinite multitude. One could find in Mount Xiantan handsome boulders, serene caves, vertiginous waterfalls and verdant forests, all available for roving about and from where to take in an expansive vista. The mountain had its name from the monastery that it sheltered: the Xiantan Monastery 僊堂寺. A legend recorded at the end of the Qing has it that the Xiantan Monastery was created by the hatchet and chisel of divinities and beyond the craftsmanship of human mortals. It was known as the heaven on earth and has attracted a great number of literati and people of distinction.¹ As

¹ Jueluo Shiling 覺羅石麟 (d. 1747) of the Qing, *Shanxi tongzhi* 山西通志 [General Gazetteer of Shangxi], *juan* 169, *Yingyin Wenyan ge Siku quanshu* 影印文淵閣《四庫全書》 [Wenyan ge edition of the Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature] (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshu guan 臺灣商務印書館, 1986), vol. 548, p. 240b:

for the origin of the monastery name, it came from the *Mahāyāna* scripture *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* which speaks of an immortal hall (*xiantan*) inhabited by enlightened sages.² The local legend tells that Faxian from Xiangyuan has once stayed in the monastery, although time has effaced any textual evidence confirming the legend.

仙堂寺在縣東北五十里。仙堂山寺，舊在山麓坪。相傳：一夜風雨大作，視林石偃仆，佛殿寶幢，已神運山上矣。今寺址猶存。登陟十餘里，經捨身崖，始抵寺。佛像三鐵、一石、一木。一佛前胥涌一泉，殿外二泉環旋，又名五泉寺。絕壁潮音洞，內列觀音、羅漢像。東有閣，相傳為藏經地。內有琉璃洞，水出石佛臍中，禱者輒應。丁為講經，寺有斷碑，喬宇記、劉鳳儀、劉龍、崔鍾瑭、李濬、張星祥、趙三麟胥有詩。

² *Lankāvatāra-sūtra*, translated by the Indian *trepiṭaka* master Bodhiruci 菩提留支 (d. 527) of the Northern Wei (386–534), under the Chinese title of *Ru Lengqie jing* 入楞伽經 (*T* no. 671, 16: 1.514c7–15) records,

The Blessed One once stayed in the Castle of Lankā which is situated on the peak of Mount Malaya on the great ocean... its boulders rugged, sheltering everywhere immortal halls, spirit chambers and grottos, filled with countless jewels that are clear and transparent inside and out (so much so that) the ray of sun and moon could penetrate them without being reflected. It was the place where numerous immortals and sages in the ancient times comprehended the precious Dharma and obtained the way. 一時婆伽婆住大海畔摩羅耶山頂上楞伽城中.....重巖屈曲，處處皆有仙堂、靈室、龕窟，無數眾寶所成，內外明徹，日月光暉，不能復現，皆是古昔諸仙賢聖，思如實法得道之處。

PART ONE

South Asian Buddhism through the Prism of Faxian

Mahāsāṃghika and Mahāyāna: An Analysis of Faxian and the Translation of the *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya* (Chin. *Mohe Sengqi Lü*)*

ZHAN RU 湛如
Peking University

Keywords: Faxian, Mahāyāna, Mahāsāṃghika, *Sengqi lü*, *Wufen lü*

Abstract: Faxian's purpose in going to India in search of the Dharma was to bring back the material missing from the Vinaya canon. He brought back three Vinaya texts to China in total, namely, the *Mohe sengqi lü* 摩訶僧祇律 [*Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya*] (hereafter abbreviated to *Sengqi lü*), the *Sapoduozhong lü chao* 薩婆多眾律抄 [Annotation to the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya] and the *Mishasai wufen lü* 彌沙塞五分律 [Five-Part Vinaya of the Mahīśāsaka School] (hereafter abbreviated as *Wufen lü*), respectively. Why did he choose to translate the *Sengqi lü*? Did it have something to do with the features of Sectarian Buddhist thought? Was it related to Buddhist thought of the time? This article raises and attempts tentative answers to these questions.

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Introduction

The beginning of the *Faxian zhuan* 法顯傳 [Account of Faxian] states, ‘In the past, Faxian was in Chang’an and lamented that there was material missing from the *Vinaya* canon.’¹ This statement reveals his purpose for travelling to India. The scriptures which he translated after returning to China have had a far-reaching impact. Among them, the Buddha nature doctrine in the *Da bannihuan jing* 大般泥洹經 [*Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*] played a critical role in shaping the intellectual trends of the time. Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 remarked in his *Wei Jin Nanbei chao Fojiao shi* 魏晉南北朝佛教史 [History of Buddhism during the Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties] that, ‘[He] was an important figure in the establishment of a school of Chinese Buddhism.’² Faxian’s purpose in going to India in search of the Dharma was to bring back the material missing from the *Vinaya* canon. He brought back three *Vinaya* texts to China in total, namely, the *Mohe sengqi lü* 摩訶僧祇律 [*Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya*] (hereafter abbreviated to *Sengqi lü*), the *Sapoduozhong lü chao* 薩婆多眾律抄 [Annotation to the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya*] and the *Mishasai wufen lü* 彌沙塞五分律 [Five-Part *Vinaya* of the Mahīśāsaka School] (hereafter abbreviated as *Wufen lü*), respectively.³ Why did he choose to translate the *Sengqi lü*? Did

¹ *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 1.857a6: 法顯昔在長安, 慨律藏殘缺.

² Tang, *Fojiao shi*, 267: 開中國佛理之一派, 至為重要.

³ *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 1.864b17–25:

When Faxian first went in search of the *Vinaya* in the countries of northern India, there were no written texts as they were passed orally from master to disciple. He had to travel as far as Central India, where he obtained a *Vinaya* at a Mahāyāna monastery, the *Mohe sengqizhong lü*. It was the version practiced by the first great community when the Buddha was in the world, the text of which had been passed down from the Jetavana Vihāra. Each of the eighteen sects had their own traditions, which were the same in general but differing in various minor details, some being more lenient and others stricter. However, this text was the most extensive and complete among them. He also obtained a written copy of another *Vinaya*

it have something to do with the features of Sectarian Buddhist thought? Was it related to Buddhist thought of the time?

There have been many studies on Faxian. In terms of scripture translation, he was recognised as an essential middleman in disseminating Sanskrit scriptures to Chinese Buddhism. Jin Shenghe 靳生禾 indicates in his 1981 article that there are three noteworthy points related to this. First, there were no important *Vinaya* texts in China at the time. Second, Sanskrit texts were held as authoritative from Faxian's time onwards, as opposed to the Central Asian texts held previously. Third, Faxian made written records of many orally transmitted scriptures.⁴ The 1985 work, *Zhongguo fojiao shi* 中國佛教史 [A History of Chinese Buddhism], edited by Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 et al., contains a section discussing the purpose and experience of Faxian's travels to India in search of the Dharma, as well as the scriptures that he translated.⁵ In Zhang Fenglei's 張風雷 2005 paper, the author proposes that the translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* brought back by Faxian directly promoted the integration of Mahāyāna *Prajñāpāramitā* and *Parinirvāṇa* studies by Zhu Daosheng 竺道生 (355–434) and others. This in turn laid down the foundational theoretical framework for the development of the entirety of subsequent Chinese Buddhist thought. This was of important and epoch-making significance in the history of the development of Chinese Buddhist thought.⁶ Jiang Daren 降大任 argues in his 2008 article that Faxian's translations marked the beginning of the

in seven thousand verses, the *Sapoduozhong lü*, which was practiced by the monastic community in this land of Qin. It was also orally transmitted from master to disciple, and not written down as a text. 法顯本求戒律，而北天竺諸國，皆師師口傳，無本可寫，是以遠涉乃至中天竺，於此摩訶衍僧伽藍得一部律，是《摩訶僧祇眾律》。佛在世時最初大眾所行也，於祇洹精舍傳其本，自餘十八部，各有師資，大歸不異，然小小不同，或用開塞，但此最是廣說備悉者。復得一部抄律，可七千偈，是薩婆多眾律，即此秦地眾僧所行者也。亦皆師師口相傳授，不書之於文字。

⁴ Jin, 'Shilun Faxian'.

⁵ Ren, *Zhongguo fojiao shi*, 585–603.

⁶ Zhang, 'Faxian.'

end of translating scriptures from Central Asian sources for use in Chinese Buddhism. The direct injection of Indian Buddhist culture strengthened Chinese Buddhism in terms of its systematisation and completeness.⁷ Dong Yonggang 董永剛 opines in his 2010 paper that the *Vinaya* texts brought back by Faxian helped to further complete Chinese *Vinaya* studies and played a vital role in the construction of monastic precepts and discipline in China.⁸ Wen Jinyu 溫金玉 presented a paper in the same year, where he examined the purpose and significance of Faxian's travel to India in search of the Dharma, as well as the state of monastic precepts and discipline in China at the time.⁹ In his 2013 paper, Wang Bangwei 王邦維 discussed the state of the transmission of monastic precepts and discipline in China before Faxian's journey to India and after he brought the scriptures back, as well as studied details concerning the transmission of the *Sengqi lü* and *Wufen lü* in China.¹⁰ Furthermore, being an early translation, the *Sengqi lü* has been regarded as a valuable philological source, and many in the field have paid due attention to its linguistic value.¹¹ In addition, there have been studies focusing on features found in the *Sengqi lü*. Long Yan 龍延 and Chen Kaiyong 陳開勇 published their 2001 paper from a literary perspective, in which they examined the literary value of the *Sengqi lü*.¹² Long Yan further examined this in his 2003 paper, commenting that the *Sengqi lü* contains more stories of the Buddha's past lives, and although the accounts found in the various *Vinaya* texts are essentially the same, descriptions from the *Sengqi lü* are more concise and vivid.¹³

The above-mentioned studies indicate that Faxian's historical contributions and significance have been positively recognised by scholars.

⁷ Jiang, 'Faxian.'

⁸ Dong, 'Faxian'.

⁹ Wen, 'Faxian'.

¹⁰ Wang, 'Faxian'.

¹¹ Zhou, *Mohe sengqi lü*; Hu, *Mohe sengqi lü*; Zhang, *Mohe sengqi lü*; Wang, *Mohe sengqi lü*; and Gu, *Mohe sengqi lü*.

¹² Long and Chen, 'Mohe sengqi lü'.

¹³ Long, 'Mohe sengqi lü'.

These studies also provide a solid basis for the present paper to further study in detail Faxian's translation activities and his reasons for doing these translations.

1. The most complete: Faxian's reasons for translating the *Sengqi lü*

In 'Faxian yü fojiao jielü zai handi de chuancheng', Wang Bangwei mentions that although various precept texts had been transmitted to China one after another before Faxian, they were all incomplete. This was why Faxian travelled to the West in search of the Dharma.¹⁴ According to records in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 [Compilation of Notes on the Translation of the *Tripitaka*], Faxian brought back three *Vinaya* texts.¹⁵ So, why did Faxian only translate the *Sengqi lü*?

¹⁴ Wang, 'Faxian', 85.

¹⁵ *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2145, 55: 2.11c25–12a8:

The *Bannihuan*, in six fascicles (translated at Daochang Monastery on the first day of the eleventh month of the thirteenth year of Yixi, during the Jin) 般泥洹六卷晉(義熙十三年十一月一日道場寺譯出);

The *Fandeng nihuan jing*, in two fascicles (presently lost) 方等泥洹經二卷(今闕);

The *Mobe sengqi lü*, in forty fascicles (already included in the *Vinaya* catalogue) 摩訶僧祇律, 四十卷(已入律錄);

The *Sengqi biqu jieben*, in one fascicle (presently lost) 僧祇比丘戒本一卷(今闕);

The *Za apitan xin*, in thirteen fascicles (presently lost) 雜阿毘曇心十三卷(今闕);

The *Zazang jing*, in one fascicle 雜藏經一卷;

The *Yan jing* (Sanskrit, not translated) 纏經(梵文未譯出);

The *Chang aban jing* (Sanskrit, not translated) 長阿鎧經(梵文未譯);

The *Za aban jing* (Sanskrit, not translated) 雜阿鎧經(梵文未譯);

The *Mishasai lü* (Sanskrit, not translated) 彌沙塞律(梵文未譯);

The *Sapoduo lü chao* (Sanskrit, not translated) 薩婆多律抄(梵文未譯).

The *Fo lü tianzhu ji* in one fascicle 佛遊天竺記一卷.

The ‘Shi Lao zhi’ 釋老志 [Treatise on Buddhism and Daoism] from the *Wei shu* 魏書 [Book of Wei] has the following passage:

The *Vinaya* texts he obtained were translated, but were unable to be completely accurate. Arriving in Jiangnan, he then discussed and edited them with the Indian meditation master Buddhahadra. It was the *Sengqi lü* which was the most complete, and which was received and is upheld by *śramaṇas* of the present day.

其所得律，通譯未能盡正。至江南，更與天竺禪師跋陀羅辯定之，謂之《僧祇律》，大備於前，為今沙門所持受。¹⁶

Before starting his translation work at Daochang Monastery, Faxian had already done some rough translations. In addition, he conducted a careful examination with Buddhahadra and came to the conclusion that the *Sengqi lü* was the most complete. Does ‘the most complete’ 大備於前 refer to the *Sengqi lü* as a better text than the *Shisong lü* 十誦律 [Ten-Recitations Vinaya] and *Sifen lü* 四分律 [Four-Part Vinaya]? Based on Akira Hirakawa’s *Ritsuzō no kenkyū* 律藏の研究 [Vinaya Studies], we can give a timeline for the translations of various *Vinaya* texts in China and the course of Faxian’s travel to India in search of the Dharma, as follows:¹⁷

Year	Event
399 CE	Faxian set out from Chang’an in search of the Dharma
404 CE	Kumārajīva began translating the <i>Shisong lü</i>
405 CE	Faxian obtained the <i>Mobe sengqi lü</i> and <i>Sapoduo lü chao</i> in Pataliputra
409 CE	The translation of the <i>Shisong lü</i> was completed Faxian received the <i>Mishasai lü</i> at Abhayagiri in the Kingdom of Sinhala [Mount Fearless in Sri Lanka]
410 CE	Buddhayaśas began translating the <i>Sifen lü</i>

¹⁶ *Wei shu* 114.1764.

¹⁷ Hirakawa, *Ritsuzō no kenkyū*, 133–58.

412 CE	Translation of the <i>Sifen lü</i> was completed Faxian returned to China
416 CE	Faxian began translating the <i>Sengqi lü</i>
420 CE	Faxian passed away
422 CE	Huiyan 慧嚴 and Zhu Daosheng translated the <i>Wufen lü</i>

Buddhabhadra played an important role in the evaluation of monastic precepts and disciple. Looking at accounts of his life, one story in particular stands out that makes his evaluation very interesting. Buddhabhadra was expelled from Kumārajīva's Sangha in Chang'an around 410 or 411 CE, and there are many theories concerning his expulsion. Kohō Chisan 孤峰智璨 thought that there was opposition between the two of them. Lü Cheng 呂澂 proposed that there was conflict between their respective disciples. Tang Yongtong further argued that it was not only due to their disciples but also differences in their theories.¹⁸ Liu Xuejun 劉學軍 suggested that relevant factors include the struggle between imperial and monastic power.¹⁹ Buddhabhadra should have seen the completed translation of the *Shisong lü* in 409. If it was true that his theories were different to Kumārajīva's, then it would be reasonable to conclude that Buddhabhadra considered the *Shisong lü* incomplete. The *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* states, 'the *Sapoduozechong lü* was practiced by the monastic community in this land of Qin'.²⁰ *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* was composed after Faxian had returned to China. *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 [Biographies of Eminent Monks] records that the bearer of the *Shisong lü*, Puṇyatara, 'entered the central area in his travels during the middle of the Hongshi period of the pseudo-Qin'.²¹ Since Faxian set out for

¹⁸ Liu, 'Fotuobatuoluo', 106; Tang, *Fojiao shi*, 216–20; Lü, *Zhongguo foxue yuanliu xuejiang*, 76–77.

¹⁹ Liu, 'Fotuobatuoluo', 123.

²⁰ *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 864b23–24: 是薩婆多眾律, 即此秦地眾僧所行者也。

²¹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 2.333a16–17: 偽秦弘始中, 振錫入關。

India in the first year of Hongshi 弘始, he did not meet Puṇyatara. Because of this, he thought that the *Sapoduo lü chao* was not available in China and therefore brought it back with him. It was only after he had returned to China that he learned about the already completed translation of the *Shisong lü*. Hence the statement that ‘the *vinaya* was practiced by the monastic community in this land of Qin’.²² This should be the main reason for Faxian’s decision to not translate the *Sapoduo lü chao* after bringing it back to China. As for the question of whether Buddhahadra had previously seen the *Sifen lü*, since the date of his expulsion is uncertain, this cannot be determined. However, considering that the translation of the *Sifen lü* was completed in 412, it was highly possible that Faxian and Buddhahadra had seen the *Sifen lü* in 416.

Apart from the *Sapoduo lü chao*, the *Wufen lü* was also brought back by Faxian. Therefore, it is clear that Faxian’s statement of ‘the most complete’ was with reference to the *Sifen lü*, *Wufen lü* and *Shisong lü*.

2. The Five *Vinaya* Texts: The Relationship between the Four *Vinaya* Texts and the Sects

Faxian’s evaluation of the *Sengqi lü* is seen from the statement, ‘Each of the eighteen sects had their own traditions, which were the same in general but differing in various minor details, with some more lenient and others more strict. However, this text was the most extensive and complete among them.’²³ It is clear that Faxian regarded the *Sengqi lü* as the most complete text among the sectarian *Vinaya* texts. Why did he have this view? *Faxian zhuan* contains the following passage concerning this *Vinaya*:

²² *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 864b24: 秦地眾僧所行者也。

²³ T no. 2085, 51:864b21–23: 自餘十八部, 各有師資, 大歸不異, 然小小不同, 或用開塞, 但此最是廣說備悉者。

One hundred years after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, some Vaiśālī *bhikṣus* were incorrectly practicing the *Vinaya*. They made statements concerning ten matters, saying that it was taught by the Buddha. At that time, some *arhats* and *bhikṣus* who upheld the *Vinaya*, a total of seven hundred monastics, made a revision of the *Vinaya* canon.

佛般泥洹後百年，有毘舍離比丘，錯行戒律，十事證言，佛說如是，爾時諸羅漢，及持律比丘，凡有七百僧，更檢按律藏。²⁴

Faxian knew that in the traditions of the *Vinaya* texts of each sect, during the Council of Vaiśālī it was recorded that the Mahāsāṃghikas incorrectly practiced the *Vinaya*, and so seven hundred monastics made a new revision of the *Vinaya* canon. Furthermore, fascicle 33 of the *Sengqi lü* clearly indicates that the Mahāsāṃghika sect came about as a result of the Council of Seven Hundred. Fascicle 40 of the *Sengqi lü siji* 僧祇律私記 [Private Notes on the *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya*] explains that the term ‘Mohe sengqi’ just means Mahāsāṃghika.²⁵ It is apparent that Faxian knew that this *Vinaya* was a Mahāsāṃghika *Vinaya*. Faxian and Buddhahadra’s evaluation of the monastic precepts and discipline was based on contrasting it with the other *Vinaya* texts. What criteria did Faxian use to conclude that the *Sengqi lü*, which came from the ‘Vaiśālī *bhikṣus* [who] were incorrectly practicing the *Vinaya*’, was more suitable for the monastics of his time? The following section examines each *Vinaya* in turn, utilising the *Yibu zonglun lun* 異部宗輪論 [Treatise on the Tenets of the Sects] and other texts. This analysis will be conducted from the perspective of each *Vinaya*’s sectarian

²⁴ *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 862a9–12.

²⁵ *Mohe sengqi lü*, T no. 1425, 22: 40.548b23–25:

Then they held a vote. There were a great many votes for this community, and because there were a great many members of that community they were named ‘Mahāsāṃghika’. Mahāsāṃghika means ‘great community’. 於是行籌，取本眾籌者甚多，以眾多故，故名‘摩訶僧祇’。摩訶僧祇者，大眾名也。

affiliation in order to discover why Faxian regarded the *Sengqi lü* as the most complete.

The *Shisong lü* belongs to the Sarvāstivāda sect and it branched out from the Sthaviras three hundred years after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. The *Wufen lü* belongs to the Mahīśāsaka sect, branching out from the Sarvāstivāda three hundred years [after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*]. Belonging to the Dharmagupta sect, the *Sifen lü* branched out from the Mahīśāsaka three hundred years [after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*]. The *Mahāvamsa* differs as to the division of these sects, and states that the Mahīśāsaka branched out from the Sthavira, and that the Sarvāstivāda and the Dharmagupta then branched out from the Mahīśāsaka.²⁶

Regardless of which record we accept, it is evident that the *Shisong lü*, *Sifen lü* and *Wufen lü* came from the same line of transmission and that their differences are subtle. The sectarian basis of these three *Vinaya* texts is the Sarvāstivāda, which held the position that all conditioned and unconditioned dharmas really exist.²⁷ The Mahīśāsaka held the position that 'past and future dharmas are not existent, while present and unconditioned dharmas are existent'.²⁸ Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) states in his commentary that, 'Those who do not construct the sign of earth, or the signs of water, fire, wind, or the signs of space or consciousness, are called the Mahīśāsaka. It means non-attachment to contemplation of existents or non-existents.'²⁹ They focused more on the practice of contemplative methods. Although the Dharmagupta held the position that all dharmas

²⁶ Hirakawa, *Yindu Fojiao shi*, 114.

²⁷ *Yibu zonglun lun*, T no. 2031, 49: 1.16a25–26:

That is, in the Sarvāstivāda, all existents can be subsumed into two categories: one, name; two, form. Past and future entities also really exist. 謂一切有部諸是有者, 皆二所攝, 一名、二色。過去未來體亦實有。

²⁸ *Yibu zonglun lun*, T no. 2031, 49: 1.16c26–27:

That is, past and future dharmas are not existent, while present and unconditioned dharmas are existent. 謂過去未來是無, 現在無為是有。

²⁹ *Sifen lü hanzhu jieben shu xingzong ji*, X no. 714, 39: 1.727a16–17: 不作地相, 水、火、風相, 虛空識相, 名《彌沙塞》。此云《不著有無觀》。

exist, they still emphasised the Mantra and Bodhisattva canons, and also included Hīnayāna teachings. The *Yibu zonglun lun* contains the following statement on this sect's viewpoint: 'Although the liberation of the buddhas and those of the two vehicles is the same, their holy path is different.'³⁰ Nāgārjuna's *Shizhu piposha lun* 十住毗婆沙論 [*Daśabhūmika Vibhāṣā*] states that the liberation of buddhas and pratyekabuddhas is the same, but their meditative concentrations are different.³¹ Theories in the Dharmagupta sect and *Prajñāpāramitā* thought are mutually compatible, and this is why Sengzhao 僧肇 (384–414) highly praised the *Sifen lü* in the preface he wrote for the text. He thought that the terminology in the *Shisong lü* was incomplete and caused confusion among scholars. He commented that, 'Now, the *Vinaya* canon is clear, the right teachings are lucid, they can benefit the spirit and can remove perplexity.'³² In addition, Daoxuan stated in his commentary that, 'The Four-Part *Vinaya* thoroughly elucidates the Buddha vehicle',³³ and that this text is

³⁰ *Yibu zonglun lun*, T no. 2031, 49: 1.17a25: 佛與二乘, 解脫雖一, 而聖道異.

³¹ *Shizhu piposha lun*, T no. 1521, 26: 1.20b9–15:

Question: The *śrāvakas*, *pratyekabuddhas* and buddhas all reach the other shore. Are there any differences in their liberation? 問曰: 聲聞、辟支佛、佛, 俱到彼岸, 於解脫中有差別不?

Answer: This matter should be given an analytical answer. In terms of being liberated from afflictions, there is no difference. Because of this liberation they enter into *nirvāṇa* without any remainder. With respect to this there is also no difference, as there is no characteristic. However, the buddhas are liberated from the profound obstructions to *dhyāna*, and liberated from the obstructions to all *dharmas*, which is different from the *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*. This cannot be fully described, and they are indescribable by any metaphor. 答曰: 是事應當分別, 於諸煩惱得解脫, 是中無差別, 因是解脫, 入無餘涅槃, 是中亦無差別, 無有相故。但諸佛甚深禪定障解脫, 一切法障解脫, 於諸聲聞辟支佛, 有差別, 非說所盡, 亦不可以譬喻為比。

³² '*Sifen lü xu*', T no. 1428, 22: 1.567b14–15: 今律藏盡然, 正教明白、可以濟神、可以無惑。

³³ *Sifen lü shanbu sui ji jimo shu jiyuan ji*, X no. 728, 41: 3. 261a22: 四分通明佛乘。

superior as it contains the doctrines of both Hinayāna existence and Mahāyāna emptiness.

In chapter six of his *Ritsuzō no kenkyū*, Akira Hirakawa 平川彰 (1915–2002) compared the *Sengqi lü* with other *Vinaya* texts from the Sthavira tradition by conducting a comprehensive analysis of their compositional structure and content. He concluded that the most prominent feature of the *Sengqi lü* is that, unlike the *Sifen lü*, *Wufen lü* and *Shifen lü*, it contains a large amount of scriptural quotations and past life stories of the Buddha. Hence, the *Sengqi lü* is more interesting and engaging to read than the others. Long Yan comments that descriptions of the accounts in the *Sengqi lü* are more concise and vivid in comparison to the *Sifen lü*.³⁴ It is clear that by having more narrative content and less admonishing sermons, the *Sengqi lü* was more easily accepted by the Chinese monastics. In her article on the *Sengqi lü*, Longlian 隆蓮 (1909–2006) mentioned that this *Vinaya* text was upheld by the Mahāsāṃghika, and its Dharma teachings are the same as that of the Mahāsāṃghika point of view. Its content has the same flavour of the Mahāyāna *sūtras* and reflects the nascent formation of the Mahāyāna Dharma teachings.³⁵ In terms of what is permitted and prohibited in the monastic precepts and discipline, the *Sengqi lü* is clearly more lenient.

From the perspective of examining the features of sectarian Buddhism, in contrast with the other three *Vinaya* texts, the *Sengqi lü* has a closer association with the Mahāyāna, is more literary, is more lenient in terms of what is permitted and prohibited in the monastic precepts and discipline, and was more easily accepted by Chinese monastics. These should be the reasons why Faxian regarded the *Sengqi lü* as the more complete text.

³⁴ Long, ‘*Mobe sengqi lü*’, 56.

³⁵ Longlian, ‘*Sengqi lü*’, 226.

3. Teaching according to Circumstances: The Transmission and Practice of Chinese Monastic Precepts and Discipline

The above section briefly discussed the sectarian affiliations of each of the *Vinaya* texts and their respective viewpoints. Although the *Sengqi lü* has more associations with the Mahāyāna, if it was not able to adapt to Chinese Buddhism, then Faxian would not have said that it ‘was received and is upheld by *śramaṇas* of the time’. So, what was the climate for Chinese Buddhism at the time?

According to monastic records, during the Jiaping 嘉平 era (254–253) of the Cao Wei 曹魏 state (220–266), Dharmakāla translated the *Sengqi jixin* 僧祇戒心 [Heart of the *Mahāsāṃghika* Precepts] at Luoyang. Later he translated the Dharmaguptaka sect’s procedures for receiving precepts, in Zhengyuan 正元 era (254–255).³⁶ This was the beginning of monastic precepts and discipline in China. The *Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳 [Biographies of Bhikṣuṇīs] records that the *Sengqi ni jiemo* 僧祇尼羯磨 [*Mahāsāṃghika Bhikṣuṇī Karman*] and the *Jieben* 戒本 [Precept Text] were translated at Luoyang in the first year of Shengping 升平 (357).³⁷ According to the *Chu sanzang ji ji*, the *Shisong lü biqiu jieben* 十誦律比丘戒本 [Ten-Recitations Vinaya Bhikṣu Precept Text] and the *Biqiuni jieben* 比丘尼戒本 [*Bhikṣuṇī* Precept Text] were translated in Guanzhong 關中 during the reign of Emperor Jianwen of the Eastern Jin (371–372).³⁸ Also, the *Binaiye* 鼻奈耶 [Vinaya] was translated at Chang’an in the nineteenth year of Jianyuan 建元 during the Eastern Jin (383).

By observing the translations of Precept Texts, we can see that

³⁶ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 1.324c15: ‘Dharmakāla’ means ‘Dharma time’ 曇柯迦羅, 此云法時.

³⁷ *Biqiuni zhuan*, T no. 2063, 50: 1.934c22–23.

³⁸ *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2145, 55: 2.10a23–29:

The *Shisong biqiu jieben*, in one fascicle (also known as the *Shisong dabiqiu jie*). One text in the right is of one fascicle. During the time of Jin Emperor Jianwen, the Western *śramaṇa* Dharma held and recited the foreign text, and Zhu Fonian translated it. 十誦比丘戒本一卷 (或云十誦大比丘戒). 右一部. 凡一卷. 晉簡文帝時. 西域沙門曇摩. 持誦胡本. 竺佛念譯出.

the system of monastic precepts and discipline in China at the time was chaotic. However, they all fall under the two systems of the *Shisong lü* and *Sengqi lü*, whereas the *Sifen lü* had only transmitted methods for receiving the precepts, and the *Wufen lü* was not yet in circulation. From the perspective of traditions, propagating the *Sengqi lü* and *Shisong lü* would have been more easily accepted by Chinese monastics at the time. This point was further confirmed later on in Buddhist history. For a period of time after its translation, the *Shisong lü* became the most widespread *Vinaya*. Tang Yongtong commented that, 'Apart from the *Shisong lü*, there were effectively no other *Vinaya* studies in the South during the Song period. This was even more so during the Qiliang period.'³⁹ Even up until the Qi and Liang dynasties, Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518) still wrote about the *Shisong lü* and praised it highly. Daoxuan stated in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 [Extended Biographies of Eminent Monks] that, 'At the time, the most highly regarded was the *Sengqi*, but the *Sifen* was occasionally practiced.'⁴⁰ During the Sui and Tang dynasties, the *Sengqi lü* was once widespread. It was only after three generations of propagation by Daoyün 道雲 (d.u.), Zhishou 智首 (567–635) and Daoxuan during the Tang dynasty that the *Sifen lü* became popular, replacing the *Sengqi lü*.

In order to explain them, the propagation and transmission of monastic precepts and discipline required mutually compatible scriptural thought. For instance, when Daoxuan was propagating the

The *Biqiuni dajie*, in one fascicle. One text in the right is of one fascicle. During the time of Emperor Jianwen of the Jin, the *śramaṇa* Shi Sengchun received the foreign text in Kuśinagara of the Western Regions of. He brought it to Guanzhong and had Zhu Fonian, Dharmadhī and Huichang translate it together. 《十誦比丘戒本》一卷，或云《十誦大比丘戒》，右一部。凡一卷，晉簡文帝時，西域沙門曇摩，持誦胡本，竺佛念譯出。《比丘尼大戒》一卷，右一部，凡一卷，晉簡文帝時，沙門釋僧純，於西域拘夷國得胡本，到關中令竺佛念、曇摩持、慧常共譯出。

³⁹ Tang, *Fojiao shi*, 455: 南方在宋代除《十誦》外，已幾無律學，齊梁更然。

⁴⁰ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 22.621a3–4: 於時世尚《僧祇》，而能間行《四分》。

Sifen lü, he adopted the ‘Consciousness-Only Perfect Teaching’ (唯實圓教) viewpoint to explain the contents in the *Vinaya* texts, resolving various problems found in the *Vinaya* texts. What was the trend of Chinese Buddhist thought at the time?

At that time in China, there were two main Buddhist groups in the Later Qin and Eastern Jin. Kumārajīva (344–413) established the Xiaoyao yuan 逍遙園 in the Later Qin for translating scriptures, disseminating Mahāyāna *Prajñāpāramitā* studies and propagating Nāgārjuna’s Madyamaka doctrine. Before Kumārajīva, *Prajñāpāramitā* studies had already started to flourish in China, forming the ‘six houses and seven schools.’ Kumārajīva ‘brought about new systems of interpretation and arguments for doctrines, such as dharmas being empty of nature’.⁴¹ This established a solid foundation for later Chinese Buddhism. Through society, profound discussions were a popular trend, and *Prajñāpāramitā* studies developed rapidly and also brought up many questions. These questions can be seen from a series of letters exchanged between Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416) and Kumārajīva: Huiyuan consulted Kumārajīva on issues relating to nirvāṇa, such as the dharma body, dharma nature and so on. However, it was clear that Kumārajīva’s replies did not satisfy Huiyuan.⁴² This indicates that Huiyuan, as a native Chinese thinker, had begun to reflect on the problems brought about by *Prajñāpāramitā* studies.⁴³ In the thirteenth year of Yixi 義熙 (417), Faxian translated the *Da bannihuan jing*.⁴⁴ This had a tremendous impact in Buddhist circles in China. A group of eminent monks in Jiankang 建康 rapidly shifted from the doctrine of ‘emptiness of nature in the *Prajñāpāramitā*’, to ‘wondrous existence in the *Nir-*

⁴¹ Ren, *Zhongguo fojiao shi*, 324.

⁴² *Jiumoluoshi fashi dayi* 鳩摩羅什法師大義 [The Grand Teachings of Kumārajīva], 3 fascicles, T no. 1856, vol. 45.

⁴³ Zhang, ‘Huiyuan Jiumoluoshi zhizheng’, 74.

⁴⁴ *Lidai sanbao ji*, T no. 2034, 49: 7.71b7:

The *Da bannihuan jing* in six fascicles was translated in the thirteenth year of Yixi at Lord Xie Sikong’s Xie Shi Daochang Monastery. 《大般泥洹經》六卷，義熙十三年，於謝司空公謝石道場寺出。

vāna Sūtra'. Zhang Fenglei remarks that, 'Those who had previously paid particular attention to problems concerning Dharma nature, the Dharma body and so on, for instance, Daosheng, Huirui 慧叡 (355–439), Huiyan, Huiguan 慧觀 (366–436) and others, quickly shifted from *Prajñāpāramitā* studies to *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* studies, and they became the earliest masters of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*.'⁴⁵

During the time when the doctrine of emptiness of nature in the *Prajñāpāramitā* was so prominent, the *Shisong lü*, a *Vinaya* that tends towards real existence in the three periods of time, was clearly incompatible with Chinese thought. Meanwhile in the land of Jin, what were Huiyuan and others' viewpoints on the monastic precepts and discipline? Qu Dacheng 屈大成 points out that Huiyuan 'understood the spirit and essence of the monastic precepts and discipline, not only in regulating behaviour and speech, but also benefiting practice. Hence, he responded to disciples' questions by inferring from this principle.'⁴⁶ Huiyuan's view on monastic precepts and discipline should have mainly been based on actual practices, rather than being confined by the letter of the precepts alone. What standards did Huiyuan use for his practice of the monastic precepts and discipline?

In the early Eastern Jin, monks specialising in meditation, like Zhu Sengxian 竺僧顯 (222?–321), Zhu Tanyou 竺曇猷 (285?–383), Zhi Tanlan 支曇蘭 (341–423) and others, fled to the south to avoid warfare, and began disseminating meditation teachings in the south.⁴⁷ Huiyuan, the leader of Buddhism in the land of Jin, began to deemphasise meditative contemplation. In the 'Lushan chu *Xiuxing fangbian chan jing tongxü*' 廬山出修行方便禪經統序 [A General Preface to the *Sūtra of the Cultivation of Expedient Meditations* Translated on Mount Lu], Huiyuan notes,

Every time he regretted the transmission of the great teaching to the East, the art of meditation was neglected, the three karmas were unsystematic, and this path was abandoned. Just now Kumārajīva has

⁴⁵ Zhang, 'Faxian'.

⁴⁶ Qu, 'Lushan Huiyuan', 68.

⁴⁷ *Gaoseng zhuan*, 'Xichan pian' 習禪篇 [Section on Cultivating Meditation].

propagated the teaching of Aśvaghōṣa, which has this task. Although this path is not yet integrated, it is like a holding a mountain in a bushel.

每慨大教東流，禪數尤寡，三業無統，斯道殆廢，頃鳩摩者婆宣馬鳴所述，乃有此業，雖其道未融，蓋是為山於一簣。⁴⁸

After all, Kumārajīva was not a meditation specialist, and his meditation teachings tended toward the theoretical. Buddhahadra was ‘well-known for meditation and *Vinaya*’,⁴⁹ and because of this Huiyuan invited him to Lushan to translate the *Vinaya* texts. A year later, he went to Daochang Monastery 道場寺 to assist Faxian in translating scriptures. It is clear that Huiyuan’s practice was centred on meditative cultivation. Pan Guiming 潘桂明 even went as far as to say, ‘Huiyuan can be credited with the establishment of advocating cultivation with equal emphasis on calm and insight.’⁵⁰ Faxian and Huiyuan had met once before.⁵¹ Qu Dacheng believes that Huiyuan was also an influencing factor in Faxian’s choice of translating the *Sengqi lü*.⁵² Therefore, we could say that practicality was Faxian’s guiding principle for which text to translate. It is clear that the *Sengqi lü* was more compatible with the circumstances of the time.

At the time, *Prajñāpāramitā* studies were unable to fully resolve

⁴⁸ *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2145, 55: 9.65c28–66a2.

⁴⁹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 2.334c7: 以禪律馳名.

⁵⁰ Pan, *Zhongguo Fojiao sixiang shi*, 213.

⁵¹ *Guang hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 15.199b10–12:

When the monk Faxian went to Jetavana, he said that the shadow of the Buddha was particularly mystical. On a cliff wall in a deep canyon, it appeared as if the image was still there, stately, dignified and majestic, complete in all its marks and secondary features. It is not known when it began or when it will end, as it is always bright and clear. When the Dharma master of Lushan heard of this he was delighted. 法顯道人至自祇洹，具說佛影偏為靈奇，幽巖嵒壁，若有存形，容儀端莊，相好具足，莫知始終，常自湛然，廬山法師聞風而悅。

⁵² Qu, ‘Lushan Huiyuan’, 62.

many questions raised by Chinese monastics, and under such circumstances *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* studies grew rapidly. Huiyuan was the chief among the group of eminent monks who tended towards the practice of meditation. In comparison with other *Vinaya* texts, the *Sengqi lü* had already been transmitted to China, and was also more practical. These should be why Faxian said that it was ‘upheld by *śramaṇas* of the present day.’

Conclusion

Faxian chose to translate the *Sengqi lü* instead of the other two *Vinaya* texts because, in comparison to the other two, it had distinct Mahāyāna qualities. The *Sapoduo lü chao* was a *Vinaya* text belonging to the Sarvāstivāda school, which holds the position of real existence in the three periods of time. This was clearly incompatible with the *Prajñāpāramitā* studies trend at the time. Furthermore, Kumārajīva and others had already fully translated the *Shisong lü*. Therefore, Faxian gave up the opportunity of translating the *Sapoduo lü chao*. Looking at the transmission of monastic precepts and discipline in China, the *Sengqi lü* was implemented early on, and was more easily accepted by the Chinese than the *Wufen lü*. Buddhahadra and Huiyuan’s emphasis on practicality was an important factor in Faxian’s choice to translate the *Sengqi lü*. All in all, Faxian’s choice of translating the *Sengqi lü* instead of the *Wufen lü* was based upon the transmission of Buddhism at the time and the emphasis on practice, therefore he chose a more practical *Vinaya*, the *Sengqi lü*. This *Vinaya* was disseminated widely before the early Tang dynasty. It also reflected the characteristics of Chinese Buddhism at the time, when monastic precepts and discipline were initially transmitted, by not being confined to complex terminology and taking practicality as the primary criterion.

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Abbreviations

- T* *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.
- X* *Wanzi Xuzang jing* 卍字續藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, *Wanzi Xuzang jing*.

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- 17 *juan*. Translated by Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什 (Kumārajīva, 334–413) around 405. *T* no. 1521, vol. 26.
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The Neglected Pilgrim: How Faxian's Record Was Used (and Was Not Used) in Buddhist Studies*

MAX DEEG

Cardiff University

Keywords: Faxian, *Foguo ji*, Buddhist Studies, Research History

Abstract: This paper focuses on the role of Faxian's *Foguo ji*, *Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms* (a.k.a. *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*) in the formation of Buddhist Studies as a discipline in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It will contextualize the text in the emulating historicist approach of the time which, I would claim and hope to show, led to a certain marginalization of the *Record* due to the typical ideological parameters inherent in the positivist and historicist interpretation of sources, such as the idea of authenticity and reliability through authorship and through the information given in the source. In this context, Faxian's *Record* had the disadvantage of being relatively short, restricted in terms of geographical range, and being linked to an author about whom not much was known. As a consequence, Faxian's *Record* was and is mostly used in a complementary way to either corroborate pieces of information from other sources—mainly from Xuanzang's *Da Tang Xiyu ji* which had become the main authority—hence establishing it as the earliest text of its 'genre' a historical *terminus ad quem*, or it has to fill gaps of information in those other sources (e.g. the report on Siṃhala/Śrī Laṅkā).

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Despite the attention Faxian 法顯 (337–422) and his record, the *Foguo ji* 佛國記 (or *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳) has experienced in a little bit more than two decades by the publication of five translations into Western languages (English, German, Italian, French, Spanish), the author and his text are, without any doubt, not as well-known as the two Chinese Buddhist travellers of the Tang period, Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664) and Yijing 義淨 (635–713), and their works. As a matter of fact, the number of translations of the *Foguo ji* in the last twenty years or so is at odds with the importance given to the text in scholarly literature, particularly compared with the number of citations of Xuanzang and his *Record, the Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 or *Record of the Western Regions of the Great Tang*. One of the reasons for this imbalance does not only lie in the brevity of Faxian’s text but also in the supremacy that Xuanzang’s *Record* attained under the influence of the historicist-positivist ideology of nineteenth century scholarship. But there are also other reasons for the intensive retranslation of the text in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which James St. André has identified as a rivalry between national traditions of Oriental Studies (British vs. French) and inside of Chinese Studies (academic vs. non-academic: Giles, Legge vs. Beal; Oxford vs. Cambridge: Legge vs. Giles), and the professionalization of Chinese Studies/Sinology as an academic discipline with the attempt to correct and improve previous translations.¹

The ‘renaissance’ of translations of the *Foguo ji* in the last decades may share some of the earlier reasons—for myself I would admit the digestible length of the text and the interest in the reconstruction of the history of Buddhism in Central Asia and South Asia/India—but the spread of languages already shows that there seems to have been the idea of making the text accessible to readers of different western languages like German,² Spanish,³ Italian,⁴ and French,⁵ while the

¹ St. André, ‘Retranslation as argument’, 69.

² Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan*.

³ Bellerín, *El viaje de Faxian*.

⁴ Bianci, *Faxian*.

⁵ Drège, *Faxian*.

slightly earlier translation by Li Rongxi was part of the broader English Tripitaka translation project funded by the Numata Foundation.⁶

In order to give a historical 'skeleton' for the development of the study of Faxian's text and other Chinese Buddhist travelogues in the early period of Buddhist Studies,⁷ I start with a list of translations made of these sources in the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century from which it becomes clear that the *Foguo ji* was not only the first record to be translated but also the one which was translated most frequently (Table 1):

TABLE 1 List of translated Chinese Buddhist travelogues.⁸

Year	Scholar(s)	Title
1836	Abel Rémusat	<i>Foe-Koue-Ki</i>
1848	J. W. Laidlay	<i>The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian. From the French Edition of the 'Foe Koue Ki'</i>
1853	Stanislas Julien	<i>Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Tsang</i>
1857–1858	Stanislas Julien	<i>Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales</i>
1869	Samuel Beal	<i>Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun</i>
1877	Herbert A. Giles	<i>Fa-Hsien: A Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms</i>
1884	Samuel Beal	<i>Si-Yu-Ki</i> (including translations of Faxian and Song Yun)
1886	James Legge	<i>A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms</i>
1888	Samuel Beal	<i>The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang</i>
1894	Édouard Chavannes	<i>Mémoire composé à l'époque de la Grande Dynastie T'ang sur les religieux éminents</i>

⁶ Li, 'The Journey of the Eminent Monk Faxian'.

⁷ The present article is, in a way, a continuation of Deeg, 'The historical turn', focusing on Faxian and the *Foguo ji*.

⁸ Translations of Faxian's *Foguo ji* marked in grey.

1895	Sylvain Lévi & Édouard Chavannes	'L'itinéraire d'Ou-K'ong (751–790)'
1896	Takakusu Junjirō	<i>A Record of the Buddhist Religion</i>
1903	Édouard Chavannes	'Voyage De Song Yun'
1904–1905	Thomas Watters	<i>On Yuan Chwang's Travels</i>
1923	Herbert A. Giles	<i>The Travels of Fa-hsien</i> (retranslation)
1938	Walter Fuchs	<i>Huci-ch'ao's Pilgerreise</i>

As can be clearly seen, Faxian's *Foguo ji* has been (re)translated into English five times while Xuanzang's *Da Tang Xiyu ji* was only once translated into French and into English. Other texts as well have only received one translation into a Western language.

One of the deficiencies of dealing with and using the so-called pilgrims' records in general is that they rarely are seen in their cultural (spatial) and historical (time) context. By this I mean that their Chinese origin and setting is often neglected or misrepresented in favour of their assumed historical value as descriptions of Central Asia or India. The texts are often treated as if they are referring to a timeless India, somewhere between the lifetime of the Buddha and the authors' own time. The neglect of Faxian's *Foguo ji* as a historical source on the one hand, and its attraction as an object of translation on the other hand, reflects this insofar as the historians and archaeologists were content with Xuanzang's more detailed record and its contents for almost any period of time in the history of Indian Buddhism. Rarely did they use the two texts, authored more than two hundred years apart from each other, as means for a consequent diachronic reconstruction of Buddhist history. Normally, when Faxian does not agree with Xuanzang, the former's deficiency was referred to in order to explain the discrepancy instead of looking for the reason of such differences.

As is well known, the first translation of the *Foguo ji* into a Western language,⁹ in fact the first translation of a Chinese text at full

⁹ For an overview of the translation history of the text see Drège, *Faxian*, xx.

length and with a commentarial apparatus since the Jesuits' activities started about two centuries earlier, was undertaken by the first chair of Sinology at the University of Paris, Abel Rémusat (1788–1832). The translation was published posthumously, 'revised, completed and enlarged by new explanations',¹⁰ by the two Orientalists Julius Heinrich Klaproth (1783–1835) and Ernest Clerc de Landresse (1800–1862). In Indological matters Rémusat, Klaproth and de Landresse did occasionally consult and were informed by the illustrious French Orientalist Eugène Burnouf (1801–1852).¹¹ According to de Landresse's 'Introduction' Rémusat originally also wanted to produce translations of Song Yun's and Xuanzang's record,¹² but considered Faxian's to be preferable in terms of importance for the historical reconstruction of Buddhism:

Fă Hian, Soung yun and Hiuan thsang have all three come through the same regions, one century apart from each other. Their records present for different and well-defined periods details, often similar and sometimes different, which, if compared and discussed, determine very important points of the religious chronology and provide many valuable pieces of information about the history and geography of Hindoustan in the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries. But the state of Buddhism and of the whole of Asia at the time of Fă Hian make the record of the latter particularly suitable and have led M. Rémusat to give it a preference over the other two which it not only deserves because of its earlier date. Then, as a matter of fact, India seems to have gone beyond its borders as it were. She was wherever Buddhism had taken hold, and nevertheless this sect, while expanding widely, still preserved its influence of fourteen centuries in the places from which it had originated. In Central India the sect had not lost, according to Fă Hian, any of its superiority over Brahmanism; if adherents of the latter had removed it from some regions the practice and the ceremonies of Buddhism, the advantages granted its followers, had for this

¹⁰ 'revu, complete, et augmenté d'éclaircissements nouveaux'.

¹¹ See de Landresse's 'Introduction' (xx).

¹² De Landresse's 'Introduction', xlv.

reason not stopped to exist, and Benares, nowadays so famous as an old school of wisdom of the brahmins, was populated by Samanéens (*śramaṇa*). In contrast, the report of Soung yun and the one of Hiuan tshang witness the supremacy which the brahmins had finally achieved in the 6th and 7th centuries, and the correspondent decline of their adversaries in the middle, western and northern regions of Hindoustan.¹³

According to de Landresse, Rémusat himself had read a ‘Mémoire’ to the Académie d’Inscriptions in Paris, the most prominent academic institution in France, in the year 1830 during which he highlighted eight more general historical conclusions drawn from the *Foguo ji*:

1. Buddhism and with it Indian practices and language¹⁴ were established in Central Asia (‘Tartarie centrale’ = Chinese Turkestan);
2. Buddhism was dominant in the north-western regions of India (Gandhāra);
3. Central India (Gangetic plain) was the homeland of Buddhism where the Buddha had lived and preached;¹⁵
4. in Central India Buddhism was in opposition to Brahmanism and dominated it since its historical origin;¹⁶

¹³ De Landresse’s ‘Introduction’, xlv (translation Deeg; I have kept the transliteration of the Chinese in the original and not transferred it into the modern standard Pinyin).

¹⁴ Rémusat calls this ‘la langue *Fan*’ (梵), by which he means both Prakrit and Sanskrit. Sykes however translates ‘Sanskrit’ with a rather absurd note attached (Sykes, ‘Notes on the Religious, Moral, and Political State of India’, 256, note 1): ‘[Rémusat] here necessarily means Brahmanical writings, for the Mahawanso (the Pāli chronicle Mahāvamsa; MD) was unknown to him.’

¹⁵ Rémusat wrongly situated Kapilavastu between Lucknow and Oudh and claimed that the Buddha was active only in regions north of the Gaṅgā.

¹⁶ Rémusat here follows the Chinese sources and locates the Buddha in the tenth century BCE.

5. Buddhism had reached Bengal and spread all the way to the mouth of the Gaṅgā;
6. Buddhism had also spread to the South, into the Dekhan range, at an early point;
7. Ceylon was dominated by Buddhism;
8. Buddhist texts were available in all these regions mentioned, and they were written in either Sanskrit or Pali^{17, 18}.

It is obvious that all these points were very well recognised and accepted in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the *Foguo ji* had done its service for establishing these as facts.

The Orientalist circles, particularly British scholars working in and on India, reacted immediately with reviews of the book. The Sanskritist Horace Hayman Wilson (1786–1860), the doyen of British Orientalism, while recognising it as a valuable historical source, voiced disappointment about the brevity of Faxian's account in his review read to the Royal Asiatic Society in April 1838.¹⁹ Wilson also

¹⁷ This refers to the discussion about the relation between Pali and Sanskrit at the time and is probably directed against people like Wilson who maintained that the language of Indian antiquity was Sanskrit; in contrast to Wilson's opinion Sykes, 'Notes on the Religious, Moral, and Political State of India', 258, note 1, comments on Rémusat: 'Amongst the numerous inscriptions discovered there is no one single BUDDHIST text, for centuries after Fa hian's time, in SANSKRIT.'

¹⁸ Translated into English by Sykes, 'Notes on the Religious, Moral, and Political State of India', 256, who highlights in italic the points he still considered valid at the time of his review.

¹⁹ Wilson, 'Account of the Foe Kúe Ki', 108: 'The accounts which [Faxian] gives are such as might be expected from his religious character, and, to say the truth, somewhat meagre, relating almost exclusively to the condition in which the religion of Buddha existed at the different places which he visited. Such as they are, however, they are exceedingly curious and instructive, even in this limited view, and exhibit a picture of the state of Buddhism in India, flourishing in some situations and declining in others, which, although we were not wholly unprepared to expect, yet we were hitherto without any accurate means of appreciating.'

suggested corrections on the basis of his knowledge of Sanskrit,²⁰ some of which are clearly missing the point,²¹ but some of which are, in fact, correct.²² For Wilson, the concrete value of Faxian's short record lay in the fact that it validates the Hindu sources he himself was so fond of, as

[I]t shows that many of the political divisions, of which we have intimations in the Rámáyana, Mahábhárata, Puránas and other works, such as the principalities of Kanya-Kubja, Srávasti, Kosala, Vaisáli, Magadha, Champa, Tamralipti, were then in existence, thus bearing unquestionable testimony to the authenticity of the accounts which we have of them, and to their being antecedent to the fourth century at the latest, giving us in future that date as a fixed point from which to reckon in all discussions respecting the antiquity of the language, the literature, and the history of the Hindús.²³

After a completely different and laudatory review by the German Karl Friedrich Neumann (1793–1870) in 1840 which went pretty much unnoticed,²⁴ probably because it was published in German, another British Orientalist, Colonel William Henry Sykes (1790–1872), Fellow of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, spoke up against the reserved judgement of Wilson about the value of the text and its French translation.²⁵ Sykes, who translates long passages from de

²⁰ Wilson tried to identify the Sanskrit forms underlying the Chinese pronunciation as given by Rémusat.

²¹ For instance, when Wilson calls Kapilavastu the birthplace of the Buddha ('Account of the Foe Kúe Ki', 123).

²² E.g. his interpretation of *banzbeyuesi* 般遮越師 as '*Pancavarshi*' (*pañcavārṣi[ka]*) against Klaproth's *pañcayukti* ('Account of the Foe Kúe Ki', 113).

²³ Wilson, 'Account of the Foe Kúe Ki', 140.

²⁴ Neumann, Review ('Beurtheilung') of Rémusat. Neumann also had been the first Western scholar to discuss the Chinese Buddhist travelogues just at the time when Rémusat was working on his translation of the *Foguo ji* (Neumann, 'Pilgerfahrten buddhistischer Priester von China nach Indien').

²⁵ Sykes, 'Notes on the Religious, Moral, and Political State of India'.

Landresse's 'Introduction', uses his review of the book as the jumping board for a long and meandering discussion of all kinds of matters related to Indian history, the history of Buddhism and historical geography.²⁶

The importance of the French translation of Faxian's text for the research of Buddhism in general, and of Indian Buddhism in particular, caused, despite the influential Wilson's reservation, the translation of Rémusat's work into English. This translation was published in 1848 by James W. Laidlay, the secretary of the Asiatic(k) Society in Calcutta from 1846 to 1847, and was equipped with further annotations by the translator himself, very often quite garbled and verbose,²⁷ by Wilson and the Danish-German Indologist and professor of Bonn University Christian Lassen (1800–1876).

In his introductory 'Advertisement' Laidlay does not clearly spell out that he in fact translated Rémusat's French translation: '[t]he original purpose of the Editor on undertaking the present version of the FO KOUE KI, was to furnish the text of the Chinese Author with only so much of the commentary as was indispensable for its easy comprehension'. Laidlay states that '[h]is chief object was to promote and assist the labours of such as are engaged in exploring the ancient monuments of India, to many of whom the original edition is not easily accessible; ...' A kind of competition with the French endeavour slips in when he continues, overestimating the British sinological capacity at his time, with the wish that,

²⁶ For a more detailed discussion see Deeg, 'The historical turn'.

²⁷ See e.g. Laidlay's long-winded elaboration about the Tibetan Buddhist canon, the great collection of 'Bauddha Theology' (*The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian*, 2). Some of Laidlay's comments are just wrong and false, as, for instance, his addition to Rémusat's explanation of *shamen*, Skt. *śramaṇa* (*The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian*, 13): '*Shama*, is a word of the Sanscrit language, signifying compassionate feeling; that is, to feel compassion for those who walk in the wrong way, to look benevolently on the world, to feel universal charity, and to renovate all creatures. This word means also, to observe oneself with the utmost diligence, or to endeavour to attain Nihilty.' Laidlay claims that he took this explanation from (Karl-Eugen?) Neumann, but I was not able to trace this.

The same object might be promoted could we obtain through the instrumentality of our countrymen in China versions of other Chinese authors who treat of the history and geography of India; and especially of such as, like Fa hian, Houan thsang, Song yun and Hueï sing, have actually visited this country and recorded the results of their travels. Such works are doubtless procurable with the utmost facility in every part of China, and their translation into English might be effected with the utmost facility in every part of China with the same ease at any of our Anglo-Chinese Schools or Colleges, as that of a Persian or Urdu manuscript in Calcutta.²⁸

Laidlay's wish was not fulfilled until more than two decades later by Beal's first English translation of Faxian's and Song Yun's records without enabling British scholarship, however, to claim the wished-for laurel wreath which went to Stanislas Julien for his translations of Xuanzang's biography and record. The fact that he actually translated the text from French does not prevent Laidlay from constantly playing down the role of the Chinese text and its French translator and commentator by pointing out mistakes of 'the lamented Remusat [sic!]' and by highlighting the value of the Indian, particularly the Pali sources for the study of Indian Antiquity.²⁹ He permanently claims British championship in the field of Oriental studies³⁰ and downplays the achievements of French scholarship.³¹ He even goes so

²⁸ Laidlay, *The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian*, v. This sounds very much like Kittoe's suggestion from 1847 (Kittoe, 970): 'I would fain hope, that some of our brethren in China may interest themselves in the search for works in that language concerning India, and in preparing fair translations, which can alone be done by persons on the spot; ...'

²⁹ Laidlay, 14.

³⁰ See the note on *sengqielan*, Skt. *saṅghārāma*, about which Rémusat quotes Burnouf's speculative reconstruction as '*Sangá gáram*': 'Wilson, whose authority on such a subject is of great weight suggests (...) other and more probable etymologies ... in the Sanscrit word *Sangálaya*, or *Sankhálaya*; ...' (Laidlay, *The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian*, 19)

³¹ For instance, de Landresse's long 'Introduction' is not translated at all.

far to claim a planned British 'Expedition to Chinese Tartary' (Chinese Turkestan, Xinjiang) to verify more of the first half of Faxian's record of which his 'friend Capt. Alexander Cunningham should be in command'³²—a project which obviously was completely and only based on Laidlay's imagination.

Only some years after Laidlay's translation the high regard for Faxian and his French translator was literally overwritten by the translations of Xuanzang's biography and his *Record of the Western Regions* by Stanislas Julien (1797–1873), Rémusat's successor on the chair of Sinology in Paris, published one after the other. After these translations Faxian is at best mentioned as a footnote to Xuanzang by Indologists, historians and archaeologists of South Asia.

It is a peculiar fact that the superiority of Xuanzang's report—and later of Yijing's records—as a historical source has been established not by the 'champions' of the texts, the translators and sinologists, but by Indologists, historians, archaeologists and art historians who used the translation. This led to a kind of hermeneutic circle in which the value of the Chinese source was determined by its usefulness for and compatibility with the findings, often expectations and wishful thinking, of historians or archaeologists working with South-Asian, (i.e. Indian sources) or material which then confirmed the reliability of the Chinese records, particularly of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*³³.

Alexander Cunningham (1814–1893),³⁴ the 'father' or, in some respect, the 'godfather' of Indian archaeology is probably the best example for the tendency of overwriting the *Foguo ji* by the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*. While Cunningham originally took much of his initial inspiration for developing his method for the discovery and identification of Buddhist sites in northern India and thereby proving the historicity of Buddhism from Rémusat's translation of the *Foguo ji*,

³² Laidlay, *The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian*, 15.

³³ On the use of the Chinese records for the exploration of Indian history, Buddhism and archaeology see e.g. Singh, *The Discovery of Ancient India*, and Ray, *The Return of the Buddha*.

³⁴ On Cunningham's biography see Imam, *Sir Alexander Cunningham*.

he switched almost exclusively to Xuanzang's record after the publication of Julien's French translation in 1857 and 1858.

In the year 1843, a letter sent by Cunningham, at that time a lieutenant and still relatively unknown in the circle of colonial antiquarians, to Sykes was published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. In this letter Cunningham declared the discovery of the ancient site or city of Samkassa (Skt. Saṃkāśya),³⁵ the place where the Buddha spectacularly had come down to earth again after his three months rainy retreat in Trayastriṃśa Heaven in order to preach the *dharmā* to his deceased mother Māyā, on the basis of Faxian's description.³⁶ At that time Cunningham suggested exactly what he would again suggest years later in his appeal to the Viceroy of India to found the Archaeological survey of India, at that time replacing Faxian by Xuanzang: '... to search out all the Buddhistical ruins in India, would be works of greatest interest and importance. With what joy and zeal would not one trace Fa Hian's route from Mathura, his first Indian station [sic!], to his embarkation for Ceylan.'³⁷

³⁵ The Pāli forms of names were commonly used at that time partly because of the lack of the Buddhist Sanskrit sources which Hodgson had by then started to retrieve from Nepal, but also because of the emerging conviction that Pāli had been the original language of the Buddhists in India.

³⁶ See Leoshko, *Sacred Traces*, 44.

³⁷ Obviously to underline the need for such 'an undertaking of vast importance to the Indian government politically, and to the British public religiously', which Cunningham, of course, thinks to be predestined for, he comes up with two important reasons: 'To the first body it would show that India had generally been divided into numerous petty chiefships, which had invariably been the case upon every successful invasion; while, whenever she had been under one ruler, she had always repelled foreign conquest with determined resolution. To the other body it would show that Brahmanism, instead of being an unchanged and unchangeable religion which had subsisted for ages, was or comparatively modern origin, and had been *constantly* receiving additions and alterations; facts which prove that the establishment of the Christian religion in India must ultimately succeed.' (Cunningham, 'An Account of the Discovery of the Ruins', 246) Sykes, 'Note by Colonel Sykes', 249, in his note on Cunningham's letter,

Interestingly, this earliest identification of a Buddhist site by Cunningham was done from the desk and not, as later, through and on a field trip: Cunningham mentions that he had sent his Munshi (native secretary) to the village of Samkassa or Samkissa; thus everything reported in Cunningham's letter is actually based on indirect information and on reconstruction with the help of the *Foguo ji*. In this letter Cunningham's later method is already emerging quite clearly: he starts off with the Chinese 'pilgrim's' record—in this case Faxian's but later almost exclusively Xuanzang's—and meanders into a mixture of archaeological data adjusted to the information from the Chinese text in translation or vice versa, speculations about the identity of ancient topographical names, Indian and Chinese, and modern place names—Samkassa = Saṃkāśya, which in this case is in fact a match—, identification of ancient and modern legends, and conclusions about the former size and importance of a site. In a direct response ('Note') to Cunningham's letter the young engineer-lieutenant was applauded by Sykes, who, as we have seen, was very fond of Faxian's record as a source for historical reconstruction: 'In the discovery of the ruins of this city [Saṃkāśya], ..., we have now a new proof of the honesty and good faith of the Chinese traveller, Fa Hian; ...'³⁸

What certainly helped to evaluate and establish Faxian's report as more unreliable or less important was the failure of Cunningham's 'predecessor'. In his attempt to trace Faxian's travel and the sites referred to in Bihār,³⁹ Captain Markham Kittoe (1808–1853),

takes up a similar line of argumentation when he uses Faxian's report about Buddhas of the past as 'a fact ... of great importance to correct a mistaken opinion which generally prevails, that Sakya Buddha, who flourished in the seventh century before Christ, was the FOUNDER of the Buddhist religion', thus saving Christianity as the oldest founder religion in history.

³⁸ Sykes, 'Note by Colonel Sykes', 248. Sykes supports Cunningham's historical argument by emphasizing that most of the sacred places of Brahmanism like Mathura, Benares, etc. were originally Buddhist and that Brahmanism had not claim of antiquity.

³⁹ Kittoe, 'Notes on Places in the Province of Behar'. See Imam, *Sir Alexander Cunningham*, 53: 'Kittoe was unfortunately but poorly equipped for a duty

appointed ‘Archaeological Enquirer’ in the year 1847, obviously used Laidlay’s English translation of Rémusat’s French before publication.⁴⁰ Kittoe more or less followed the same method as Cunningham, but he was lacking the intuition and presentational skills of the latter to be able to convince his fellow antiquarians of his findings; one could even say that Kittoe was too honest and did not possess Cunningham’s occasional ruthlessness to tweak the data to make them fit his conclusions or interpretations.⁴¹ Kittoe was criticized to have made some disputable conclusions; he identified, for example, a mound near Rājgir, the ancient Rājagṛha, as the possible *stūpa* of the Buddha’s relics built by King Ajātaśatru after the Buddha’s *parinirvāna*, although he did not inspect the site himself but had to rely on the description of Francis Buchanan (Hamilton) (1762–1829)⁴² who had visited and described the place earlier.⁴³

Alexander Cunningham, however, came in control of the archaeological endeavour in North India and not only shaped the method of archaeological investigation but also decided the fate of the Chinese sources. In his later work he almost exclusively relied on and referred

of this kind, as is apparent from the pathetic muddle of his attempt to follow the route of Fa-hsien in Bihar.’

⁴⁰ Kittoe, ‘Notes on Places in the Province of Behar’, 953: ‘... extracts from Remusat’s translation of the Travels of Chy-Fa-Hian [...] obligingly furnished by our co-Secretary, Mr. J. W. Laidlay ...’

⁴¹ Where Cunningham has no problems of equating an odd Chinese transcription from a translation with an ancient or modern Indian name, Kittoe frankly admits his struggle with the Chinese names: ‘We must, however, be constantly at a loss in tracing places from the curious orthography of the Chinese language, ..., and this is a sad obstacle.’ (Kittoe, ‘Notes on Places in the Province of Behar’, 970)

⁴² Kittoe used the abridged version of Buchanan’s report by Robert Montgomery Martin, published as volume 1 of Martin’s *Historical Documents of Eastern India* in 1838 (Kolkata: The Asiatic Society). Buchanan’s full report *An Account of the Districts of Bihar and Patna in 1811–1812* was not published before 1936 by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (Patna) in two volumes.

⁴³ Kittoe, ‘Notes on Places in the Province of Behar’, 957.

to Xuanzang's record, establishing thereby the supreme historical credibility of this source. Already in his early reports for the newly founded Archaeological Survey of India, Cunningham deplores the deficiency of the *Foguo ji*.⁴⁴ Faxian's information is often disregarded in favour of Xuanzang's;⁴⁵ rarely is the text used to corroborate the information in Xuanzang's text,⁴⁶ but Cunningham sometimes uses Faxian's testimony if he needs a correction of Xuanzang's report to fit his own conclusions and identifications made on the basis of archaeological 'evidence'.⁴⁷ In his widely used *The Ancient Geography of India* Faxian is only quoted once to support an identification based on Xuanzang⁴⁸.

Cunningham's dismissive use of and judgement about the *Foguo*

⁴⁴ Cunningham, *Four Reports*, 7 (on Bodhgayā): 'The holy places at Buddha-Gaya were visited between A.D. 399 and 414 by another Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian, but his account of them is unfortunately very brief.' Cunningham, *Report of Tours*, 27 (on the descent of the Buddha from Trayastriṃśa heaven in Saṃkāśya); 50; 137 (places around Bodhgayā); 148 (Mucilinda being blind).

⁴⁵ Cunningham, 291 (on the location of an Aśokan *stūpa* near Kanyākubja); Cunningham 1880: 76 (on the number of *stūpas* dedicated to the Buddha of the past Kāśyapa: Faxian has three, while Xuanzang refers to only two).

⁴⁶ Cunningham, 279 (on the location of old Kanyākubja).

⁴⁷ Cunningham, 270 (distance between Saṃkāśya and Kanyākubja/Kanauj). Sometimes Faxian has to 'stand in' for Xuanzang if the latter does not deliver the information needed to confirm the existing archaeological evidence, as e.g. in case of the interpretation of the elephant capital found at Saṃkāśya for which Faxian reports an Aśokan pillar on which Xuanzang is silent (Cunningham, *Report of Tours in the Gangetic Provinces*, 22); see also Cunningham, *Report of Tours in the Gangetic Provinces*, 81 (description of the Jetavana in Śrāvastī); 151 (description of Pāṭaliputra). An example of the occasional blunder Cunningham produces when he is left alone by the translations or the notes is found in his attempt at analyzing the Chinese of Faxian's *xiao gushi shan* 小孤石山, 'little isolated stone mountain', probably the Indraśailaguhā near Rājagṛha (Cunningham, *Report of Tours in the Gangetic Provinces*, 186), on which see Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan*, 401.

⁴⁸ Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, 84.

ji became standard. One or two generations later the French art historian Alfred Foucher (1865–1952) still echoed Cunningham when he wrote in his analysis of the historical geography of Gandhāra: ‘This just proves that the geographical list of Fa-hien is far from being flawless, and particularly that it is infinitely less exact than that of Hiuen-tsang.’⁴⁹

By the end of the nineteenth century the predominance of Xuanzang over Faxian as a historically reliable source had been well established among historians, art historians and archaeologists. The widely read British colonial historian Vincent Arthur Smith (1848–1920) may be quoted as representative for this position:

The long series of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who continued for several centuries to visit India, which they regarded as their Holy Land, began with Fa-hian (Fa-hsien), ... But the prince of pilgrims, the illustrious Hiuen Tsang, whose fame as Master of the Law still resounds through all Buddhist lands, deserves more particular notice. ... His book is a treasure-house of accurate information, indispensable to every student of Indian antiquity, and has done more than any archaeological discovery to render possible the remarkable resuscitation of lost Indian history which has recently been effected.⁵⁰

The discovery of many of the sacred places in Northern India after the publication of Rémusat’s French and Beal’s English translation on the basis of Julien’s translation of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* made Faxian’s record next to obsolete for the discussion of the historical geography and the history of Buddhism. Still, and somewhat astonishingly, more translations of the *Foguo ji* were produced. As James St. André notices, the exclusively English translations of the *Foguo ji* were

⁴⁹ Foucher, ‘Notes sur la géographie ancienne de Gandhāra’, 338, note 2: ‘Ceci prouve simplement que la nomenclature géographique de Fa-hien est loin d’être impeccable et, notamment, qu’elle est infiniment moins exacte que celle de Hiuen-tsang.’

⁵⁰ Smith, *The Early History of India*, 13; repeated verbatim in the fourth edition (published 1924) of the book (Smith, *The Early History of India*, 14).

less interested in reconstructing history but more concerned with the nitty-gritty of the Chinese text, trying to correct 'mistakes' made by their predecessor(s), often in a quite sharp and polemic way.⁵¹

When Samuel Beal (1825–1889) published his English translation of the *Foguo ji* in the year 1869 he could easily criticize some of the mistakes Rémusat⁵² had committed—although in some cases he did not really offer solutions and quite often he was simply wrong.⁵³ Building on some criticism of Rémusat's translation articulated by Stanislas Julien in the preface to his *Histoire de la vie de Hiwoen-Thsang* [Life of Xuanzang], Beal, in a way, took over the staff of translating Faxian and other records from French to British territory.⁵⁴ This British dominance lasted for a couple of decades until Édouard Chavannes and Sylvain Lévi kicked off another 'wave' of French translations of important Chinese sources such as Yijing's *Da Tang qifafa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐求法高僧傳, Wukong's 悟空 eighth century record and, compared with Beal's, a much improved translation of Song Yun's 宋雲 report.

When preparing his notes to his translation—meant 'to include ..., in a small space, the best information bearing on the subject'—Beal mainly relied on Julien's translation of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, Spence Hardy's notorious and ubiquitous *A Manual of Buddhism*, and on the first archaeological reports by Alexander Cunningham.⁵⁵ In a way Beal reflects, by this selection, some of the emerging 'parameters' of

⁵¹ St. André, 'Retranslation as argument', 72.

⁵² Obviously, Beal's knowledge of French was rather restricted: he does not realize that Abel is Rémusat's first name but calls him Abel-Rémusat. For longer passages from the text he might have used Laidlay's English translation as he thanks Laidlay for providing him 'the English version of the Fo-koue-ki, which I could not have procured without ... assistance.' (Beal, *Travels of Fab-Hian and Sung-Yun*, xiii).

⁵³ See e.g. Beal's comment on Qihuan 祇洹 ('Chi-ün'; *Travels of Fab-Hian and Sung-Yun*, p.ix), not recognizing that this is the Chinese transliteration of the Jetavana-vihāra in Śrāvastī.

⁵⁴ Beal, *Travels of Fab-Hian and Sung-Yun*, vii.

⁵⁵ Beal, xii.

Buddhist Studies in the second half of the nineteenth century confirming, as it were, the hermeneutical circle to which I referred earlier:

1. the dominance of Xuanzang as an eye-witness and historical source (Julien), who is used to expound and to verify Faxian's information;
2. the authority of the Ceylonese Pāli or Theravāda tradition for the study of ancient Buddhism (Hardy), and
3. the final verification of the historical reliability of information in the Chinese text(s) through the findings of the archaeologists (Cunningham).

Beal's translation claims to improve on Rémusat's work, but in fact it is not at all free from mistakes and misinterpretations.⁵⁶ Beal does not follow any recognizable system of transliteration of the Chinese, partly taking over the French spelling or inventing some transcriptions of his own.⁵⁷ Although he refers to the harsh criticism launched against his translation of 1869 by Giles and Watters—however, without identifying them by name—Beal chose to reuse the text in his translation of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* almost unchanged and with a reduced corpus of notes.⁵⁸

Herbert Allen Giles (1845–1935), who held the second chair of Sinology at Cambridge from 1897 to his death, published a transla-

⁵⁶ Beal, xii: '... M. Julien's remark, respecting the untrustworthiness of the Foukoue-ki, was not made without reason, and ..., therefore, a more careful translation of the book was to be desired.'

⁵⁷ See already Watters, 'Fa-Hsien and his English translators', 108.

⁵⁸ Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, xxii: 'I have not overlooked the remarks of various writers who have honoured me by noticing my little book (*Buddhist Pilgrims*), published in 1869. I venture, however, to hope that I have by this time established my claim to be regarded as an independent worker in this field of literature. I have not therefore quoted instances of agreement or disagreement with the writers referred to; in fact, I have purposely avoided doing so, as my object is not to write a chapter of grammar, but to contribute towards the history of a religion; but I have suffered no prejudice to interfere with the honesty of my work.'

tion of the *Foguo ji* twice, once quite early in his career (1877) and once again almost half a century later and towards the end of his life (1923). He states that the purpose of his translation is to 'get at an exact grammatical analysis of the text' and not '[to elucidate] any new points in the great field of Buddhism ...'⁵⁹ Giles calls the text 'a meagre narrative of one of the most extraordinary journeys ever undertaken, and brought to a successful issue'.⁶⁰ While he held Rémusat's scholarship in esteem he considered the published product spoiled by Klaproth and de Landresse.⁶¹ But Giles' aggressive criticism is mainly directed against his compatriot Beal whom he accuses of many mistakes,⁶² of having 'been unqualified for the task he undertook',⁶³ and of plagiarism by using the commentarial notes from Rémusat's translation without acknowledging it.⁶⁴

Giles' re-translation of 1923 omits all notes,⁶⁵ integrates some

⁵⁹ Giles, *Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*, ii.

⁶⁰ Giles, i.

⁶¹ Giles, i: 'This work was translated into French by Rémusat, but he did not live to superintend its publication. He had, in fact, only revised about one half, that half being accompanied by valuable and exhaustive notes. In this state it fell—we are almost saying, among thieves—into the hands of Klaproth, who, with the slender assistance of Landresse and his own very considerable *aplomb*, managed to fill up the blanks of the latter portion, add some bulky notes after the manner, but lacking the scholarship, of Rémusat, and generally patch up the whole in a form presentable to the public.'

⁶² Giles, i, and in numerous footnotes.

⁶³ Giles, ii.

⁶⁴ Giles, ii: '[Beal] certainly corrected a great many of Rémusat's blunders, speaking somewhat unctuously of the "looseness" of the French version, but we could not dismiss from our minds the unpleasant suspicion that Mr. Beal had drawn upon the valuable notes to that despised volume to a greater extent than he was frank enough to acknowledge.' It is funny to see that when Giles uses Beal's explanations and notes he refers to him as 'Beal', while when launching his philological criticism against him he uses the sarcastic 'Mr. Beal'.

⁶⁵ Giles, *The Travels of Fa-hsien*: 'While giving, so far as possible, a strictly literal and accurate rendering, I have attempted at the same time to make the narra-

new knowledge from the field of historical geography,⁶⁶ but otherwise closely follows his own previous translation. In his 'Bibliographical Notes' Giles repeats his high opinion of Rémusat's translation,⁶⁷ reiterates his dismissive comment on Beal,⁶⁸ and adds one on his former colleague in 'that other institution' (Oxford), James Legge without mentioning,⁶⁹ however, the harsh critique launched against his own first translation by Thomas Watters (see below). The translation, sometimes quoted in secondary literature probably because of its plain presentation of the text, has rather suffered from the complete lack of annotations. The reader has the feeling that Giles, for instance, was looking desperately for an opportunity to utter some strange remarks on the Trinity in Christianity and in Buddhism (*triratna*) in his 'Introduction' to the translation.⁷⁰

In a series of articles published in various fascicles of *The China Review* in the years 1879 and 1880 Thomas Watters (1940–1901), the author of the only extensive commentary on Xuanzang's *Da Tang Xiyu ji* in a Western language, rehabilitated the *Foguo ji* and its

tive appeal to the general reader by the omission of foot-notes which most people dislike, and of references to authorities which are usually altogether ignored. Thus, it is hoped that there will be no check to the enjoyment of the reader as he travels along with Fa-hsien on his stupendous journey.'

⁶⁶ Giles, xiii, explicitly mentions Chavannes, Stein and Kurita.

⁶⁷ Giles, viii: 'The first translation of the Record was in French; it was begun by Rémusat and finished by Klaproth and Landresse. It was a brilliant performance, considering the difficulty of the text and the date, ... but it ran up to 424 large 4to pages, mostly consisting of elaborate notes, and of course failed to attract a wide circle of readers.'

⁶⁸ Giles, viii: 'In 1869, the Rev. S. Beal produced an English translation, really of Rémusat's work, in which he reproduced all Rémusat's mistakes while adding more of his own.'

⁶⁹ Giles, viii: 'In 1886, Dr Legge published a fresh translation, in which he borrowed largely, without acknowledgement, from my corrections of Beal, and managed to contribute not a few mistakes of his own.'

⁷⁰ Giles, vi.

French translator:

The *Fo-kuo-chi*, or Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, by Fa-hsien, is rightly considered as a most valuable book with reference to the earliest history of Buddhism. A French translation of it was published in 1836, and this was afterwards translated into English. ... The publication of this treatise was an event of great importance in the history of Buddhist learning in Europe.⁷¹

At the same time Watters launches an almost vicious attack on both Beal's and Giles' translations. Watters' general verdict on both English translations is a devastating one:

Everyone who has read the 'Travels of Fah-hian' [Beal] and the 'Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms' [Giles] must own that neither of these can be used as a work of authority. Neither can be said to be a great improvement on Rémusat's treatise, as Mr Beal, not to mention other defects, had little knowledge of Chinese and Mr Giles had less knowledge of Buddhism.⁷²

The translation of the *Foguo ji* is the only work on Buddhism by the Oxford chair of Sinology and famous editor and translator of the Chinese Classics James Legge (1815–1897).⁷³ The question why Legge chose the *Foguo ji* for his 'Buddhist Experiment' is not directly answered by Legge; he only points out that he had been working on this text for a couple of years.⁷⁴ Norman Girard has suggested that it was Legge's biographical affinity with the topic of the texts which attracted him to it:

⁷¹ Watters, 'Fa-Hsien and his English translators', 107.

⁷² Watters, 107. In a way, Beal gets away with less slapping and Giles has to take the heaviest blow: 'But as Mr Giles was evidently not acquainted with even the beggarly elements of Buddhism, he made some laughable and some serious mistakes in his own translation.'

⁷³ See Girard, *The Victorian Translation of China*, 408.

⁷⁴ Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, xi.

Fa Xian's [sic!] *Foguo ji*, as a transcultural narrative of a pilgrim cleric and missionary-translator, mirrors in a way Legge's own transformative journey as a conscientious missionary agent and as a faithful scholar. ... Fa Xian and Legge shared a dutiful devotion to 'simple straightforwardness' when it came to the description of other nations and religions.⁷⁵

In his 'Preface' Legge refers to Watters' review articles and regrets that Watter's himself had not done a complete translation.⁷⁶ For his translation Legge used, as he emphasizes, a copy from the Japanese Chinese Buddhist canon sent to him by the former Oxford student Bunyiu Nanjio (Nanjō Bunyū 南条文雄) which he calls Corean⁷⁷—referring to the Koryō/Gaoli 高麗 canon—and which is reproduced after the translated text. For Buddhist matters Legge had access to the early version of Ernst Johan Eitel's (1838–1908) *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*,⁷⁸ and used Spence Hardy's *Eastern Monasticism* and *Manual of Buddhism* as well as Rhys-Davids' *Buddhism* and translations from the Pali canon in Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East* for other Buddhist matters.⁷⁹ The translation is equipped with

⁷⁵ Girard, *The Victorian Translation of China*, 411. It is very likely that Legge's acquaintance with his Oxford colleague Max Müller and his Japanese students had some influence on Legge's decision to go astray into Buddhological territory.

⁷⁶ Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, xii: 'I have regretted that Mr. Watters, while reviewing others, did not himself write out and publish a whole version of Fā-hien's narrative. If he had done so, I should probably have thought that, on the whole, nothing more remained to be done for the distinguished Chinese pilgrim in the way of translation.'

⁷⁷ Legge, xi, xiv, and 4.

⁷⁸ Eitel, *Handbook for the Student of Chinese Buddhism*. This was the predecessor of Eitel's enlarged and widely used *Handbook of Chinese*. Eitel's book certainly proved to be useful for Legge's task since it heavily draws on Faxian's and Xuanzang's records: see Eitel, *Handbook for the Student of Chinese Buddhism*, 'Preface', 3.

⁷⁹ It is reflecting the unpreparedness of the great Sinologist for his task that

rather lengthy notes which sometimes are just wrong,⁸⁰ or sometimes go astray in the apologetic way of a former Scottish Nonconformist missionary and minister.⁸¹ Since Legge chose, as in his other works, to use a kind of idiosyncratic form of transcription of Cantonese rather than Mandarin it is rather difficult to identify the names and terms which he uses in his translation.⁸² All in all, the translation is a not so successful attempt of a Confucian scholar to cope with a Buddhist text,⁸³ and has, as far as I can see, probably been the least quoted of all the translations.

With all this quibbling and accusing each other of serious mistakes and errors the English translators certainly have contributed

in his notes Legge rather quotes from these secondary sources, based on the Pāli or Theravāda tradition—which at that time starts being considered more original and authentic than other traditions—than referring to Chinese Buddhist texts or Burnouf's and other scholars' works based on the so-called 'Northern Buddhism'.

⁸⁰ See e.g. Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, 33, note 3: 'On his attaining to nirvāṇa Śākyamuni became the Buddha, ...'

⁸¹ See his somewhat abrupt discussion of the number of Buddhists in the world in the 'Introduction' where he takes the stance that all the numbers given are exaggerated (see Girard, *The Victorian Translation of China*, 412). Also, for example, his note on the term *seṅg*: 'So ["monk"] I prefer to translate the character (*sāṅg*) rather than by "priests". Even in Christianity, beyond the priestly privilege which belongs to all believers, I object to the ministers of any denomination calling themselves or being called "priests;" and much more is the name inapplicable to the śramanas or bhikshus of Buddhism which acknowledges no God in the universe, no soul in man, and has no services of sacrifice or prayer in its worship.' (Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, 13, note 2).

⁸² Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, xii: 'In transliterating the names of Chinese characters I have generally followed the spelling of Morrison rather than the Pekinese, which is now in vogue. We cannot tell exactly what the pronunciation of them was, about fifteen hundred years ago, in the time of Fâ-hien; but the southern mandarin must be a shade nearer to it than that of Peking at the present day.'

⁸³ The reaction in the reviews reflect the same reservation: see Girard, *The Victorian Translation of China*, 413.

to a certain degree of uncertainty as to which translation to use and indirectly supported the high regard in which Xuanzang was held by the scholarly readers and users of the texts.⁸⁴ The fact that there was only one translation into English of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*—in fact, until Li Rongxi published his work in the year 1996 —, although it had been made by the so heavily critiqued Samuel Beal, must have cemented the outsider’s view that Xuanzang was more reliable than his predecessor Faxian.

Leaving aside Giles’ ‘re-translation’, no real work has been done on Faxian and his text⁸⁵ for more than a century outside of China or Japan⁸⁶ since the publication of Legge’s translation. If Western scholars chose to quote from the *Foguo ji* they, randomly and without any particular and sound reason for their preference, either went for Beal, Giles or Legge. It took more than a hundred years until the text was retranslated into English, this time by a Chinese scholar, Li Rongxi. It seems that, since then, Faxian and his text have re-emerged from the abyss of Western negligence and have been made, once more, the object of serious translation work (see above) and research.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ The ‘confusion’ about which translation to choose began already much earlier; see Cunningham, *Report of Tours in the Gangetic Provinces*, 24, who quotes the same passage on Saṃkāśya in the version of Beal and Laidlay’s ‘translation’.

⁸⁵ In fact, the only scholarly work engaging directly with aspects of Faxian’s and the other Buddhist travellers’ texts, aside from notes and remarks in various publications by Paul Pelliot, seems to be Barrett, ‘Exploratory Observations on Some Weeping Pilgrims’.

⁸⁶ In Japan and in China research on Faxian and other travelogues has continued, very much unnoticed by Western scholarship, only to mention on Faxian the works of Adachi Kiroku 足立喜六, Nagasawa Kazutoshi 長澤和俊, Zhang Xun 章巽, etc.

⁸⁷ See e.g. Meisig, ‘Auf den Spuren des Dharma’; Hu-von Hinüber, ‘Chinesische buddhistische Indienpilger als Grenzgänger’; idem, ‘Faxian’s (法顯 342–423) Perception of India’; idem, ‘The Case of the Missing Author’; idem, ‘Faxian’s (法顯) Worship of Guanshiyin (觀世音) and the *Lotus Sūtra* of 286 (正法華經)’; idem, ‘Grenzerfahrungen der chinesischen Indienpilger im 5. Jahrhundert’; and Deeg, ‘Abhayagirivihāra – Geschichte und “Geschichte” eines ceylonesischen Klosters’.

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Images and Monasteries in Faxian's Account on Anurādhapura*†

KIM HAEWON 김혜원 (金惠瑗)

Department of Asia, the National Museum of Korea

Keywords: Faxian, Sri Lanka, Anurādhapura, Buddha's Tooth Relic, Abhayagiri vihara

Abstract: This paper examines Faxian's accounts on Sri Lanka focusing on important images and monasteries in Anurādhapura, the political and religious center of the island kingdom during his two-year stay in the early fifth century. Of particular interest are the records on the Bodhi Tree shrine, the installation of Buddha's Tooth Relic, and the blue jade image in Abhayagiri vihara. These subjects will be discussed in relation to historical records, archaeological sites, and surviving Buddhist images in an effort to demonstrate the significance of Faxian's accounts and pilgrimage.

* My research on the subject of this paper started while participating in the project titled 'East Asian Pilgrims and Indian Buddhist Monuments' (2004–2006) organized by Professor Rhi Juhjung at the Seoul National University. My initial studies were published in Korean in 2006 and 2009 (see the bibliography for full information).

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At the time of Faxian's 法顯 two-year stay in Sri Lanka in the early fifth century, Anurādhapura was the political and religious center of the island kingdom. While Faxian's account addresses various aspects of the city, of particular interest to this paper are its records on the Bodhi-tree shrine, tooth relic temple, and the green jade image in Abhayagiri, all of whose architectural and artistic features are examined here in relation to historical records, archaeological sites, and extant Buddhist images.¹

Bodhi-tree Shrine

The sacred Bodhi-tree, one of the most significant objects of worship in Sri Lanka, is believed to be a descendant of the original Bodhi-tree in Bodhgaya under which the historical Buddha Śākya-muni attained enlightenment. According to the *Mahāvamsa* (Great Chronicle), King Aśoka's son Mahinda arrived in Sri Lanka in the third century BCE and transmitted the Buddha's teaching to King Devanāmpiya Tissa (r. 247–207 BCE).² Mahinda suggested that the king send an envoy to Bodhgaya to ask for the south branch of the Bodhi-tree, which was then brought to Sri Lanka by King Aśoka's daughter Saṅghamittā. From this grew eight boughs which were planted at eight different sites. In addition, thirty-two saplings that sprouted from four seeds were established at various temples throughout the island.³

There is no doubt that Faxian was well aware of the significance of the Bodhi-tree in Sri Lanka. He wrote that a former king had

¹ For Faxian's account on Sri Lanka, see *Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 864c6–865c26. For a translation, see Legge, *A Record*, 100–11; Giles, *The Travels*; Adachi, *Hokken den*, 193–216; Adachi, *Faxianzhuan*, 115–23; Nagasawa, *Hokken den*, 133–48; Zhang, *Faxian zhuan*, 148–64; Yi, 'Goseung beophyeon-jeon', 536–42.

² The reign dates are based on Rahula, *History*, Appendix III, 308–11.

³ Geiger, *The Mahāvamsa*, 88–155; Rahula, *History*, 48–49, 57–59; Kula-tunga, *Mahāvihāra*, 14–24.

dispatched an envoy to Central India to obtain ‘*beiduoshu zi* 貝多樹子 (slip of a pattra tree)’ and planted it alongside the Buddha Hall. He continues on in detail about how they planted the tree, how one of the branches bent toward the southeast and the king ordered it propped with a large post, and how a shoot from the branch grew to pierce the post. He also adds that under the Bodhi-tree was built a vihāra housing a seated image.⁴

Considering this rather detailed account of the Bodhi-tree and its shrine, it is curious that Faxian did not make any reference to Saṅghamittā. This is similar to the case of his account of a chaitya on Mihintale. Although Faxian wrote about the place, he did not mention Mahinda, who not only stayed at this monastery on Mihintale, but was one of the key figures of early Sri Lankan Buddhism.⁵ It appears that Faxian referred to a source distinct from the tradition preserved in *Mahāvamsa*, most likely the chronicles of Abhayagiri Monastery.⁶

Within the grounds of the Abhayagiri Monastery where Faxian resided during his stay in Sri Lanka there remain three Bodhi-tree shrine sites. The oldest among them has been proposed as the Bodhi-tree shrine described in Faxian’s account (Fig. 1).⁷ In addition, several seated images that could be dated to as early as Faxian’s stay in Abhayagiri were discovered at the oldest site, and it is tempting to make a connection between one of them and the image that Faxian described as having been installed in the shrine.⁸ However, it is difficult to

⁴ *Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 865a2–a7.

⁵ *Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 865b8–b9. Legge made a similar observation, and mentioned that Faxian heard neither of Mahinda or Saṅghamittā while he was in Sri Lanka. Legge, *A Record*, 103, footnote 2.

⁶ For the similarities and differences between Faxian’s writing and the *vamsas* of Mahāvihāra and Faxian’s reliance on the Abhayagiri literature that no long exists, see Deeg, *Das Gaoseng*, 156–76; Deeg, ‘Abhayagiri-vihāra’, 135–51.

⁷ Guruge, 51–52; Kulatunge, *Abhayagiri*, 19–20; Jayasuriya, *A Guide*, 27–28.

⁸ For the excavation of *āsanaghara*, see Wikramagama, ‘Excavations’, 348–51.



FIG. 1 View of *āsanaghara*, Abhayagiri. Photo by Kim Haewon.

make a case that the Bodhi-tree shrine Faxian recorded is not the Śrī Mahā Bodhi Shrine situated within the precinct of the Mahāvihāra complex, since this is the one directly connected to Bodhgaya's Bodhi-tree.⁹ Also, in the context of Faxian's writing, he mentions the shrine immediately after the transfer of the Bodhi tree branch from India to Sri Lanka, so it appears more logical that he would have been indicating the shrine in the Mahāvihāra complex.

Since the initial planting of the Bodhi-tree at the site of the Śrī Mahā Bodhi Shrine, there has been a series of architectural and artistic activities, including the construction of enclosing walls and additional buildings and the installation of a stone throne and Buddha statues. Records of some of the efforts that took place before Faxian's time are preserved in several texts, including the *Mahāvamsa*. In the third century BCE, Devanāmpiya Tissa erected a structure to house the Bodhi-tree. Around the first or second century CE, a temple complex was constructed and four Buddha

⁹ Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures*, 564; Central Cultural Fund, *Anurādhapura*, 12.



FIG. 2 Fragments of statues and architectural members, Śrī Mahā Bodhi Shrine. Photo by Kim Haewon.

statues were installed. In the third and fourth centuries CE, two bronze statues were placed on the east side of the temple along with three stone Buddha images at the west, north, and east entrances and a stone throne at the south. Moreover, two additional bronze Buddha images were installed on the west side of the temple.¹⁰ While none of the bronze images remain, the architectural members and images scattered within the temple complex indicate the existence of various buildings and installation of Buddhist statues at the site (Fig. 2).

At present, the most prominent feature of the temple is the large Bodhi-tree with its lower portion surrounded by walls and corridor-like structures where altars are installed. To the east of the

¹⁰ Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures*, 564; Kulatunga, *Mahāvihāra*, 19–20. The construction works and installation of Buddhist images mentioned took place during the reigns of Vasabha, Vohārika Tissa, Gothābhaya, and Mahāsena. As there are different opinions about the exact reign period of each king, only approximate dates are given here. Rahula, *History*, Appendix III, 308–11.



FIG. 3 Main Buddha statue with an earth-touching *mudrā*, Śrī Mahā Bodhi Shrine. Photo by Kim Haewon.

Bodhi-tree stands a shrine housing a Buddha statue (Fig. 3). The 3.3 meter-high Buddha with an earth-touching *mudrā*, something rarely seen in Sri Lankan Buddhist sculpture, is seated in the innermost center of the shrine. This stone Buddha attained its present appearance after 1911 when plaster and colors were added to its surface. The stylistic features of the original stone statue apparent in a late nineteenth century photo date it to the sixth century.¹¹ Given this, it is unlikely that Faxian could have seen this image, and it is potentially a replacement of an earlier seated Buddha image observed by Faxian.

Tooth Relic Temple

The Buddha's tooth relic in Sri Lanka is, along with the Bodhi-tree, the most sacred object of worship in Sri Lanka and has long been

¹¹ Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures*, 126 (25G), 564.



FIG. 4 Daḷadā Māḷigāva or ruins of a palace in citadel, Anurādhapura. Photo by Kim Haewon.

revered by the Buddhist believers of the island and beyond. It is currently housed in the renowned Tooth Relic Temple in Kandy. Prior to its arrival on the island it was venerated in Dantapura in Kalinga, but in the wake of political turmoil in this region it was transferred to Sri Lanka around 370 CE during the reign of Si-ri-Meghavaṇṇa.¹²

The tooth relic was first installed in Dhammacakka in Anurādhapura, which is regarded to be the Daḷadā Māḷigāva site in the citadel area located to the southeast of Abhayagiri (Fig. 4).¹³ This site, where now stands a series of tall stone pillars, was identified based on a tenth-century inscription (Mahinda IV, 956–972) preserved on a stone slab discovered to the north of the ruined building. The

¹² Rahula, *History*, 93–97. It is believed that Dantapura was located near Pūri in Bhubaneswar, and it has been suggested that it was located where Jaganāth Temple now stands. Brown, *Indian Architecture*, 35, 123.

¹³ Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures*, 593.

Mahāvamsa also contains information about this ancient shrine. The structure was originally built by Devanāmpiya Tissa, and the King Siri-Meghavaṇṇa housed tooth relic here when was brought to the island. Considering the structure of later tooth relic shrines in Polonnaruwa and Kandy and relevant records, it is certain that this was a multi-story building.¹⁴ However, it is difficult to confirm precisely when the upper level or levels were constructed. In Yijing's 義淨 (635–713) *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks Who Visited the Western Regions in Search of Dharma during the Tang Dynasty), it is mentioned that after a failed attempt by a Chinese monk named Mingyuan 明遠 to steal the tooth relic, it was kept in a high pavilion.¹⁵ Based on this record, some scholars believe that this would have been when the upper level was built. However, the construction date could in fact be earlier, since the building is already described to be several hundred *chi* 尺 high in Xuanzang's 玄奘 (c. 602–664) *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (The Records of the Western Regions during the Tang).¹⁶

Faxian's account vividly delivers the enthusiasm and piety expressed by Buddhist devotees toward the tooth relic. He wrote that its shrine was made with seven precious jewels, and in every third month the relic was brought out of it and transported to Abhaya-giri in a grand procession. A large crowd including the king participated in the ceremony and offered flowers and incense. Either side of the route was adorned with colorful representations of various *jataka* stories.¹⁷

¹⁴ Central Cultural Fund, *A Guide*, 30.

¹⁵ *Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2066, 51: 3c2–c12.

¹⁶ *Da Tang xiyu ji*, T no. 2087, 51: 934a10–a11. Xuanzang himself never visited Sri Lanka and wrote the section on this region based on the observations of others. It is likely that there is some exaggeration of the building's height, since one hundred *chi* would be more than twenty meters. However, it is undeniable that this record delivers the impression of the time that the building was quite high, and it is likely that the upper level had already been erected before Xuanzang's time.

¹⁷ *Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 865a20–b8. The relevant text is important

It must have been through the verbal and written communications of pilgrims who visited Sri Lanka that Buddhist communities in East Asia learned about this tooth relic. Faxian's account was compiled only about forty years after its arrival in Sri Lanka and is significant as one of the earliest Chinese sources related to the relic. After Faxian, Xuanzang's *Da Tang Xiyu ji* served as another important resource.¹⁸ The increased interest in the tooth relic can be seen in *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, which shows that at least six among nine monks visited Sri Lanka in the seventh century paid homage to the Buddha's tooth relic.¹⁹

Green Jade Image in Abhayagiri

Another notable sacred object about which Faxian wrote is '*qingyu xiang* 青玉像', a green jade image worshipped in Abhayagiri. Along with Mahāvihāra, this monastery was the most influential religious institution during the Anurādhapura period. Established in 89 BCE, its heyday fell during the reign of King Mahāsena in the fourth century CE.²⁰ It remained prominent well into the early fifth century when Faxian arrived in the city. The number of resident monks at the time was approximately 5,000, outnumbering that of Mahāvihāra by 2,000.

According to Faxian's writing, within the monastery was a Buddha Hall decorated with seven precious jewels and inlaid works of gold and silver. Inside the hall was an image made from green jade with a height of three *zhang* 丈, which is equivalent to 7.5 meters based on the standard measures of the Eastern Jin 東晉 (317–418).

for the usage of the word '*bian*' as a visual representation. For more details, see Mair, 'Records', 3–43.

¹⁸ *Da Tang xiyu ji*, T no. 2087, 51: 932b18–934c11.

¹⁹ *Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2066, 51: 3c2–4a1, 4b1–4c14, 8c19–10a13. For a more detailed discussion regarding the impact of the Tooth Relic on the East Asian Buddhist community, see Joo, 'Seurirangka', 133–65.

²⁰ Rahula, *History*, 93–96.

In the palm of the right hand was a priceless jewel. Its body glittered with seven jewels and showed majestic features. Faxian witnessed a merchant offering the image a fan made of white silk from the land of Jin 晉, which reminded Faxian of his hometown.²¹ It seems most likely that this merchant was Chinese, or at least had arrived in Sri Lanka after a visit to China.

While no extant Buddhist statue precisely fits the description of this green jade image, several textual records and surviving statues enable speculation on the possible exchanges in Buddhist statuary and pertinent ideas between Sri Lanka and East Asia. One reference is found in the biography of Shi Huili 釋慧力 preserved in the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks), which mentions a jade image of Buddha installed in the famous Waguansi 瓦官寺 Monastery in Jiankang 建康. Having heard that the Xiaowu Emperor 孝武帝 (r. 373–396) sincerely venerated the Buddha's law, a king in Sri Lanka presented it to him, and it took ten years for this statue to be transferred to the land of Jin, finally arriving in the Yixi 義熙 era (405–418).²² This could refer to a single incident in which a jade image was transferred to China, but considering Faxian's note on the merchant with a Chinese fan and also his and Xuanzang's accounts of the abundant jewels in Sri Lanka,²³ it seems plausible that Sri Lankan jade Buddhist images were known and sought after by certain groups of people in China. Most of the extant stone Buddhas in Sri Lanka are crafted from limestone or dolomite marble, but rare cases of Buddhist sculpture based on different materials do exist, as exemplified by a rose quartz image discovered in Dātava, Kurunāgala and housed in the Archaeological Museum in Anurādhapura (Fig. 5).²⁴ This fifth-century statue serves as an illustration of Buddhist images made of semi-precious stones or jewels.

As to the iconography of the jade image, it is difficult to determine

²¹ *Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 864c25–865a2.

²² *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 410b2–b5. A story about the same statue is also recorded in *Liangshu* (History of the Liang). Soper, *Literary*, p. 29.

²³ *Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 864c11–c12; T no. 2087, 51: 932b21–b22.

²⁴ Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures*, 128.



FIG. 5 Seated Buddha made of rose quartz from Dātava, Kuruṅāgala, Archaeological Museum in Anurādhapura. Photo by Kim Haewon.

whether it was of a Buddha or a bodhisattva. Considering Faxian's description of the seven jewels glittering on its body, it could be a bodhisattva image. However, given that it was a rather sizeable and prominent statue in the main hall of the monastery, it could also have been a Buddha image. In this case, the seven jewels could indicate ornaments added to the finished sculpture rather than the jewelry carved into it.

Another important feature of the jade image is the priceless jewel described as being held in its right hand. A Korean scholar Kim Choon sil noted this particular portion of Faxian's text in her article in 1985 on a particular type of Buddha image produced in the seventh

IMAGE PERMISSION PENDING

FIG. 6 Standing Buddha, 7th century, H. 31 cm, National Museum of Korea.

century Silla 新羅 (57 BCE–992 CE).²⁵ These images are made of bronze and thus dissimilar in terms of materials, but all of the extant examples hold a round object in the right hand (Fig. 6). No comparable example has been found in Chinese or Indian Buddhist sculpture.²⁶ Quite a few examples of Chinese Buddha statues holding an attribute can be found, but it is in the left hand instead of the right. Moreover, the shape of the object differs from those seen in Korean examples; it usually consists of a circle surrounded by a flame motif,

²⁵ Kim Choon sil, 'Samguksidae', 1–23.

²⁶ For English introduction of this type of images, see Washizuka, *Transmitting*, 222–23; Kim Lena, *Buddhist Sculpture*, 46–48.



FIG. 7 Standing Buddha, 6th century, Archaeological Museum in Anurādhapura. Photo by Kim Haewon.

as can be seen in a Śākyamuni Buddha Stele from the Wanfosi site in Chengdu, Sichuan Province dated to 533 CE, a Buddha excavated in Longxingsi Monastery in Qingzhou, Shandong Province, and a Buddha from Qishan County, Shaanxi Province dated to 592 CE.²⁷

A link between the Silla images and the Buddhist statues of Sri Lanka becomes even more evident when comparing the robes, which in both cases are worn in a manner that covers only the left shoulder (Fig. 7). This type of garment was unprecedented in Korean Buddhist art prior to the seventh century. Kim Choon sil pointed out

²⁷ Yang, 'Bojur-eul', 12–15; Kim Eun-ah, 'Jungguk', 15–23.

that Buddha statues from Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in South India and Anurādhapura in Sri Lanka could have been the sources of this new style. She also formulated the theory that it was via a maritime route that South Indian and/or Sri Lankan models were transmitted to Silla, which was located in the southeastern portion of the Korean Peninsula.²⁸

This view was further elaborated as more information on Chinese and Southeast Asian Buddhist sculpture became available in the late 1990s, including hundreds of Buddhist sculptures discovered in Longxingsi Monastery in Qingzhou, Shandong in 1996. Scholars noted that the garment type manifested in these Silla images was also quite popular in sixth-century Shandong. It was also pointed out that both the pleated and unpleated robes that appear in Korean examples can be found in examples from Shandong.²⁹ The link between Shandong and Silla became particularly notable from the year 553 CE, during King Jinheung's 眞興王 reign (540–576), when Silla conquered Danghang-seong Fortress 黨項城 and a nearby port called Dangen-po 唐恩浦 on the west coast of the peninsula. This opened up a much more direct route between Silla and China. Shandong would have been the gateway to China when representatives of Silla crossed the Yellow Sea from Danghangpo.³⁰ It seems undeniable that Shandong served as an important midpoint in the transmission of a new style originating in South India and Sri Lanka to the Korean Peninsula.

Interestingly, as was identified in a recent article by Kang Hee-jung, the hip-shot pose or *tribhanga* (thrice-bent) found in most Korean examples of this new type is rare in Shandong Buddha statues, but several cases are apparent in Indian and Southeast Asian

²⁸ Kim Choon sil, 'Samguksidae', 1–23. Regarding the close relationship between early Buddhist images in South India and Sri Lanka, see d'Ancona, 'Amaravati', 1–17; Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures*, 96–111.

²⁹ Kang, 'Chilsegi', 188–89; Yang, 'Boju-reul', 15–22. For more discussions on the stylistic sources for Shandong Buddhist sculptures, see Su, 'Sculptures', 54–59; Howard, 'Pluralism', 67–94.

³⁰ Kwon, 'Silla', 2–7; Yang, 'Boju-reul', 19–20.

IMAGE PERMISSION PENDING

FIG. 8 Standing Buddha, Kedah, Malaysia, 8th century, H. 20.6 cm, Collection of the Asian Civilisations Museum.

sculpture. These include the Buddha images on the façade of Cave 16 in Ajañṭā Caves, a sixth-century Buddha image from Kedah, Malaysia housed in the Asian Civilisations Museum, and a sixth-century Buddha from Nen Chua in Kien Giang, Vietnam (Fig. 8).³¹

The above discussion on the potential inspirations for seventh-century Silla Buddha images shows that the establishment of particular Buddha images in Korea involved multiple sources in South India, Southeast Asia, and China. It appears that while ancient Koreans may have frequently adopted new styles and ele-

³¹ Kang, 'Chilsegi', 190–97.

ments from Buddhist sculptures in Shandong, they maintained an interest in Indian examples, which resulted in a continuous influx of artistic stimuli not only from China, but from South and Southeast Asia as well.

Going back to Faxian, it is of course difficult to confirm that the green jade image mentioned in his account served as a direct model for the particular seventh-century Buddha images in Korea. However, his account still provides valuable material for the contemplation of the transit of ideas between South Asia and Korea and the complex network of communications that linked these regions.

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Abbreviation

T *Taishō shinsbū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.

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PART TWO

Faxian in the Context of East Asia

Faxian and the Construction of the Buddha's Shadow Platform at Mount Lu^{*†}

WANG BANGWEI 王邦維

Center for Studies of Eastern Literatures of Peking University

Keywords: Faxian, Huiyuan, Buddha's Shadow Cavern, Buddha's Shadow Platform

Abstract: The building of the Buddha's Shadow Platform by Huiyuan is a well-known event in the Buddhist history of Medieval China. The Platform was an imitation of the so-called Buddha's Shadow in a stone cavern in Nagarahāra, a country located in today's Afghanistan. Huiyuan says he got the related information from a Chan Master from Kashmir and a *Vinaya* Master from the South. It is clear that the Chan Master from Kashmir is Buddhahadra, a Buddhist monk from India, but who is the *Vinaya* Master from the South? The paper's aim is to prove that this Master is no other than Faxian, one of the most prominent pilgrim monks who visited India, including other countries in the West, early in the fifth century.

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Faxian is one of the most famous Buddhist monks in Chinese history. He left Chang'an in 339 CE on a journey to the west with the goal of acquiring scriptures, and he reached India four years later. Faxian stayed in India for roughly six years before travelling to present-day Sri Lanka. Two years later, he headed back east by boat, but several wild storms at sea left his ship utterly disoriented. They were only certain which way was north and accordingly headed in that direction. On the fourteenth day of the seventh month of 412 CE, Faxian's ship arrived at Mount Lao 嶗山 in present-day Qingdao 青島 city, where they realised they had reached China. As a result, Faxian disembarked and made contact with the local officials, as is recorded in *Faxian zhuan* 法顯傳 (Account of Faxian):

Provincial governor Li Yi 李嶷, a reverent believer in Buddhism, heard that Buddhist monks were crossing the seas by boat with Buddhist scriptures and statues, so together with his attendants, he immediately came to the coast. He welcomed the arrival of Buddhist scriptures and statues, then returned to the capital. Afterwards the merchants proceeded to Yangzhou and Liu Yan invited Faxian to spend one winter and one summer in Qingzhou.

太守李嶷敬信佛法，聞有沙門持經像，乘船泛海而至。即將人從，來至海邊。迎接經像，歸至郡治。商人於是還揚州。(劉洸)青州請法顯一冬一夏。¹

Faxian spent 'one winter and one summer' in Qingzhou 青州; that is, the winter of 412 and the summer of 413 CE. However, some researchers have different opinions as to whether or not he was in Qingzhou. One of these researchers is the Japanese scholar Adachi Kiroku 足立喜六, who believes this indicates he was in Qingzhou; another opinion comes from Tang Yongtong 湯用彤, who believes he was actually in Pengcheng.² Whatever the case, at this time, Faxian wanted to return to Chang'an, but then he changed his plan:

¹ *Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 866b12–15; Zhang, *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 173.

² Zhang, *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 176, note 20.

After the summer retreat (*xiazuo* 夏坐) session finished, since Faxian had left his fellow monks for a long time, he wanted to return to Chang'an. However, he was shouldering several great tasks, so he went to the southern capital (Jiankang), for helping the Chan Master to translate Buddhist *sūtras* and *Vinayas*.

夏坐訖，法顯離諸師久，欲趣長安。但所營事重，遂便南下向都，就禪師出經律。³

Disregarding exactly where he spent this time, after that summer, Faxian went to Jiankang 建康 (present-day Nanjing). Provided there were no delays, he likely arrived during the fall of 413 CE, roughly at the end of the seventh month or the start of the eighth.⁴ Whether Faxian arrived in the south or in Jiankang, looking over what later happened, it appears his main objective was to translate 'Buddhist *sūtras* and *vinayas*'. This 'Chan Master' 禪師 obviously is Buddhahadra from India who had already become rather well-known in China.

Afterwards, the *Faxian zhuan* provides a complete summary of Faxian's journey to the west to acquire scriptures:

I, Faxian, set out from Chang'an and arrived in central India six years later. I stayed there for six years before returning. After three years of travel, I reached Qingzhou. Altogether, I travelled through almost thirty countries. I crossed the deserts, heading west, arrived at India. The Buddhist *Vinaya* practice by the *Samgha* are exceptionally dignified which cannot be described in detail. Since these are not known to my fellow monks, I paid no mind to my insignificant life and headed across the vast sea, surmounting numerous difficulties so that I could return to China. Thanks to the blessings of the three venerated Buddhas, I was able to surmount the difficulties I encountered

³ *Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 866b15–17; Zhang, *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 173.

⁴ According to Buddhist regulation in the Han area, the *zuoxia* 夏坐, summer retreat of monks starts on the sixteenth day of the fourth month and ends on the fifteenth day of the seventh month.

and safely crossed the sea. I wrote down my journey, hoping that the good people can learn about these experiences. The current year is the year of *jiayin* 甲寅 (414 CE).

法顯發長安，六年到中國。停六年。還三年，達青州。凡所遊歷，減三十國。沙河已西，迄於天竺。眾僧威儀法化之美，不可詳說。竊惟諸師未得備聞，是以不顧微命，浮海而還，艱難具更。幸蒙三尊威靈，危而得濟。故竹帛疏所經歷，欲令賢者同其聞見。是歲甲寅。⁵

The main text of the *Faxian zhuan* stops here. What follows is a ‘postscript’ 跋:

In the twelfth year of the Yixi Era (416 CE), which was also a *bingchen* 丙辰 year when the *suixing* 歲星 was in the direction of *shouxing* 壽星. After the summer retreat session ended, I went to greet Master Faxian. After Faxian arrived, we stayed together through the winter. I took advantage of the interim time to study scriptures and repeatedly asked Faxian about his travels. Faxian was very courteous and amicable, and he spoke in accordance with the facts. As a result, I urged him to produce a detailed account of his former journey. Faxian again provided me with a narration from start to finish. He said, ‘Looking back over the whole of the experience, I feel deeply moved and recall being drenched in sweat. This was a dangerous quest, but I did not care for my life because I held onto an aspiration, and I wholeheartedly hoped to have it realised. As a result, I cast my life into a place where safety was not guaranteed in the least, seeking to actualize a great aspiration’. With respect to this person’s actions, one can but sigh with admiration. It seems that from ancient times to the present, there are few like him. From the time Buddhism was transmitted to the east, no other person’s deeds can compare with the sacrifice made by Faxian to seek out Dharma. It can be known from this that the power exhibited by a genuine mind can extend to anywhere. With strong willpower, there is no exploit that cannot be achieved. Accomplishing great achievements is not born out of

⁵ *Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 866b15–17; Zhang, *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 177.

forsaking what those of secular minds deem important; rather, such achievements are realized when one places importance on undertakings that others have abandoned.

晉義熙十二年，歲在壽星。夏安居末，迎法顯道人。既至，留共冬齋。因講集之餘，重問遊歷。其人恭順，言輒依實。由是先所略者，勸令詳載。顯復具敘始末，自云：顧尋所經，不覺心動汗流。所以乘危履險，不惜此形者，蓋是志有所存，專其愚直。故投命於不必全之地，以達萬一之冀。於是感歎斯人，以為古今罕有。自大教東流，未有忘身求法如顯之比。然後知誠之所感，無窮否而不通；志之所將，無功業而不成。成夫功業者，豈不由忘夫所重，重夫所忘者哉？⁶

The author of the ‘postscript’ is apparently, or perhaps actually is, the person who transcribed the *Faxian zhuàn*. He was a scribe at the very least. While the words further above can be deemed a personal account by Faxian, this paragraph is not.

The question that interests me here is whether or not Faxian went to any other places besides Jiankang between 413 CE and 416 CE after he arrived in the south. Speaking more concretely, the question that I want to raise is, ‘Did Faxian travel to Lushan during this period of time?’ Also, did he meet with Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416) while in Lushan? Others already raised such questions in the past, and for a time there have been different opinions regarding the answer to these questions. The overriding believe is that Faxian did not go to Lushan.⁷

Below are a few ideas and postulations of mine. Correct or not, I hope to receive further advice from my fellow colleagues. What I wish to discuss roughly includes three points.

The first point is whether or not Huiyuan was at Lushan during the time that Faxian left the north (whether that be Qingzhou or Pengcheng) for the south in 413 CE. Huiyuan passed away in either

⁶ *Faxian zhuàn*, T no. 2085, 51: 866b23–c5; Zhang, *Faxian zhuàn jiaozhu*, 179.

⁷ Among those who believe Faxian went to Lushan, there is Xu Wenming 徐文明 (Xu, ‘Xuanga’). However, Chen Jinhua 陳金華 has a different opinion (see Chen, ‘Fotuobatu’, 116–17).

416 or 417 CE, and while it is not clear exactly when Faxian passed away, it certainly happened sometime after 418 CE.⁸ Thus, from a temporal standpoint, it is completely within the realm of possibility that the two figures crossed paths.

The second point is whether or not Huiyuan and Faxian had any contact with one another. Within documents, there is no clear-cut record, and proof is needed in order to say they had contact. Those who support and those who refute the notion that the two figures met all support their claims with evidence. Huiyuan's famous work the 'Foying ming' 佛影铭 (Buddha Shadow Inscription), in particular, has been provided as evidence. Though it is not long, an early section reads:

The Buddha Shadow is in an ancient stone cavern at the southern mountain in Nagarahāra, a country in the Western Lands. Between here and the Buddha's Shadow Cavern stands quicksand, by road, with the distance of 15,850 *li*. The legend as to how it was left behind is explained in detail in the past records. ... Previously, I followed my master, who has already passed away. I single-mindedly tended to him for many years. Although he imparted rudimentary knowledge to me and provided me with benevolent guidance while I wholeheartedly devoted myself to Buddhist scriptures, I, however,

⁸ Faxian's biography in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* (*T* no. 2145, 55: 15.112b25–26) reads: (Faxian) 'went to Jingzhou and passed away at Jingzhou's Xin Monastery 辛寺 at the age of eighty-two'. But his biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* says he passed away at the age of eighty-six, while not mentioning which year. The postscript of the Chinese translation of *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya* 摩訶僧祇律私記 says that the date while Faxian finished his translation of *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya* at the Daochang Monastery in Jiankang is the end of the second month in 418 CE (*T* no. 1425, 22: 40.548b5–9). The biography of *Futuoshi* 佛馱什 in the *Gaoseng zhuan* says that before the seventh month of 423, Faxian had already passed away (no. 2059, 50: 3.339a4–6). According to this information, Zhang Xun posited that Faxian passed away at some point between late in the second month of 418 CE and the seventh month of 423 CE (Zhang, *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 1–2). We can perhaps infer that Faxian passed away in 422 CE.

remained full of curiosity towards those magical stories, and for this reason I became more devoted to Buddhism. When I encountered monks from the Western Regions, I listened to them tell me about their various journeys. As a result, I knew the story of the shadow, though I didn't entirely understand what it was. At Mountain Lushan, I met a Chan Master from Jibin (闍賓禪師)⁹ and a *Vinaya* Master from the south (南國律學道士). They had both been to the Buddha's Shadow Cavern in India before, so I thoroughly questioned them about it. What they said was consistent with the stories I had previously heard. Afterwards, I finally learned that the Buddha's image could indeed exist in the form of a shadow. It seemed that many of the notions that I had had in the past were with a basis. This caused me to thoroughly understand the piety of the Buddha and his accomplishments. As a result, I led those of a common pursuit as myself to mutually uncover an unadulterated understanding of the Buddha shadow. Charitable figures made contributions to help establish a Buddha's Shadow Platform, and to memorialize this event, we engraved this inscription in stone.

佛影今在西(域)那伽訶羅國南山古仙石室中。度流沙，從徑道。去此一萬五千八百五十里。感世之應。詳於前記。……遠昔尋先師，奉侍曆載。雖啟蒙慈訓，托志玄籍。每想奇聞，以篤其誠。遇西域沙門，輒餐游方之說，故知有佛影而傳者尚未曉然。及在此山，值闍賓禪師、南國律學道士。與昔聞既同，並是其人遊歷所經。因其詳問，乃多先征。然後驗神道無方，觸像而寄。百慮所會，非一時之感。於是悟徹其誠，應深其位。將援同契，發其真趣。故與夫隨喜之賢，圖而銘焉。¹⁰

Below is an inscription written by Huiyuan that was carved into stone and explains the construction of the 'Buddha's Shadow Platform' (*Foying tai* 佛影臺):

⁹ As for the location of Jibin, there are different identifications. I believe at this time, while people says Jibin, that means today's Kashmir.

¹⁰ Huiyuan, 'Foying ming', *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 15.197c08–198a15.

On the first day of the fifth month of 412 CE during the Jin Dynasty, we collectively built a Buddha's Shadow Platform and carved images of the Buddha into it. This was a manifestation of our piety towards the Buddha. Although a great deal of manpower was put into the construction, we would still not dare to boast of it as a great undertaking. On the year that we constructed the Buddha's Shadow Platform, we saw an auspicious celestial phenomenon, which is referred to as 'Chifenruo' 赤奮若. So on the third day of the ninth month, we examined the record in details and carved it on the stone. The event started with the Buddhist texts, thus the people's reverence of the Buddha increased hundredfold. Being moved by the remains of the Buddha in heart, both monks and lay believers were so pleased with it. As our devotion responds with the truth, we forget the great labors of it. At this time all the distinguished guests who held pens were praising and singing. Trusting the miraculous phenomenon, we all thought of the beautifulness of the past. This is for our contemporaries while we expect the excellent people in future to come again. At this gathering of the Buddha Shadow, the benevolence of the Buddha's compassion is obvious. As we stand in front this Platform and sigh with emotion, our thought already goes beyond the realm of spirits.

晉義熙八年歲在壬子，五月一日，共立此臺，擬像本山。因即以寄誠。雖成由人匠，而功無所加。至於歲次，星紀赤奮若貞於太陰之墟。九月三日乃詳檢別記，銘之於石。爰自經始，人百其誠。道俗欣之，感遺跡以悅心。於是情以本應，事忘其勞。於時揮翰之賓，僉焉同詠。咸思好遠猷，托相異聞。庶來賢之重軌，故備時人。於影集大通之會，誠悲現所期。至於佇襟遐慨，固已超夫神境矣。¹¹

Huiyuan spent his entire life without ever leaving China. After he split away from Dao'an, he went to Lushan, where he remained until his death. So how did he know about Buddha's Shadow Cavern?¹²

¹¹ Huiyuan, 'Foying ming', *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 15.198b5–13.

¹² Chen Jinhua provides a very good discussion of this. The only point where I disagree is with respect to the 'Vinaya Master from Nanguo 南國'. Chen be-

First, let's look at when Huiyuan said: 'The legend as to how they were left behind is explained in detail in the past records'. In regards to the 'Buddha Shadow' (*Foying* 佛影), Huiyuan had something of an understanding about this name from the Buddhist texts he was familiar with. However, the 'Buddha's Shadow Cavern' was ultimately in the west—in India—so he certainly never knew exactly what was there. This much Huiyuan noted explicitly:

Previously, I followed my master, serving him for several years. Although he imparted rudimentary knowledge upon me and provided me with benevolent guidance while I wholeheartedly devoted myself to the marvelous scriptures; however, I remained full of curiosity toward those magical stories, and for this reason I became more devoted to Buddhism. When I encountered monks from the Western Regions, I listened to them tell me about their various journeys. As a result, I knew the story of the Buddha's Shadow, though I didn't entirely understand what it is.

遠昔尋先師，奉侍歷載。雖啟蒙慈訓，托志玄籍。每想奇聞，以篤其誠。遇西域沙門，輒餐游方之說，故知有佛影而傳者尚未曉然。¹³

We do not know exactly who the 'monk from the Western Regions' 西域沙門 that Huiyuan crossed is, but Huiyuan did learn

lieves that 'Nanguo' refers to the south of India. As a result, he believes this 'Vinaya Master' is likely from the south of India. But I think here the word Nanguo 南國 means south China and the character *guo* 國 has nothing to do with the meaning of a political state, whether of India or of China. Zhipan 志磐 (d. after 1249) believes that during the Yao Qin (384–417 CE) period, Buddhayaśas 佛陀耶舍 came to Chang'an. See *Fozu tongji*, T no. 2035, 49: 26.261b21-24. Buddhayaśas was also from Jibin, and his greatest accomplishment was to translate the *Dharmagupta-vinaya* 四分律 while in Chang'an. As a result, Buddhayaśas could indeed be considered a 'Vinaya Master', but Buddhayaśas never went to the south of China. See Buddhayaśas's biographies in *Chu sanzang ji ji* (T no. 2145, 55: 14.102a15) as well as *Gaoseng zhuan* (T no. 2059, 50: 2.333c16).

¹³ 'Foying ming', *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 15.198a7–10.

about the Buddha's Shadow Cavern from this person, or perhaps from this group of people. As for the exact details of the Buddha's Shadow Cavern, this much was clearly unknown to him, as he admitted, 'As a result, I knew the story of the shadow, though I didn't entirely understand what it was.' Huiyuan indeed had a relatively detailed understanding of the Buddha's Shadow Cavern once he got to Lushan and especially after he welcomed other monks who had come there to visit. Huiyuan referred to one of the monks as the 'Master from Jibin', while he called the other 'the *Vinaya* Master from the south', which is made clear here:

When I went to Lushan, a Chan Master from Jibin (闍賓禪師) and a *Vinaya* Master from the south (南國律學道士) were there. They had both been to the Buddha's Shadow Cavern in India before, so I thoroughly questioned them about it. What they said was consistent with the stories I had previously heard. Afterwards, I finally learned that the Buddha's image could indeed exist in the form of a shadow.

及在此山，值闍賓禪師、南國律學道士，與昔聞既同，並是其人遊歷所經。因其詳問，乃多先征。然後驗神道無方，觸像而寄。百慮所會，非一時之感。¹⁴

It was because of this that Huiyuan wrote the 'Foying ming':

This caused me to thoroughly understand the piety of the Buddha and his accomplishments. As a result, I led those of a common pursuit as myself to mutually uncover an unadulterated understanding of the Buddha shadow. Thus I, together with the good people who have supported me to build the Buddha's Shadow Platform, painted the image of the Buddha and engraved this inscription in stone.

於是悟徹其誠，應深其位。將援同契，發其真趣。故與夫隨喜之賢，圖而銘焉。¹⁵

¹⁴ 'Foying ming', *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 15.198a10–13.

¹⁵ 'Foying ming', *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 15.198a13–15.

‘The Chan Master from Jibin’ is Buddhahadra. In regards to this, there is no dispute amongst researchers; however, many different opinions exist as to the identity of ‘the *Vinaya* Master from the south’. Some say it refers to Faxian, but the majority of researchers believe this is not the case.

This raises a third point: Is ‘the *Vinaya* Master from the south’ Faxian, or not? I believe he is, and I have four principal reasons for believing this.

First, given the situation at that time, if it is said that a ‘*Vinaya* Master’ 律學道士 had some kind of connection or relationship to Lushan, then it is not likely that this title could be referring to anyone besides Faxian. Seeing as it is the case that they referred to him as a ‘*Vinaya* Master’, then it is certain that this person had a relationship with the Disciplinary Rules of Buddhism and possesses thorough knowledge of *Vinaya* (律學修養). According to what we know about the monks from that time who are closely related to *Vinaya*, there were a few in the north who had mostly come from the Western Regions, but none of them went to the south. Faxian was then perhaps the only famous *Vinaya* figure in the south. Faxian had travelled a tremendous distance to acquire Buddhist scriptures, and he had gone to India with the intent of acquiring Buddhist *Vinaya* texts. In Chinese Buddhist history, among those who had the objective of reaching India to acquire scriptures, Faxian is the first one who really completed the task. Additionally, while Faxian was in India, he principally studied Buddhist *Vinaya* Texts. He brought Buddhist texts back to China with him, and of the texts he brought back, a large portion is of the *Vinaya*. Of the five Buddhist Nikāyas that circulated throughout ethnically Han regions, three out of five either completely or almost completely used *Vinaya* brought to China from India by the hands of Faxian. Namely, these were the *Sapoduo lü chao* 薩婆多律抄 (Excerpts of the *Sarvāstivādavīnaya*) of the *Sarvāstivāda Nikāya* and the *Mahāsāsakavinaya* (*Mishasai lü* 彌沙塞律; commonly written as *Wufen lü* 五分律) of the *Mahāsāsaka Nikāya* and the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* (*Mohe Sengqi lü* 摩訶僧祇律) and *Sengqi biqiu jieben* 僧祇比丘戒本 (Skt. **Mahāsāṃghika-pratimokṣa-sūtra*) of the *Mahāsāṃghika Nikāya*. Of these texts, the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* was translated by the ‘Master from Jibin’,

Buddhabhadra, and the translation just so happened to have been carried out in the south in Jiankang.¹⁶

Second, Huiyuan said that it was from 'the Chan Master from Jibin' and 'the *Vinaya* Master from the south' that he heard about the 'Buddha Shadow' as well as the 'Buddha's Shadow Cavern': 'They had both been to the Buddha's Shadow Cavern in India before, so I thoroughly questioned them about it.' In other words, 'the Master from Jibin' and 'the *Vinaya* Master from the south' had both previously gone to the 'Buddha's Shadow Cavern'. With respect to this point, Faxian's experiences correspond the most. Huiyuan also said, 'What they said was consistent with the stories I had previously heard.' As for what Huiyuan asked about, it is likely that some of the answers to his questions are contained in the *Faxian zhuan*:

In the south of Nagarahāra, going southwestwards through the mountain, in a half Yojana distance, there is a stone cavern. The 'shadow of the Buddha' is within this cavern, and from ten steps away, the true form of the Buddha seems present. It is a beautiful shade of gold that shines brilliantly. As you get closer, it gets darker, as if it is actually the Buddha. The kings of many countries have sent skilled painters there to make a copy of it, but none succeeded. Legend contends that thousand Buddhas will leave their shadows there. About a hundred steps from the shadows is where the Buddha shaved his head and cut his nails while living, and there is a pagoda there that the Buddha and his disciples collectively built, which is seven or eight *zhang* tall and constructed in the way that future pagodas would be built. It still exists today. Beside it is a monastery of over seven hundred Buddhist monks. Here there are about thousand pagodas of *arahats* and *pratyekabuddhas*.

那竭城南半由延，有石室，博山西南向，佛留影此中。去十余步，觀之如佛真形。金色相好，光明炳著。轉近轉微，髣髴如有。諸方國王遣工畫師摹寫，莫能及。彼國人傳云，千佛盡當於此留影。影西四百步許，佛在時剃髮剪爪。佛自與諸弟子共造塔，高七八丈，以為

¹⁶ Cf. Wang, 'Faxian yu Fojiao lü'.

將來塔法。今猶在。邊有寺。寺中有七百餘僧。此處有諸羅漢、辟支佛塔乃千數。¹⁷

Of course, there is a problem here; that is, when Huiyuan talked about ‘the Chan Master from Jibin’ and ‘the *Vinaya* Master from the south’, he mentioned both of them at the same time. The first is easy to understand, as is the second, as ‘the *Vinaya* Master from the south’ refers to a monk with a thorough understanding of *Vinayas*. ‘Jibin’ and the ‘south’ were also mentioned at the same time, and while the former is easy to understand, what exactly does ‘south’ refer to? Why did Huiyuan say this?

Chen Jinhua believes that the term ‘Nanguo’ 南國 does not refer to the south of China but rather the south of India. I, however, believe this term refers to the south of China because here the character *guo* 國 cannot be understood in the political sense of the word ‘state’, it should be understood as making a general reference to an area or region. In this case Nanguo 南國 means the south. Examples of such usage can be readily found in other places. Here are three examples from Buddhist texts wherein such usage of the word can be found:

1. The first example is from *Wuzhu Sun Quan lunxu Fodao sanzong* 吳主孫權論敘佛道三宗 [Sun Quan, the King of the Kingdom of Wu on the three religions including Buddhism and Daoism], which is in the first *juan* of *Guang Hongming ji* 廣弘明集 (Expanded Collection for the Propagation and Clarification of Buddhism) that mentions Kang Senghui 康僧會 (181?–280):

When the Three Kingdoms were in a confrontation, each side was of formidable strength. At that time, Buddhism had already spread throughout the Central Plain for a good while, but it had not yet spread to the area south of the Yangtze River. Kang Senghui wanted to propagate Buddhism unto a place where it was yet to spread, so he travelled from the north to the south (nanguo 南國).

¹⁷ *Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51.859a3–11; Zhang, *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 47.

時三國鼎峙，各擅威權。佛法久被中原，未達江表。會欲道被未聞，化行南國。¹⁸

The *Guang Hongming ji* claims that this sentence was recorded in the *Wu shu* 吳書, but this is not correct.

2. The second example is from the biography of the Nun Jingchen 靜稱 (d.u.) included in the *Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳 [Biographies of *Bhikṣuṇīs*]. The *Biqiuni zhuan* were written close to the time of Huiyuan. It refers to Jingchen:

Jingchen later departed the nunnery to head to the south. On the road, she encountered a woman from the north. She met with the woman several times, and then Jingchen noticed that it seemed she had returned to her hometown. This woman had the surname of Qiu and the name of Wenjiang; she was originally from Boping. She also believed in Buddhism. Upon hearing of the prosperity of the south (nanguo 南國), she went to a checkpoint and snuck into that land.

後暫出山，道遇一北地女人。造次問訪，欣然若舊。女姓仇名文姜，本博平人也。性好佛法，聞南國富道關開，託避得至此土。¹⁹

3. The third example is Daoxuan's 道宣 (596–667) *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing bingxu* 關中創立戒壇圖經並序 [Preface of the Text and Diagram to Establish a Precept Platform in Guanzhong], which reads: 'Checking all the records, I found the precept platforms in the south (nanguo 南國) are built not in same way. A precept platform in the capital of the Song has been discussed above.' 今通檢《別傳》諸記，南國諸方戒壇非一，宋都一壇如上已辨。²⁰

¹⁸ *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 1.99c16–17:

¹⁹ *Biqiuni zhuan*, T no. 2063, 50: 2.940a10–13.

²⁰ *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing (bingxu)*, T no. 1892, 45: 813b27–28.

In Huiyuan's time, as the north and south were governed separately, people living in the south (during the Eastern Jin Dynasty and afterwards), were generally referred to as people of the Nanguo, that is, the southern people. Although Faxian was born in Shanxi, after returning from Sri Lanka, he spent the rest of his life living within the boundaries of the Eastern Jin Dynasty, and it seems perfectly reasonable that he could have been regarded as a 'southern' person. Moreover, I think that throughout the course of Faxian's activities in the south, it is not necessarily certain that people there knew his ancestral home was Pingyang County, Shanxi.

Furthermore, perhaps Huiyuan was one of these people. In a strikingly similar way, Buddhahadra's ancestral hometown is decidedly not Jibin, yet Huiyuan still found it fitting to refer to him as 'the *Vinaya* Master from Jibin'. Why? Clearly it is because all of the methods of meditation and theories passed on by Buddhahadra were, for the most part, derived from Jibin. As a result, Huiyuan used the term 'Jibin' when referring to him. Jibin has absolutely nothing to do with Buddhahadra's ancestral hometown, but Huiyuan used this term because, when deciding how to refer to another, he relied on his complete understanding of a person's background. He treated Buddhahadra—'the Chan Master of Jibin'—in this way, and he also treated Faxian—'the *Vinaya* Master of the south'—in the same way.

It seems that something should be noted here. From my perspective, Chinese people of that time did not necessarily consider Jibin to be a part of India. It is very often known that Jibin and India were neighbours, but it is uncertain as to whether or not it was then an autonomous region or was a part of India. This much is not certain.

Third, Buddhahadra and Faxian collaborated to translate scriptures, and the two figures had a close relationship. Faxian brought all kinds of Buddhist texts back from India, and the most important two translations derived from these were the six volumes of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* (*Da bannihuan jing* 大般泥洹經) and the forty volumes of the *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya* (*Mobe sengqi lü* 摩訶僧祇律), which were completed as a result of the two figures' partnership. Saying that the two men joined Huiyuan's activities conforms to reason. The paragraph from the *Faxian zhuàn* that is quoted at the very top of this article explains what Faxian did after his summer

retreat session in Qingzhou ended in 413 CE. It reads, 'He wanted to return to Chang'an. However, he was shouldering several great tasks, so he went to the southern capital (Jiankang), for helping the Chan Master to translate Buddhist *sūtras* and *vinayas*.'

This monk is Buddhahadra; that is, he is the one Huiyuan referred to as 'the Chan Master from Jibin'. When Faxian went to the south in search of a collaborator for translating Buddhist scriptures, the figure he found was indeed none other than Buddhahadra. When Buddhahadra went to Lushan, Faxian had also gone there. This is also a rational turn of events.

The fourth point is derived from the words of Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385–433 CE). He was a contemporary of Huiyuan, and while Xie Lingyun was just a few years younger than Huiyuan, he was nevertheless a worshipper and follower. After Huiyuan wrote the 'Foying ming', Xie Lingyun also wrote his own 'Foying ming', which clearly said:

Master Faxian has been to Jetavana (in India), so he can describe in detail the 'Shadow of the Buddha'. That is indeed a wonder. It appears on a dark and stiff rock looking as the actual figure of the Buddha. The features of the shadow are extremely dignified, and it is aesthetically sublime. It is not known when it began or when it will end. The shadow is imbued with a consummate expression of peace. Master Huiyuan of Lushan was filled with joy to learn of this, and then he thought of following the way to worship in a gloomy room and found a blank rock. To its north is a high mountain and to the south is a rapid stream. Imitating the Shadow of Buddha, he hopes to take shelter of it on the black rock. As the Buddha-shadow sincerely transmits the appearance of the Buddha, it is thus also capable of transmitting the ultimate way of Buddhism unto those who hold Dharma in their mind.

法顯道人至自祇洹，具說佛影，偏為靈奇。幽岩崕壁，若有存形。容儀端莊，相好具足。莫知始終，常自湛然。廬山法師聞風而悅，於是隨喜幽室，即考空岩。北枕峻嶺，南映彪澗。摹擬遺量，寄託青采。豈唯象形也篤，故亦傳心者極矣。²¹

²¹ *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 15.199b10–15.

Moreover, another important point is that Xie Lingyun was instructed to write his ‘Foying ming’ by Huiyuan, which Xie made clear: ‘Carrying on the instructions from venerated Master Huiyuan, I composed this article and let it engraved on this stone’ 道秉道人, 远宣意旨, 命余制铭, 以充刊刻.²²

These two versions of the ‘Foying ming’ have the same subject, were written on the same topic at essentially the same time, and include essentially the same content. Huiyuan was tied to the event, and Xie Lingyun was seemingly also related. The time and place recorded in Lingyun’s text provide the closest account of what happened at that time. So if we don’t believe him, who can we believe?

In previous discussions, others have also raised a question: Even if it is assumed that the Master from Jibin and the *Vinaya* Master from the south are Buddhahadra and Faxian, in the ‘Foying ming’, Huiyuan still said that he built the Platform with his disciples on the first day of the fifth month of 412 CE. Faxian was then still aboard a ship, floating about at sea. Such is one of the reasons used to illustrate the notion that Faxian was still yet to reach Lushan at that time. However, this is a very easy problem to resolve. Huiyuan built the Platform at Donglin Monastery 東林寺 on Lushan, and he had indeed completed this task by the fifth month of 412 CE. But the ‘Foying ming’ shows that it really happened on the following year; specifically, it was finished in the ninth month of 413 CE. This is because Huiyuan next said, ‘The year that we constructed the Buddha’s Shadow Platform, reckoning according the star positions, is referred to as “Chifenruozhen” 赤奮若貞 located at the place of Taiyin 太陰之墟. So on the third day of the ninth month, we provided a detailed recording of it and carved it onto the stone.’ When the Taiyin is at the position of *chou* 丑, that year is referred to as ‘Chifenruo’ 赤奮若. 412 CE was the year of *zi* 子年, and 413 CE was precisely the year of *chou* 丑年. Consequently, when Huiyuan’s ‘Foying ming’ says the ‘fifth month’, it means the fifth month of 412 CE, and when

²² Xie, ‘Foying ming’, *T* no. 2103, 52: 15.199b15–16.

it says the 'ninth month', it definitely means the ninth month of 413 CE.²³

As a result, for an ultimate verdict, I not only believe that the 'Vinaya Master from the south' is Faxian, I think that this figure could only be Faxian.

If I can establish such an inference, then it can also be shown that Faxian reached Lushan before the third day of the ninth month of 413 CE. This also conforms to the itinerary of Faxian's homeward journey, as detailed at the start of this essay. It is simply that during that time of Faxian's summer retreat session, he was still in Qingzhou, and he later went to the south. So did he first go to Jiankang or Lushan? This much is hard to say, but, in short, he did indeed go to Lushan.

Here, people will perhaps still ask, 'If it is Faxian, then why, with the exception of the document by Xie Lingyun, do all other relevant documents—including the most important of them, Huiyuan's "Foying ming"—not directly mention Faxian's name?'

My explanation for this is as follows: in the time that Huiyuan wrote the 'Foying ming', Faxian was certainly not as famous as he would later become—especially when compared to the present day, wherein essentially many people know about him. From Buddhist history books and other history books still in existence today, including the *Faxian zhuan*, we know that there were actually quite a number of monks at that time who went to India to acquire scriptures, and Faxian was merely one among their ranks. At that time, he was not necessarily as prominent of a figure as he would later be. Indeed, Faxian is principally known on account of his writing—disregarding the question of whether he wrote the *Faxian zhuan* or it is a record produced by someone else—that was passed down. With respect to the Buddhist monks who came to China from Western Regions, including India, to propagate Buddhist teachings, we also come across a similar kind of situation. There were a great many who came to China that, because they did something of note or on account of

²³ In their above-quoted articles, Xu Wenming and Chen Jinhua posit these opinions regarding the time when Huiyuan wrote the 'Foying ming'.

some other cause, had their actions diligently recorded, which caused them to join the thin ranks of figures who later became famous. Whether a single monk in history becomes famous or not is a question involving a whole host of factors and a touch of fate. But drawing on this same line of thought, although Buddhahadra became very famous within Buddhist history, Huiyuan merely referred to him with the abbreviated name of ‘Master from Jibin’. As for Xie Lingyun’s situation, this is somewhat different. Xie Lingyun actively participated in the project of revising the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* (*Da banniepan jing* 大般涅槃經) and this revised work is based on the text of Faxian’s six *juan* translation and the text of Dharmakṣema’s 曇無讖 (385–433) forty *juan* translation. Xie Lingyun not only had a strong impression of Faxian, but also undoubtedly revered him.²⁴

Finally, I also want to explain another point: although I believe that Faxian went to Lushan, Zhang Xun’s 章巽 (1914–1994) collated annotation on the *Faxian zhuan*, used an edition of the *Faxian zhuan* from Japan’s Kamakura period (1192–1333) wherein ‘Huiyan’ was added in the postscript (*ba* 跋). But I don’t think this constitutes sufficient proof.²⁵ This postscript was likely written in 415 CE, and by looking at records in Buddhist catalogue works it is clear that Faxian had long since returned to Jiankang by this point of time. As to this question, I fundamentally agree with the opinion of Max Deeg.²⁶ However, that the Kamakura edition includes the name

²⁴ See Wang, ‘Da banniepan’.

²⁵ Zhang, *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 179

²⁶ Deeg, *Faxian*, 577, note 2533:

Das Subjekt ist zu ergänzen. Ich kann mich auf keinen Fall Zhangs Emendation anschließen, der hier *Huiyuan* 慧遠 (334–416) einsetzt (vgl. v.a. Zhang, 180, Anm.3), und dabei nur einer einzigen Ausgabe, dem Kamakura-Ms., folgt. Dies ist umso unverständlicher, als Zhang in seiner Einführung (S.23f.) ausdrücklich betont, daß diese Hs. auf einer relativ jungen Version basiere und voller Fehler sei. Die Emendation basiert also eher auf einem Prozeß des ‘*wishful thinking*’ als auf einer soliden Grundlage. Es ist kaum vorstellbar, daß *Faxian* den berühmten *Huiyuan*, den er womöglich noch aus *Chang’an*, aus der nächsten Umgebung von *Daoan*,

of 'Huiyuan' also explains one matter; namely, it shows that several hundred years before, people had taken note of the relationship between Faxian and Huiyuan, and as a result they had added Huiyuan's name. These people who noticed this relationship were either Chinese monks or Japanese monks. Ultimately, though, the above-mentioned dispute is indeed 'nothing new under the sun'. Accordingly, it can be said that these are simply some minor thoughts of mine, and they do not count as any kind of extraordinary 'new idea'.

There is one more point that perhaps needs to be explained: the above discussion is directly related to the experiences of Faxian after he returned to China from India. At the same time, it is also related to the construction of the 'Buddha's Shadow Platform' and what was written in the 'Foying ming'. But it is actually not this simple. This discussion can also be extended to touch on the context surrounding the formation of the Buddha Shadow legend, and if this is done, then it is actually related to meditation practice of Buddhism during that time along with its theories and practice of visualization in front of a Buddha's image. As for the Middle Age period of Buddhist history that we are today researching, it seems that all of these questions perhaps need to be further considered.

gekannt haben mag, in seinem Domizil auf dem *Lushan* 廬山 besucht hat, und daß dieser Besuch in einer frühen Version des GFZ an vorliegender Stelle gestanden hätte, ohne daß die Biographien *Faxians* oder *Huiyuans* in CSJ oder GSZ, die ja zumindest für *Faxian* als Informationsquelle ausschließlich das GFZ hatten und der originären Version desselben zeitlich am nächsten standen, diese Information nicht verwertet hätten. Der Einschub des berühmten Namens im *Kamakura*-Ms. oder deren Vorlage mag auf die Phantasie eines Redaktors zurückgehen, der den beiden großen Mönchen aus welchen Gründen auch immer ein Zusammentreffen zuschreiben wollte. Das besondere Interesse *Huiyuans* an dem Schatten des Buddha in *Naḡarabhāra*, auf den ja *Faxian* recht ausführlich eingeht, könnte bei diesem Einschub das Argument geliefert haben, wobei *Huiyuan* seine Informationen schon viel früher, als Schüler von *Daoan*, und dann von *Budbhabhadra* bekommen hatte (vgl. Zürcher (1972), 224).

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Abbreviation

T *Taishō shinsū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.

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Faxian and the Meaning of *Bianwen* 變文: The Value of His Biography to the Study of China*

T. H. BARRETT

Emeritus

SOAS, London

Keywords: Faxian, *bianwen*, 變文, Victor Mair, Karashima Seishi

Abstract: In 1989 Victor Mair published a monograph entitled *T'ang Transformation Texts* that has subsequently come to determine the translation used for the term *bianwen* 變文 in English as 'transformation'. In 1991 I published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* a comment on Mair's monograph proposing that a passage in Faxian's biography noticed by some earlier scholars but not discussed by Mair suggested that other ways of construing the term were possible, and I have subsequently expanded on these remarks in passing. In 2016 the erudite Seishi Karashima published in the *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University* a review of the early evidence for the meaning of *bianwen* that likewise draws on Faxian, though his explanation differs from and makes no reference to mine. How does Faxian's evidence now stand?

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Any account of the narrative of Faxian's travels, from whatever perspective, would be incomplete without some acknowledgment of the man himself. Though no later storytellers embroidered his exploit with popular legends—as happened with the later *Journey to the West*—he was clearly an exceptional person. At an age when most of us begin to look forward to the prospect of retirement, he decided to undertake one of the most hazardous and lengthy journeys known to the world of his day, a decision that pays great testimony to his idealism. Yet in him idealism plainly did not eclipse an appealing humanity. One of the first things I noticed about him myself is how he mourned the loss of a companion who died on the way, and was able vividly to recapture the grief of this tragedy many years later.¹ And everyone who has read his story no doubt remembers how it was an encounter with a Chinese object in India that prompted such homesickness that he was completely overwhelmed.² And mindful of his obligations to his native land, he could not but launch on another equally risky journey at an even greater age to get himself back to China once more.

Recent careful research has established that Faxian's story as we now have it is not strictly autobiographical, but in part autobiography 'as told to' another or others, and the name of the person responsible for the transmitted version of 416 has been tentatively identified.³ Whoever was responsible, the outcome is a substantial piece of Chinese Buddhist prose, and even if it is shorter than many later narrative Buddhist texts, it is even so one of the longest surviving sequential texts composed by Buddhists in China before the sixth century, and it is its unusual role as a linguistic corpus that I wish to highlight in my remarks. The language of translations into Chinese has not unnaturally dominated linguistic research into

¹ Barrett, 'Exploratory Observations', 100, note 3, a study primarily concerned with other, more elusive aspects of the emotions of Chinese pilgrims in India.

² Among the many translations into European languages now available, I refer here to the recent French translation of J.-P. Drège, *Mémoire sur les pays bouddhiques*, 69, which provides the original Chinese on its facing pages.

³ Hu-von Hinüber, 'Case of the Missing Author'.

early Chinese Buddhist sources, but over time Buddhists in China also evolved their own capacity to communicate within and beyond their community, though this process has bequeathed less copious materials, and has consequently been less well studied so far. Only the fully fledged forms of literature much more copiously attested by the Dunhuang manuscript evidence, and the more colloquial language of China's early Zen masters, have inspired researchers across the world to publish extensively. These lively fields of scholarship are frequently hampered by the comparative lack of evidence of earlier developments, especially before the eighth century. Such sources as there are can only be considered well known, so in what follows the discussion primarily concerns secondary scholarship; perhaps its only originality lies in the suggestion that scholarship usually considered as pertaining to different areas of research such as Buddhist and Daoist Studies may at times be profitably brought together in reviewing the current state of our understanding.

As it happens, amongst the slim corpus of early indigenous writings about Buddhism in China, the narrative of Faxian has preserved for scholars at least one linguistic usage that has been seen as vital to tracing the evolution of one of the most puzzling terms from the Dunhuang materials, namely the term *bian* 變, as used in the well-known term *bianwen* 變文 itself. The conventional translation for this is 'Transformation Text', though the second element seems to suggest a certain literary status, and texts could also be referred to using the first character alone.⁴ 'Transformation', for better or worse, does convey something of the etymology of the usage, and I use it here as a convenient neutral placeholder, rather than insisting on any particular interpretation of the meaning of the Chinese. Even so, it is the intention here to review some of the evidence adduced to explain how this word came to typify a popular Dunhuang genre, and to this end many experts have already pointed to a passage in the *Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*.⁵ This relates to a sort of parade that Faxian

⁴ This distinction is now made following Fraser, *Performing the Visual*, 177, and 283, note 71.

⁵ Faxian, *Mémoire sur les pays bouddhiques*, 72.

witnessed in Sri Lanka in honour of the Buddha's tooth relic that passed between representations of the Buddha's past lives, for which some examples are given, including the 'transformation' or *bian* of Śyāma (Shan 睽). In 1991 I suggested—for reasons that I shall recapitulate shortly—that here the transformation in question signified a rebirth, or the story of a rebirth, a *jātaka*, in short, and that later usages developed from this.⁶ The story in question was certainly one that was very well known.⁷

In 2016, however, Seishi Karashima 辛島静志 (1957–2019) published a reconsideration of the history of this word and allied terms that certainly caused me to ponder anew the likelihood of my hypothesis. I had admired Professor Karashima's diligence and erudition ever since I first encountered him many years ago as a visiting researcher at Cambridge, and he now brought to bear on the problem in question a considerable experience in using the corpus of Chinese translations from South Asian languages so as to examine the history of the Chinese language, an approach that lies entirely beyond my capacities. My own remarks here reviewing the evidence on the meaning of *bianwen* as I understood it were first drafted in the expectation that they might in due course prompt Professor Karashima to deploy his exceptional talents to clarify the many points that remained—and remain—unclear to me, so the news of his passing has left me very distressed not simply at the early loss of a much treasured colleague but also at the realization that this hoped for speedy resolution of my puzzlement by an expert whom I personally admired can never be. The field of Buddhist philology is scarcely likely to encounter another scholar of his unusual range and capacity in the near future, so I leave my doubts for some scholar probably as yet unknown to me to resolve, and put them on record simply as an inadequate tribute to one of the most outstanding researchers I ever met. To sum up the publication that reawakened my interest in Faxian, however, though his arguments are rigorously detailed and thoroughly documented, and should be carefully read in full, in essence they may be said to

⁶ Barrett, 'Origin of the term *pien-wen*'.

⁷ Grey, *Concordance*, 340–44 (s.v. Sāma) gives a synopsis and copious references.

construe the transformations in view both in Faxian's account and in later sources as relating to form rather than to content. In short if the context is one of representations of birth stories, then as I understand the thrust of his argument the word 'transformations' denote *images* of the stories, not the stories themselves.⁸ But with no earlier examples to confirm or deny either interpretation within the context given in Faxian's narrative, it is difficult to make any choice.

There is, however, some material evidently—since it sees the Northern Wei persecution of Buddhism as a recent event—from the late fifth century that I have in the past suggested can be considered relevant to the meaning of the word.⁹ This material is however not discussed in Seishi Karashima's study, probably since it is not of Buddhist origin. Rather, it is to be found in the Dunhuang manuscript P. 2004, a portion of the *Huabu jing* 化胡經 or *Scripture on Laozi's Conversion of the Barbarians*, which preserves a small collection of Daoist verse. The last eighteen pieces in this little anthology, including two which form a sort of coda to the rest, are entitled 'Laozi shiliu bianci' 老子十六變詞, which to judge from the contents should be rendered 'Lyrics on the Sixteen Rebirths of Laozi'. This source has been drawn upon in connection with discussions of the meaning of *bianwen*, but only in relation to the significance of *bian* for art history—and yet an examination of the contents of the work shows that it has no connection whatsoever with questions of art history, or indeed any questions of representation at all.¹⁰ The contents are plainly Daoist, but include frequent references to Buddhist names and terms, and would seem to manifest in literary form the same type of mixing of

⁸ Karashima, 'Meanings of *bian*', 262.

⁹ I was unaware of the significance of this material in 1992, and I was also unaware of its mention in the study by Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤 (1917–2018) cited by Seishi Karashima, but drew attention to it more recently in Barrett, 'Preliminary considerations', 49.

¹⁰ This is the sense in which it is mentioned in passing by Rao Zongyi and thus by Karashima. Rao has in fact touched on the text several times beyond the study that Karashima cites, but as far as I am aware has never addressed the exact meaning of *bian* in the text in any of his publications.

Daoist and Buddhist elements in art now well known through the analysis of certain examples of fifth century North Chinese sculpture by Stanley Abe and others.¹¹

Now, as I was at pains to point out in 1991, we know that there was by Faxian's time a considerable background both to the notion that Laozi was born many times, just like the Buddha, and to the belief that he transformed himself, though at first the two ideas, which I described as 'macro-transformations' and 'microtransformations', seem to have been kept distinct.¹² Dating the point at which the language of transformation was actually applied to Laozi's rebirths is, however, not as yet an easy issue to resolve. An ascription to a fourth century text of one promising-looking phrase indicating that Laozi 'responded with transformations according to the times' (應變隨時) seems to me to represent an interpretative early Tang synopsis of a source that in its current version seems rather against the idea.¹³ The recent research of Stephen Bokenkamp has established that in general the belief in multiple lives for some such as Laozi is a notion that can be traced back some way, even if Buddhist ideas of inevitable rebirth for all seem only to have been absorbed and reworked in Daoist ways in Faxian's lifetime.¹⁴ But influences from *jātaka* translations do appear to have been involved in this process.¹⁵ Unfortunately, all the evidence that allows us to reconstruct these shifts relates to the Daoism of South China, and for the region that produced Faxian we have no evidence that has so far been used to trace the early development of the interactions so evident in the art of the area and in P. 2004, though one day a thorough study of the

¹¹ Abé, *Ordinary Images*, 270–313.

¹² Barrett, 'Alternative Hypothesis', 242–43.

¹³ This is in P. 2353, as transcribed in Meng, *Daoshu jijiao*, 546. Comparison with the supposed original passage in the *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳 reveals a quite contrary notion of Laozi's existence, and no indication that the phrases cited here were ever part of the text: cf. Company, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth*, 194–96 (translation), 429 (textual notes).

¹⁴ Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety*, 162–82.

¹⁵ Bokenkamp, 'The Prehistory of Laozi', 417–18.

now gradually increasing amount of Daoist epigraphical evidence may clarify matters further.¹⁶ The hypothesis that a ‘transformation’ had by Faxian’s time come to mean in local parlance something like a *jātaka* as depicted in a textual or artistic form must therefore remain no more than a hypothesis, even if it is a hypothesis encouraged by the Daoist evidence.

It is also a hypothesis that is as far as I can see not falsified by the next reference we find in our sources that would appear to be of the same type as the usage found in Faxian’s story.¹⁷ This passage occurs in a famous description of the lost glories of the monasteries of Luoyang composed in the middle of the sixth century, but concerns the outcome of the journey made by the diplomat Song Yun 宋雲 and his monk companion Huisheng 慧生 into Central Asia in 518 to 522, a mission also mentioned in the dynastic history of the period.¹⁸ At issue are some objects that Huisheng brought home from his travels, though precisely what objects puzzled me in 1991. Though I do not believe that I have advanced much in my understanding of Buddhist material culture since then, I do feel that a tentative identification of the object most relevant to my argument is now possible.

The first item mentioned as having been brought back by Huisheng is in any case not problematic. It was some sort of model in metal of a very famous stupa, the Queli 雀離 Stupa of King Kanishka, the monument of which Max Deeg has recently written at length.¹⁹ This record, incidentally, suggests that miniature stupas, that staple

¹⁶ The current research of Gil Raz, at any rate, promises to throw at least some further light on the pre-Tang Daoism of North China beyond the information related to state institutions that may be found in the Standard Histories such as the *Wei shu* 魏書.

¹⁷ Cf. Karashima, ‘Meanings of *bian*’, 262–63; Barrett, ‘Alternative hypothesis’, 242, 245–46. For a translation with the original text, see Yang (Lourme, trans.), *Mémoire sur les monastères bouddhiques de Luoyang*, 153.

¹⁸ For an annotated version of the briefer *Wei shu* record of the mission, see Yu, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao*, 491–505.

¹⁹ Deeg, ‘Legend and Cult’.

of Buddhist art, need not be generic, but may actually refer back to actual famous and much larger originals, an observation that would also seem to be true for something else that Huisheng brought back. The text adds, after its mention of the metal model, another item or items that he returned with, literally, ‘and Śākyamuni’s four stupa transformations’ 及釋迦四塔變, a phrase translated by Seishi Karashima as ‘reliefs (變) of four *stūpas* of Śākya(muni Buddha)’.

Now there is no disagreement about what the four stupas are, since from context they are not the four great stupas of India named by later pilgrims, but four structures of more local fame in Central Asia.²⁰ Each was associated with commemorating the location of a particular tale of the Buddha’s past life, and the four remained linked as the themes of artistic decorations even of at least one rather lavish stupa described in the narrative of the journey of Ganjin (Ch. Jianzhen) 鑑真 (688–763) to Japan in the mid-eighth century, as Karashima himself notes. Here too, the term that we are neutrally but provisionally rendering as ‘transformations’ is used, and Karashima, as before, uses ‘reliefs’ once more, although other recent translations vary.²¹

The objects in question, with their four-fold representations of the Buddha’s past lives, have most recently been studied by Dorothy Wong in her account of Ganjin’s role in the spread of Buddhist material culture, and her account traces evidence for their creation China back to the sixth century, though it is unclear whether this innovation can be directly and solely connected to the return of the 518–522 mission.²² Her conclusion is that these four-sided constructions were linked to the legend of the Aśokan distribution

²⁰ Yang, Jan, Iida, Shotaro, and Preston, eds., *Hye Ch’o Diary*, 42.

²¹ The translation by Marcus Bingenheimer, in the online version is available for download. ‘A Translation of the *Tōdaiwajō tōseiden*’, 24, appears to translate as ‘story’; cf. the anonymous translation in ‘*Tō Daiwajō Tōseiden*’, 17, where it appears to be translated as ‘image’.

²² See Wong, ‘An Agent of Cultural Transmission’, 68. But I note that the image she cites here from her earlier study, viz. Wong, *Chinese Steles*, 156, fig. 10.2, if I have construed the reference correctly, seems to depict an object with

of the Buddha's relics, for which they formed ideal reliquaries, representing the Buddha on the outside by his past actions and containing something indicative of his presence within, whether a text, a jewel, or some other relic form. It will be seen, however, that the reliefs on Huisheng's object seemingly did not depict the four stupas, but rather depicted the stories associated with them. In this context, and certainly in the later case of the object that Ganjin's party saw, the translation of 'a past life' therefore still seems to me entirely plausible. That the 'past lives' here were rendered in metal is no doubt to be understood in Huisheng's case from the specification concerning the companion piece to the reliquary—if 'reliquary' is how it was already understood—in the earlier part of the sentence; no term for 'a relief' would have needed to have been expressed. But again we are dealing with a balance of probabilities, and so again I see nothing that resolves the issue precisely.

But what would appear to be a more telling argument against the hypothesis that I advanced may perhaps be found in another passage examined by Seishi Karashima, one that I was unaware of before the publication of his study, and one that deploys his expertise in the study of translations. This is actually earlier than the sixth century passage just discussed, since it occurs in *Taishō* Canon text number 1462, which is usually described as a translation of the well-known Vinaya commentary of Buddhaghōṣa, a work that is listed as having been carried out by Saṃghabhadra in Guangzhou in 488–489.²³ This

four towers on it, suggesting perhaps that the original text of the *Luoyang qielan ji* discussed here may have read 四變塔, 'Stupas of the four transformations', rather than 四塔變, 'reliefs of the four stupas', or however one chooses to translate the characters taken in the order given in the text as it currently stands. This would not be the only place where the current text of the *Luoyang qielan ji* has been found to contain an accidental inversion: cf. Rao, *Rao Zongyi Daoxue wenji*, 444.

²³ Karashima, 'Meaning of *bian*', 257–58. On the Chinese text, however, see Heirman, 'Chinese Samantapāsādikā and its School Affiliation'; it is clear that Chinese influences affected the translation, and this should be kept in mind in the discussion that follows.

commentary of course still survives in Pāli, so where it uses the phrase ‘various transformations’ 諸變, the original language used in the passage can be checked.

The author in the section in question is discussing the different types of adornment that are permissible on various types of object that might be found in a monastery; Seishi Karashima offers from the original context two possible equivalents, and renders the meaning as ‘decoration’ or ‘design’. But the equivalence does not appear to be problem free, if one looks at the Chinese, since the whole context is somewhat hard to grasp. Karashima appears to translate as ‘big’, for example, a collocation (倒巨) that occurs in the entire Chinese Buddhist Canon only in this text, and then only twice. One wonders if one is dealing with localisms, in which case any meaning of ‘transformation’ might be quite different from that current in North China. And since the precise equivalent in the Pāli seems slightly problematic, one further wonders if ‘various transformations’ is a gloss from Chinese assistants that has somehow been incorporated into the text. For conceivably where figurative decoration was permitted, which is what the sentence is about, the assistants might well have specified the possible content of the figurative work, namely *jātakas*.

Perhaps this argument may smack of special pleading on my part, but I cannot help thinking that this evidence, though early, is less than perfectly clear cut. And since we have now mentioned the possibility of regional variations in the sense of the word ‘transformation’ in the three or four contexts we have considered so far, it is also important to underline that at some point meanings seem to have shifted, or perhaps rather expanded, over the course of time as well. Plainly not everything that could be called a ‘transformation’ in the Dunhuang manuscripts falls within the normal definition of a *jātaka*, and indeed one sees that the distinction between such a narrowly defined ‘birth story’ and an *avadāna* not involving the rebirth of the future Buddha seems to have had less importance in China in any case. What the term ‘transformation’ covered originally, if it came from a Daoist context, would have been life in another epoch, perhaps at first a much earlier epoch of current human history, but—if we postulate a process such as the one documented in the scriptures of South Chinese Daoism—by the late fifth century it came to mean

a life that took place beyond such chronological boundaries; in Buddhist terms, in another kalpa.

Yet it is important to concede that this meaning probably did not remain entirely stable. By the seventh century the passages we have examined are joined by others that situate the term 'transformation' in an art historical context where the meaning of 'a life in another age' seems less appropriate. For the early eighth century Seishi Karashima was able to deploy two more translated texts where parallel passages may be consulted, one a Tantric text with a Sanskrit version, and one a portion of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins where the Tibetan translation offers an independent witness to the original, and in these the meanings 'statue' and 'painting' are offered. This broader meaning should occasion no surprise: by the early eighth century at least the Chinese language into which translations were made was not exactly the same as that of Faxian's time in the period before the Sui-Tang reunification, as linguistic research has begun to make clear.²⁴

Perhaps it is possible to grasp the type of situation uncovered by Seishi Karashima's study by means of an analogy using the English language, though of course it is impossible to find any entirely appropriate close parallel. The religious traditions of Europe contain nothing remotely like the Buddhist conception of inevitable rebirth, beyond one or two hints of ancient beliefs similar to those of pre-Buddhist Daoism that some unusual figures might be a past hero come to life again, *redivivus*, to use the Biblical epithet hypothetically applied to John the Baptist. But in general all religious lives and religious events are treated as unique in the mainstream Western tradition, so we must make do with an illustration using another type of religious term.

In Christianity the crucifixion of Jesus is seen as in religious terms utterly unique and is situated in a particular point in time during the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate, though as a Roman penalty the practice was all too common. Yet in current English a 'crucifixion' may refer without further qualification to artistic representations of this event, either in three-dimensional sculpted form or in a painting.

²⁴ I have in mind studies such as Wang, *Chu-Tang Fodian cibui yanjiu*.

If a qualifying word is added, then it is the author of the painting who is named, as in ‘Bellini’s crucifixion’. The same usage may be applied also to textual materials. In 1887, for example, Sir John Stainer (1840–1901), a largely forgotten and not excessively talented British composer of church music, published an oratorio entitled *The Crucifixion* that sustained a certain vogue into the twentieth century, and in this case both the text and the musical score are included in the phrase ‘Stainer’s Crucifixion’. A word originally applied to content has thus become applied to form, and it is not inconceivable that a similar transition took place with the term *bian*, if originally in some contexts it could mean a ‘life story’.

The situation is no doubt complicated in the case of the Chinese term because a ‘transformation’ was not necessarily a rebirth giving rise to a life story capable of representation in words or pictures, but could also—at least in some disyllabic expressions such as *bianxian* 變現—indicate some temporally less extended manifestation of a normally unseen dharmakaya or its Daoist equivalent, hence my earlier reference to ‘macrotransformations’ and ‘microtransformations’. *Bian* is indeed a far less specific term than ‘crucifixion’, and in its capacity for semantic range is much more like an English word such as ‘appearance’, which may vary from uses such as ‘the appearance of the alphabet in the Western Mediterranean took place at a much earlier date than was originally thought’ through to ‘his appearance suggested that he had been drinking heavily’. In the seventh century Buddhist encyclopaedia *Fayuan zbulin*, it is used as a tag at the end of miraculous stories, as are other words such as *yan* 驗, ‘a verification’, or *qi* 奇, ‘an anomaly’. But while the main section of the work that uses this tag is devoted predominantly to what might be termed metamorphoses, in another section the meaning seems to be more connected with deviations from an expected norm, suggesting a usage closer to the contemporary Japanese *ben* 變, or ‘strange’.²⁵

Under such complex circumstances my own preference is to

²⁵ The first set of tags may be found in section 25, which is in the thirty-second fascicle; the second in a botanical section, the seventy-second, in the sixty-third fascicle (out of one hundred), *T* no. 2122, 53:530a–b and 796a respectively.

maintain an open mind on the history of the term. It is entirely possible that the meanings documented for the Tang period might securely be projected back into earlier sources, which would render my 1991 hypothesis redundant. But though the copious materials brought forward in Seishi Karashima's publication of course merit further evaluation, and here I have only reviewed a fraction of them, without reference either to the many other scholarly contributions to the problem that have been made in East Asia, I hesitate at this point to come to that conclusion. Others may, however, be in a position to resolve my doubts. Whatever views are taken, however, the evidence provided by the narrative of Faxian's travels will undoubtedly retain its unparalleled importance.

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Abbreviation

T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.

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Faxian and Liu Yu's Inner Circle: Interactions between Society and Buddhism during the Eastern Jin Dynasty* †

LIU YUAN-JU 劉苑如
Academia Sinica

Keywords: Faxian, Liu Yu and his circle, Longhua monastery,
Daochang Monastery, Xing Monastery

Abstract: This article discusses the interaction between Faxian (338?–423?) and Liu Yu (363–422) and his circles, especially the relations within the sangha in Qingxu and Jingzhou, from the point of geo-relationship and of dharma-associated practices, to remodel the social networks and Buddhist background of the Eastern Jin and the Sixteen Kingdoms, to discuss the protection of Buddhism by Liu Yu's circles, and to highlight the contribution of Faxian to it. There are some important hints as to that. First, Faxian came back to Qingzhou, which coincided with the time when Liu Yu had reclaimed the provinces of Qing, Yan and Si, and planned to establish the kingdom of Song. As soon as Faxian reached land, he was invited by Liu Yu's younger brother, Liu Yan (Dao Lian, 368–422) to build a monastery called Longhua in Pengcheng. Second, he translated sutras and *vinaya* texts together with Buddhahadra (359–429) at Daochang Monastery in Jiankang, during the twelfth and fourteenth year of the Yixi period, with the support of the benefactors from Liu Yu's clique Meng Yi and Chu Shudu (378–424). Lastly, he went to Xing

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Monastery in Jingzhou for his last days, this was also a consequence of Liu Yu's power. During his lifetime rich in travel, with the spread of Buddhism to the east, Faxian was connected to several important places of the Buddhist sangha, which is also closely related to the choice and acceptance of the Buddhist doctrine in China, and which constructed a complicated circle of Buddhist believers.

Introduction: The Meeting between Faxian and Liu Yu's Inner Circle

In 399 CE, Master Faxian (338?–423?) was inspired to leave Chang'an and head toward the Indian subcontinent in search of scriptures by the fact that only an incomplete version of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* 律藏殘闕 was available in China. During the time he was gone, the Later Qin progressively grew in strength, acquiring more and more territories that had previously been occupied by the Eastern Jin. However, when Faxian returned to Jingzhou after thirteen years of travel, the geopolitical trajectory of China had completely reversed. Helian Bobo 赫連勃勃 (381–425) of the state of Daxia 大夏 had repeatedly led his troops south to harass the Later Qin, resulting in the loss of nearly a 100,000 troops, the looting of no less than 20,000 homes, the destruction of countless livestock and assets, and ultimately the decline of the Later Qin. Meanwhile, Liu Yu 劉裕 (363–422) had been busy turning the tide for the previously falter-

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ing Eastern Jin. Liu Yu annihilated the Southern Yan 南燕 in 410 and the Later Qin shortly after in 417, and then he recaptured the northern lands of Qingzhou, Yanzhou, and Sizhou. Following these achievements came a series of events initiated by Liu Yu that ended with the formation of the Liu Song 劉宋 (420–479) Dynasty—a dynasty of which he was declared emperor.

Faxian returned from Sinhala 師子國 (Ceylon, modern day Sri Lanka) by sea in 412 CE. He arrived at the shores of Qingzhou, a land that was under the influence of Liu's inner circle 劉氏. There, Liu Yan 劉沈 (a.k.a. Liu Daolian 道憐, 368–422), a brother of Liu Yu, invited Faxian to stay in Jingkou 京口 from the winter of 412 to the summer of 413,¹ during which Faxian established the Longhua Monastery 龍華寺.² Later, in either 413 or 414, Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416?/417?) invited Faxian to Lushan.³ This was likely the place where Faxian completed the first draft of *Foguo ji* 佛國記

¹ The *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu* 法顯傳校注 [*Faxian zhuan*, Collated and Annotated] by Zhang Xun 章巽 and its corresponding annotations reads: '[he] invited Faxian to stay from the winter to the summer'. Adachi Kiroku 足立喜六 believes Faxian came to Yangzhou by ship with merchants, and was then invited by Liu Daoling to spend a winter through a summer in Jingkou. Tang Yongtong 湯用彤, however, does not agree with this notion and instead believes that after Faxian arrived on shore at Laoshan, he travelled to the south by land, passing through Pengcheng along the way. At that time, Liu Daolian was the governor of North Xuzhou and Yanzhou, and he was based in Pengcheng. Tang Yongtong suspects that Liyi 李嶷, a military officer under Liu Daolian's command, suggested to Liu Daolian that he should retain Faxian and support him. This article supports the latter opinion. See Zhang, annot., *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 175.

² Rao, 'Zaoqi Qingzhou Cheng yu Fojiào', 52.

³ There has always been disagreement over whether or not Faxian actually went to Lushan. The arguments suggesting he did go to Lushan are epitomized in Zhang Xun's *The Collated and Annotated Record of Faxian* and Kimura Eiichi's 'Research on Huiyuan: Lost Text'. See Zhang, annot., *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 180; Kimura, *Eon Kenkyū*, 46 (see footnote 37 on the 'Buddha Shadow Inscription' 佛影銘). Some have argued that Faxian did not go to Lushan, such as Chen Jinhua 陳金華. See Chen, 'Faxian Deng Lufeng'.

[Record of the Buddha Land], a work which describes the dignified and blossoming Buddhist nation he experienced to the west of China, along with the geography and local customs of that land.⁴ Next, around 416 to 418, Meng Yi 孟顛 (384–465) and Chu Shudu 褚叔度 (378–424) of Liu Yi's inner circle supported Faxian's collaborative translation work with Buddhahadra 佛跢跋陀羅 (359–429) at Daochang Monastery 道場寺, which resulted in Chinese editions of many Buddhist scriptures and *Vinaya* 律. Finally, at some point after 418, Faxian went to Jingzhou, which Liu Yu had already established control over, and later spent his final years at Xin Monastery 辛寺.

Faxian lived a life of abundant travel. He was involved with several monasteries vital to Buddhism's transmission to the East and central to the selection of Buddhist doctrines that became accepted throughout Han Chinese lands. Accordingly, a complicated web of Buddhist groups materialized under his watch. I previously performed a separate study of the interaction between Faxian and the inner circle of Huiyuan of Lushan,⁵ and I have also studied the relationship between Faxian and the project of translating Buddhist texts that was carried out at Daochang Monastery.⁶ However, I have done relatively little research on the society and culture that served as a backdrop to Faxian's translations of scriptures following his return to China. This paper compares a variety of different, important perspectives from geopolitical and Buddhist lenses. It intends to unearth just how Faxian interacted with Liu Yu's inner circle—especially with respect to how this related to the Buddhist groups in Qingzhou, Xuzhou, and Jingzhou—and reveal exactly what kind of influence Faxian had on Buddhism and politics during his life.

⁴ Liu, 'Gushi de zaisheng'.

⁵ Liu, 'Sheyan yu guifan'.

⁶ Liu, 'Gushi de zaisheng'.

1. Military Expeditions, Deferential Treatment, and Worshipping the Buddha

The formation of Liu Yu's inner circle can be traced back to when he formed a volunteer army. At that time, Liu Yu called together He Wuji 何無忌 (351–410), Wei Yongzhi 魏詠之 (approx. 375–405), and the brothers Wei Xinzhi 魏欣之 and Wei Shunzhi 魏順之. He also called on Tan Pingzhi 檀憑之 (?–404), who brought relatives with him such as Tan Shao 檀韶 (366–421), Tan Zhi 檀祗 (369–419), Tan Long 檀隆, Tan Daoji 檀道濟 (337–436), and Tan Fanzhi 檀範之. There were also Liu Yu's younger brother Liu Daolian 劉道憐 and his cousins Liu Yi 劉毅 (?–412) and Liu Fan 劉藩 (?–412). In addition, there were Meng Chang 孟昶 (?–410) and Meng Huaiyu 孟懷玉 (385–415), brothers of the same clan. There were also Xiang Mi 向彌 (363–421) of Henei 河內; Guan Yizhi 管義之; and Zhou Anmu 周安穆 of Chenliu 陳留; Liu Wei 劉蔚 of Linhuai 臨淮 and his little brother (從弟) Liu Guizhi 劉珪之; Zang Xi 臧熹 (375–413) of Dongguan 東莞, his cousin Baofu 寶符; and his nephew Musheng 穆生; Tong Maozong 童茂宗; Zhou Daomin 周道民 of Chunjun 陳郡; Tian Yan 田演 of Yuyang 漁陽; Fan Qing 范清 of Qiaoguo 譙國; and more. In total, there were twenty-seven central figures to the army,⁷ and they were collectively able to defeat Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369–404), who had managed to usurp the throne. Afterwards, they carried on under the banner of the Eastern Jin, garnering great renown and progressively expanding their inner circle's sphere of influence. Afterwards, they took advantage of internal strife within the Southern Yan kingdom to crush its troops. Soon after came the task of pacifying Lu Xun's 盧循 (?–411) rebellion, and then they annihilated all other dissidents within the court, such as Liu Yi 劉毅, Zhuge Zhangmin 諸葛長民 (?–413), and Sima Xiuzhi 司馬休之 (?–417). Finally, the Eastern Jin carried out expeditions in the north against the Later Qin, wherein they recaptured Luoyang 洛陽 and Guanzhong 關中, thereby obtaining the status of Nine Bestowments 九錫 and establishing the Liu Song Dynasty.

⁷ *Song shu* 5.5.

In virtually all of Liu Yu's campaigns, he was outnumbered but managed to emerge victorious in a seemingly invincible fashion. Relevant research by scholars have identified such factors as the Beifu System 北府制度, superior strategy, and personnel management to account for his success, but in recent years a good deal of scholars have begun paying attention to the beliefs of Liu Yu's family. For example, based on researched cultural images of Liu Yu, Wang Yongping 王永平 posited that Liu used Buddhism to assist his military and political affairs. There were two main ways in which Liu Yu and his inner circle did this: first was the deferential treatment given to leaders of the Sangha from the North and South, such as Huiyuan, Huiguan 慧觀 (366–436?/453?), and Sengdao 僧導 (362–457), which led to political stability throughout the region; second was the manufacturing of numerous talismans (*furui* 符瑞), which influenced public opinion about the Song dynasty which Liu Yu founded.⁸ Lin Feifei 林飛飛 expanded the scope of this research, pointing out in her doctoral dissertation, *Liusong Diwang yu Zongjiao Guanxi* 劉宋帝王與宗教關係 (The Relationship Between Liu Song and Religion), that subsequent emperors of the Liu Song Dynasty essentially continued to use the religious policies of Liu Yu, which at once supported and exploited Buddhism. Specifically, these policies included inviting to the court, and providing deferential treatment to, famous Buddhist monks and nuns; establishing monasteries and making statues; setting up Dharma assemblies; summoning monks to teach the Buddha scriptures; ordering children of the royal family to become friends or disciples of monks and nuns; and even forming friendly ties with other kingdoms that believed in Buddhism. At the same time, Liu Song emperors often called upon preminent monks to provide them with lectures over Buddhist scripture in which they had interest. They even personally attended Dharma banquets and ordered other high officials to accompany them. This reflects that the emperors valued the growth of Buddhist doctrine and understood the process of how Buddhist doctrine developed. On the other hand, Liu Song emperors also

⁸ Wang, 'Liu Yu yu Fojiao gaoseng'.

made sure to carefully control the number of pagodas, temples, and Buddhist statues; remove unqualified monks and nuns; and task officials with managing the Sangha. This was done to prevent Buddhism from infringing on the dynasty's political sovereignty.⁹

While this paper does draw on the research of other papers that discuss the religious and political strategies of the Liu Song Dynasty, it also aims to forge ahead on an entirely new path of study. Specifically, it studies the military expeditions, deferential treatment of certain Buddhists, and the interactions between various social circles in the hopes of opening a new path for research.

Liu Yu spent his whole life waging military campaigns. At some point after his major victories at Luoyang and the Guanzhong during his northern expeditions, he personally recounted his successes while at an official feast of ministers at Ximatai 戲馬臺:

The year Huan Xuan usurped the throne, taking charge of the Eastern Jin's great power, was the first time I advocated for this righteous cause to rejuvenate the royal household.

By campaigning in the South and fighting in the North, I pacified all beneath the sky. It could be called a great accomplishment or an outstanding achievement. And as a result, I was granted the honour of the Nine Bestowments.¹⁰

Despite such proud words, Liu Yu was ultimately a high-ranking military leader that had led troops into battle. Though he could previously show disdain for the civil and military officials at court, after he took the throne it no longer mattered how many victories he had amassed—he needed to sagaciously appease the commanders, soldiers, officials, and people that had risked their lives following him to the doorstep of death. Accordingly, after Liu Yu founded the Liu Song Dynasty, he issued this imperial order in the first year of his reign:

⁹ Lin, *Liusong diwang*.

¹⁰ *Song shu* 43.1336.

Recording meritorious deeds performed by outstanding men is an important decree of the state; diligently handling the funeral arrangements of those who passed away on behalf of the state is an extension of the sincere wish in my heart. Since this great cause began, seventeen years have passed. There have been challenges in the world and wars have commenced. From the East to the West, there hasn't been a day of peace. In truth, it was the exhausted minds and bodies of generals that brought peace to our land, and the military and civil officials that risked their lives to carry out orders that expanded our territory; the achievements we celebrate today can be traced back to them. Our prestige spreads far and wide; enemy invaders and traitors have all been vanquished. As a result, the emperor abdicated his throne, passing it on to me—and I can only feel humbled upon receiving such a tremendous blessing. Thinking over achievements and evaluating contributions, at neither day nor night can I forget the devoted and diligent efforts of those persons, which should be celebrated by the nation as a whole. Rewarding and exempting them from taxes has been promptly agreed upon. As for those who died in battle, their families shall be exempted from taxation and rewarded as well.

夫銘功紀勞，有國之要典；慎終追舊，在心之所隆。自大業創基，十有七載。世路迍邐，戎車歲動，自東徂西，靡有寧日？實賴將帥竭心，文武盡効，寧內拓外，迄用有成。威靈遠著，寇逆消蕩，遂當揖讓之禮，猥饗天人之祚。念功簡勞，無忘鑿寐，凡厥誠勤，宜同國慶。其酬賞復除之科，以時論舉。戰亡之身，厚加復贈。¹¹

Liu Yu thus regarded inscribing the achievements of his generals to be a matter of paramount importance, and he provided broad financial support to relatives of those killed in battle to show that he had not forgotten about those who gave their lives. In the first year of his reign, Liu Yu also issued another imperial decree, which read, 'The families of those who perished in the battlefields and were not able to return home shall be financially supported'.¹² This empha-

¹¹ *Song shu* 3.53.

¹² *Song shu* 54.

sized the importance he attached to the families who survived those who died in battle.

As a result, throughout the entirety of Liu Yu's life, although he had no clear cut belief in religion—and even refused to hold events to pray for spirits to cure disease later in his life when he was terminally ill¹³—he still strongly backed Meng Yi and Meng Yi's diligent work in service of Buddhism. This is likely on account of Meng Yi's elder brother, Meng Chang 孟昶.

Liu Yu was born into extreme poverty, so it is only natural that those who provided him with financial aid when he was poor were later compensated for their kindness.¹⁴ When Liu Yu first proposed crusading against Huan Xuan, Meng Chang gave all his assets to provide for the army.¹⁵ He was also one of the few voices that encouraged him to attack the Southern Yan Kingdom, despite a chorus of voices in opposition.¹⁶ Ultimately, Meng Chang died as a result of Lu Xun's rebellion. In fact, when an invading army had grown close enough to the capital to pose a viable threat, and the public was nearing a state of hysteria, Meng Chang issued a dying appeal to the masses to risk their lives defending their homes.¹⁷

After Meng Chang died, Liu Yu wholeheartedly assumed the task of looking after Meng Chang's child so that the boy could inherit his father's post, and he also supported Meng Yi, who was looking after their parents at this time. After first being appointed governor *taishou* 太守 of Dongyang with no official experience to speak of,

¹³ *Song shu* 59.

¹⁴ For example, Liu Yu was once 30,000 units in debt to Diao Kui 刁逵 (?–404) with no ability to repay the money, so Diao Kui detained him. Fortunately, Wang Mi 王謐 (306–407) repaid the debt on Liu Yu's behalf, allowing him to be released. Later, Wang Mi was a chancellor whom Huan Xuan relied on heavily. During Huan Xuan's coronation ceremony, Wang Mi personally held the emperor's jade seal. When Huan Xuan was defeated, many thought Wang Mi should be killed, but Liu Yu went to great lengths to protect him. Cf. *Song shu* 1.10.

¹⁵ *Jin shu* 43.2518.

¹⁶ *Zizhi tongjian* 115.3616.

¹⁷ *Song shu* 1.19.

Meng Yi went on to be appointed governor of Wujun, Kuaiji, and Danyang, one after another. Later, he was appointed chancellor (*shizhong* 侍中), court official (*puye* 僕射), and administrator of the crown prince *taizi zhanshi* 太子詹事, and finally he was once again made provincial governor of Kuaiji. After he died, he was granted the honorific title of left imperial minister of state (*zuo guanglu daifu* 左光祿大夫).¹⁸ By looking over the posts which Meng Yi held throughout his life, one can quickly realize that his history as an official is vastly different than other members of Liu Yu's inner circle, who had all held multiple posts related to military campaigns—whether that meant on the front line or in the rear. In stark contrast, Meng Yi always occupied lucrative posts as a governor or court sinecure.

Later, Meng Yi's son, Meng Shao 孟劭, married Princess Nan Jun 南郡, the sixteenth daughter of Liu Yu; one of Meng Yi's daughters married the Prince of Pengcheng 彭城王, Liu Yikang 劉義康 (409–451), which was the title conferred to one of Liu Yu's sons; and the other married the Prince Ai of Baling 巴陵哀王, Liu Ruoxiu 劉若休 (447–471),¹⁹ another son of Liu Yu. In this way, Meng Yi forged familial relations with the royal family of Liu Song.

Careful analysis of available information reveals that Meng Yi's official reputation was actually not very positive, particularly because he often exhibited an arrogant attitude when he served as the governor of Kuaiji 會稽. It was recorded that 'he regards his family as powerful and influential, and he looks down on all other officials'.²⁰ He was eventually accused of committing a crime and thus relieved of his post²¹—yet the royal family still honoured and pampered him. This fact is likely the result of the tremendous influence his brother, Meng Chang, exerted on the royal family.

Meng Yi did, however, devote himself wholeheartedly to the service of Buddhism, and he put a great deal of effort into the promotion of the Three Treasures.²² Most researchers pay little attention

¹⁸ *Nanshi* 19.541–542.

¹⁹ *Song shu* 66.1737.

²⁰ *Nanshi* 72.1766.

²¹ *Song shu* 100.2449.

to the fact that Meng Yi not only worshiped the Buddha but was also infatuated with talismanic poetic prophecies. According to records from 'Wuxing Zhi' 五行志 (Record of the Five Elements), from *History of the Early Song Dynasty* (*Song shu* 宋書), during the time when Sima Yuanxian 司馬元顯 (382–402) consolidated power, Zhu Tanlin 竺曇林, known as Xiangyang Daoren 襄陽道人, wrote a poetic prophecy which read, 'When there is *Shiyikou* (十一口), and [Huan Xuan] injured by the blades of soldiers, *Mugen* (木亘), best to cross the Yangtze River, into the vast wilderness'. And there was another that read, 'A weapon of gold has already been made, in Jincheng its lustre shimmers'. Meng Yi provided interpretations for these two poems.²³ In addition, on the sixth month of the second year of Yongchu (421 CE), of the reign of Emperor Wu of Song, Meng Yi presented the emperor with an auspicious white bird, which had been discovered at Lou County 婁縣 of Wu Commandery 吳郡. On the eighth month of fifteenth year of Yuanjia (438 CE), Meng Yi presented to the emperor a yellow dragon, which had been discovered at the Kuaiji Commandery 會稽郡.²⁴ It is clear that, within Liu Yu's inner circle, Meng Yi's role was essentially that of a religious counsellor. As a result, he focused all his energy on graciously and deferentially receiving highly regarded monks and lay Buddhists from home and abroad, such as Sengyi 僧翼 (381–450/451), Chaojin 超進 (380?–473/477), Lanhui 覽慧, Dharmamitra 曇摩密多 (356–442), Kalamyasas 曇良耶舍 (383–442/443), and Juqu Anyang 沮渠安陽侯 (?–464). In total, these visitors amount to no less than nine people, and in Yuhang, Meng Yi also founded the Fangxian Monastery 方顯寺, Fahua Monastery 法華寺, and expanded the Maota Monastery 鄆塔寺. Moreover, the grandest event attributed to Meng Yi was held in 416 after Liu Yu victoriously returned from his campaign in the North with the Former Qin. Meng Yi also invited Buddhahadra to return to Daochang Monastery in Jiankang (Nanjing) and translate scriptures collectively with such personages as Faxian

²² *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2145, 55: 14.105a.

²³ Liu, 'Gushi de zaisheng', 239–42.

²⁴ *Song shu* 29.842; cf. *Song shu* 28.800.

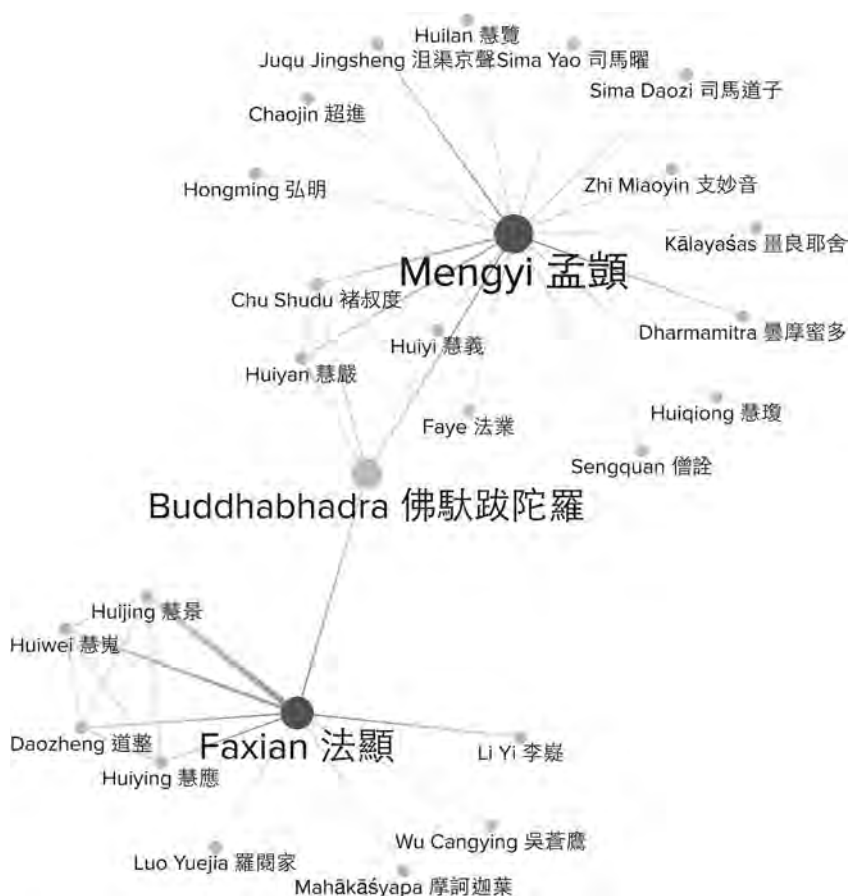


FIG. 1 Diagram of Social Relations Between Faxian 法顯 and Meng Yi 孟顛. Image capture by Wan-chun Chiu.

and Huiguan 慧觀²⁵ (Fig. 1)²⁶. Admittedly, these events were related to Meng Yi’s personal faith, but they likely exceeded the scope of what his personal power alone could accomplish. It seems a reasonable proposition that these events were tactics used by Liu Yu’s inner circle to assist with their war efforts and help establish a new country.

²⁵ *Song shu* 31.919.

²⁶ The diagram of social relations above is based on information produced by the Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Art’s 法鼓山佛教學院 ‘Visualizing and

The fact of the matter is that the military operations of Liu Yu's inner circle were often accompanied by religious activities. *Cejia Songgong Jiuxi Wen* 策加宋公九錫文 [Regarding Liu Yu Receiving the Nine Bestowments] praises the moral achievements of Liu Yu, specifically stating that 'recovering the lost lands of the Eastern Jin and protecting the divinity of the emperor were the meritorious deeds of Liu Yu'.²⁷ Related research that I personally performed in the past has focused on famous mountains, great rivers, deceased emperors, burial grounds of sages, and ancestral shrines.²⁸ However, my research has rarely touched on the topic of Buddhist worship. Additional research revealed that the relationship that initially existed between Liu Yu's inner circle and Buddhism was subtle at best, but after Faxian returned from abroad, various Buddhism projects began to occur, which were inextricably linked to Faxian. This is worth a thorough investigation.

2. Faxian, Buddhism, and the Political Forces of Qingzhou and Xuzhou

During the Eastern Jin and the Sixteen Kingdoms period, ethnic groups took control of various parts of the Central Plain, inciting a long lasting struggle over the Huang-Huai River Basin 黃淮流域. Emperor Mu of Jin (343–361) also repeatedly launched campaigns

Querying Chinese Buddhist Biographies' 佛教傳記文學 platform (<http://buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/biographies/socialnetworks/interface/>), accessed on February 20, 2017. This diagram is centred around Faxian and Meng Yi, and it is based upon *Liang Gaoseng Zhuan* 梁高僧傳 [Biographies of Eminent Monks], *Tang Gaoseng Zhuan* 唐高僧傳 [Continuation to Biographies of Eminent Monks], *Biqiuni Zhuan* 比丘尼傳 [Bhikshuni Biographies], *Chu Sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 [Compilation of Notes on the Translation of the Tripitaka], and *Meisō den sbō* 名僧傳抄 [Biographies of Famous Monks]. See Appendix One for more details.

²⁷ *Nanshi* 1.17.

²⁸ Liu, 'San Ling Juanshu'.

in the North, but his forces were ultimately defeated, and when all was said and done, they returned without any success to speak of. In 410 CE, Liu Yu began the process of destroying the Southern Yan, bringing the likes of Qingzhou, Xuzhou, and Yanzhou completely under the rule of the Eastern Jin.²⁹ Throughout the process of campaigning against the Southern Yan, resistance of the city occupied by Murong Chao 慕容超, was especially relentless. The city held out for a considerable period of time, and even after the Southern Yan had fallen, Liu Yu was still so furious over the matter that he wanted to completely eviscerate it. However, he let go of this notion after being strongly advised against it.³⁰ As the historical records note: ‘That year in Donglai (Guanggu City 廣固城), sheets of blood fell from the sky, and at night you could hear the ghosts weeping’.³¹

The site of this city was a key post for military transportation that needed to be effectively controlled. And so when it came time to rebuild, Liu Yu’s inner circle specially picked Minister Yang Muzhi 長史羊穆之 to serve as the governor of Qingzhou and manage the construction of Dongyang City.³² Although there was no biography about Yang Muzhi left behind, he was still acclaimed by a historian as the governor of Qingzhou who was most beloved by his people during the Eastern Jin and Liu Song period.³³ Half a century later, the work *Sishui Zhu* 泗水注 [Annotations on the Zi River Records],

²⁹ Wang, *Wei Jin Nanbei chao*, 271–303.

³⁰ *Song shu* 1.17.

³¹ *Jin shu* 128.3183.

³² *Jin shu* 15.451.

³³ *Song shu* 1.11. Yang Muzhi was originally the *zhangshi* 長史 [administrator] of Xinyu 辛禺, who was then the governor of Yanzhou. In 404, Xin Yu planned a mutiny, so Yang Muzhi beheaded him and sent his decapitated head to the capital. See *Nanshi* 70: 1700, it is recorded that ‘from the Yixi Period to the end of the Liu Song Dynasty, Yang Muzhi was the most talented of all the governors. He was praised by all the officials and people’. *Song Yuan Fongzhi congkan* 4: 586a, reads:

After Liu Yu captured Guanggu City, Guo Dafu of the state of Qi noticed the quality of feng shui there and persuaded Yang Muzhi to build Dongyang City for Qingzhou. Later, a shrine was built for Guo in front of

which was compiled in *Shuijing Zhu* 水經注 [Annotations on the Waterways Classic] by Li Daoyuan 酈道元 (472–527), described Dongyang City as such:

The Yang River comes from the East and flows through Dongyang City's southeast corner. In the Yixi Era, Yang Muzhi, the Eastern Jin's governor of Qingzhou, built this city. Because this city is to the north of the Yang River, it is thus known as Dongyang city.

Li Daoyuan made a point to specially mention Yang Muzhi's meritorious deed of founding the city; at the same time, he also mentioned that the 'most famous monastery', Qiji Monastery 七級寺, was located near the city, writing:

The Yang River flows from the East, passing by the south of the [former] Qiji Monastery's temple; north of the river is the Buddha palace, which is surrounded by corridors and meandering pavilions that are connected together. Beside the forest are prayer mats scattered across the ground, along with a few staffs and alms bowls that are used by the monks. These are used by strict, prudent monks. They practice a life of Chan meditation in the distant mountains and forests.³⁴

It is evident that monks of this monastery engaged in cultivation methods centred around *chan* meditation. It is also worth examining that this temple was built by Murong De 慕容德 (336–405) during the Southern Yan, and in terms of size, it was likely no smaller than Yongning Monastery 永寧寺, which employed the same Seven Story Pagoda layout and existed later during the Wei Dynasty.³⁵ In fact, documents from the period of Emperor Xianwen of the Wei Dynasty (467–470) indicate the 'former' Qiji Monastery had already been

Yunmen Mountain. 劉裕既夷廣固城，齊人郭大夫相水土，勸羊穆之築東陽城為青州。後人為大夫立廟於雲門山前。

³⁴ Sang, *Shuijing zhu shu*, 2234.

³⁵ Wen, 'Qingzhou Fojiao Zaoxiang Kaocha Ji'.

destroyed on account of a naturally occurring fire.³⁶ Thus, although history recorded that after Liu Yu vanquished the Southern Yan he ‘eliminated all their local temples’,³⁷ the truth is that he only destroyed military installations. In contrast, he treated monasteries with respect and protected them. As a result, despite experiencing rule under the Southern Yan, Eastern Jin, Liu Yu, and Wei of the Northern Dynasties, this monastery never suffered any meaningful man-made damage.

Tracing back through history, it is clear that along with the southward migrations following the Yongjia Period, many people relocated to Jiangnan, causing the four states of Xuzhou, Yanzhou, Qingzhou, and Qizhou to become the largest in terms of population and influence. Additionally, the people who moved to the three states of Jinling—Qingzhou, Xuzhou, and Yanzhou—formed the main source of troops for the Beifu 北府 army.³⁸ After these events, Xuzhou and Yanzhou in particular formed a strong geopolitical and ancestral relationship with the Eastern Jin and Southern Dynasties that followed. Accordingly, an emotional bond existed between these two regimes and the states of Xuzhou and Yanzhou.

Setting aside the fact that Liu Yu’s ancestral hometown is Pengcheng 彭城, the twenty-one generals that attacked the Southern Yan with him, namely, Liu Fan 劉藩, Liu Muzhi 劉穆之, Tan Shao 檀韶,

³⁶ *Wei shu* 67.1495 records, ‘Cui Guang admonished Ling Taihou 靈太后 [the mother of the emperor] by not climbing to the top of the Nine Layers Pagoda in Yongning 永寧 Monastery’, it reads:

In the past, during the Huangxing year, Qiji Monastery stood in Qingzhou. It was both imposing and majestic, but one night it burned down. Despite the predictions of divination and prophecies, we still cannot rid away this bad omen. Things often change over a long period of time; there is absolutely no use in making preparations in advance. The way of heaven is hard to predict, as has been admonished from the past. 去皇興中, 青州七級, 亦號崇壯, 夜為上火所焚。雖梓慎、裨竈之明, 尚不能逆剋端兆。變起倉卒, 預備不虞。天道幽遠, 自昔深誠’.

³⁷ *Wei shu* 97.2131.

³⁸ Tian, ‘Bei Fu Bing Shimo’, 373.

Liu Huaishen 劉懷慎, Meng Longfu 孟龍符, Liu Zhong 劉鍾, Yu Qiuji 虞丘進, Kuai En 蒯恩, Liu Daolian 劉道憐, Wang Dan 王誕, Liu Jingxuan 劉敬宣, Zang Xi 臧熹 were all descendants from areas around Qingzhou, Xuzhou, and Yanzhou, with the exception of Liu Huaiyu 劉懷玉, Shen Zhongdao 慎仲道, Suo Miao 索邈, Tao Yanshou 陶延壽, Sun Chu 孫處, Hu Fan 胡藩, Liu Cui 劉粹, Wang Yi 王懿, and Yu Yuezhi 庾悅之.³⁹ Thus, after they defeated the Southern Yan, they were especially meticulous in the management of these three states.

In Qingzhou, Xuzhou, and Yanzhou, Liu Yu's inner circle not only established how to handle political and military affairs, but they also acknowledged and conformed to the area's religious customs. This is because the region of Xuzhou and Haizhou had been an important route for the acceptance and propagation of Buddhism from the Eastern Han Dynasty onward. It was here that the earliest monasteries were set up,⁴⁰ and more importantly, it was here that prominent monks from abroad stayed—such as Yan Fodiao 嚴佛調 of the Eastern Han period who wrote *Shami shihui zhangju* 沙彌十慧章句 [Ten Pieces of Wisdom by Lowly Monk], a work that proclaimed the fundamental teachings of Hinayana Buddhism and made reference to practicing *changuan* 禪觀 meditation.⁴¹ Another example is the monastic group of Senglang 僧朗 at Mount Tai during the Eastern Jin and Sixteen Kingdom's period. Sovereigns of the Former Qin, Eastern Jin, Later Yan, Southern Yan, and Southern Wei

³⁹ Wang, *Wei Jin Nanbei chao*, 300–01.

⁴⁰ During the Eastern Han Dynasty period, Liu Ying 劉英 (29–71) was known by the title of Prince of Chu 楚王 and praised noble Buddhist monasteries, and Ze Rong 笮融 (?–196) established many monasteries throughout Xuzhou. See Zhang, *Han Tang Fosi*, 22–23.

⁴¹ *Gaoseng zhuàn*, T no. 2059, 50: 324; additionally, 'Shihui Zhangju Xu' 十慧章句序, *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2145, 55: 10.70a2: '(The principle of Shihui are) spread far and wide through the cosmos and can help practitioners with their cultivation' (十慧之文) 廣彌三界, 近觀諸身. It is clear that this work is related to *changuan* meditation. Ren, *Zhongguo Fojiao shi*, 146; Zhang, 'Mile Xinyang Shu Pin', 534.

all preferentially treated and revered this group,⁴² and they founded large monasteries for the group as well—especially Langgong Monastery. Specifically,

On behalf of Senglang, Murong De, Emperor of the Southern Yan, carried out the construction [of Langgong Monastery]. ... Murong De provided Senglang with tribute from three counties in order to build this monastery. The monastery was composed of a few dozen Buddha structures, both big and small. Corridors extended for a thousand metres. The monastery experienced three campaigns to eradicate Buddhism, and yet it remains standing. ... Since ancient times, this monastery has been called ‘Langgong Monastery’ 朗公寺 on account of its efficaciousness. As a result, it is revered by all people.⁴³

It is evident from this that belief in Buddhism was nearly universal in this region.⁴⁴ After Liu Yu conquered Chang’an and destroyed the Later Qin, monks in the Guangzhong region went east to Xuzhou and Haizhou. Kumārajīva’s 鳩摩羅什 (344–413) disciples, Daorong 道融 and Sengsong 僧嵩, went to the Pengcheng region to preach.⁴⁵ There, Sengyuan and other monks were taught about the *Satyasiddhiśāstra* 成實論 and *Abhidharma* 毘曇 by Sengsong.⁴⁶ In this way, Pengcheng and Shouchun became bases of operations for the Hinayana Free School during the Northern and Southern dynasties period.⁴⁷ As for the attitude of Liu Yu’s inner circle toward Buddhism, by and large they maintained an air of reverence, and they safeguarded the religion, especially during the campaigns to extinguish Buddhism during the Northern Dynasties (446–452). Sengdao 僧導 (362–457) took in a good number of monks who were fleeing, and he also respectfully burned offerings for the deceased in an act of mourning.⁴⁸

⁴² Miyagawa, *Rikuchō-shi kenkyū*, 255–78.

⁴³ *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 10.506.

⁴⁴ For further details, see Lin, ‘Hongming ji’, 82–85.

⁴⁵ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 6.363.

⁴⁶ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 7.375.

⁴⁷ Tang, *Han Wei Liangjin*, 491–526.

Just after Faxian returned to his native country, he went to Pengcheng, and although he only resided there for a short period of time, he nonetheless left a tremendous impact. According to records from *Record of the Buddha Land*, after Faxian arrived at the shores of Laoshan 牢山, he was received by Li Yi 李嶷, governor of Changguang Jun 長廣郡. Afterwards, he received an invitation from the governor of both Qingzhou and Yanzhou to stay for the winter through the summer.⁴⁹ The biography regarding Liu Daolian, contained in *History of the Early Song Dynasty*, recounts that his post was changed to governor of North Xuzhou 北徐州 in 411, which moved his garrison to Pengcheng. In 412, when Liu Yu attacked Liu Yi, he appointed Liu Daolian as martial governor of Yanzhou and Qingzhou. Liu Daolian was later responsible for administering the military affairs of Jinling 晉陵, Jingkou 京口, and Huainan 淮南, and he also governed Yanzhou and Qingzhou.⁵⁰ Scholars use this evidence as proof that Liu Daolian invited Faxian to spend the winter through summer in Qingzhou; that is to say that the one called 'Liu Yun 劉沅 of Qingzhou' 青州 who invited Faxian to stay there from the winter to summer was indeed Liu Daolian.⁵¹ Furthermore, during the time which Faxian stayed in Pengcheng, he established Longhua Monastery 龍華寺 in accor-

⁴⁸ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 7.375:

Later when a monastery was founded at Shouchun, it was also called Dongshan Monastery. He often explained Buddha scriptures and theories to the masses there, and over 1,000 people followed him there to study. During the campaigns to eradicate Buddhism, several hundred monks went to where he was, seeking refuge. Sengdao provided all of them with clothes and food. Sengdao held Buddhist ceremonies in honour of the monks that had been killed and wept for them. 後立寺於壽春, 即東山寺也。常講說經論, 受業千有餘人。會虜俄滅佛法, 沙門避難, 投之者數百, 悉給衣食。其有死於虜者, 皆設會行香, 為之流涕哀慟。

⁴⁹ Zhang, *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 147–48.

⁵⁰ *Song shu* 51.1462.

⁵¹ Rao Zongyi did some textual research on the two footnotes that read 'Liu Yun of Qingzhou' and 'invited Faxian to stay from the winter to summer' from

dance with the *Longhua Tu* 龍華圖 [Longhua Image]. This matter is recorded in *Sishui Zhu* 泗水注 [Annotations on the Si River Records], in *Shuijing Zhu* 水經注 [Annotations on the Waterways Classic] by Li Daoyuan 酈道元 (?–527), which reads:

The Si River moves southeast, moving through the northeast of Pengcheng (Xuzhou). To the west of the river is Longhua Monastery. This monastery was the first designed according to the Longhua Image, which was brought back from India by Faxian, after he returned by boat. Faxian was the first person in China to produce such a monastery. The emergence of these types of monasteries in China began with Faxian. When Faxian returned, he brought two stones back with him. These are still within the southern foundation of Longhua Monastery. With a bright surface that is clean to the eye, these stones have garnered people's admiration.

(泗水)又東南過彭城(徐州)東北,泗水西有龍華寺,是沙門釋法顯遠出西域,浮海東還,持《龍華圖》,首創此制,法流中夏,自法顯始也。其所持天竺二石,仍在南陸東基堪(龕)中,其石尚光潔可愛。⁵²

Regarding the contents and essence of the Longhua image 龍華圖, scholars have different opinions. Some of them believe it depicted the Maitreya Buddha attaining enlightenment beneath the Hualin Tree in the Longhua garden.⁵³ Others believe the image depicted offerings to *Mile Fo jing* 彌勒佛經 (*Maitreya Buddha Sutra*), as described in the sutra. Apparently, it featured two large flower wrapped treasures in the sky, and the Kings of Nagas performed refined music and gestures in the image—beautiful flowers bloom out of their mouths and petals rain from their pores, depicting an ideal scene of offerings being presented to the Buddha.⁵⁴ A third explanation contends that

Zhang Xun's *Faxian Zhuan Jiaozhu*. See Zhang, *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 148; Rao, 'Zaoqi Qingzhou Cheng yu Fojiao', 52–53.

⁵² Sang, *Shuijing zhu shu*, 2144.

⁵³ Su, *Zhongguo shiku si*, 187.

⁵⁴ Rao, 'Zaoqi Qingzhou Cheng yu Fojiao', 52.

besides being a manifestation of Rebirth Maitreyanism, the image was also a diagram of Indian Buddhist monasteries, and Longhua Monastery was the first Buddhist monastery on Chinese soil to be built according to such a diagram.⁵⁵ Besides indicating that the Longhua Image and the Maitreyanism Image are related, the third explanation also adds a new idea to the mix—that the Longhua Image provided a diagram of Indian monasteries. As for the implication that it was ‘first designed [according to the Longhua Image]’, there remain two possible ways in which one could interpret this phrase. It is clear, though, that given the materials currently available it remains difficult to reach a final conclusion.

Despite this, we can already confirm that Faxian personally saw images of the Maitreya Buddha when he was seeking scriptures in India and also personally heard an oral version of the *Mile jing* 彌勒經 [*Maitreya Sutra*]. *Record of the Buddha Land* also records a mystical legend about the Maitreya image:

There is a small state named Darada 陀歷. The monks in this state all study Hinayana Buddhism. There is an Arhat in this state with remarkable abilities that sent a craftsman to Tuṣita. There, the craftsman saw the appearance of the Maitreya Bodhisattva, and upon returning they used a block of wood to carve a statue of Maitreya. The craftsman was sent to Tuṣita about three times before he was able to make a consummate statue. This statue is eight *zhang* tall, and the feet of Maitreya are eight *chi* long. On days when they fast, the statue often glows. The rulers of many states were eager to come here and make offerings to the statue. Currently, this statue is still in the same state.

有一小國名陀歷，亦有眾僧皆小乘學，其國昔有羅漢，以神足力將一巧匠，上兜率天觀彌勒菩薩長短色貌，還下刻木作像，前後三上觀，然後乃成像，長八丈足趺八尺，齋日常有光明，諸國王競興供養，今故現在於此。⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Wang, ‘Faxian yu Mile xinyang’, 176.

⁵⁶ *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 857a.

In Darada, Faxian saw the image of the Maitreya Buddha with a glow that extended for eight *zhang*. An arhat used his supernatural powers to send an artisan to Tuṣita three times. This allowed the artisan to depict Maitreya visually. Typically speaking, a person would have to engage in self-cultivation for a long period of time before they could see the true form of Maitreya, but after this image was brought to the human realm it was thus worshipped by all the kings. Moreover, Faxian also spent over two years living in Tāmralipti, transcribing Buddhist texts and making copies of Buddhist images. He even tried writing down the *Mile jing*, which had been orally transmitted by masters in the Indian subcontinent.⁵⁷ It is thus clear that he was extremely interested in the content of the *Mile Jing*, especially the practices of the Maitreyanism faith. These practices are related to holding on to precepts (*shoujie* 守戒), reciting the Buddha's name (*nianfo* 念佛), and stabilizing meditation (*zhiguan* 止觀), and the content of the *Mile jing* is also identical in nature to the translations of texts he later engaged in. We can from this infer that the building Longhua Monastery in Pengcheng and the Longhua Image are both intimately related to Rebirth Maitreyanism, the faith of Maitreya being reborn down into the world.

Previous research has already produced abundant material on Maitreyanism during this period in China.⁵⁸ Simply put, Maitreyanism in Han regions originates from India. Early Buddhist sects in India had a theory that Maitreya is the Buddha of the future. Accordingly, the *Ahan jing* 阿含經 (*Āgama Sutra*) from the early period of sectarian Buddhism already spoke of Maitreya.⁵⁹

That said, by looking through Pure Land Buddhist classics, we

⁵⁷ *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 863a.

⁵⁸ Wang, *Mile Xinyang Yanjiu*, 6–18, provides a detailed explanation of this.

⁵⁹ Examples include Gautama Saṅghadeva's (Qutan Sengqietipo 瞿曇僧伽提婆) translation of 'Wang Xiangying Pin Yi' 王相應品一 from *juan* 13 of *Zhong Ahan jing* 中阿含經 (Skt. *Madhyamagama*). See T no. 26, 1: 508–511; and Gautama Saṅghadeva's translation of 'Deng Yue Sidi Pin Ershi Qi' 等趣四諦品二十七 from *juan* 19 of *Zengyi ahan jing* 增壹阿含經 (Skt. *Ekottara-āgama*), collected in T no. 125, 2: 645.

can see that the six scriptures on Maitreya of Mahayana Buddhism began to emerge during the Western Jin dynasty, and they contain a considerable amount of information concerning the Pure Land notion. There are three of note: the *Mile xiasheng jing* 彌勒下生經 [Maitreya Rebirth Sutra; Skt. *Maitreyavyākaraṇa*], *Mile chengfo jing* 彌勒成佛經 [Maitreya Attaining Buddhahood Sutra], and *Mile shangsheng jing* 彌勒上生經 [Maitreya Ascending Sutra]. These three scriptures had a rather large impact on China at that time, and they are referred to collectively as the 'Mile sanbu jing' 彌勒三部經 [Three Scriptures on Maitreya].⁶⁰ These introduce the innate causes and conditions of Maitreya, Maitreya's previous and coming life, Maitreya's attainment of Buddhahood, the three assemblies under the Longhua Tree, and more. Generally speaking, virtually everything within these texts can be considered important information regarding the Maitreyanism faith.

It was during the Jin Dynasty that Maitreyanism began appearing in China. This began largely on account of the translation of scriptures about Maitreya, such as the 'Three Scriptures on Maitreya', and the belief is a subset of belief in the Pure Land. By the Northern and Southern dynasties period (420–589), Maitreyanism was already widely popular. Considering documents related to Maitreya that were produced in China, Maitreyanism can be roughly divided into Ascending Maitreyanism (上生) and Rebirth Maitreyanism (下生). Believers of Ascending Maitreyanism believe that that the Maitreya Bodhisattva expounds on Dharma in Tuṣita Heaven. As a result, these believers want to be reborn into the fourth of the six devas of Kamadhatu—Tuṣita, where they can receive instructions from Maitreya and attain enlightenment. Believers of this include such figures as Dao'an 道安 (314–386), Dai Yong 戴顓 (378–441), Faxiang 法祥 (lifespan unclear), Huiyan 慧嚴 (363–443), Fasheng 法盛 (347–461), and Tanfu 曇副 (?–497)⁶¹ (see

⁶⁰ Yang, 'Hanyi Fojing Zhong'.

⁶¹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 352; on Dai Yong, see *Fayuan zhubin*, T no. 2122, 53: 16.406; on Faxiang, see *Meisō den shō* 28.359; on Fasheng and Tanfu see *Meisō den shō* 27.359.

Appendix Two). As for Rebirth Maitreyanism, its believers firmly believe that 5,670,000,000 years after the Buddha attains nirvana, Maitreya will descend from Tuṣita and be reborn into the human realm, where Maitreya will become a monk, study Buddhism, gain enlightenment under the Longhua Tree in the Hualin Garden of Chitou city, and then hold three assemblies wherein he teaches people how to attain liberation. At this time, people who were not able to obtain enlightenment from the Śākyamuni Buddha's teachings will be able to use Maitreya's teachings to attain enlightenment. Believers of Rebirth Maitreyanism also believe that they can be reborn into Tuṣita, receive instructions from Maitreya, and attain Buddhahood. Such believers of this include Emperor Ming of Liu Song 劉宋明帝 (439–472), Zhou Yong 周顒 (422–483), Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良 (460–494), Huisi of Nanyue 南嶽慧思 (515–577), and others.⁶²

⁶² There is a great deal of existent research. See Bai, *Zhongguo shiku si yanjiu*; Zhang, 'Nianfo Jintu', 83. Additionally, 'Fayuan Zayuan Yanshi Ji Mulu Xu' 法苑雜緣原始集目錄序 [Preface to the Catalog of Primary Karmic Beginnings] collected in the twelfth *juan* of *Chu Sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 [Compilation of Documents on the Translation of the *Tripitaka*] contains three articles describing Rebirth Maitreyanism: 'Songming Huangdi chuzao Longhua shiyuan wen' 宋明皇帝初造龍華誓願文 [Text on Emperor Ming of Liu Song's Initial Writing of the Longhua Faith], 'Jingshi Zhuyi zao Mile xiang sanhui ji' 京師諸邑造彌勒像三會記 [Record of the Establishment of the Maitreya Image of the Three Assemblies across the Capital and Villages], and 'Qi Jingling Wenxuan wang Longhua hui ji' 齊竟陵文宣王龍華會記 [Record of Longhua Assembly convened by Prince Jingling of the Qi], by Emperor Ming of the Song (Liu Yu 劉彧 [439–472]), Zhou Yong 周顒 (?–493), and Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良 (460–494), respectively.

Moreover, *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (*T* no. 2060, 55: 562) contains this record about Huisi:

Huisi dreamt that Maitreya and Amitabha provided him with lectures of Dharma, and as a result, he attained enlightenment. Consequently, he had two statues made of Maitreya and Amitabha, and he made offerings to both of them. In his dream, he also saw himself along with Maitreya and other deities assembling under the Longhua tree. In his heart, he thought

A good number of the core members of Liu Yu's inner circle were devout Buddhists, especially those from the south-eastern Binhai Region 濱海區 who believed in the Guanyin Bodhisattva. Such believers include Mao Dezu 毛德祖 (365–429) and Wang Shaozhi 王韶之 (380–435).⁶³ There was also Fu Liang 傅亮 (374–426),⁶⁴ a figure in Liu Yu's inner circle with literary prowess, and both he and his sons were believers in the Guanyin Bodhisattva. In particular, after experiencing the chaos of Sun En's rebellion (399–411), they pieced back together the then fragmented *Guanshiyin yingyan ji* 觀世音應驗記 [Record of Numinous Manifestations of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara] with the hope of inspiring

‘after the Śākyamuni Buddha reached nirvana, I had no way to accept the faith of the *Lotus Sutra*, but now with the help of the Maitreya Buddha's compassion I have been able to attain enlightenment’. As a result, Huisi cultivated himself diligently. He also had a bottle filled with water placed in front of the Buddha statues, so he could have all his arrangement for offerings done appropriately. 夢彌勒彌陀，說法開悟，故造二像，並同供養，又夢隨從彌勒與諸眷屬，同會龍華。心自惟曰，‘我於釋迦末法受持法華，今值慈尊，感傷悲泣，豁然覺悟。’轉復精進，靈瑞重沓，瓶水常滿、供事嚴備。

⁶³ Regarding Mao Dezu's ‘the whole family chanted the name “Guanshiyin” together matter’, see Zhang Yan 張演 (active 430s), ‘Mao Dezu’ 毛德祖, in *Guanshiyin yingyan ji* 觀世音應驗記 [Records on Numinous Manifestations of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara], section 8 (Dong, *Guanshiyin yingyan ji sanzong*, 52). Also consult Lu Gao's 陸杲 (459–532) ‘Wuxing Jun Shi’ 吳興郡吏 [an official of Wuxing Region], in *Ji Guanshiyin yingyan ji* 繫觀世音應驗記 [Additional Records on Numinous Manifestations of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara], section 3: 66, which reads, ‘This minor had no belief in Buddhism to speak of, but he everyday listened to Wang Shaozhi 王韶之 recite the names of Avalokiteśvara’ 此吏素不事佛，但恒聞王(韶之)道光世音。

⁶⁴ Fu Liang's 傅亮 (374–426) biography in *Song shu* 43.1337, Sheng Yue writes: ‘Just after Liu Yu took the imperial throne, all of his documents were drafted by Teng Yan 滕演, a military official. When Liu Yu went north to campaign at Guanggu City, all of his documents were drafted by the *zhangshi* Wang Dan 王誕 (375–413). Later, all of Liu Yu's documents were composed by Fu Liang’.

belief in more people.⁶⁵ On the other hand, belief in Maitreyanism during the Eastern Jin and Sixteen Kingdoms was mainly spread throughout Buddhist groups in Xiangyang and Chang'an. Liu Yu's inner circle, however, was principally based around Qingzhou and Yanzhou, thus raising the question as to whether or not Liu Yu's inner circle ever came in contact with Maitreyanism. Today we can see that certain people in their inner circle, such as Jiang Yi 江夷 (384–431) of Jiyang 濟陽, likely started off believing in the Guanyin Bodhisattva but later became a believer of Maitreya.⁶⁶ In *Mile pusa zan* 彌勒菩薩讚 (Praise of Maitreya Bodhisattva), Fu Liang 傅亮 wrote,

Time has no distinction between before and after; there is a sole truth that cannot be divided. Dragons fly through Tuṣita as Maitreya waits to descend to the world and be born into the human realm. Long nights are just as long; we long and thirst for Maitreya. From day to night we think of jubilation, imagining the day when Maitreya arrives.

⁶⁵ Fu, 'Guanshiyin'. Additionally, 'Shamen Zhu Fayi' 沙門竺法義 (307–380) [Monk Zhu Fayi], the seventeenth section *ze* 則 of this work mentions how his father once heard a monk named Fayi tell him about how Avalokiteśvara used a knife to dig in to a person's stomach and eradicate a disease within. See Dong, *Guanshiyin yingyan*, 25.

⁶⁶ In 'Xiuxin fu xu' 修心賦序, Jiang Zong 江總 (519–594) personally declared that Longquan Monastery was established by Jiang Yi in 437 CE; see *Chen shu* 27.344. *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 36.343c records the legend of Jiang Yi producing a statue. See entry on 'Dai Yong' in Appendix Two.

Such a legend should not be believed, but it contains information about a kind of faith during that period. Even if this is actually not related to Jiang Yi, during this period scholar officials initially believed in Guanyin, but later—after people began converting on account of the influence of Maitreya—they likely followed suit. This is perhaps the truth. That said, the time when this occurred should be assumed to be after the establishment of the Liu Song Dynasty.

時無並後，道不二司。龍潛兜率，按轡候時。翳翳長夜，懷而慕思。思樂朗旦，屬想靈期。⁶⁷

It is not clear exactly when this writing of praise was composed, but as Fu Liang died in 426, it was certainly composed no later than this. Among it, the sentence ‘Dragons fly through Tuṣita as Maitreya waits to descend to the world’ means that Maitreya is waiting to descend to Earth from Tuṣita, and the latter half of ‘long nights are just as long; we long and thirst for Maitreya’ expresses a longing for the imminent arrival of Maitreya. It is thus clear that this can be classified as Rebirth Maitreyanism thought. As for this figure that they long for, this Maitreya that will come into the world and become a Buddha—is it really just referring to a Buddha that will arrive in the future or is there a political implication here? I will not offer up an interpretation about this.

Such examples of writings that praise Maitreya are examples of the universality of Maitreyanism. In truth, even earlier during the Jin Dynasty, the famous monk Zhidun 支遁 (314–366) wrote *Mile zan* 彌勒讚 [Praising Maitreya], which read:

Maitreya possesses a divine position. His deeds were recorded in Buddhist texts. A dragon soars through the air in Tuṣita, and Maitreya is solemnly situated above all the deities. The sound of Dharma reverberates through the celestial palace, and it can be heard throughout the vast cosmos. ... Maitreya possesses thirty-two dignified characteristics that glisten and dazzle the Hualin Garden. As the eternal wheel of Dharma slowly moves forward, Maitreya holds three assemblies here, lecturing over the essence of Dharma.

彌勒承神第，聖錄載靈篇。乘乾因九五，龍飛兜率天。法鼓震玄宮，逸響亮三千。... 挺此四八姿，映蔚華林園。臺臺玄輪奏，三摠在昔緣。⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Fu Liang, ‘Mile pusa zan’, Quan Song Wen, *Quan Shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen* 26. 2578a.

⁶⁸ Zhidun, ‘Mile zan’, Quan Jin wen, *Shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen* 157.2370–71.

Here, the praises of Maitreya accept the prophecy of the Sakya-muni Buddha, becoming the Bodhisattva to inherit the position of the Buddha, rise up to the heavenly realm of Tuṣita 兜率天宮, and explain the Dharma to the masses. The last four sentences are describing the thirty-two characteristics of the Maitreya image, reflecting the flourishing Hualin Garden 華林園 as well as anticipation for future karmic results. From this we get a reflection of the circumstances surrounding the spread of early Maitreyanism belief in the south of China. This understanding of Maitreyanism is mainly based on written scriptures, and it can be classified as Rising Maitreyanism. This work can be contrasted with another work of the same name, the *Mile zan* 彌勒讚 [Praising Maitreya] by Shen Yue 沈約 (441–531) of the Liang Dynasty period, which was composed on the occasion of the crown prince having a stone statue of the Maitreya built, it reads:

The vast river flows from far away, covering a near endless path. Religions have fixed deities that should be worshipped, yet deities are without fixed functions. Maitreya will not long for a princely family, and instead will join the Sangha to engage in self-cultivation and assume divine tasks. The sun of wisdom rises early in the morning; fragrant rain falls to the ground in the evening. A reliance on faith in Maitreya presents a shared, predestined fate that brings us here. This is our divine Maitreya. He is just as important as heaven. Beneath the Longhua Tree, he will lecture over Buddhist scripture. His beautiful words will fill people's hearts with incomparable joy. ... The present writer records such wonderful words about Maitreya, hoping they can have a far-reaching impact.

眇眇長津，遙遙遐轡。道有常尊，神無恆器。脫屣王家，來承寶位。慧日晨開，香雨霄墜。藉感必從，憑緣斯至。日我聖儲，儀天作貳。尚相龍柯，瞻言思媚。... 敬勒玄蹤，式傳遐懿。⁶⁹

Crown Prince Zhaoming 昭明 had asked Shen Yue to write praise

⁶⁹ Shen Yue, 'Mile Zan', Quan Liang Wen, *Quan Shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen* 30: 3127-1.

of the Maitreya stone statue he had constructed. Two parts in particular—‘Maitreya will not long for a princely family, and instead will join the Sangha to engage in self-cultivation and assume divine tasks’ and ‘beneath the Longhua Tree, he will lecture over Buddhist scripture. His beautiful words will fill people’s hearts with incomparable joy’—indicate that he was praising the Maitreya Bodhisattva’s eventual decision to be reborn into this realm where he will not care about being a prince and instead leave his home to study Buddhism, later receive teachings beneath the Longshu tree, attain enlightenment, and finally explain the true principles of Dharma to the people.

Another work worth considering is the later *Liang Huang chan* 梁皇懺 [Rituals of Repentance by the Emperor (Wu of the) Liang], which begins as such,

The four-character word of ‘Compassion Site’ was chosen because it was realized in a dream. When the Maitreya Buddha descends from Tuṣita into the human realm, his compassion will extend for all the *kalpas* that follow. Using the deeds of Maitreya to write this name, one should not dare to rashly make alterations.

This text makes it clear that such repentance is because the writer was inspired in a dream to visit the Maitreya Buddha and thus established the name ‘Compassion *Bodhimāṇḍa* 慈悲道場’. At the same time, the order in which one should worship all the Buddhas is also clear here; all worship starts with the ‘Maitreya Buddha’, only after comes the ‘Master Śākyamuni 本師’, and then all other Buddhas. Moreover, before worshipping you should first recite, ‘I devote myself to the compassionate and benevolent father, Maitreya’.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ There is a great deal of discussion as to when *Liang Huang chan* was produced. Recently a final consensus has more or less been reached that the text was produced sometime around the late Northern and Southern dynasties period, or the early period of the Sui Dynasty. In terms of content, the work is consistent with the defining characteristics of methods of repentance from the Southern Dynasties, and it is also consistent with the ways in which Emperor Wu of Liang

It is clear that in the fifth and sixth centuries, belief in Rebirth Maitreyanism flourished. What remains uncertain is just how the original Rising Maitreyanism turned into Rebirth Maitreyanism between the end of the fourth Century and the early fifth Century. Currently, the only clear document pertaining to this question is that which described the Maitreya Image 彌勒像 and Longhua Image as brought back to China by Faxian.

It appears from this that Liu Daolian, who was the highest-ranking official of that region, personally greeted the prominent monk Faxian after he returned from seeking scriptures abroad. Faxian also brought back with him images and a prophecy that peace and joy would be delivered by the eventual three assemblies at Fahua, and Liu Daolian was certainly very interested. These notions also fit with the near universal psychological demands of the people and soldiers following a long period of warfare. Additionally, support for the establishment of Fahua Monastery contributed to the regional propagation of Rebirth Maitreyanism—especially since Liu Daolian and Faxian spent a winter through a summer together there, which likely provided Liu Daolian with a deep understanding of Faxian's feelings of zeal and urgency for translating Buddhist texts. As a result, Liu Daolian also supported Faxian's decision to head south toward Jiankang and translate scriptures, which also caused Rebirth Maitreyanism to have a greater direct influence on the Jiangzuo 江左 region.

3. Faxian and the State of Buddhism and Political Power in Jingzhou

As the Western Jin dynasty's control over the Central Plain disintegrated, educated bureaucrats and civilians from the North moved to the South in hordes. Thus, during the Eastern Jin and Southern

worshipped the Buddha. However, the order in which it worships all the Buddhas is different from customs which followed the Tang Dynasty, thus it can be confirmed that the *Liang Huang chan* was likely produced during the Liang Dynasty. See Xin, 'Liang Huang baochan', 53–55.

Dynasties period, Han Chinese culture continually developed in the Jiangnan region, and it gradually formed into three regions of developed culture: first is the area centred around the Great Lake 太湖 Plain and the Ningshao 寧紹 Plain, which includes Jiankang 建康, Wu Jun 吳郡, and Kuaiji Jun 會稽郡, Great Lake Tai 太湖, and the Ningshao 寧紹 Plain; second is the Xunyang 潯陽 and Yuzhong 豫章 regions surrounding Poyang Lake 鄱陽湖; third is the Dongting Lake basin and the area surrounding the Jiangling 江陵, Jiangxia 江夏, and Changsha 長沙 regions. These developments led to the formation of cultural centres around Jiankang, Kuaiji, Wujun, Xunyang, Nanjun, Jiangxia, and Changsha.⁷¹ In fact, the formation of these three areas of developed culture is related to the special political and societal structures of that time: namely, the scale and routes of immigration, the layout of the Eastern Jin in the South and the southern dynasties that followed, and the unique political situation of Jingzhou and Yangzhou. Moreover, this is all also closely related to economic development within southern society. Specifically, the Jingzhou region was prominently located in the middle reaches of the Yangtze River, allowing it to hold a tight grip over the political situation of Jiangzuo, and it was also in the frontline of the confrontation between the North and South, facilitating frequent communications between the North and South. As a result, this area's culture was particularly prosperous, especially Jiangling, which was completely under the control of Jingzhou, and a mecca for traveling merchants and intellectual persons. This caused Buddhism in Jingzhou, which initially had very few monks,⁷² to undergo remarkable growth. During this time, many prominent monks from abroad came to reside in the Jiangling region, including the monk central to the paper's discussion—Faxian—who spent his final years here. Others such as Dharma-yaśas (Tanmoyeshe 曇

⁷¹ In *Ruxue Chuanbo*, Xia Zengmin 夏增民 examines the formation of a new Confucian cultural region during the Eastern Jin and Southern Dynasties. But this area is actually not limited to Confucianism, for it is really a cultural mecca in a broader sense.

⁷² Zhang, *Hubei lishi wenhua dili*, 26–31.

摩耶舍), Vimalākṣa (Pimoluocha 卑摩羅叉), Guṇabhadra (Qiunabatuoluo 求那跋陀羅), and Tanyi mingled with famous people, lectured over texts and Buddhism, and even amassed disciples and promoted Buddhism. During this period, more Buddhist monasteries were founded in the Jiangling region, continuing the tradition established by important Buddhist cities in the region, such as Chang'an and Jiankang, which subsequently became eminent cities. Monasteries of this region that are featured in the greatest amount of historical records include Xin Monastery, Changsha Monastery, Shangming Monastery, Pipa Monastery, and Zhulin Monastery.⁷³

The fact of the matter is that the development of Buddhism in Jingzhou was closely related to the inner circles of Dao'an and Huiyuan. Dao'an's Xiangyang Buddhist group split at that time, but this actually helped the later development of Buddhism in Jiangling, Chang'an, and Lushan (Fig. 2). We can surmise that 378 was when events that most directly led to this split occurred, for it was in this year that Fu Pi 符丕 travelled from the North to the South with his troops, bringing warfare to Xiangyang. Tanyi had formerly been a disciple of Dao'an, and as a result he was invited to leave Xiangyang and go to Jiangling by Teng Hanfang 滕含方, the governor of Changsha, who had him put in charge of Changsha Monastery. When Xiangyang found itself surrounded by enemy troops, Dao'an was also placed in an extremely difficult position. In the end, he disbanded his disciples and followers, telling them they could go where they liked.⁷⁴ As a result, a great number of Dao'an's disciples headed south to Jiangling. Among them, those who passed through and stayed at Changsha Monastery include Fayu 法遇 and Tanjie 曇戒 (328–397); those who stayed at Shangming Monastery include Zhu Sengfu 竺僧敷 (285–323), Tanhui 曇徽 (323–395), Huiyuan, and Huichi 慧持 (337–412). Shi Huiyong (332–414) had already gone

⁷³ Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望, *Wei Jin Nanbei chao Fojiao*, 130–31, produced a preliminary outline of the situation of Buddhist temples and monks in Jiangling during the Wei, Jin, and North-South dynasties period.

⁷⁴ Xia, 'Buyi Guowang', 215–17, which contains a thorough analysis of the statement 'propagating Buddhism' 教化之體, which Dao'an disseminated.

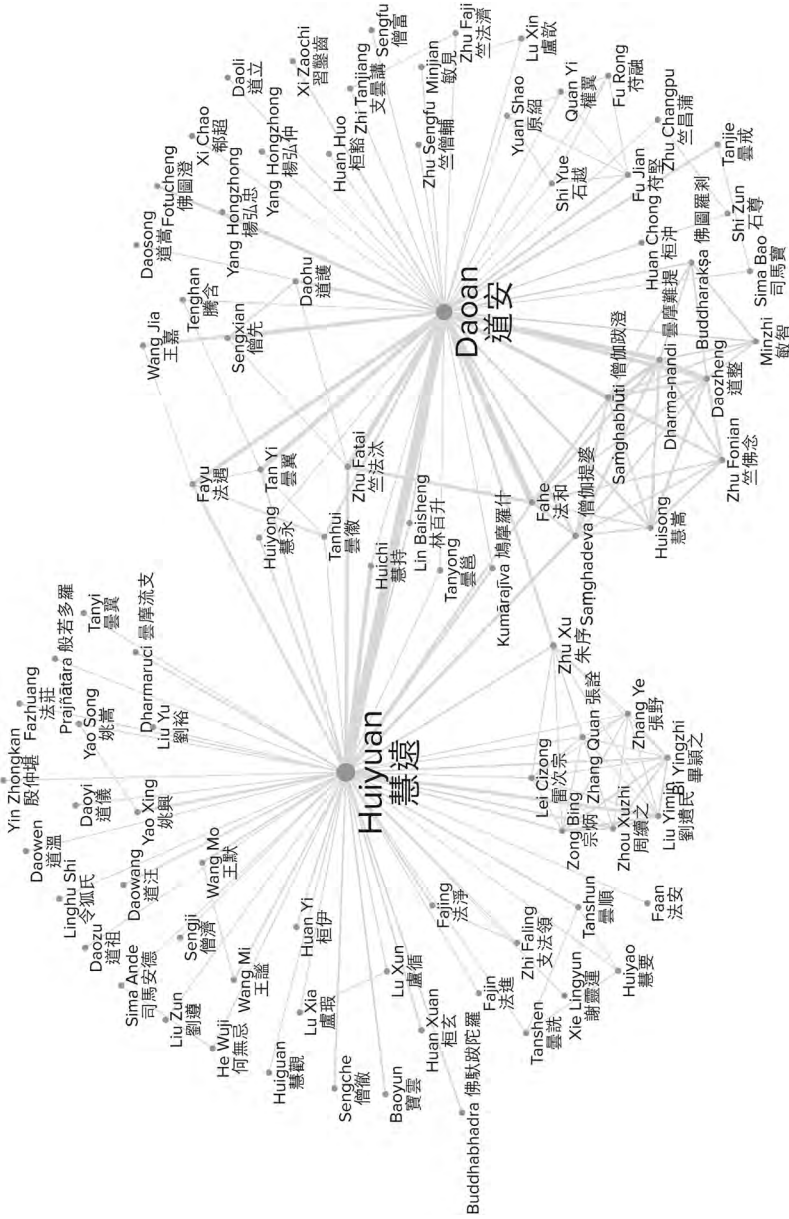


FIG. 2 Diagram of Social Relations between the monastic groups of Dao'an and Huiyuan. Image capture by Wan-chun Chiu.

east and stopped at Kuanglu 匡廬 (i.e. Lushan). Afterwards, Huiyuan and his younger brother Huichi once again continued east and stopped at Lushan, where they finally formed the Lushan Buddhist group. Dao'an took his group of disciples to stay at Xiangyang, and they later went to Chang'an. It is especially worth noting that Tanjia and Zhuseng took the Maitreyanism faith with them to Changsha Monastery and Shangming Monastery in Jiangling.

During the Eastern Jin dynasty and Southern Dynasties, the development of Buddhism in the Jingzhou region was related to the ardent patronage it received from local bureaucrats. Research by Xu Zhanfei 許展飛 and Chen Changqi 陳長琦 indicates that there are written accounts of worshipping the Buddha that mention aristocratic families, including ones who had members that served as the governor of Jingzhou—such as the Wang clan of Langya 琅琊王氏, Tao Kan 陶侃 of Xunyang, Yu clan of Ying Chuan 潁川庾氏, Huan clan of Qiaoguo 譙國桓氏, Wang Chen of Taiyuan 太原王忱 (?–392), and Yin Zhongkan 殷仲堪 (?–399) of Chenjun 陳郡. In fact, there is existing evidence that officials from all over the Jingzhou worshipped Buddhism.⁷⁵ Another clear example is that kings typically had prominent monks accompany them when they set out for garrisons. Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 pointed out, ‘during the Southern Dynasties, when officials left to take up an official post in a *jun* (province), they often invited famous monks to come to their encampment. During the Liu Song Dynasty, this practice was even more popular’.⁷⁶ It wasn't just this way during the Liu Song dynasty; later, the Northern Qi 後齊 and Liang Dynasty 梁 also carried on this practice. For example, in the Northern Qi state, when the *taifu* 太傅 [Grand Tutor] Xiao Ying 蕭穎 was appointed governor of Jingzhou, he asked a monk named Mingche 明徹 to come to his residence and lecture over Buddhist scriptures, and during the Liang Dynasty, a monk named Huichao 惠超 once accompanied the Wuping hou 吳平侯 [Marquis of Wuping] Xiao Rui 蕭暹 on a tour around Xiakou 夏口.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Xu and Chen, ‘Dongjin Jingzhou Fojiao’, 158.

⁷⁶ Tang, *Han Wei Liang Jin Nanbeichao*, 452.

⁷⁷ See Zhang, *Hubei Lishi wenhua dili*, 60; Sheng, ‘San Bu sengni zhuan’, 22.

The earliest date when the influence of Liu Yu's inner circle entered Jingzhou that we can trace back to is 410, when Liu Yu fought Lu Xun. This event began when Liu Yu's troops were away on a campaign, which prompted Lu Xun and Xu Daofu 徐道覆 to try and take advantage of his absence by launching a direct attack on Changsha. They first defeated the troops of the governor of Jingzhou, Liu Daogui 劉道規. Xu Daofu then attacked Nankang, Luling, and Yuzhang. The governors of many prefectures abandoned their posts and fled, but He Wuji 何無忌, the governor of Jiangzhou, did not give up and fought to the death. There was also Liu Yi, the governor of Yuzhou, who was defeated at Sangluozhou. These failures shook the capital city. Liu Yu hurriedly returned with his troops, and though they were greatly outnumbered, they managed to push Lu Xun's troops back to Xunyang.

At the same time, Qiao Zong 譙縱, the prince of Xishu 西蜀, dispatched troops during internal strife in the Eastern Jin. They also asked the Later Qin to send their general, Gou Lin 苟林, along to assist with the war effort. They stationed their troops in Jiangjin, and from there launched an attack on Jiangling. Huan Qian 桓謙 was able to successfully assemble 20,000 soldiers that still supported him, which he stationed at Zhijiang (present-day Zhijiang county, Hubei Province), gravely threatening Jiangling. Within Jiangling city, disloyal sentiments brewed in many soldiers and civilians. Many communicated with Huan Qian, telling him the state of affairs within the city and serving as informants.⁷⁸ Liu Yu was in dire straits, but he did receive the support of Lu Zongzhi 魯宗之, the governor of Yongzhou, who personally led troops to behead Huan Qian and also dispatched the military councillor Liu Zun 劉遵 to chase after Gou Lin. They eventually beheaded Gou Lin at Baling 巴陵 (present-day Yueyang City, Hunan Province). What is interesting is that even if Liu Daogui knew that the officials and people were partial to Huan Qian, after they emerged victorious, Liu Daoguan tracked down and destroyed

The matter is also touched on in two biographies of *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* (for Mingche 明徹 and Huichao 慧超), *T* no. 2060, 50: 6.467.

⁷⁸ *Song shu* 51.1473.

all the messages sent by informers in order to pacify the public.⁷⁹ This instance shows that when Liu Yu's inner circle engaged in military operations, eradicating the strength of a place and appeasing the general populace were two matters deemed of equal importance. Neither one could be overlooked.

Consequently, some in Liu Yu's inner circle condemned Huiyuan on account of the fact that he had previously been on good terms with Lu Xun. Despite this, Liu Yu was still able to differentiate between a correct action and an incorrect one, and he thus proclaimed, 'Master Huiyuan's character is of the utmost quality; he would certainly treat any person with benevolence'. Indeed, instead of admonishing Huiyuan, Liu Yu dispatched an envoy to pay respects to him by presenting money and grains as gifts.⁸⁰

In 412, Liu Yu defeated Liu Yi, broke into Jiangling, and defeated the governor of Jingzhou, Sima Xiuzhi 司馬休之 (?–417). Sima Xiuzhi had zealously supported Buddhism and been strongly supported by his subjects as well.⁸¹ Consequently, in order to demonstrate he was tolerant and to settle down the people, Liu Yu venerated monastics even more. It was also at this time that Yuan Bao 袁豹 (?–413), a Grand Commandant (*taiwei* 太尉) and Administrator (*zhangshi* 長史), introduced Liu Yu to Buddhahadra, whom Sima Xiuzhi had previously backed and treated deferentially. Liu Yu 'worshipped [Buddhabhadra] immensely and provided him with all manner of material goods and tribute'. He even invited Buddhahadra to come to Daochang Monastery,

⁷⁹ For a rather comprehensive narrating of the matter, see *Zizhi tongjian* 115.3637–38.

⁸⁰ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 357.

⁸¹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 368:

After Kumārajīva died, Huiguan went to Jingzhou. At that time, Xiuzhi, the Sima in charge of military affairs in Jingzhou, revered him. He established Gaoli Monastery 高惺寺 for him. Huiguan also made half of the people in Jingzhou and Chuzhou give up their previous faith and convert to believe in Buddhism. 什亡後, (慧觀)迺南適荊州。州將司馬休之甚相敬重, 於彼立高惺寺, 使夫荆楚之民迴邪歸正者, 十有其半。

where he had living accommodations arranged for him.⁸² In addition, Liu Yu treated Huiguan, a disciple of Buddhahadra, 'deferentially with all his heart, just as those before had done [toward Buddhahadra]'.⁸³ From this, it is clear how Liu Yu ran Jingzhou, a place where Buddhist sentiments were especially strong—he regarded deferentially treating prominent monks as a first step to settling down the people.

Next is Liu Zun 劉遵 (488–535), who established Zhulin Monastery 竹林寺 in Jiangling and invited Huiyuan's disciple, Tanshun 曇順 (347–425), to come and manage the monastery's affairs.⁸⁴ According to Yang Weizhong's 楊維中 research, Liu Zun and Liu Zunkao 劉遵考 are actually two different people. Yang Weizhong proved this by combing through various documents related to the founding of Zhulin Monastery. Construction on Zhulin Monastery was overseen by the Nanman xiaowei 南蠻校尉 [Military Officer of Nanman]. Yang Wei believes that this project was carried out by the person who served under this title in 410, during the time of Lu Xun's rebellion—that is, Liu Zun⁸⁵ (of the art name Huiming 慧明

⁸² *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 335.

⁸³ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 368.

⁸⁴ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 363.

⁸⁵ *Song shu* 51.1474 reads:

Liu Zun is the art name Huiming, who is a native of Huaxi 海西, Linhuai 臨淮. He was the uncle of Liu Daogui's maternal aunt. Liu Zun served as the right general, the *neishi* 內史 (minister) of Xuancheng, and governor of Huainan. In 415, Liu Zun passed away. The emperor conferred a posthumous military title upon him and also posthumously had him declared the 'Marquis of Jianli Xian, Lord of 700 families'. 遵字慧明, 臨淮海西人, 道規從母兄蕭氏舅也. 官至右將軍、宣城內史、淮南太守. 義熙十年, 卒, 追贈撫軍將軍. 追封監利縣侯, 食邑七百戶.

The same source also reports that when Liu Daogui was battling against the rebellion of Lu Xun, Gou Lin and Huan Qian both dispatched troops, threatening the safety of Jiangling from two fronts. Liu Daogui 'awarded Liu Xun by conferring the title of 'Military Officer of Nanman' 南蠻校尉 upon him. The military councillor Liu Zun quickly launched an attack. He attacked Huan Qian by both

who was from Haixi of Linhuai and an uncle of Liu Daogui's 劉道規 aunt); he believes it was certainly not Liu Zunkao, a relative of Liu Yu, who was transferred from the position of Military Officer of Nanman to governor of Yongzhou in 426.⁸⁶ After the monastery's completion, everyone paid close attention to Zhulin Monastery on account of the fact that it was managed by Tanshun, especially because he was an outstanding disciple of Huiyuan of Lushan. In addition, another distinguished monk of Huiyuan's, Tanyong 曇鬘, also stayed at Zhulin Monastery for some time. Thus, it is not likely that the monastery was established after Huiyuan passed away; rather, it was likely built sometime around 410 and 412 when Liu Zun was the Military Officer of Nanman. That is to say that the most reasonable time that the monastery was built was around the time when Liu Yu's inner circle suffered the hardships of war most intensely,⁸⁷ and a great many of their soldiers had been injured and fallen ill.⁸⁸ Although there are no records detailing why Zhulin

a water front and land front, delivering a crushing defeat' 解南蠻校尉印以授諮議參軍劉遵。馳往攻謙，水陸齊進，謙大敗。See *Song shu* 51.1474.

Yang Weizhong believes that beginning from this time, Liu Xun was likely appointed the Military Officer of Nanman. According to *Song shu* 2.28:

In the fourth month of 412, Liu Yi replaced Liu Daogui to become the governor of Jingzhou. He and Xi Sengshi of Danyang formed a strong relationship. And when Liu Yi headed west to protect Jiangling, the ministers under his command requested to go with him. At this time, Liu Yi invited Xi Sengshi to assume the position of 'Military Officer of Nanman'. 及西鎮江陵，豫州舊府，多割以自隨，請僧施為南蠻校尉。

It is clear that Liu Zun was the Military Officer of Nanman from 410 CE to 412 CE, and afterwards the post was filled by Xi Sengshi 郗僧施 (?–412).

⁸⁶ In the eleventh month of 426, 'Liu Zunkao, Military Officer of Nanman 南蠻校尉, shifted to governor of Yongzhou' 以南蠻校尉劉遵考為雍州刺史。See *Song shu* 5.75.

⁸⁷ Yang, 'Dongjin shiqi Jingzhou Fosi kao'.

⁸⁸ Right after Liu Yu defeated the Southern Yan, he received an imperial edict to return to Jiankang. Many soldiers had been injured or grown sick, and the total military strength in Jiankang was no more than 1,000 men strong. Con-

Monastery was established, it was almost certainly intended to commemorate those who had died, to be a place for prayer, and to appeal to popular sentiments in the region. This can also be regarded as an important political strategy of Liu Yu's inner circle.

During the long operation of Liu Yu's inner circle in Jingzhou, the officers placed in charge of various regions always maintained this kind of religious policy. For example, Liu Yu decreed, '[Shi Huiguan] should associate with the *Xizhonglang* 西中郎'.⁸⁹ Here, *Xizhonglang* is a title that refers to Liu Yilong 劉義隆 (407–453), the son of Liu Yu. In 419, Liu Yilong was made the commanding officer of Luoyang; he was also the commanding military officer of six states (Jingzhou, Yizhou, Ningzhou, Yongzhou, Liangzhou, and Qinzhou), the head of military affairs in four provinces (Henan Jun and Guangping Jun of Yuzhou as well as Yicheng Jun and Songzi Jun of Yangzhou), Commander of the Imperial Corps (*xizhong langjiang* 西中郎將), and the governor of Jingzhou.⁹⁰

In 423, Liu Yixuan 劉義宣 (415–454), the Prince of Qiao 譙王, went to Jingzhou to assume his post there. On the way, he requested that Guṇabhadra and Huiqu come to Jingzhou with him. According to *Song shu*:

[Guṇabhadra] founded a new monastery (Xin Monastery 辛寺) and established a new palace hall. This new monastery produced translations of numerous texts, such as *Wuyou wang [jing]* 無憂王 [經] [Aśoka sutra], *Guoqu xianzai yinguo* 過去現在因果, *Wuliangshou [jing]* 無量壽 [經] [Amitāyus sutra], the sole *juan* of *Nihuan [jing]* 泥洹 [經] [Nirvana Sutra], *Yanjuemo [jing]* 央掘魔 [經] [Skt. *Avgulimālika-sūtra*], *Xiangxu jietuo [di boluomi liaoyi jing]* 相續解脫地波羅蜜了義經 [Skt. *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra*], *Diyi yi wuxiang lue* 第一義五相略, *Ba jixiang [jing]* 八吉祥 [經] [Skt. *Ashtamangala*], and over a hundred more.⁹¹

fronted with Lu Xun's force of over 100,000 soldiers, the disparity in strength between the two forces was great. See *Song shu* 1.19.

⁸⁹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 368.

⁹⁰ *Song shu* 5.71.

As for Huiqu, after Liu Yixuan rose up in rebellion, he disobeyed his orders and did not follow Yixuan's mission.⁹²

There is also the instance of Sengche 僧徹, who was another disciple of Huiyuan. After Huiyuan passed away, Sengche travelled to the south and headed to Jingzhou. He first went to Wuceng Monastery, within the city of Jiangling, and later in his life he moved to Pipa Monastery in Jiangling. He also oversaw the ordination ceremony wherein Liu Yikang 劉義康 (409–451) and Xiao Sihua 蕭思話 (402–455) took refuge in Buddhism. After Sengche died, Liu Yixuan had a tomb built for him.⁹³ In 439, Liu Yiji 劉義季 (415–447), the Prince of Hengyang 衡陽 who was in charge of Jingzhou, personally went to the room of Tanguang 曇光 (407–473), a monk of Changsha Monastery, to discuss Buddhist theology with him. Liu Yiji also provided him with a carriage, attendants, and a monthly stipend of 10,000 *qian* 錢.⁹⁴ Sengyin 僧隱 also stayed at Pipa Monastery, where he mastered *chan* cultivation, and as a result, the practice became popular throughout the Jingzhou region. During the Xiaojian 孝建 Period (approx. 454–456), Liu Xiuyou 劉休祐 (445–471), the Prince of Shanyang 山陽王, and his *zhangshi* (minister) Zhang Dai 張岱 (414–484) jointly consulted with Sengyin over precepts. During this same period, Liu Xiuruo 劉休若 (448–471), the Prince of Baling 巴陵王, and Liu Jingsu 劉景素 (452–476), the Prince of Jianping 建平王, also went to Sengyin's place of residence to pay him a visit. They treated Sengyin deferentially, kneeling in his presence.⁹⁵ There are a great deal of related events—indeed, far too many to warrant mentioning them all—but for the time being, we have sufficiently looked over the political and religious situation of Jingzhou during that time.

Later in his life, Faxian left the capital city of Jiankang, choosing to spend his later years in Jingzhou. This just happened to coincide

⁹¹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 334.

⁹² *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 416.

⁹³ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 370.

⁹⁴ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 416.

⁹⁵ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 401.

with the time when Liu Yilong 劉義隆 (407–453) was appointed the highest commanding officer of Jingzhou. However, at this time Liu Yilong was only ten years old. Liu Yu was well aware that Zhang Shao 張邵 (355–429) wholeheartedly devoted himself to his work and possessed tremendous energy, so he appointed Zhang Shao as a *simā* 司馬 (Minister of War) and made him a minister of Nan Jun 南郡. This put Zhang Shao in a position where he was personally responsible for all strategic decisions in the region.⁹⁶ Zhang Shao had been born into a family from Wu Jun that worshipped Buddhism, and he accordingly associated with many prominent, well known monks. Zhang Shao ordered his son, Zhang Fu 張敷, to accompany Shi Daowen 釋道溫 (398–466),⁹⁷ a disciple of Huiyuan, and listen to his teachings. In particular, Zhang Shao revered Daoye 道業, who was proficient at *Shisong lü* 十誦律 (Ten Recitation over Vinaya) and *chan* meditation. In Gusu 姑蘇, Zhang Shao established Xianju Monastery 閑居寺 for Shi Daoye.⁹⁸ The deferential treatment of prominent Buddhist monks by Liu Yilong was also likely supported by Zhang Shao. Finally, when it came to Faxian, who strictly adhered to Buddhist precepts and whose efforts to translate Buddhist texts at Daochang monastery were supported by Meng Yi and Chu Shudu of Liu Yu's inner circle, Zhang Shao also treated this eminent monk with the utmost deference.

By again performing an investigation of Faxian from the perspective of his monk associates, it seems Faxian first met Baoyun 寶雲 (376–449) and Zhiyan 智嚴 (350–427) when he was travelling to the Indian subcontinent to collect scriptures (Fig. 3). After returning to China, Faxian had a brief, first encounter with Buddhahadra at Lushan, who had been invited to China by Zhiyan. In Chang'an, Buddhahadra had been largely ostracized by Kumārajīva's monastic group, and he was later expelled on account of his 'five boats' prediction. As a result, his disciples, which included over forty people, such as Baoyun and Huiguan, were dispersed. Later, Buddhahadra and

⁹⁶ *Song shu* 46.1394–1395.

⁹⁷ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 472.

⁹⁸ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 401.

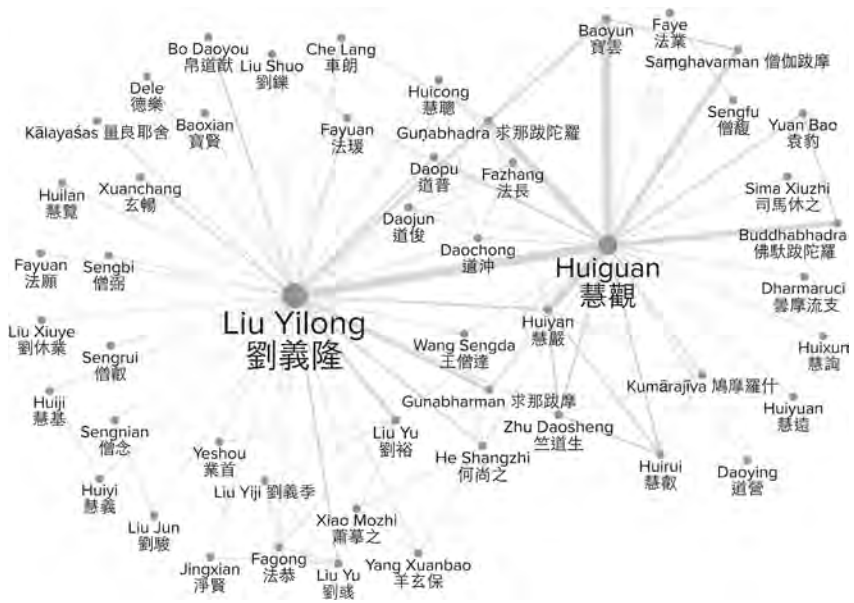


FIG. 3 Social Relations Diagram Regarding Liu Yilong and Huiguan. Image capture by Wan-chun Chiu.

Huiguan moved west to Jingzhou, and they were politely received by Sima Xiuzhi and Liu Yu. On account of the later invitation of Liu Yu, Buddhahadra headed back to the capital city where he was reunited with Baoyun, Faxian, and even Zhiyan. There, in Jiankang, they collectively set about translating texts at Daochang Monastery.⁹⁹

Afterwards, Faxian forged ties with Buddhahadra and his disciples. This is likely related to the fact that both of them believed in Maitreya. A number of perspectives can be considered to understand why the majority of Buddhahadra’s disciples worshipped Maitreya. From the perspective of Buddhist ideology, we can surmise that Maitreya was worshipped by both Mahayana and Hinayana Buddhism. From a scriptural perspective, Maitreya teachings can be found in the ‘Learning of *Prajñā(pāramitā)*’ 般若學 and texts from the Sarvastivada and Yogacara schools. From the perspective of practice, Buddhahadra ‘became famous when

⁹⁹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 335.

he was young from practicing *chan* and keeping precepts'. Indeed, Buddhahadra meditated everyday according to *chan* practices and strictly kept to Buddhist precepts. He even once 'briefly reached Tuṣita, where he paid respects to the Maitreya Buddha'.¹⁰⁰ Buddhahadra was truly different from the Kumārajīva in Chang'an, because he did more than just translate scriptures—he also practiced Dharma.

In the case of Baoyun, besides 'following Buddhahadra and cultivating the *chan* path', he also believed in Maitreyanism. *Meisō den shō* 名僧傳抄 [Biographies of Famous Monks] records:

beneath a statue of the Maitreya Buddha, Baoyun repented for fifty days. One night he saw the Maitreya Buddha statue emit miraculous rays of light that were as bright as the sky at midday. People gathered on the streets to watch the curious sight. Many prominent monks who had cultivated themselves well are also said to have seen the statue emit such a light.

Such lines as 'people gathered on the streets to watch' and 'many prominent monks who had cultivated themselves well are also said to have seen the statue emit such a light'¹⁰¹ clarify importance, and from this passage it becomes clear just how devout Baoyun's faith in Maitreyanism was.

It is even more worth noting that, from this, we can see that worship and repenting are important gates to enlightenment in Maitreyanism. As for Zhiyan:

After he accepted the five precepts, he violated them to some extent. Later, he formally joined the Sangha and accepted the complete precepts. But on account of his previous behaviour, he often doubted that he truly received the essence of precepts. As a result, he was deeply frightened. So, he spent many years cultivating *chan*. Zhiyan was still unable to get an answer via his own efforts alone,

¹⁰⁰ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 334.

¹⁰¹ *Mingseng zhuan*, X no. 1523, 77: 358.

and he even crossed the ocean to go to India, seeking an answer to this question from preeminent monks. When he encountered a prominent monk that had already become an Arhat, he also asked this question. The Arhat did not dare to lightly answer Zhiyan, so he entered Tuṣita and asked Maitreya this question. Maitreya told him that Zhiyan had grasped the essence of precepts.

嘗受五戒有所虧犯，後入道受具足，常疑不得戒，每以為懼。積年禪觀而不能自了，遂更汎海，重到天竺，諮諸明達。值羅漢比丘，具以事問羅漢。羅漢不敢判決，乃為嚴入定，往兜率宮諮彌勒，彌勒答稱得戒。¹⁰²

In other words, one's understanding of Buddhist scriptures and whether or not they have received precepts is not important, for monks are able to cultivate themselves in a way that produces a meditative state wherein they can enter Tuṣita. However, the ultimate objective of this is still being reborn in the Pure Land. That is to say that one would want to be reborn in the 'Tuṣita Pure Land', encounter Maitreya, and be taught Dharma. Otherwise, they would want to be reborn into the human realm when Maitreya is also reborn into this realm, and then they can help Maitreya establish a Pure Land in the human realm after he holds the three assemblies under the Longhua Tree. Ultimately, the most important belief held by believers in Maitreya was belief in Maitreyanism itself. Among monastic believers in Maitreyanism, holding fast to all the precepts was deemed necessary; among lay believers, taking up the five precepts or the eight precepts pledge was considered mandatory.

It is thus evident that Buddhahadra, Zhiyan, Baoyun, and Faxian were not connected to each other simply because they passed through Chang'an and the monastic group of Huiyuan, for they also attached importance to *chan* meditation 禪觀 and mutually promoted Maitreyanism. Indeed, they were all on very close terms and collaborated to advance a shared ideology. That said, in 418 Daochang Monastery changed the focus of its translation efforts to focus on the

¹⁰² *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 339.

Huayan jing 華嚴經 (Flower Garland Sutra; Skt. *Avatamsaka-sūtra*), and it never translated *Vinaya* scriptures again. As a result, Faxian returned to Xin Monastery in Jingzhou, hoping to find new opportunities to translate *Vinaya* scriptures. These events are likely related to Buddhahadra's history in Jiangling and his relationship with Liu Yu's inner circle, which sponsored Buddhist activities in Jingzhou. In the end, an elderly Faxian left the Buddhist circles of Jiankang that advocated for the Free School, took the recommendation of Huiguan,¹⁰³ and went to Jingzhou, where *chan* meditation and *Vinaya* was valued.

4. Conclusions

During the war-riddled period of the Eastern Jin and Sixteen Kingdoms, chaos forced people to relocate and scatter, but this chaos also served another function—it consolidated certain communities, and over this period of time Buddhism developed in a way that was only natural. Firstly, monastic groups formed around Dao'an, Kumārajīva, and Huiyuan during this time. Monks that had been dispersed across China were able to take refuge in these groups, which allowed them a means to live, spread Dharma, and practice Buddhism. Secondly, there were also some monks of virtuous conduct and high reputation that were able to convert these qualities into winning the support of major benefactors. However, given that the power dynamics were constantly changing during this period, it became essential for prom-

¹⁰³ At that time, the Buddhist ideology that became popular among the royal family, nobility, and scholarly officials in the capital was *Kongzong* 空宗 [Void Sect], which combined *xuanxue* 玄學 [Dark Learning] ideas with such Buddhist works as the *Prajñā Sutra* 般若經 and the *Vimalakīrti Sutra* 維摩經. The next most popular Buddhist ideology was *Youzong* 有宗 [Existence Sect], which combined the Confucian notion of harmony with Buddhist notions of karma, Buddha nature, and the Dharma body. Tang Yongtong (*Han Wei Liangjin*, 297) called it the 'Southern rule of Buddhism' (佛教之南統). For Du Jiwen's 杜繼文 explanation of 'Mingshi Fojiao' 名士佛教, see Du, *Fojiao shi*, 154–55.

inent monks of this period to maintain equidistant relations with new and old powers alike. This paper analysed the intertwined web of social relationships between monastic circles and benefactors that Faxian forged after returning from abroad to disseminate the Buddhist texts he acquired from foreign lands, a process which happened around the time of the emergence of Liu Yu's political force. Such analysis clearly portrays the development of Buddhist history at the time while also providing additional perspectives that magnify the contributions of Faxian.

Liu Yu's inner circle emerged suddenly on the battlefields during the final years of the Eastern Jin. Liu Yu was situated at the head of his inner circle, and he placed great emphasis on recording meritorious deeds performed by outstanding men, grieving over those that perished, and providing for their surviving families. When it came to handling those who died prematurely, Buddhism presented a far better approach than that which was offered by the rationalistic Confucianism. Although there are very few instances of Buddhists making offerings to the dead that are recorded before the Tang dynasty, such examples as Sengdao holding ceremonies and burning incenses to commemorate the deceased in Northern Wei prove that the activities during the Liu Song were not isolated activities. In addition, over the course of progressively recapturing such areas as Xuzhou, Haizhou, and Jingzhou, Liu Yu respected and accorded with local Buddhist beliefs. Not only did he protect existing monasteries, such as Qiji Monastery, but he also founded new ones, like Zhulin Monastery and Longhua Monastery. More importantly, he provided refuge to those displaced by the turmoil in the North and asylum to those fleeing campaigns to exterminate Buddhism. His contribution to safeguarding Buddhism cannot be overlooked.

When Liu Yu and his inner circle seized control of Jiangzuo, it was plunged into the upper echelons of society. Questions regarding how to receive eminent monks, how to appropriately perform Buddhist rituals, how to hold Dharma assemblies, and even how to found temples, build pagodas, and translate Buddhist texts all became matters that Liu Yu's inner circle immediately needed answers to. Receiving eminent monks from distant lands indeed seems an optimal shortcut

for entering into Buddhist circles. At the onset of Liu Yu's political aspirations, Yuan Bao was completely oblivious of Buddhahadra's status. Later, Liu Daolian received Faxian in a manner both deferential and regal, and he also supported Faxian when he established Longhua Monastery and propagated Maitreya Buddha. We can look even further ahead to when Meng Yi and Chu Shudu helped with the project of translating Buddhist texts at Daochang Monastery. Looking over such progress, it is clear that Liu Yu's understanding of Buddhist affairs and self-cultivation improved immensely with time, and this engendered the tremendous opportunities and fortunate tidings that presented themselves to Buddhism during this time.

After Faxian returned to China, he developed a multi-layered web of tightly knit relationships. His journey to the West acquainted him with Bao Yun and Zhi Yan,¹⁰⁴ who connected him with Huiguan (who had headed north to Chang'an after being in the monastic groups of Dao'an and Huiyuan) and Buddhahadra, providing Faxian with the opportunity to translate Buddhist scripture and *vinaya*. The analysis in this present text shows that Longhua Monastery was built according to the Longhua Image provided by Faxian and that this led to the propagation of Rebirth Maitreyanism. This influenced Maitreyanism in southern China and afterwards led to a series of related texts, such as Fu Liang's *Mile zan* [Praising Maitreya], emerging in the Jiangzuo region. These events also led to the name 'Longhua' becoming widely popular. For example, there is Song Mingdi's *Longhua Fayuan Wen* 龍華法願文 [Text on Longhua Dharma Wishes] and Xiao Ziliang's *Longhua hui ji* 龍華會記 [Records of the Longhua Assembly]; the inspiration behind such works can be traced back to Faxian's Longhua Image. In addition, Faxian also urgently sought to translate monastic precepts (*Vinaya*), and he attached great importance to *chan* cultivation and precepts, which is actually intimately related to Maitreyanism. Such an opinion was not limited to Faxian, though, for it was also the collective, great ambition of Chinese and foreign Buddhist monks in China during the Eastern Jin and Sixteen Kingdoms period.

¹⁰⁴ Wang, 'Faxian yu Mile Xinyang', 176.

Appendix One

Social Relations Between Faxian 法顯 and Meng Yi 孟顛

From Fig. 2, we can realize a few things: First, Faxian and Meng Yi were brought together by Buddhahadra to translate Buddhist works in a group. Among them, Chu Shudu 褚叔度 and Meng Yi were both benefactors of the translations carried out at Daochang Monastery. Other related monks include Huiyan 慧嚴, Huiyi 慧義, and Faye 法業. Second, Meng Yi was at the centre of this. In addition to establishing pagodas and monasteries, he had also graciously received prominent Buddhist figures such as the Marquis of Anyang (Anyang hou 安陽侯) Juqu Jingsheng 沮渠京聲 (369–464), Dharmamitra 曇摩密多 (356–422), Kalamyasas 曷良耶舍 (383–442), Chaojin 超進 (380–475?), Huilan 慧覽 (d.u.), Hongming 弘明 (403–486), Sengyi 僧翼, Miaoyin 妙音 (d.u.), and Huiqiong 慧瓊 (d.u.).

As for the web centred around Faxian, he—along with Huiwei 慧嵬 (d.u.), Huijing 慧景 (?–403), Daozheng 道整 (d.u.), and Huiying 慧應 (?–402)—make up the group of figures that travelled west to obtain scriptures. Throughout this process, the spirit of Mahākāśyapa miraculously appeared before Faxian while he was praying at Vulture Peak during his journeys. The next matter touches on when Faxian became sick in a foreign land and greatly missed the food of his home. As a result, the person supporting him there had a sage use a miraculous ability to go to Pengcheng—the home of Faxian. There, the sage went to the home of Wu Cangying to receive an offering of food, but the family's dog bit the sage. After Wu Cangying learned about this, he was struck with an immense sense of guilt, and thus had his home converted into a monastery. He also had a statue of the Buddha made to be placed in this monastery. As for Luo Yuejia 羅闕家, this refers to Zhimeng 智猛 (d.u.) who was encourage by Faxian to head to Pataliputra, a place in the Indian subcontinent, where he came across Brahmins. There, Zhimeng received a text of the Sanskrit edition of the *Da bannipan jing* 大般泥洹經 (Skt. *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*). Additionally, Li Yi was the first official to receive and support Faxian after he returned from abroad.

Appendix Two

Records of Maitreyanism Believers

Record	Translation	Sūtra passage
<i>Gaoseng zhuan</i> , T no. 2059, 50: 352	Fu Jian 苻堅 (338–385) dispatched envoys to present Dao'an with gifts, which included a foreign produced seated-Buddha image covered in gold leaves along with a seated-Buddha image made of gold, a Maitreya image adorned with pearls, a Buddha image made of embroidered gold, a Buddha image made of silk, and a weaving turned into an image, and every time a Dharma assembly was held and everyone came together, these images were brought together to be worshipped.	符堅遣使，送外國金薄倚像高七尺，又金坐像、結珠彌勒像、金縷繡像、織成像各一張，每講會法聚，輒羅列尊像。
<i>Gaoseng zhuan</i> , T no. 2059, 50: 352	Dao'an and his disciples such as Fayu always worshipped Dharma, in front of Maitreya he made pledges that they were willing to be reincarnated in Tuṣita in his next life.	安每與弟子法遇等，於彌勒前立誓願生兜率。
On Dai Yong, <i>Fayuan zhulin</i> , T no. 2122, 53: 16.406	Dai Kui's 戴逵 (331?–396) second son was Dai Yong 戴顓 (377–441) of the art name Zhong Ruo 仲若... When Jiang Yi 江夷 (384–431) of Jiyang was young, he was friends with Dai Yong. Jiang Yi once commissioned Dai Yong to make a Guanyin Bodhisattva statue for him. Dai Yong racked his brain trying to produce a consummate statue, but after several years of work he still had not produced a work that he deemed to be of a consummate 'physical appearance'. Later, while Dai Yong was dreaming, he encountered a person that told him that no connection existed between Jiang Yi and Guanyin, but that he could transform the statue into one of Maitreya. Dai Yong then immediately stopped his work and sent a letter to Jiang Yi, telling him about this dream. Before he had sent off the letter, Dai Yong received a letter from Jiang Yi, detailing an identical dream. Dai Yong was extremely happy with this turn of events, figuring it was a response from deities. He then changed the statue into one of Maitreya. The sculpting process then went extremely smoothly. Hardly having to think about his work at all, he was able to produce a consummate statue of Maitreya.	逵弟二子顓字仲若，……濟陽江夷少與顓友，夷嘗託顓造觀世音像，致力罄思欲令盡美，而相好不圓積年無成。後夢有人告之曰：‘江夷於觀世音無緣，可改為彌勒菩薩。’戴即停手馳書報江，信未及發而江書已至，俱於此夕感夢，語事符同。戴喜於神應即改為彌勒，於是觸手成妙，初不稽思，光顏圓滿俄爾而成。有識讚仰咸悟因緣之匪差，此像舊在會稽龍華寺。

Record	Translation	Sūtra passage
On Faxiang, <i>Meisō den shō</i> , 28.359	Faxiang was extremely diligent in his cultivation and had strong ideals as well. In the ninth year of Yuanjia (432), he established the Maitreya Vihara.	精進有志節，以元嘉九年，立彌勒精舍。
On Fasheng, <i>Meisō den shō</i> , 27.359	Fasheng and his masters and friends, numbering twenty-nine in total, travelled to the far away Indian subcontinent together... They saw candana wood that had been turned into a Maitreya statue. It was eight <i>xun</i> tall. One <i>xun</i> is equivalent to one Chinese <i>zhang</i> . 480 years after the Buddha attained nirvana, there was an Arhat named Kalinanda 可利難陀 who aspired to enlighten people. In Tuṣita, he saw Maitreya, and afterwards he painted the appearance of Maitreya according to what he had seen. Kalinanda also carved a Buddha statue according to this.	(法盛)率師友，與二十九人遠詣天竺。……見牛頭栴檀彌勒像，身高八尋，一尋是此國一丈也，佛滅度後四百八十年中，有羅漢名可利難陀，為濟人故，舛兜率天，寫佛真形，印此像也。
On Tanfu, <i>Meisō den shō</i> , 27.359	Tanfu used his wealth to make copies of the <i>Lotus Sutra</i> , <i>Longer Sukhāvativyūha Sūtra</i> , <i>Maitreya Sutra</i> , <i>Sitianwang jing</i> 四天王經 [Sutra of Four Heavenly Kings], <i>Yijiao Sutra</i> 遺教經 [Sutra of Bequeathed Teachings], <i>Xianjie Qianfo ming jing</i> 賢劫千佛名經 [Sutra of the Names of the Thousand Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa], and <i>Sengni jieben</i> 僧尼戒本 [Disciplines of Monks and Nuns]. He had one thousand copies of each made, and he also had ten thousand wooden prayer sticks made for Upavasatha. Tanfu exhausted all his assets on this project, but the fruits of this work spread far. It even spread to foreign countries, disseminating the Buddhist doctrine far and wide. Tanfu diligently cultivated himself, devoid of any laziness. Someone said to him, if everything is done well, then he can make it to Tuṣita without a problem. Later, Tanfu dreamed that Maitreya touched the crown of his head. There were fantastic aromas in his dream and spirit dragons also appeared. Over the next two years, such miraculous responses appeared repeatedly.	乃捨貲財，造《法花》、《無量壽》、《彌勒》、《四天王》、《遺教》，乃《賢劫千佛名》，《僧尼戒本》，各一千部。作布薩籌十萬枚，傳布遐方，流化殊域，開暢微遠，竭財弘教。盡思幽深，應門到戶，戒行精峻，唯至唯勤，乃通夢想。有人語之曰，若兜率之業已辦，無所復慮也。又夢彌勒佛手摩其頂，天香幡氣神龍現體，一二年中靈應想襲。

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Abbreviations

- T* *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.
- X* *Wanzi Xuzang jing* 卍字續藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, *Wanzi Xuzang jing*.

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The Biography of Faxian: On the Practice and Spread of Chinese Buddhist Precepts during the Jin and Song Dynasties (Fourth–Fifth Century CE)*

ZHANG XUESONG 張雪松

Institute for the Study of Buddhism and Religious Theory, Renmin University of China

English Translation by Gina Yang

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Abstract: This paper discusses the religious importance of Faxian receiving the novice (*śrāmaṇera*) precepts early in life, his travel to the West in search of Dharma as an adult, his engagement in translating Buddhist scriptures after returning to China, and his relocation to Xin Monastery in later life. The focus of discussion is the significance of Faxian's search, translation and propagation of Buddhist precepts during his lifetime. Furthermore, the current paper points out potential fallacies of some common claims about Faxian's biography. From this, it investigates the practice and spread of Chinese Buddhist precepts during the Jin and Song dynasties.

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Receiving Novice Precepts Regarded as a Means of Preventing Premature Death for Young Children from the Fourth Century Onwards

Approximately in the first half of the fourth century, the religious custom of adopting out young children to Buddhist monasteries can be seen in northern China. For instance, ‘Fotucheng zhuan’ 佛圖澄傳 (The Biography of Fotucheng) in *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (The Biographies of Eminent Monks), has:

Shi Hu had a son named [Shi] Bin. Later, he was much loved by [Shi] Le, but suddenly died of illness. After two days had passed, [Shi] Le said, ‘I have heard that the prince of Guo is dead. The [doctor] Bian Que is able to give life. Great master, spiritual leader of the nation, you should quickly go and inform him, as he will certainly be able to bring blessings’. Fotucheng then took a willow wand and recited a mantra. In an instant [Shi Bin] was able to rise, and soon returned to health. Due to this, [Shi] Le often raised his young sons in Buddhist monasteries. Every [year] on the eighth day of the fourth month, [Shi] Le would personally go to the monastery to bathe the Buddha’s statue, and make vows on behalf of his sons.

石虎有子名斌，後勒愛之甚重，忽暴病而亡。已涉二日，勒曰：‘朕聞虢太子死，扁鵲能生。大和上，國之神人，可急往告，必能致福。’澄乃取楊枝咒之，須臾能起，有頃平復。由是勒諸稚子，多在佛寺中養之。每至四月八日，勒躬自詣寺灌佛，為兒發願。¹

‘Fotucheng zhuan’ in *Jin shu* 晉書 (The Book of Jin) also records the same account in a slightly more concise manner:

[Shi] Le’s beloved son [Shi] Bin suddenly died of illness. As he was about to be placed into the coffin, [Shi] Le exclaimed, ‘I have heard that the prince of Guo has died. [The doctor] Bian Que would be

¹ Tang, *Gaoseng zhuan*, 348.

able to give him life. Can that be made to happen now?’ He then ordered Fotucheng, who then took a willow wand, dipped it in water, and sprinkled the water while reciting mantras. Taking [Shi] Bin’s hand, he said, ‘May you arise!’ Due to this, he recovered and soon returned to health. From this, many of [Shi] Le’s sons were raised in Fotucheng’s monastery.

勒愛子斌暴病死，將殯，勒歎曰：‘朕聞號太子死，扁鵲能生之，今可得效乎?’乃令告澄。澄取楊枝沾水，灑而咒之。就執斌手曰：‘可起矣!’因此遂蘇，有頃，平復。自是勒諸子多在澄寺中養之。²

There are clear historical records showing that Shi Bin 石斌 was Shi Hu’s 石虎 son, and that he died in 349 CE. The section on ‘Fotucheng zhuan’ in *Jin shu* that states that Shi Bin was Shi Le’s 石勒 beloved son is in fact erroneous. Hence, we should adopt the record of ‘Shi Hu has a son called [Shi] Bin’ 石虎有子名斌, from ‘Fotucheng zhuan’ in *Gaoseng zhuan*.

The relationship between Shi Le and Shi Hu was complex:

Shi Le’s 石勒 courtesy name was Shi Long 世龍... his father was Zhou Hezhu 周曷朱. ... Shi Jilong 石季龍 (Shi Hu 石虎), was [Shi] Le’s nephew. ... [Shi] Le’s father, [He]zhu, took Jilong as his son when he was a young child. Because of this, [Shi Hu] was sometimes called [Shi] Le’s younger brother.

石勒字世龍.....父周曷朱.石季龍(石虎), 勒之從子也.勒父朱幼而子季龍, 故或稱勒弟焉。³

Shi Le was twenty-one years older than Shi Hu. If Shi Hu was Shi Le’s nephew, then their relationship was as uncle and nephew. This would mean that Shi Bin was Shi Le’s beloved grandson. However, according to records in *Jin shu*, when Shi Hu was young, he was adopted by Shi Le’s father, Zhou Hezhu. Hence, Shi Hu was Shi Le’s younger broth-

² *Jin shu* 282.2487.

³ *Jin shu* 282.2707, 2761.

er. Moreover, Shi Le and Shi Hu were also called Shi Shilong and Shi Jilong respectively, which clearly indicated that they were brothers. Shi Hu was called Ji[long], which indicates that he was the youngest (*bo* 伯, *meng* 孟, *zhong* 仲, *shu* 叔 and *ji* 季 [the eldest, second, third, fourth, and youngest of brothers]). *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (Comprehensive Mirror in Aid of Governance) reports the following:

From a young age, the Jie man Shi Le from Wuxiang in Shangdang Prefecture had strength and courage, and was skilled in horse riding and archery. During a great famine in Bingzhou, the Jianwei General Yancui told the Duke of Dongying, Teng, to take the Hu barbarians to Shandong, and there to sell them for military purposes. [Shi] Le was also captured at the time, and sold as a slave to Shi Huan of Chiping. Impressed by [Shi Le's] strong physical appearance, Huan freed him. Huan's home was near to a horse ranch, and there [Shi] Le, together with the ranch leader Ji Sang, formed a group of strong men into a gang of bandits. With the rise of Gong Shifan, [Ji] Sang and [Shi] Le commanded several hundred horsemen and went to aid him. [Ji] Sang was the first to give [Shi] Le the family name Shi and given name Le.

初，上党武鄉羯人石勒，有膽力，善騎射。並州大饑，建威將軍閻粹說東嬴公騰執諸胡於山東，賣充軍實。勒亦被掠，賣為茌平人師權奴，權奇其狀貌而免之。權家鄰於馬牧，勒乃與牧帥汲桑結壯士為群盜。及公師籛起，桑與勒帥數百騎赴之。桑始命勒以石為姓，勒為名。⁴

We can see from here that Shi Le adopted Shi 石 as his family name after he was captured, then sold to and freed by Shi Huan 師權, and later became a bandit. The names of Shi Shilong and Shi Jilong appeared around or after this time. Furthermore, according to 'Records on Shi Le' in *Jin shu*, Shi Le was captured 'when [he was] over twenty years old' (時年二十餘).⁵ This was the time when Shi Hu

⁴ *Zizhi tongjian* 86.2709–10.

⁵ *Jin shu* 104.2708.

was born. Hence, when Shi Hu was young, Shi Le was captured and they were separated. It is especially worth noting that, as a youth, Shi Hu was living with Shi Le's mother. 'Records on Shi Jilong' in *Jin shu* state:

During the Yongxing period, [Shi Hu] was separated from [Shi] Le. Later, Liu Kun sent [Shi] Le's mother, [Lady] Wang, and Jilong to Gepi. At the time he was seventeen.

永興中，與勒相失。後劉琨送勒母王及季龍於葛陂，時年十七矣。⁶

At the time, Shi Le planned to kill Shi Hu, but Shi Le's mother protected him: 'When the work ox was a calf, he often broke the cart. You should tolerate him' (快牛為犢子時，多能破車，汝當小忍之).⁷

From the above indications, we might speculate that Shi Le's father, Zhou Hezhu, passed away when he was an adult. His mother might have remarried Shi Hu's father, [Shi] Koumi 寇覓. Therefore, under this situation, Shi Le and Shi Hu were half-brothers, (instead of [Shi] Le's father, [He]zhu, who took Jilong as his son when he was young). In this way, when Shi Le passed away, Shi Hu deposed Crown Prince Shi Hong, who was appointed by Shi Le, and took over the throne, then it was a case of agnatic seniority. Imperial succession during the Sixteen Kingdoms and Northern Dynasties period was fought over extremely aggressively, whether the system was by agnatic primogeniture or agnatic seniority. In addition, the cover up of the 'disgrace' of empress dowagers' remarriages in the history books by later generations made the relationships among many brothers murky and unclear. The half-brother relationship between Shi Le and Shi Hu might have been covered up due to the factors above. Many similar cases might have existed during that period of time in history. For instance, in Professor Li Ping's 李憑 research on the coup d'état of the Prince of Qinhe 清河 of the Northern Wei,

⁶ *Jin shu* 106.2761.

⁷ *Jin shu* 106.2761.

it was found that Tuoba Lie 拓跋烈 and Emperor Daowu 道武 were half-brothers with the same mother.⁸

Records from the *Jin shu* concerning this part of history changed Shi Hu to Shi Le. By doing so, it not only covers up the half-brother relationship between Shi Le and Shi Hu, but also creates the severe error of assigning Shi Bin as the son of Shi Le. If Shi Le and Shi Hu were brothers, then Shi Hu's son, Shi Bin, would be of the same generation as the 'young sons' of Shi Le. In other words, they would be brothers. Hence, records in *Gaoseng zhuan* concerning accounts of Shi Bin being cured by Fotucheng, '[Shi] Le's young sons' being sent to be raised in the monastery, are reasonable. It also confirms that Shi Le and Shi Hu were brothers, as well as providing circumstantial evidence for the historical fact of Shi Le's mother remarrying Shi Hu's father.

According to Faxian's biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan*:

Shi Faxian, lay family name Gong, was from Wuyang in Pingyang. He had three older brothers, who all died at a young age. The father feared that the same misfortune would also happen to Faxian, and so at the age of three, he was tonsured as a novice monk. Living at home for a few years he fell ill and was near death. He was therefore sent back to the monastery, where by living in faith he was cured. He was not willing to return home, and although his mother wished to see him, she was unable to do so. A small hut was built outside the [monastery] gate to facilitate coming and going. At the age of ten, his father passed away, and since his mother was a widow without support, his paternal uncle forced him to return to lay life. Faxian said, 'Originally, it is not because I have a father that I renounced my home. It is because I wished to be far from the dust of the world and away from secular life that I entered the way'. His uncle approved of what he said, and so desisted. Not long after, his mother also passed away. His sentiment surpassed others. After the funeral was over, he returned to the monastery.

⁸ Li, *Beiwei pingcheng shidai*, 98–112.

釋法顯，姓龔，平陽武陽人。有三兄，並髻鬣而亡。父恐禍及顯，三歲便度為沙彌。居家數年，病篤欲死，因以送還寺，信宿，便差。不肯復歸，其母欲見之不能得，後為立小屋於門外，以擬去來。十歲遭父憂，叔父以其母寡獨不立，逼使還俗，顯曰：‘本不以有父而出家也，正欲遠塵離俗，故入道耳。’叔父善其言，乃止。頃之，母喪。至性過人。葬事畢，仍即還寺。⁹

Records in Sengyou's 僧祐 (445–518) *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 [Compilation of Documents on the Translation of the *Tripitaka*] are similar to the passage found in the commonly circulated edition of *Gaoseng zhuan*:

Shi Faxian, lay family name Gong, was from Wuyang in Pingyang. Faxian had three older brothers, who all died at a young age. The father feared that the same misfortune would also happen to him, and so at the age of three he was tonsured as a novice monk. Living at home for a few years, he fell ill and was near death. Therefore, he was sent back to the monastery, where by living in faith he was cured. He was not willing to return home, and although his mother wished to see him she was unable to do so. A small hut was built outside the [monastery] gate to facilitate coming and going. At the age of ten, his father passed away, and since his mother was a widow without support, his paternal uncle forced him to return to lay life. Faxian said, ‘Originally, it is not because I have a father that I renounced my home. It is because I wished to be far from the dust of the world and away from secular life that I entered the way’. His uncle approved of what he said, and so desisted. Not long after, his mother also passed away. His sentiment surpassed others. After the funeral was over he then returned to the monastery.

釋法顯，本姓龔，平陽武陽人。顯有三兄，並髻鬣而亡。其父恐禍及之，三歲便度為沙彌。居家數年，病篤欲死，因送還寺，信宿便差。不肯復歸，母欲見之不能得，為立小屋於門外，以擬去來。十歲遭父憂，叔父以其母寡獨不立，逼使還俗。顯曰：‘本不以有父而出家

⁹ Tang, *Gaoseng zhuan*, 87.

也。正欲遠塵離俗，故入道耳。’叔父善其言，乃止。頃之母喪，至性過人。葬事既畢，仍即還寺。¹⁰

The phrase ‘his sentiment surpassed others’ comes from Ji Kang’s *Yu Shan Juyuan juejiao shu* 與山巨源絕交書 [Letter of Breaking off Relations with Shan Juyuan]: ‘His sentiment surpassed others, he did not harm anything’ (至性過人，與物無傷). This describes a person’s pure and honest nature. In the *Faxian zhuan*, there should have originally been other phrases before or after the statement, ‘His sentiment surpassed others’, to have a coherent meaning. This particular section from *Gaoseng zhuan* (including passages that are incoherent) would have been taken from the relevant section in *Chu sanzang ji ji*.

After Fotucheng cured Shi Bin, Shi Bin’s uncle, Shi Le, sent his sons to be raised in the monastery. Following the death of Faxian’s three older brothers at a young age, his father sent Faxian to the monastery to receive the novice precepts. These cases demonstrate that the religious custom of sending young children to monasteries to be tonsured as novices in order to prevent death at a young age already emerged in northern China during the fourth century. The children of the Shi family during the late Zhao regime who were sent to be raised in the monasteries might have been tonsured as novices as well.

Fotucheng’s biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* reports:

At the time, Crown Prince Shi Sui had two sons in the Kingdom of Xiang. Fotucheng said to [Shi] Sui, ‘Little A-mi will become ill. You should take him back’. [Shi] Sui then hurriedly sent out a messenger to see him, and he was already ill. The great physician, Yin Teng, and foreign Buddhists all said that they would be able to cure him. Fotucheng told his disciple Faya, ‘Even if the holy man comes back, he could not heal this disease, let alone men like these!’ Three days later [the son] died.

¹⁰ Su and Xiao, *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 573.

時太子石邃有二子在襄國，澄語邃曰：‘小阿彌比當得疾，可往迎之。’邃即馳信往視，果已得病。大醫殷騰及外國道士自言能治，澄告弟子法雅曰：‘正使聖人復出，不愈此病，況此等乎！’後三日果死。¹¹

Fotucheng's biography in the *Jin shu* also contains this record. The only discrepancy is Fotucheng's disciple, Zhu Faya 竺法雅, was mistaken as 'Faya' 法牙:

Jilong Crown Prince [Shi] Sui had two sons in the Kingdom of Xiang. Fotucheng said to [Shi] Sui, 'Little A-mi will become ill. You should take him back.' [Shi] Sui then raced to send out a messenger to see him, but he was already ill. The great physician Yin Teng and the foreign Buddhist monks all said that they would be able to heal him. Fotucheng told his disciple Faya, 'Even if the holy man comes back, he could not heal this disease, let alone men like these!' Three days later [the son] died.

季龍太子邃有二子，在襄國，澄語邃曰：‘小阿彌比當得疾，可往看之。’邃即馳信往視，果已得疾。太醫殷騰及外國道士自言能療之，澄告弟子法牙曰：‘正使聖人復出，不愈此疾，況此等乎！’後三日果死。¹²

Shi Sui's youngest son was called 'little Ami'. 'Ami' 阿彌 might have been his name, just as Wang Min 王璿 of the Eastern Jin period was called 'little Ami' in his youth. The Biography of Saṅghadeva (Sengqietipo 僧伽提婆) in the *Gaoseng zhuan* has:

Saṅghadeva then arrived, and [Wang] Xun immediately extended an invitation. Thereupon, he lectured on the *Abhidharma* in his house, and renowned monastics all gathered. Saṅghadeva's essential points were most refined, and the sense of his words was clear and defined. When putting forth the principles, the assembly were all enraptured.

¹¹ Tang, *Gaoseng zhuan*, 349.

¹² *Jin shu* 95.2488.

At the time, Wang and Mi were also seated there listening, and [Mi] later lectured it elsewhere. [Wang] Xun asked the Buddhist monk Fagang, ‘What has A-mi learned?’ He answered, ‘The overall essentials are all correct. The minor points have not yet been examined in detail’.

提婆既至，珣即延請。仍於其舍講《阿毗曇》，名僧畢集。提婆宗致既精，詞旨明析，振發義理，眾咸悅悟。時王彌亦在座聽，後於別屋自講，珣問法綱道人：‘阿彌所得云何？’答曰：‘大略全是，小未精覈耳。’¹³

Slight differences can be seen in Saṅghadeva’s biography in the *Chu sanzang ji ji*:

Saṅghadeva then arrived, and [Wang] Xun immediately extended an invitation. Thereupon, he lectured on the *Abhidharma* in his house, and renowned monastics all gathered. Saṅghadeva’s essential points were most refined, and the sense of his words was clear and defined. When putting forth the principles, the assembly were all enraptured. At the time, Wang Xun and Sengmi were also seated there listening, and [Sengmi] later lectured it elsewhere. [Wang] Xun asked the Buddhist monk Fagang, ‘What has Sengmi learned?’ He answered, ‘The overall essentials are all correct. The minor points have not yet been examined in detail’.

提婆至止，珣即延請。仍於其舍講《阿毗曇》，名僧畢集，提婆宗致既精，辭旨明析，振發義奧，眾咸悅悟。時王珣、僧彌亦在聽坐，後於別屋自講。珣問法綱道人：‘僧彌所得云何？’答曰：‘大略全是，小未精核耳。’¹⁴

Wang Xun’s 王珣 younger brother, Wang Min 王璿, had the childhood name of Sengmi 僧彌. The *Gaoseng zhuan* mistook it as Ami 阿彌. Wang Min’s biography in the *Jin shu* has:

¹³ Tang, *Gaoseng zhuan*, 38.

¹⁴ Su and Xiao, *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 525.

[Wang] Min's courtesy name was Jiyan. From a young age, he was talented in the arts and skilled at calligraphy, such that his renown exceeded that of [Wang] Xun. People at the time commented on this, saying, 'It is not that Fahu is not excellent, but Sengmi poses difficulties for his elder brother'. Sengmi was the childhood name of [Wang] Min. At the time, a foreign *śramaṇa* named Saṅghadeva, who had a subtle understanding of the principles of the Dharma, lectured on the *Abhidharma Sutra* for Xun's brothers. Although Min was still very young at the time, halfway through the lecture he declared that he already understood it. Just after this, he himself lectured on it to the *śramaṇa* Fagang and a number of other people elsewhere. Fagang exclaimed, 'The main principles are all correct, just the minor points have yet to be examined'.

璿字季琰。少有才藝，善行書，名出珣右。時人為之語曰：‘法護非不佳，僧彌難為兄。’僧彌，璿小字也。時有外國沙門，名提婆，妙解法理，為珣兄弟講《毗曇經》。璿時尚幼，講未半，便云已解，即於別室與沙門法綱等數人自講。法綱歎曰：‘大義皆是，但小未精耳。’¹⁵

Wang Xun's childhood name was 'Fahu' 法護.¹⁶ His younger brother, Wang Min, had the childhood name Sengmi. Both childhood names seem to have the meaning of seeking protection from the triple gem: the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. In Sengqietipo's biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, Wang Min was referred to as 'Ami'. Fotucheng's biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* records that Shi Sui had two sons, who seemed to be known as elder and younger [little] 'Ami'. However, it is unlikely that both sons shared the same name of 'Ami'. Another explanation is that 'Ami' is actually '*shami*' 沙彌 [novice], that is, Shi Sui's two sons were both tonsured as novices to avoid premature death. Despite this, Shi Sui's youngest son was unable to avoid the fate of dying at a young age, even after being tonsured as a novice. Fotucheng said to Zhu Faya, 'Even if the holy man

¹⁵ *Jin shu* 65.1758.

¹⁶ *Jin shu* 65.1757.

were to do his work again, he could not heal this disease' (正使聖人復出, 不愈此病). The 'holy man' 聖人 refers to the Buddha, meaning that even the Buddha could not save him.

Furthermore, it is worth noting that according to Faxian's biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, Faxian was tonsured as a novice at the age of three. However, he did not live at the monastery. He was only sent to stay at the monastery when he became critically ill. Once he got better, a 'small hut' 小屋 was set up outside the monastery 'to facilitate coming and going' 以擬去來. In other words, raising young children in a monastery was not the only way to prevent calamities of illness and death. One could be protected by simply undertaking the religious act of tonsuring and receiving novice precepts. There was no need to live in the monastery. Hence, we can see that by the mid to late fourth century at the latest, in the practice of Buddhism in northern China, receiving the novice precepts was seen as a function to protect children, as being able to prevent their death at a young age. Young children who received the novice precepts for the sake of preventing illness and preserving life did not have to be raised in the monasteries. Furthermore, they did not have to renounce as monastics in the future. Although Faxian received the novice precepts at the age of three, it was only after his recurring illness, the passing of his parents, and at his own insistence that he finally formally renounced as a monastic in his teens.

The Dates of Faxian and the Age at Which He Travelled to the West in Search of the *Vinaya*

Based on traditional descriptions, Chinese monastics only began farming after the establishment of the Pure Rules, 'a day without work is a day without food' (一日不作, 一日不食), by the Chan patriarch Baizhang 百丈 during the Tang dynasty. When Faxian first renounced, he worked in the fields. Faxian's biography in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* states:

He tried to go to the fields and harvest the rice paddy with several dozen of his classmates. At the time, there were hungry bandits who

wanted to steal their grain. All the novices fled, and Faxian alone remained. He said to the bandits, 'If you want the grain, take as much as you need. However, gentlemen, you have not practiced generosity in the past, and so now you are hungry and poor. If you steal from others now, I am afraid that in future lives it will be even worse. I tell you this because a life of poverty has caused you gentlemen much sorrow in the past'. Having said this, he left. The bandits then dropped the grain and left. Everyone in the community of several hundred monastics was greatly impressed.

嘗與同學數十人於田中刈稻，時有饑賊欲奪其穀，諸沙彌悉奔走，唯顯獨留。語賊曰：‘若欲須穀，隨意所取。但君等昔不佈施，故此生饑貧，今復奪人，恐來世彌甚。貧道預為君憂，故相語耳！’言訖即還。賊棄穀而去。眾僧數百人，莫不嘆服。¹⁷

Records of monastics working in the fields during the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern dynasties are common. Another example is Dao'an, who also worked in the fields during his early days. Dao'an's biography in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* says:

He renounced at the age of twelve. He was of spiritual nature, intelligent and sensitive, but his physical appearance was ugly, and so he was not favoured by his teacher. He was put out to work in the fields, and for three years he worked there diligently without any sign of complaint. He was by nature very hard working, and never missed the fasting day precepts. Only after several years did he visit his teacher to seek the sutras. The teacher gave him the *Bianyi jing* (Skt. *Pratibhānamati-paripṛcchā-sūtra*), in one *juan*, with over 5,000 characters. Carrying the sutra, Dao'an went into the fields and read it during a break. Returning at dusk, he gave the sutra back to his teacher, and asked for another sutra. The teacher said, 'You have not even read yesterday's sutra, why do you now ask for more?' [Dao'an] replied, 'I have already read it thoroughly'. Although the teacher was surprised by this, he did not believe it. He

¹⁷ Su and Xiao, *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 573.

then gave him the *Chengju guangming jing*, in one *juan*, with a little less than 10,000 characters. He took it with him as before, and in the evening returned it to the teacher. The teacher took the sutra and tested his [memorization]. He did not miss a single character. The teacher was greatly astonished and honoured him with special favour. Later, he received full ordination and was free to travel to different places.

年十二出家，神性聰敏，而形貌至陋，不為師之所重。驅使田舍，至於三年，執勤就勞，曾無怨色。篤性精進，齋戒無闕，數歲之後，方啟師求經。師與《辯意經》一卷，可五千餘言。安齋經入田，因息尋覽。暮歸，以經還師，復求餘經。師曰：‘昨經不讀，今復求耶！’對曰：‘即已闇誦。’師雖異之，而未信也。復與《成具光明經》一卷，可減萬言，齋之如初，暮復還師。師執經覆之，不差一字。師大驚嗟，敬而異之。後為受具戒，恣其游方。¹⁸

Dao'an started working in the fields at the age of twelve. He worked for three years before studying the scriptures. When he first began learning the scriptures, he did so among the fields during breaks from farming. However, it is worth noting that Dao'an was working in the fields before receiving full ordination and that Faxian, too, was working in the fields before 'receiving full ordination at twenty' (二十受大戒). This means that in the practice of *Vinaya* in Chinese Buddhism during the fourth century, novices could work in the fields after receiving novice precepts, whereas monastics could not work in the fields after receiving full ordination, otherwise they would break the precepts.

According to Faxian's biography in the *Chu sanzang ji ji*:

At the age of twenty, he received full ordination. His determined practice was clear and pure, his ritual demeanour proper and dignified. He often lamented that there was material missing from the sutras and *Vinaya*, and made determined vows to seek it. In the third year of Longan during the Jin dynasty, [he] set out from Chang'an

¹⁸ Su and Xiao, *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 561.

and crossed west over the desert, together with his classmates Huijing, Daozheng, Huiying, Huiwei and others.

二十受大戒，志行明潔，儀軌整肅。常慨經律舛闕，誓志尋求。以晉隆安三年，與同學慧景、道整、慧應、慧嵬等發自長安，西度沙河。¹⁹

Faxian's biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* does not contain the record of 'at the age of twenty':

He received full ordination. His determined practice was clear and sharp, his ritual demeanour proper and dignified. He often lamented that there was material missing from the sutras and *Vinaya*, and made determined vows to seek for it. In the third year of Longan during the Jin dynasty, [he] set out from Chang'an and crossed west over the desert, together with his classmates Huijing, Daozheng, Huiying, Huiwei and others.

及受大戒，志行明敏，儀軌整肅。常慨經律舛闕，誓志尋求。以晉隆安三年，與同學慧景、道整、慧應、慧嵬等，發自長安，西渡流沙。²⁰

The *Faxian zhuan* 法顯傳 [Account by Faxian], that is, the *Foguo ji* 佛國記 [The Record of Buddhist Countries], states:

In the past, Faxian was in Chang'an and lamented that there was missing material from the *Vinaya* canon. Therefore, in the first year of Hongshi, at the end of the year during the Jihai phase, he went to India seeking the *Vinaya* with his companions Huijing, Daozheng, Huiying, Huiwei and others.

法顯昔在長安，慨律藏殘缺，於是遂以弘始元年，歲在己亥，與慧景、道整、慧應、慧嵬等同契，至天竺尋求戒律。²¹

¹⁹ Su and Xiao, *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 573–74.

²⁰ Tang, *Gaoseng zhuan*, 87–88.

²¹ Zhang, *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 2.

We are more certain that Faxian began his journey to the West in the third year of Longan (399 CE). However, we are not certain of his age at the time. Chen Yuan 陳垣 states in his *Shishi yinian lu* 釋氏疑年錄 [Record of Dubious Dates of Buddhist Monks]:

Faxian, of Xin Monastery in Jiangling, (lay family name Gong, from Wuyang in Pingyang), died before the first year of Jingping in the Song (423 CE). There is no year for his death in his biography, and only the *Chu sanzang ji ji*, *juan 3*, ‘Preface to the *Mishasai lü*’ (*Mahāsāśaka-vinaya*), states: ‘Faxian returned to the capital in the twelfth year of Yixi, during the Jin. He made many translations of a number of sutras. The translation of only one text, the *Mishasai lü*, was lost (or: he died) before it was completed. In the first year of Jingping, during the Song, it was translated (or: recited) by Buddhajīva’. Fotuoshi’s biography in the Liang dynasty monastic biography (i.e. *Gaoseng zhuan*, *juan 3*) states the same, i.e. that Faxian died before the first year of Jingping during the Song. Also, Faxian’s age is given in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* (*juan 15*) as eighty-two years, but Liang dynasty monastic biography (i.e. *Gaoseng zhuan*, *juan 3*) has eighty-six. Neither of them provide evidence. The *Chu sanzang ji ji* states: ‘Faxian received full ordination at the age of twenty, and set out from Chang’an in the third year of Longan, during the Jin’. This means that at the time when Faxian left for his travels, he was at most a little over twenty years old. After sixteen years he returned to the capital, and would have still been younger than forty. Translating the sutras for a few years, he would have been no older than forty-five or forty-six. Liang dynasty monastic biography (i.e. *Gaoseng zhuan*) has removed the two characters for ‘twenty [years old]’, in the statement ‘received full ordination’, and so his age when he set out on his travels is not known.

江陵辛寺法顯(平陽武陽龔氏)。宋景平元年(四二三)以前卒。傳記無卒年，惟《出三藏記集》三《彌沙塞律序錄》云：‘法顯以晉義熙十二年還都，眾經多譯，唯《彌沙塞》一部未及譯而亡，至宋景平元年佛大什出之。’梁《僧傳》三《佛馱什傳》同，是法顯卒於宋景平元年以前也。又，法顯年歲，《出三藏記集》十五作八十二，《梁僧傳》三作八十六，似皆不可據。《出三藏記集》云：‘法顯二

十受大戒，以晉隆安三年發長安。’是法顯出游時不過二十餘，經十六年還都，不過四十，譯經數年，不過四十五六。《梁僧傳》於‘受大戒’上刪‘二十’兩字，出遊年歲不明。²²

Based on Chen Yuan’s position as seen above, when Buddhajīva arrived in Yangzhou on the first year of Jingping during the Song dynasty (423 CE) and began translating the *Wufen lü* 五分律 (Five-Part Vinaya; Skt. *Pañcavargika-vinaya*) brought back by Faxian, Faxian had already passed away. *Chu sanzang ji ji* records Faxian’s death at the age of eighty-two. Following this general position, *Gaoseng zhuan* of the Liang period made a slight adjustment to his passing at the age of eighty-six. If so, Faxian would have been sixty years old when he set out to the West, which does not sound plausible. Hence, based on reading the context of the passage in the biography, Chen Yuan speculated that shortly after receiving full ordination at age twenty in 399 CE, Faxian set out for the West in search of the Dharma. This proposition is probable. When Faxian went to India, he was traveling along with many colleagues, who appeared to be setting out in their prime instead of in their old age. If this is the case, Faxian’s birth year would be before 380 CE, which meant he would have lived until his forties, fifties, or slightly older.

However, Chen Yuan did not have any textual evidence to support his proposition that Faxian lived until his forties or fifties. Hence, it was an unconvincing argument. Furthermore, the basis for Chen Yuan’s proposition of Faxian’s death in 423 CE is worth further discussion. According to the *Chu sanzang ji ji*:

Faxian returned to the capital in the second year of Yixi, during the Jin. He was very old in years, and made many translations of a number of sutras, but only one text, the *Misha lü*, was lost (or: he died) before it was translated. In the seventh month of the first year of Jingping, during the Song, the *Vinaya* master Buddhajīva, from Kashmir, arrived in the capital city. At the end of the eleventh month of that year, Wang Lian from Langya, and the monks Shi Huiyan

²² Chen, *Shishi yinian lu*, 9.

and Zhu Daosheng, invited the foreign *śramaṇa* Buddhajīva to recite (or: translate) it at Longguang Monastery. At the time, Buddhajīva held the foreign text in his hands, and the Khotanese *śramaṇa* Zhisheng was the translator. It was completed in the twelfth month of the next year.

法顯以晉義熙二年還都，歲在壽星，眾經多譯，唯《彌沙塞》一部未及譯出而亡。到宋景平元年七月，有罽賓律師佛大什來至京都。其年冬十一月，琅琊王練、比丘釋慧嚴、竺道生於龍光寺請外國沙門佛大什出之。時佛大什手執胡文，于闐沙門智勝為譯，至明年十二月都訖。²³

In this passage, there appears to be two interpretations for the word ‘*wang*’ 亡 in ‘was lost (or: he died) before it was translated’ 未及譯出而亡. It could either refer to Faxian passing away before the translation was completed, or that the *Mishasai lü* 彌沙塞律 was lost before it was translated. If it was the latter, then the word ‘*chu*’ 出 from ‘*chuzhi*’ 出之 would mean to ‘recite’ instead of to ‘translate’. This would mean that Daosheng 道生 and others invited Buddhajīva to recite the *Mishasai lü* in order to confirm the foreign text in question. Buddhajīva was a *Vinaya* master from Kashmir. ‘He received the precepts from the Mahīśāsaka Sangha and he specialized in the *Vinaya* texts’ (少受業於彌沙塞部僧，專精律品).²⁴ Hence, it is reasonable that he was able to recite *Vinaya* texts. As a matter of fact, it was Zhisheng 智勝, a Khotanese *śramaṇa*, who was translating and not Buddhajīva. Therefore, it would make more sense to say that the *Mishasai lü* brought back by Faxian was lost before it was translated, as if the foreign text was extant, then it could explain neither that Buddhajīva ‘recited’ nor ‘translated’ the *Mishasai lü*.

The passage quoted earlier from *Chu sanzang ji ji*, *juan* 3, should be the source of all relevant records from other extant texts, or ‘the source of historical material’ as Chen Yuan put it. Daosheng’s biography in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* states:

²³ Su and Xiao, *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 120.

²⁴ Tang, *Gaoseng zhuan*, 96.

Initially, the *śramaṇa* Faxian received the Sanskrit text of the *Mishasai lü* in the country of Sri Lanka, but the text was lost (or: he died) before it was translated. Starting in the eleventh month of the first year of Jingping, during the Jin, at Longguang Monastery, the Kashmiri *Vinaya* master Buddhajīva held the Sanskrit text, and the Khotanese *śramaṇa* Zhisheng was the translator. This *Vinaya* illuminates the task of surpassing rebirth.

初沙門法顯於師子國得《彌沙塞律》梵本，未及譯出而亡。生以宋景平元年十一月，於龍光寺請罽賓律師佛大什執梵文，于闐沙門智勝為譯。此律照明，蓋生之功也。²⁵

The above passage from ‘Daosheng zhuan’ in *Chu sanzang ji ji* basically follows the description in *juan* 3 without considerable changes. Huijiao 慧皎 removed the relevant section from the biography of Daosheng in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, but added in the biography of Buddhajīva (*Chu sanzang ji ji* does not have an independent biography for Buddhajīva), stating:

First, the *śramaṇa* Faxian received the Sanskrit text of the *Mishasai lü* (Skt. *Mahīśāsaka-vinaya*) in the country of Sri Lanka. But Faxian passed away before it was translated. The monks in the capital city heard that Buddhajīva was skilled in this field of learning, and so invited him to translate (or: recite) it. In the eleventh month of the same year, they gathered at Longguang Monastery, and translated it into thirty-four *juan*, calling it the *Wufen lü*. Buddhajīva held the Sanskrit text, the Khotanese *śramaṇa* Zhisheng was the translator, Daosheng from Longguang and Huiyan from Dongan both wrote it down and made corrections, and Chizhong from Song and Wang Lian from Langya were the sponsors. In the fourth month of the next year it was completed. At that time, a large quantity of transcribed texts like the heart of the precepts, repentance texts and others were still in circulation. After Buddhajīva, it is not known what happened to them.

²⁵ Su and Xiao, *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 572.

先沙門法顯，於師子國得《彌沙塞律》梵本，未被翻譯，而法顯遷化。京邑諸僧聞什既善此學，於是請令出焉。以其年冬十一月集於龍光寺，譯為三十四卷，稱為五分律。什執梵文，于闐沙門智勝為譯，龍光道生、東安慧嚴共執筆參正，宋侍中琅琊王練為檀越，至明年四月方竟。仍於大部抄出戒心及羯磨文等。並行於世。什後不知所蹤。²⁶

Huijiao made some alterations in *Gaoseng zhuan* when retelling the account seen in the passage above. Terms like ‘foreign text’ 胡本, found in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, were changed to ‘Sanskrit text’ 梵本, and ‘*wang*’ 亡 [died] was changed to ‘*qianhua*’ 遷化 [passed away]. However, it is questionable if these alterations made by Huijiao in *Gaoseng zhuan* had any basis. Changing ‘*wang*’ to ‘*qianhua*’ meant to interpret ‘*wang*’ as Faxian’s passing. This directly impacts Chen Yuan’s position that Faxian passed away at the latest on the first year of Jingping during the Liu Song period (423 CE).

However, as mentioned earlier, it would be more reasonable to explain ‘*wang*’ as meaning that the *Mishasai lü* brought back by Faxian was ‘lost’ before it was translated. This interpretation would also make it easier to understand the function of Buddhajīva ‘*chu*’ 出 [reciting] the *Vinaya*. Furthermore, taking the latest year for Faxian’s death as 423 CE and that Faxian was quite long lived, over eighty years of age, this would entail that when Faxian set out from Chang’an to travel to the West in 399 CE, he would have already been about sixty years old, which is not very reasonable.

In our view, there is some circumstantial evidence indicating that Faxian was still alive after 423 CE. Faxian’s biography in *Gaoseng zhuan* contains records about what happened after Faxian’s return to China:

Going south, he reported to the capital that at Daochang Monastery the foreign Chan master Buddhahadra had translated the *Mohesengqi lü* (Skt. *Mahāsāṅgha-vinaya*), *Fangdeng nibuan jing* (Skt. *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*) and *Za apitan xin* (*Samyuktābbidharma-bhṛdaya-sāstra*), putting these down in over one million words.

²⁶ Tang, *Gaoseng zhuan*, 96.

遂南造京師，就外國禪師佛馱跋陀於道場寺，譯出《摩訶僧祇律》、《方等泥洹經》、《雜阿毗曇心》垂百余萬言。²⁷

Relevant records found in Faxian's biography in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* are as follows:

Going south, he reported to the capital that at Daochang Monastery the foreign Chan master Buddhahadra had translated the *Nihuan jing* (Skt. *Nirvāṇasūtra*) in 6 *juan*, the *Mobe sengqi lü*, *Fangdeng nihuan jing* (Skt. *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*), *Yan jing* [Tassel Sutra] and *Za apitan xin* (Skt. *Samyuktābhidharma-hṛdaya-sāstra*). There were over one million words in texts not yet translated.

遂南造京師，就外國禪師佛馱跋陀羅，於道場寺譯出六卷《泥洹》、《摩訶僧祇律》、《方等泥洹經》，《經》、《雜阿毗曇心》未及譯者，垂有百萬言。²⁸

Also, the following is recorded in the *Chu sanzang ji ji*:

Da bannihuan jing [Great Parinirvāṇa Sutra; Skt. *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*], 6 *juan* (translated at Daochang Monastery, first day of the eleventh month of the thirteenth year of Yixi, during the Jin). 《大般泥洹經》六卷（晉義熙十三年十一月一日，道場寺譯）。

Fangdeng nihuan jing [Expansive Parinirvāṇa Sutra; Skt. *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*], 2 *juan* (now missing). 《方等泥洹經》二卷（今闕）。

Mobe sengqi lü [Mahāsāṅghika Vinaya; Skt. *Mahāsāṅgha-vinaya*], 40 *juan* (already included in the Vinaya records) 《摩訶僧祇律》四十卷（已入律錄）。

²⁷ Tang, *Gaoseng zhuan*, 90.

²⁸ Su and Xiao, *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 576.

Sengqi biqiu jieben [Mahāsāṅghika Monks Precepts; Skt. *Mahāsaṃgha-bhikṣuṇī-vinaya*], 1 *juan* (now missing) 《僧祇比丘戒本》一卷(今闕)。

Za apitan xin [Heart of the Assorted Abhidharma; Skt. *Samyuk-tābhidharma-hṛdaya-sāstra*], 13 *juan* (now missing) 《雜阿毗曇心》十三卷(今闕)。

Za zang jing [Assorted Canon Sutra; Skt. *Samyukta-pitaka-sūtra*], 1 *juan* 《雜藏經》一卷。

Yan jing [Tassel Sutra] (Sanskrit text, not translated) 《縋經》
(梵文, 未譯出)。

Chang ahan jing [Long Discourses Sutras; Skt. *Dīrghāgama-sūtra*] (Sanskrit text, not yet translated). 《長阿含經》
(梵文, 未譯)。

Za ahan jing [Assorted Discourses Sutras; Skt. *Samyuk-tāgama-sūtra*] (Sanskrit text, not yet translated) 《雜阿含經》(梵文, 未譯)。

Mishasai lü [Mahīśāsaka Vinaya; Skt. *Mahīśāsaka-vinaya*] (Sanskrit text, not yet translated). 《彌沙塞律》(梵文, 未譯)。

Sapoduo lü chao [Sarvāstivāda Vinaya Redaction] (Sanskrit text, not yet translated). 《薩婆多律抄》(梵文, 未譯)。

Fo you Tianzhu ji [Records of the Buddha's Travels in India], 1 *juan*. 《佛遊天竺記》一卷。

Of the first eleven texts, six texts were definitely translated, into a total of 63 *juan*. During the time of Jin emperor An, the *śramaṇa* Shi Faxian travelled to the Western regions in the third year of Longan, received foreign texts in central India and Sri Lanka, returned to the capital, and lived in Daochang Monastery. They were translated with the Indian Chan master Buddhahadra. The

Chang [Ahan jing] (Skt. *Dirghāgama-sūtra*) and *Za [Ahan jing]* (Skt. *Samyuktāgama-sūtra*), *Yan jing*, *Mishasai lü* (Skt. *Mahīśāsaka-vinaya*) and *Sapoduo lü chao* are Sanskrit texts, and have not yet been translated.

右十一部，定出六部，凡六十三卷。晉安帝時，沙門釋法顯以隆安三年游西域，於中天竺、師子國得胡本，歸京都，住道場寺。就天竺禪師佛馱跋陀共譯出。其《長雜二阿含》、《經》、《彌沙塞律》、《薩婆多律抄》，猶是梵文，未得譯出。²⁹

It is likely that when modern editors punctuated *Chu sanzang ji ji*, they based it on the above passage, especially the records that *Yan jing* was not translated. Hence, they added a joining comma instead of a listing comma between the *Fangdeng nihuan jing* (Skt. *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*) and *Yan jing*. They considered that *Nihuan* (Skt. *Nirvāṇasūtra*), *Mobe sengqi lü* (Skt. *Mahāsāṅgha-vinaya*) and *Fangdeng nihuan jing* (Skt. *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*) were translated, while *Yan jing* and *Za apitan xin* (Skt. *Samyuktābhidharma-hṛdaya-śāstra*) were part of untranslated texts in one million words. However, the literal meaning when punctuated this way is very strange:

at Daochang Monastery, translated the *Nihuan [jing]* in 6 *juan*, the *Mobe sengqi lü* (Skt. *Mahāsāṅgha-vinaya*) and *Fangdeng nihuan jing* (Skt. *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*). The *Yan jing* and *Za apitan xin* were texts not yet translated with over one million words.

於道場寺譯出六卷《泥洹》、《摩訶僧祇律》、《方等泥洹經》、《經》、《雜阿毗曇心》未及譯者，垂有百萬言。

Classical Chinese does not itself have sentence punctuation, and if the original author wished to convey this meaning, it would be almost impossible to adopt such a sentence structure. Thus, we believe that a more appropriate way of punctuating would be:

²⁹ Su and Xiao, *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 55.

at Daochang Monastery, translated the *Nihuan jing* in 6 *juan*, the *Mobe sengqi lü*, *Fangdeng nihuan jing*, *Yan jing* and *Za apitan xin*. There were over one million words in texts not yet translated.

於道場寺譯出六卷《泥洹》、《摩訶僧祇律》、《方等泥洹經》、《縱經》、《雜阿毗曇心》。未及譯者，垂有百萬言。

The passage quoted earlier from *juan 2* of *Chu sanzang ji ji* concerning records on Faxian's translation of scriptures is very old. It does not reflect the situation after 423 CE. However, *Mishasai lü* should have already been translated by 423 CE. Yet, it was stated in *juan 2* of *Chu sanzang ji ji* that it has 'not yet been translated'. In comparison, Faxian's biography in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* may reflect a later situation, that *Yan jing* and *Za apitan xin* were already translated when Faxian was still alive.

The '*Za apitan xin xü*' 雜阿毗曇心序 [Preface to the Heart of the Assorted Abhidharma] by an 'unknown author' 未詳作者 in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* states:

In the third year of Yuanjia, during the Song, the magistrate of Xuzhou, Wang Zhongde of Taiyuan, invited the foreign *śramaṇa* Īśvara to Pengcheng to translate it. Half of the 'Ze pin' and the whole of the 'Lun pin' were not completed due to circumstances which arose. By the eighth year of Yuanjia, there was another Dharma master from India, named Guṇabhadra, who had attained the path of stream entry and was well trained in this text. He came on his travels to Yangdu, where he further revised the text and explained in detail its main teachings. The remainder was clearly appended at the end of the two compilations, a written record of what was heard of his teachings. Fortunately for readers, this was still of considerable benefit.

於宋元嘉三年，徐州刺史太原王仲德請外國沙門伊葉波羅於彭城出之。《擇品》之半及《論品》一品，有緣事起，不得出竟。至元嘉八年，復有天竺法師名求那跋摩，得斯陀含道，善練茲經，來遊揚都，更從校定，諮詳大義。餘不以闕短，廁在二集之末，輒記所聞，以訓章句，庶於覽者，有過半之益耳。³⁰

Also in the same *juan*, Venerable Jiaojing's 焦鏡 'Houchu za xin xu' 後出雜心序 (Preface to lately translated *Samyuktābhidharma-ḥṛdaya-sāstra* [Assorted Abhidharma]) states:

In the eleventh year of Yuanjia, Jiaxu, during the Song, there was a foreign *śramaṇa* named Tripiṭaka who toured and travelled here. He previously studied this sutra comprehensively in the great country [of India], and so the Sangha community invited him to recite it. Then, in the ninth month of that year, scholars gathered at Zhanggan Monastery in the Song capital, where Venerable Yun'gong translated the words and Venerable Guanggong recorded it. After revision and ratification, it took a whole year to complete. Due to lack of ability, Jiaojing incorrectly heard some of the end of this, and so although his thinking did not ascertain its mysteries, at times he managed a shallow understanding. Now a careful comparison of all that was heard has been made, in order to direct later generations. A compromise has been made awaiting further wisdom. Composed in the villa of Xu Zhijiang at Mount Shining in Huiji.

於宋元嘉十一年甲戌之歲，有外國沙門名曰三藏，觀化遊此。其人先於大國綜習斯經，於是眾僧請令出之。即以其年九月，於宋都長幹寺集諸學士，法師雲公譯語，法師觀公筆受。考校治定，周年乃訖。鏡以不才，謬預聽末，雖思不及玄，而時有淺解。今謹率所聞，以示後生，至於折中，以俟明哲。於會稽始甯山徐支江精舍撰訖。³¹

From this, we can conclude that *Za apitan xin* was translated in the eleventh year of Yuanjia (434 CE). Furthermore, the Sanskrit text, which the translation was based on, did not come from those brought back by Faxian. Trepitaka Guṇavarman, arriving in China in the eighth year of Yuanjia (431CE), eventually recited it in full. Guṇavarman's biography in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* describes the same accounts:

³⁰ Su and Xiao, *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 384–85.

³¹ Su and Xiao, 385.

At the start of the third year of Yuanjia, the magistrate of Xuzhou, Wang Zhongde, in Pengcheng invited the foreign *śramaṇa* Īśvara to Pengcheng to translate the *Samyuktābhidharma-hṛdaya-sāstra*. When he reached the ‘Ze pin’ 擇品 [Chapter on Discernment] and it was not yet completed, adverse circumstances occurred that stopped work. Due to this, later Guṇavarman was invited to the monastery to further revise and ratify, correcting the sense of the text.

初，元嘉三年，徐州刺史王仲德於彭城請外國沙門伊葉波羅譯出《雜心》，至《擇品》未竟，而緣礙遂輟。至是乃更請跋摩於寺重更校定，正其文旨。³²

Records from Guṇavarman’s biography in *Gaoseng zhuan* are basically the same:

At the start of the third year of Yuanjia, the magistrate of Xuzhou, Wang Zhongde, in Pengcheng, invited the foreigner Īśvara to Pengcheng to translate the *Samyuktābhidharma-hṛdaya-sāstra*. When he reached the ‘Zepin’, adverse circumstances occurred that stopped work. Due to this, Guṇavarman was later invited to translate the latter chapters. When finished it was thirteen *juan*.

初元嘉三年，徐州刺史王仲德於彭城請外國伊葉波羅譯出《雜心》。至《擇品》而緣礙，遂輟。至是更請跋摩譯出後品，足成十三卷。³³

The author of ‘*Houchu za xin xu*’, ‘Venerable Jiaojing’ should be referring to Sengjing 僧鏡. Sengjing’s biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* records that he wrote the text, ‘*Pitan xuan lun*, distinguishing the categories of the doctrines, with a connecting line of thought’ (《毗曇玄論》，區別義類，有條貫焉)。³⁴ This is just as the ‘*Houchu za xin xu*’ states, ‘The remainder was clearly appended at

³² Su and Xiao, *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 544.

³³ Tang, *Gaoseng zhuan*, 108.

³⁴ Tang, 293.

the end of the two compilations, a written record of what was heard of his teachings. Fortunately for readers, this was still of considerable benefit' (余不以闕短, 廁在二集之末, 輒記所聞, 以訓章句, 庶於覽者, 有過半之益耳).

In short, the translation of *Za apitan xin* was completed in 434 CE. If Faxian saw the completed translation, this would mean that he was still alive in 434 CE. In that case, it would be impossible for him to have died before 423 CE.

Just like Chen Yuan's position, it is more reasonable to consider that Faxian left for India shortly after he received full ordination at the age of twenty. Apart from the contextual meaning within the biographies of monastics, after he received full ordination, he 'often lamented that there was material missing from the sutras and *Vinaya*' (常慨經律舛闕). From the perspective of faith and practice, that the *Vinaya* precepts in China were incomplete raises the issues of whether or not the precepts Faxian received were legitimate, and if he truly received the precepts. These pressing questions troubled Faxian and became crucial driving forces behind his 'determined vow to seek' 誓志尋求 the precepts in India. Zhiyan 智嚴, a contemporary of Faxian, was doubtful whether he truly received the precepts and went to India in search of resolution. Zhiyan's biography in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* has the following passage:

Before he renounced he attempted to receive the five precepts, but was remiss and transgressed. Later, when he entered monasticism and received full ordination, he constantly doubted whether or not he had attained the precepts. He was often afraid and so spent years in meditative contemplation, but was unable to resolve it by himself. After he crossed the ocean and reached India, he consulted many experts about this. When he encountered a monk who was an *arhat*, he asked about this matter. The *arhat* did not venture a judgement on the matter, but entered meditation and, on behalf of Zhiyan, went to the Tuṣita palace to ask Maitreya. Maitreya answered that Zhiyan attained the precepts. Zhiyan was joyous to hear this, and left.

其未出家時, 嘗受五戒, 有所虧犯. 後入道受具足, 常疑不得戒, 每以為懼, 積年禪觀, 而不能自了. 遂更泛海, 重到天竺, 諮諸明達.

值羅漢比丘，具以事問羅漢。羅漢不敢判決，乃為嚴入定，往兜率宮諮彌勒。彌勒答稱得戒。嚴大喜躍，於是步歸。³⁵

Records from Zhiyan's biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* are the same as the passage above. Zhiyan was doubtful whether he truly received the precepts. 'He crossed the ocean and reached India, he consulted many experts about this' (遂更泛海，重到天竺，諮諸明達).³⁶ It is likely that Faxian was in similar circumstances. He bemoaned that the precepts were incomplete after he received full ordination, then left for India in search of *Vinaya* not long after that (after many years or a few years.) From this, we can deduce that Faxian was in his twenties in 399 CE, which meant that he was born in the 370s, lived for over eighty years, and passed away in the 450s.

If Faxian was born in the 370s, then it was earlier than Xie Lingyun 謝靈運, who was born in 385 CE. Zhong Rong's 鐘嶸 *Shi pin* 詩品 [Ranking Poetry], *juan* 1, 'Chapter on Xie Lingyun, Governor of Linchuan during the Song', records the following: 'There were few sons and grandsons in his family, so Lingyun was sent to a Daoist temple to be raised. He only returned [home] at the age of fifteen, and was thus named 'visitor son' (其家以子孫難得，送靈運於杜治養之，十五方還都，故名 '客兒').³⁷ Xie Lingyun received the novice precepts around the same period, but at a slightly later time than Faxian. Daoists also had the religious custom of sending young children to be raised in the Libation Bureau until they reached adulthood in order to seek long life.

Xin Monastery and Faxian's *Vinaya* Propagation Activities Later in Life

According to records in *Chu sanzang jiji* and *Gaoseng zhuan*, Faxian passed away in Xin Monastery in Jingzhou. *Xinsi* 辛寺 [Xin Monas-

³⁵ Su and Xiao, *Chu sanzang jiji*, 577.

³⁶ Tang, *Gaoseng zhuan*, 100.

³⁷ *Siku quanshu*, 1478: 193.

tery] is sometimes written as ‘*Xinsi*’ 新寺 [Xin Monastery]. The earliest record of Xin Monastery we can find comes from a late fourth century Dunhuang text, written approximately between the sixth month of the eighth year of Taichu (395 CE) and the seventh month of the thirteenth year (400 CE) during the Western Qin. The translation notes of *Foshuo Mobe chatou jing* 佛說摩訶剎頭經 [Buddha Teaches the Mahāsattva Sutra; Skt. *Mahāsattva-sūtra*] state, ‘In the Western Qin, during the Taichu period, at the Qifu capital of Wanzhou. Translated by the *śramaṇa* Shengjian at Xin Monastery in Jiangling, and recorded by Yu Shuang’ (右西秦太初年, 乞伏氏都瑩川, 沙門聖堅於江陵辛寺譯。庾爽筆).³⁸

If Faxian passed away in the 450s, then it would be at the time of Prince Qiao’s rebellion or earlier. Prince Qiao was Xin Monastery’s biggest donor in the middle of the fifth century. Prince Qiao was Liu Yixuan 劉義宣, the Prince of Nanqiao. His biographical records are found in *Song shu* 宋書 [Book of Song]. Qiunabatuoluo’s (Guṇabhadra 求那跋陀羅) biography of him in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* says:

Later, Prince Qiao was stationed at Jingzhou, and invited him to travel together. They stayed at Xin Monastery, for which a new residence was created. It was at Xin Monastery that a number of sutras were translated, namely, *Wuyou wang [jing]* (Skt. *Asoka-sūtra*), *Guoqu xianzai yinguo* [Cause and effect between past and present] and *Wuliang shou* (*Sukhāvati-vyūha-sūtra*) in one *juan*, *Nihuan [jing]* (Skt. *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*) in one *juan*, *Yangjuemo* (Skt. *Aṅgulimālīya-sūtra*), *Xiangxu jietuo* (Skt. *Samdhanirmocana-sūtra*), *Boluomi liaoyi* (Skt. *Pāramitā-sūtra*), *Diyi yi wu xiang lue* (Skt. *Paramārtha-pañca-lakṣaṇa-sūtra*), *Ba jixiang* (Skt. *Aṣṭabuddhaka-sūtra*) and others, in a total of over one hundred *juan*.

後譙王鎮荊州, 請與俱行, 安止辛寺, 更創殿房。即於辛寺出《無憂王》、《過去現在因果》及一卷《無量壽》、一卷《泥洹》、《央掘

³⁸ Wang and Li, *Wei jin nanbeichao Dunhuang wenxian biannian*, 106–07.

魔》、《相續解脫》、《波羅蜜了義》、《第一義五相略》、《八吉祥》等諸經，凡一百餘卷。³⁹

The corresponding records from ‘Qiunabatuoluo zhuan’ in *Gaoseng zhuan* are basically the same.⁴⁰ Also, in the *Meisō den shō* 名僧傳抄 [Redaction of the *Mingseng zhuan* (Biographies of Famous Monks)], it is said:

Previously, in the twenty-third year of Yuanjia, Prince Qiao was stationed at Jingzhou, and invited him to travel together. They stayed at Xin Monastery, for which a new residence was erected. It was in the monastery that he translated the *Asōka-sūtra* (*Wuyou wang jing*) in one *juan*, *Aṣṭabuddhaka-sūtra* (*Ba jixiang jing*) in one *juan*, *Guoqu xianzai yinguo* [Cause and effect between past and present] in four *juan*, *Wuliang shou* (*Sukhāvati-vyūha*) in 1 *juan*, and *Nihuan* [*jing*] (*Nirvāṇa-sūtra*) in one *juan*, a total of thirteen texts for a combined 73 *juan*.

先自元嘉二十三年，譙王鎮荊洲，請與俱行，安憩辛寺，更立殿房。即於寺內，出《無憂王經》一卷、《八吉祥經》一卷、《過去現在因果》四卷、《無量壽》一卷、《泥洹》一卷，凡十三部，合七十三卷。⁴¹

Records from *Gaoseng zhuan* indicate that Liu Yixuan was stationed at Jingzhou in the twenty-third year of Yuanjia (446 CE). Liu Yixuan’s 劉義宣 biography in the *Song shu* dates it to the twenty-first year of Yuanjia (444 CE):

Initially, Gaozu used the excellent location up river from Jingzhou, where the ground was broad and the troops strong. He issued a posthumous edict that his sons take turns to reside there. ... In the twenty-first year (of Yuanjia), [Liu] Yixuan was commander of mili-

³⁹ Su and Xiao, *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 548.

⁴⁰ Tang, *Gaoseng zhuan*, 121.

⁴¹ *X* no. 77: 351.

tary affairs for the seven provinces of Jing, Yong, Yi, Liang, Northern and Southern Qin, chariot general and magistrate of Jingzhou. He upheld the festivals and duties as in ancient times.

初,高祖以荊州上流形勝,地廣兵強,遺詔諸子次第居之……(元嘉)二十一年,乃以義宣都督荆、雍、益、梁、甯、南北秦七州諸軍事、車騎將軍、荊州刺史,持節、常侍如故。⁴²

During [Liu] Yixuan's ten years of station, the army was strong and there was plentiful wealth. He thereupon set out upon the path of virtue, proclaiming to all beneath heaven that whatever they wished for, it would all be granted. Only matters that did not conform to the rules and regulations of the imperial palace would not be permitted.

義宣在鎮十年,兵強財富,既首創大義,威名著天下,凡所求欲,無不必從。朝廷所下制度,意所不同者,一不遵承。⁴³

Liu Yixuan was very generous with his offerings to Xin Monastery. It was noted in *Gaoseng zhuan* that Guṇabhadra 'received offerings for ten years' (受供十年)⁴⁴ at Xin Monastery, Jingzhou.

Liu Yixuan also adored luxury:

When Yixuan started his station, he was industrious in exhorting himself, and made improvements in administrative matters. Fair skinned, with beautiful hair and beard, he stood 1.75 meters tall, and wore a large belt. He kept many concubines and maids, over one thousand in the inner chambers, as well as several hundred nuns, and thirty male and female [servants]. He was lavish and luxurious, broadly spending a great deal of wealth.

義宣至鎮,勤自課厲,政事修理。白皙,美鬚眉,長七尺五寸,腰帶

⁴² *Song shu* 68.1798.

⁴³ *Song shu* 68.1800.

⁴⁴ Tang, *Gaoseng zhuan*, 133.

十圍，多畜嬪媵，後房千餘，尼媪數百，男女三十人。崇飾綺麗，費用殷廣。⁴⁵

In 545 CE, Liu Yixuan was killed after his rebellion was defeated. After his defeat, Guṇabhadra, who was in Xin Monastery at the time, was implicated and taken prisoner during the chaos. Faxian may have died under such circumstances, or he may have passed away slightly before this time. Xin Monastery would have been greatly impacted during Prince Qiao's rebellion, and hence records of Faxian's death year and his engagements in his later years are unclear. Tanwujie 曇無竭 (Fayong 法勇), 'once had heard that Faxian and others personally walked to the land of the Buddha, and forsaking attachment vowed to offer up his own life' (嘗聞法顯等躬踐佛國，乃慨然有忘身之誓). He also travelled to the West in search of the Dharma. He stayed in Xin Monastery in his later years. His situation might be similar to that of Faxian, that 'his eventual fate was unknown after (Prince Qiao's rebellion)' (後不知所終)⁴⁶.

Furthermore, the issues of when and why Faxian left the Southern dynasties' capital of Jiankang for Xin Monastery in Jingzhou are also worth investigating. According to his *Faxian zhuan* (*Foguo ji*), after Faxian returned to China, he was going to go back up north to Chang'an:

Faxian had been away from his teachers for a long time, and wished to return to Chang'an. However, his burdens were heavy, and so he went south toward the capital. There, together with the Chan master (Buddhabhadra), he translated sutras and *Vinaya*.

法顯遠離諸師久，欲趣長安。但所營事重，遂便南下向都，就禪師（佛陀跋陀羅）出經律。⁴⁷

⁴⁵ *Song shu* 68.1799.

⁴⁶ Tang, *Gaoseng zhuan*, 93–94. The main biographical materials in *Gaoseng zhuan* do not mention the relationship between Tanwujie and Xin Monastery. This can be demonstrated through further research. However, since it is not directly related to the current paper, we will not cover it here, but in another paper.

In addition, Faxian went down south at the invitation of Lushan Huiyuan 廬山慧遠. He accepted the invitation and composed the *Faxian zhuan* (*Foguo ji*):

The man of the way, Faxian, was welcomed in the fifty-first year of the cycle, the twelfth year of Yixi, during the Jin (416 CE), in the time of Shouxing, at the end of the summer retreat. After he arrived, he stayed there until the winter feast. Due to giving lectures to assemblies of people, he was repeatedly asked about his travels. He was respectful and acquiesced to these requests, and his responses were always factual. Due to this, things previously mentioned only in brief were now given in detail. Faxian would again narrate them from start to finish.

是歲甲寅。晉義熙十二年（416年），歲在壽星，夏安居末，迎法顯道人。既至，留共冬齋。因講集之際，重問遊歷。其人恭順，言輒依實。由是先所略者，勸令詳載。顯復具敘始末。⁴⁸

Hence we can conclude that after returning to China, Faxian planned to go to Chang'an. However, he was unable to do so due to reasons like the chaos of wars in the north. (In 417 CE, Liu Yu from the south regained Chang'an, and Yao Qin was destroyed. In 418 CE, Guanzhong was attacked by Helian Bobo 赫連勃勃. Chang'an fell under the attack, the north was in turmoil, and monastics in the north dispersed in all directions.) Faxian left Jiankang for Jingzhou in early-mid 420s, he may have intended to travel further north. In addition, we know for a fact that in 418 CE Buddhahadra trans-

⁴⁷ Zhang, *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 150.

⁴⁸ Zhang, 153. Based on this, Zhang Xun (Zhang, *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 154) argues that Lushan Huiyuan's death date should be the sixth of the eighth month, in the thirteenth year of Yixi (417 CE), as recorded in *Guang Hongming ji* 廣弘明集, *juan* 23, Xie Lingyun's 'Lushan Huiyuan fashi lei' 廬山慧遠法師誄 [Venerable Lushan Huiyuan's Eulogy], not in the twelfth year of Yixi as mentioned in 'Lushan Huiyuan zhuan' 廬山慧遠傳 [The Biography of Lushan Huiyuan], in *Gaoseng zhuan*.

lated the *Mahāsāṅgha-vinaya* brought back by Faxian at Daochang Monastery in Jiankang. This led to the protracted debate on squatting to eat centred at Zhihuan Monastery.⁴⁹ The early-mid period of the 420s was also the height of the debate on squatting to eat. Since Faxian brought *Mahāsāṅgha-vinaya* to China, no doubt he was one of the focal points in this debate. In response to this debate, Faxian may have chosen to avoid it by leaving the centre of the debate, and so left Jiankang for Jingzhou. Faxian must have left Jiankang slightly earlier than 423 CE, which was when the *Mahīśāsaka-vinaya* (that is, Skt. *Pañcavargika-vinaya*) was translated into Chinese as *Wufen lü*, as discussed earlier.

Faxian left Jiankang before many of the Sanskrit texts he brought back were translated. He may have kept these Sanskrit texts in Jiankang instead of bringing them with him to Xin Monastery in Jingzhou. Hence, he must have discontinued his translation activities after the early-mid 420s. Since all the untranslated Sanskrit texts brought back by Faxian were left in Jiankang, it would mean that the records on Faxian's list of scriptures in *juan 2* of *Chu sanzang ji ji*, discussed previously, would also have stopped before he left Jiankang for Xin Monastery in Jingzhou.

Regarding the debate on squatting to eat, it was clear that Faxian was not as enthusiastic as Daosheng and others who pushed for the translation of *Pañcavargika-vinaya*. However, Faxian was not being totally passive and evasive when choosing to go to Xin Monastery in Jingzhou. He went there because of something that appealed to him, namely, that Xin Monastery in Jingzhou was the centre of Kumārajīva's newly translated text, *Shisong lü* 十誦律 [Ten-Recitations Vinaya; Skt. *Daśabbhāṇavāra-vinaya*]. Beimoluocha's 卑摩羅叉 (Vimalākṣa) biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* states:

Vimalākṣa ... arrived in Guanzhong during the eighth year of Hongshi, during the Qin (406 CE). Kumārajīva respectfully hosted him with a teacher's courtesy, and Vimalākṣa was also delighted to meet him from afar. When Kumārajīva left the world, Vimalākṣa then

⁴⁹ Yoshikawa, *Liuchao jingshen shi yanjiu*, 115–27; Chen, 'Qihuan si', 38–54.

travelled to the east of Guangzhong, remaining in Shouchun and staying in Shirun Monastery. There the precept community gathered from afar and expounded on the *Vinaya*. The *Shisong lü* translated by Kumārajīva was fifty-eight *juan*, and the last recitation explained the method of receiving the precepts as well as matters for accomplishing wholesome practices. It was named the ‘Shan song’ in accordance with this essential content. Vimalākṣa later sent it to Shirun, where it became sixty-one *juan*. The last recitation was changed to the ‘Pini song’, and that is why both these names are still extant.

卑摩羅叉……以偽秦弘始八年達自關中，什以師禮敬待，又亦以遠遇欣然。及羅什棄世，又乃出遊關左，逗於壽春，止石澗寺，律眾雲聚，盛闡毗尼。羅什所譯《十誦》本，五十八卷，最後一誦，謂明受戒法，及諸成善法事，逐其義要，名為《善誦》。又後齋往石澗，開為六十一卷，最後一誦，改為《毗尼誦》，故猶二名存焉。

Not long after, he went south to Jiangling, and dwelt at Xin Monastery for the summer, lecturing on the *Shisong lü*. He mastered the language of Han Chinese and was of acceptable and pleasant appearance, so he did not make a manuscript, but expounded it directly. Those who analysed the text and sought its principles gathered like a thicket. Those who knew the rules and understood the proscriptions were countless in number. The great propagation of the *Vinaya* canon was due to the efforts of Vimalākṣa. Huiguan from Daochang [Monastery] deeply upheld the key principles and recorded the severity of the inner proscriptions in the regulations. This was written down in two *juan* and sent back to the capital. The monks and nuns there studied and expanded upon it, and competed to write essays about it. Those who heard it coined a saying: ‘Vimalākṣa’s crude words became Huiguan’s skilled record. The people of the capital transcribed it, and paper became as costly as jade.’ It is now presently in circulation and will be the Dharma for later generations.

頃之，南適江陵，於辛寺夏坐，開講《十誦》。既通漢言，善相領納，無作妙本，大闡當時。析文求理者，其聚如林；明條知禁者，數亦殷矣。律藏大弘，又之力也。道場慧觀深括宗旨，記其所制內禁輕重，撰為二卷，送還京師。僧尼披習，競相傳寫。時聞者諺曰：‘卑

羅鄙語，慧觀才錄。都人繕寫，紙貴如玉。’今猶行於世，為後生法矣。⁵⁰

After Kumārajīva passed away, Vimalākṣa was the most influential proponent of *Shisong lü*. He ‘expounded it directly’ 大闡當時 at Xin Monastery. Furthermore, due to Huiguan’s 慧觀 propagation, it had a huge impact in the capital, Jiankang. That Faxian went to Xin Monastery in Jingzhou during this time may be closely related to studying the *Shisong lü*.

Many monastics were very accomplished after learning *Shisong lü* from Vimalākṣa in Xin Monastery. Huiyou’s 慧猷 biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* states:

Shi Huiyou was from Jiangzuo. He renounced at a young age, dwelling at Xin Monastery in Jiangling. As a child he was a practicing vegetarian, and his character was very upright and proper. After receiving the precepts, he focused on the *Vinaya* rules. Once, when the Western *Vinaya* master Vimalākṣa came to Jiangling to broadly propagate the *Vinaya* canon, Huiyou received teachings from the master. Contemplating on it for quite some time, he became very wise concerning the *Daśabbāṇavāra-vinaya*. Lecturing and teaching it continuously, there was not a single *Vinaya* master in Shaanxi that did not take his teachings as a model. Later, he died in Jiangling. He composed the *Shisong yishu* (*Commentary to the Shisong lü*) in eight *juan*.

釋慧猷，江左人。少出家，止江陵辛寺。幼而蔬食履操，至性方直。及具戒已後，專精律禁。時有西國律師卑摩羅叉，來適江陵，大弘律藏，猷從之受業。沉思積時，乃大明《十誦》，講說相續，陝西律師莫不宗之。後卒於江陵，著《十誦義疏》八卷。⁵¹

Also, in Tanbin’s 曇斌 biography of the *Gaoseng zhuan*:

Shi Tanbin, lay surname Su, was from Nanyang. He renounced

⁵⁰ Tang, *Gaoseng zhuan*, 63–64.

⁵¹ Tang, *Gaoseng zhuan*, 428.

at the age of ten, and served his teacher Daoyi. Initially he lived in Xin Monastery in Jiangling, listening to the sutras and treatises, and learning the way of Chan meditation. ... He took his walking staff and fastened his robes, travelling to different lands to ask about the way. First, he proceeded to the capital, and then went to Wu prefecture. He encountered Sengyie teaching the *Shisong lü*, and on listening for a short time had a deeply penetrating realization.

釋曇斌，姓蘇，南陽人。十歲出家，事道禪為師。始住江陵新寺，聽經論，學禪道……振錫挾衣，殊邦問道。初下京師，仍往吳郡。值僧業講《十誦》，餐聽少時，悟解深入。⁵²

Records from the *Meisō den shō* indicate that Tanbin went to Xin Monastery in Jiangling in the second year of Yuanjia (425 CE). It is closer to our argument about the year Faxian went to Xin Monastery:

[Tanbin's] original family name was Su. He was from Nanyang. (Wang Jing states that he was from the capital.) He renounced when over ten years old, and served the *śramana* Daoyi as his disciple. He was afflicted with a foot disease, and did not venture to travel to the capital. In the second year of Yuanjia he went to Jiangling, and lived in Xin Monastery, hearing the sutras and treatises, as well as cultivating Chan meditation and precepts. On visiting the capital, he encountered the *Vinaya* master Sengyie, who was at Wu lecturing on the *Shisong lü*. He immediately went there and listened to him, and after it was over he returned to the capital.

本姓蘇，南陽人也（王巾云京兆人也）。年十餘出家，事沙門道禪為弟子。患腳疾，不敢下都。元嘉二年，乃往江陵，憩於辛寺，滄聽經論，兼修禪律……因下京都，值僧業律師，在吳講十誦，即往就聽，事竟還都。⁵³

At the time, many monastics who were upholding the *Vinaya*

⁵² Tang, *Gaoseng zhuan*, 290.

⁵³ *X* no. 77: 354.

went south to Xin Monastery in Jingzhou after Kumārajīva passed away and Yao Qin was destroyed. Tanjian's 曇鑒 biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* states:

Shi Tanjian ... heard that the master Kumārajīva was in Guan[zhong], so followed to study under him. Kumārajīva often said that Tanjian was a person who could hear something once and immediately memorize it. Later, he travelled and taught, reaching Jingzhou, where he dwelt at Xin Monastery in Jiangling. At the ripe old age of sixty years, his diligence became increasingly pure.

釋曇鑒..... 聞什公在關, 杖策從學, 什常謂鑒為一聞持人. 後游方宣化, 達自荊州, 止江陵辛寺. 年登耳順, 勵行彌潔.⁵⁴

Dharmayaśas, who was in Yao Qin, also arrived in Xin Monastery: 'Later, Dharmayaśa travelled south to Jiangling, where he dwelt at Xin Monastery to strongly propagate the Chan teachings'.⁵⁵ 耶舍後南遊江陵, 止於辛寺大弘禪法. Dharmayaśa had a disciple named Zhu Fadu 竺法度, who specialized in upholding the Hīnayāna precepts. He slandered the Mahāyāna, which had a huge impact at the time.⁵⁶ Sengyou criticized this in his *Xiaocheng mixue Zhu Fadu zaoyi yi ji* 小乘迷學竺法度造異儀記 [Records on the Hīnayāna Extremist Zhu Fadu's Fabrication of Deviant Practices].⁵⁷

In short, after Kumārajīva passed away and Yao Qin was destroyed, Xin Monastery in Jingzhou gradually became the centre for the study of *Vinaya*. This was especially so as Vimalākṣa was propagating *Shisong lü* in Xin Monastery, which became the foremost hub for the study of *Shisong lü* during the 420s.

It is well knowing that during the Southern and Northern dynasties, the situation of *Vinaya* in Chinese Buddhism was as follows: the

⁵⁴ Tang, *Gaoseng zhuan*, 273.

⁵⁵ Tang, 42.

⁵⁶ Tang, 42–43. *The Gaoseng zhuan* biography of Tanmoyeshe 曇摩耶舍 (Dharmayaśas) mentions Zhu Fadu in an appended biography.

⁵⁷ Su and Xiao, *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 232–33.

Southern dynasties mainly used *Shisong lü*, the early-mid period of the Northern dynasties mainly used *Mohe sengqi lü*, and *Sifen lü* 四分律 [Four-Part Vinaya] was mainly used during the mid-late period of the Northern dynasties. This basic division gradually took place during the first half of the fifth century. In the early fifth century, *Shisong lü* was translated in Chang'an in the north. In the subsequent twenty years, *Mohe sengqi lü* and *Wufen lü* were successively translated in Jiankang in the south. Shortly after *Shisong lü* was translated, Yao Qin was destroyed and the north was frequently at war and chaos. *Shisong lü* was not wide-spread in the north. It was Vimalākṣa who brought it to Xin Monastery in Jingzhou and spread it to the Southern dynasties from there, then finally established *Shisong lü*'s important status in the Southern dynasties. Since *Mohe sengqi lü* and *Wufen lü* were translated in Jiankang, due to being drawn into the debate on squatting to eat and other issues and being caught in the dispute between Chinese and foreigners, their broad acceptance in the Southern dynasties was quite limited. This in turn created an opportunity for the *Shisong lü* in the south.

Even though the *Mohe sengqi lü* brought back by Faxian did not set down roots in the Southern dynasties, it should have been transmitted to Jingzhou when Faxian went to Xin Monastery in the 420s, when its Chinese translation was completed. Jingzhou was the place where north and south met. It was also a crucial place for the study of *Vinaya*. This provided great conditions for the outward spread of *Mohe sengqi lü*, especially its circulation in the northern regions. In addition, approximately twenty years after Faxian arrived in Xin Monastery, the persecution of Buddhism by Emperor Taiwu of Northern Wei broke out on a large scale in northern China. After the persecution of Buddhism, there was an urgent need among the monastics for the restoration of *Vinaya*. This provided a good opportunity for *Mohe sengqi lü* to establish its dominance during the early-mid Northern dynasties. Zhidao's 志道 biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* states:

In the past, Wei Lu persecuted the Buddha Dharma, and while later generations restored its glory, there were many faults with the transmission of the precepts. Zhidao therefore made vows to propagate

and disseminate it, not fearing difficulties or hardship. He brought together over ten people of like resolve, and went to Hulao. He gathered scholars of the way from the five prefectures of Luo, Qin, Yong, Huai and Yu, to meet together at Yinshui Monastery, where they lectured on the *Vinaya* and illuminated the precepts, then explained the Dharma of receiving [the precepts]. The integrity of the monastic discipline in the illegitimate regime was due to Zhidao's efforts.

先時魏虜滅佛法，後世嗣興，而戒授多闕。道既誓志弘通，不憚艱苦，乃攜同契十有餘人，往至虎牢。集洛、秦、雍、淮、豫五州道士，會於引水寺。講律明戒，更申受法。偽國僧禁獲全，道之力也。⁵⁸

After Emperor Taiwu of Northern Wei's persecution of Buddhism, in order to revive the *Vinaya*, Zhidao conducted the large-scale event in the north where he 'lectured on the *Vinaya* and illuminated the precepts, then explained the Dharma of receiving [the precepts]' (講律明戒，更申受法). *Mobe sengqi lü* finally established its position in the early-mid Northern dynasties. Composed in the early Northern Qi period, 'Shi lao zhi' 釋老志 [Treatise on Buddhism and Daoism] in *Wei shu* 魏書 [Book of Wei] states:

The *śramaṇa* Faxian regretted that the *Vinaya* canon was incomplete, and travelled from Chang'an to India. Passing through over thirty countries, wherever there were sutras and *Vinayas* he would study the language of the texts, translate them and put them into writing. ... His *Vinayas* were fluently translated, but these were unable to be completely accurate. Arriving in Jiangnan, he then discussed and edited them with the Indian meditation master Buddhahadra. This was the [*Mobe*] *sengqi lü*, which while fully completed in the past, is received and upheld by *śramaṇas* of the present day.

沙門法顯，慨律藏不具，自長安遊天竺。曆三十餘國，隨有經律之處，學其書語，譯而寫之..... 其所得律，通譯未能盡正。至江南，

⁵⁸ Tang, *Gaoseng zhuan*, 435.

更與天竺禪師跋陀羅辯定之，謂之《僧祇律》，大備於前，為今沙門所持受。⁵⁹

The statement that *Mobe sengqi lü* 'is received and upheld by *śramanas* of the present day' (為今沙門所持受) reflects the situation from Northern Wei to early Northern Qi. All in all, there was a direct relationship between Faxian's propagation of *Mobe sengqi lü* and its enormous impact during the early-mid period of the Northern dynasties, after it was transmitted to China.

Conclusion

Many of the arguments concerning the life of Faxian in the present paper are of a speculative nature. However, we believe that, in general, two points are certain. First, in 399 CE, Faxian set out for India and other places in South Asia in search of *Vinaya*. He went out shortly after receiving full ordination, which was around the age of twenty, at the prime of his life. Second, he already left for Xin Monastery in Jingzhou before translation of *Wufen lü* was completed in Jiankang in 423 CE.

The two points above conform to and can be linked up with various extant historical materials. Both *Chu sanzang ji ji* and *Gaoseng zhuan* are based on and further elaborate the account of point one. After receiving full ordination, Faxian bemoaned that the precepts were incomplete, and therefore set out from Chang'an to seek the precepts. Even if we base our arguments on textual sources like *Gaoseng zhuan* and consider that Faxian already 'passed away' before 423 CE, it could still explain point two. Faxian definitely left for Xin Monastery in Jingzhou before 423 CE. Regardless of the age at which Faxian passed away, whether it was over eighty years old, or in his forties and fifties as proposed by Chen Yuan, it would only affect the length of time which Faxian was at Xin monastery in Jingzhou. (The character 'ba' 八 [eight] from

⁵⁹ Tsukamoto, *Wei shu Shi laozhi yanjiu*, 105.

the statement ‘eighty-six years’ 春秋八十有六 from Faxian’s biography in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* could possibly be the character ‘*si*’ 四 [four] originally. Hence, the statement could be ‘forty-six years’ 春秋四十有六 instead. When transcribing the text, issues like the print of the outer square ‘口’ of the character ‘*si*’ 四 might be too faded to see, hence mistaken for ‘*ba*’ 八. It is also possible that this error was carried over and impacted the compilation of *Gaoseng zhuan*).

Three conclusions can be drawn from the above two points:

First of all, Faxian was born around the time of the 370s. During this time, the religious practice of giving novice precepts to young children to prevent premature death already emerged in northern China. Children receiving the novice precepts for this reason did not do so in order to renounce in the future. They also did not live in monasteries after receiving the novice precepts.

Secondly, Liu Yu was pronounced emperor and established the Liu Song dynasty in 420 CE. In the early 420s, when Faxian was in his forties, he left the capital of Liu Song, Jiankang, and went up north to Xin Monastery in Jingzhou. The reasons for this move were, firstly, to avoid the debate among the Buddhist circle in Jiankang on squatting to eat, which was caused by the *Mobe sengqi lü*, a text which he brought back and helped translate. The second reason was to fulfil his wish of returning to his homeland. Xin Monastery was appealing to Faxian, as it was the centre of the study of *Vinaya* at the time, especially for the propagation of *Shisong lü*. That was why Faxian left Jiankang, even though the translations of the Sanskrit sutras and *Vinayas* he brought back were not yet finished.

Lastly, when Faxian arrived in Xin Monastery in early the 420s, he encountered *Shisong lü*, as well as its thought and study brought to Jingzhou from Chang’an in the north by Kumārajīva’s Sangha. Meanwhile, Faxian also disseminated the newly translated *Mobe sengqi lü* as well as its thought and study from Jiankang down south to Xin Monastery in Jingzhou. At that time, Xin Monastery in Jingzhou became a place where the thought and study of the *Vinaya* in the north and south converged. If Faxian passed away in his forties or fifties (in the case of his age being forty-six years old), it would mean that Faxian did not live to return north to his homeland in Chang’an.

If Faxian passed away when he was over eighty years old, then it would mean that he decided to settle in Jingzhou and lived in Xin Monastery for a long time.

In summary, Faxian received the novice precepts at a young age. However, he did not live in the monastery afterwards. The purpose for his family's decision to have him receive the novice precepts was not for him to renounce as a monastic, but simply to prevent him from dying of illness at a young age. This particular religious practice during the Eastern Jin period is worthy of our attention. Furthermore, after receiving full ordination as an adult, Faxian bemoaned that the precepts were incomplete. He was also concerned about whether he truly received the precepts. These were the important factors that drove his desire to travel to the West in search of the Dharma and *Vinaya*. Therefore, Faxian must have left for India in his prime, shortly after receiving full ordination. It would have been impossible for him to wait until later in life, in his sixties, to then travel to the West along with colleagues of similar age. The basis of the current view that Faxian travelled to the West later in life is mainly based on deduction of his death year and age of death. However, there appears to be room for discussion on his age of death and the year in which he passed away at Xin Monastery, Jingzhou. Lastly, Faxian felt the urge to leave the capital, Jiankang, for Xin Monastery in Jingzhou without finishing the translation of all the scriptures he brought back. This directly connects with the situation at the time, that there was a group of monastics from the north bringing Kumārajīva's new translation of *Shisong lü* down south to Xin Monastery and stationing there. In addition, Faxian also brought the newly translated *Mobe sengqi lü* from Jiankang along with him to Jingzhou. Jingzhou was the place where the north and south converged. Faxian lived in Xin Monastery later in his life. He was an important founding force in the exchanges between precepts in the north and south, that is, the *Mobe sengqi lü*, popular during the early-mid period of the Northern dynasties, and *Shisong lü*, popular during the Southern dynasties.

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Abbreviations

- T* *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.
- X* *Wanzi Xuzang jing* 卍字續藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, *Wanzi Xuzang jing*.

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Faxian and the Establishment of the Pilgrimage Tradition of *Qiufa* (Dharma-searching)*

JI YUN 紀贇

Buddhist College of Singapore

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Abstract: The present article starts by evoking various forms of pilgrimage in major world religions and the religious needs that could be fulfilled through pilgrimage, including purification of the soul, communion with the divine and worship of sacred lands. Under this general context, the article delves into pilgrimage in Chinese Buddhism regarding its spread into China, and its rise and historical development. Faxian, as the first India-bound Chinese Buddhist who wrote a travelogue, exerted clear influences on later pilgrims as an exemplary pilgrim. In particular, we should pay attention to Faxian's intention of pilgrimage, which bears on the search of canonical *Vinaya* texts rather than the fulfilment of abstract religious needs such as salvation. After Faxian, numerous pilgrims have undertaken pilgrimages to the Western Regions, including Xuanzang, Yijing and monks recorded in *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 by Yijing 義淨 and *Nittō guhō junrei kōki* 入唐求法巡禮行記 by the Japanese monk Ennin 圓仁. Regardless of the historical reality, we could at least observe, on the textual level, that *qiufa* (the search

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of Dharma) represents the main objective for Chinese pilgrims. This characteristic sets Chinese Buddhist pilgrimage apart from other religions and even from Tibetan Buddhism, for which *qiufo* is never a common goal. Does this imply that *qiufo* was the mainstream form of pilgrimage in Chinese Buddhism and in other Buddhist traditions in East Asia influenced by Chinese Buddhism (e.g. Korean and Japanese Buddhism)? Could there be a difference between an elite and a non-elite form of pilgrimage? The present article will investigate the influence of the *qiufo* tradition that was inspired by Faxian's travelogue; and through this discussion, reveal some traits about Chinese Buddhism in general.

I. Pilgrimage: What is it for?

Be it a local cult or an institutionalized religion, as long as a group is deemed sacred by its followers, it can be associated with certain locations. This could be a place where the founder or the early disciples travelled, performed miracles or experienced transformations; or a place significant for the doctrine or other elements of that religion. Throughout history, the sacred status accorded to such places has attracted a great number of followers who, through rituals or practices, would attempt to enter into communion with the site. We can find this phenomenon in medieval Europe, but also in Far East and pre-Columbian America. It is a religious phenomenon common to humankind and present in every social group that has reached a certain degree of development.¹ Literature is also brimming with references to sacred sites and their legends. *The Canterbury Tales* by Geoffrey Chaucer (1342–1400)² or *Pilgrim's Progress* penned by John Bunyan (1628–1688) are just two examples. In this last work, the protagonist undertakes a pilgrimage that symbolize the spiritual purification of Christianity, as the protagonist experiences repentance, conversion, and eventually redemption.³ For modern scholars, these sites are valu-

¹ Turner, *Image*, xxix–xxx.

² For more on this topic in Chinese, please see Huang, *Kanteboli gushi ji*.

able sources to study the ritual, doctrine and history of a religion.⁴ In China, for instance, mountains are a common object of worship for Buddhists, Daoists and folk religious followers.⁵ By studying their behaviours, especially through anthropological methods, we can tap into a new perspective to study the ancient pilgrimage from China to India. We can also use this new perspective in our reading of the pilgrimage writing and discover nuances that we are prone to ignore.

I.1 Faxian and His Legacies

Foreign missionaries from the Indian subcontinent played a vital role in transmitting Buddhism to China, but Chinese Buddhists had

³ *The Pilgrim's Progress* is a Christian allegory and one of the earliest Western novels translated into Chinese. It played an important role in the transmission of Christianity during the late Qing period. For the studies of its Chinese translation, see Wu, *Yingguo chuanjiaoshi. The Pilgrim's Progress* also bears a number of similarities with the Chinese classic *Journey to the West*. For comparative studies, see Chen, *Pingxing bijiao*. Also see Pang, *Jingshen zhihui*.

⁴ There is plenty of research in Chinese that bears on the Christian and Middle-Eastern pilgrimage: Huang, *Tanwei*; Wang, *Chaosheng xing*; Zhang, *Shehui gengyuan*; Jia, *Cishan yuanzhu*, chapter one. There are relatively few studies that compare Buddhist pilgrimage with the pilgrimage in Western European and Middle Eastern religions, but there are comparative studies that involve Asian folk religions, such as: Huang, *Chaosheng yu jinxiang*. For Buddhist pilgrimage among Yunnan ethnical minorities, see Zhang and Gao, *Jinggu 'foji'*.

⁵ In the past decade, there has been an increasing amount of research on popular rituals, including incense-offering at sacred mountains. For instance: Zhang, *Jingxiang*. On the mountain worship in the same area and its characteristics, see Wu, *Miaofeng shan*. Zhang, *Wubui Yanjiu*; Zhang, *Zhongguo shehui jiegou*. For the incense-offering in Central China, see Can, *Jinxiang zhi lu*. For pilgrimage rituals in Tai Mountain, see Meng, *Dili*; Liu, *Miaohui*. For pilgrimage rituals in Southern Fujian, see Fan and Lin, *Ming Tai gongmiao*; Lin, *Mazu*; Yao, *Mazu*. For the mountain incense-offering in E'mei Mountain in Southwest China, see the studies on the incense fair in Baoguo Monastery, included in Fan, *E'mei shan*.

also been travelling in the reverse direction, namely, towards Central Asia and India, in search of the Buddhist teachings. Zhu Shixing 朱士行 (203–282),⁶ a monk from China proper, is the earliest recorded Chinese pilgrim who reached Central Asia or India. According to the anonymous *Fanguang jing ji* 放光經記 (Record on *Sutra of the Emission of Light*), Zhu Shixing travelled to the Kingdom of Khotan in 260 in his quest for the ninety-volume *Fanguang banruo jing* 放光般若經 [Light-Emitting Prajñā *Sūtra*].⁷ It is noteworthy that Zhu Shixing seems keener on seeking Buddhist scriptures than visiting sacred sites. Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 observantly pointed out that this peculiarity about Zhu Shixing's journey may have influenced the future Buddhists—at least certain groups of Buddhists—in the way they perform pilgrimages.⁸

As Tang Yongtong suggested, Zhu Shixing was the original paragon who inspired later Buddhist elites to travel to India and search for Buddhist scriptures. The figure with an even greater influence, however, was Faxian 法顯 (trad. 337–ca. 423) born a century after Zhu Shixing. Let us now look at Faxian's pilgrimage. In the process, I want to point out some features about his pilgrimage that have thus far been somehow overlooked.

We know little about Faxian's family background.⁹ It is said

⁶ Zhu Shixing is a monk but is not known for his monastic name, because early monastics did not yet have the tradition of acquiring a monastic name in China. See Yan, *Faming*, 88. For Zhu Shixing's biography, see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2149, 55: 7.47c11–25.

⁷ *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2149, 55: 7.47c11–25. For Zhu Shixing's achievement, see Tang, *Fojiao shi*, 86–87.

⁸ Tang, *Fojiao shi*, 86–87. Tang Yongtong writes, 'Shixing is called "fofa zhe" (a man of Dharma) because of his scholarly achievement. He did not follow the tradition of the Eastern Han Dynasty [that emphasized] fasting and rituals. Four hundred years later, Xuanzang disregarded the danger and travelled to the West in pursuit of *Shiqi di lun* (Skt. *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*). [Shixing and Xuanzang] differed in their achievements but their spirit and aspiration indeed match with each other.'

⁹ For Faxian's biographical sources, see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2149, 55: 15.,

that he entered the monastery at the age of three and became fully ordained at twenty. Faxian's life would have been quite uneventful if not for his great journey to India and the adventurous episode recorded in his biography.¹⁰ We also know from his travelogue¹¹ that he went to India because he 'lamented over the inadequacy of *Vinaya* texts [in China]' 慨律藏殘闕.¹² In other words, Faxian shared a similar sense of mission with Zhu Shixing, in that both were searching for a particular collection of Buddhist texts.

Tang Yongtong proposed to divide the early pilgrimages into four categories: the pilgrims searching for Buddhist texts (e.g. Zhi Faling 支法領 [active: 392–418]); those who aspired to study after great Indian masters (e.g. Yu Falan 于法蘭, Zhiyan 智嚴); the pilgrims with a goal to visit sacred sites (e.g. Baoyun 寶雲, Zhimeng 智猛), or those who wanted to invite masters to China to spread the Dharma (e.g. Zhi Faling)¹³. We can simply conflate four categories into two: the search for teachings (either through Buddhist text or discipleship) and the worship of sacred sites. In Faxian's case, if we disregard his occasional visits to sacred sites in India, he would roughly fall into the first category.

111b–112b. Also see *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 3.337b–338b. For Faxian's biographical studies, see Tang, *Fojiao shi*, 212–214; Zhang, *Faxian*, 1–4; Hu-von Hinüber, *Faxian*, 150–52.

¹⁰ For the original record of this anecdote, see *Faxian zhuan* in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2149, 55: 15.111c6–11.

¹¹ Many researchers have investigated the title of Faxian's travelogue. See Zhang, *Faxian*, 5–8; Guo, 'Faxian', 201–06. For the sake of convenience, I will only cite passages from the most commonly used *Foguo ji* rather than *Faxian zhuan* included in *Gaoseng zhuan*, which draws heavily from *Foguo ji*; see my work for elaboration: Ji, *Huijiao*, 156–59.

¹² *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 1.857a6. This passage originally came from *Faxian zhuan*, the fifteenth *juan* of *Chu sanzang ji*, which says '常慨經律舛闕' (T no. 2145, 55: 15.111c12). The source from which the *Gaoseng zhuan* borrowed is unknown. This article uses *Foguo ji*. Huijiao's later work *Gaoseng zhuan* includes an expanded record of Faxian; see my work on *Gaoseng zhuan*: Ji, *Huijiao*, 159.

¹³ Tang, *Fojiao shi*, 210.

The first kind of pilgrimage has inspired generations of Buddhists. Shi Fayong 釋法勇, for instance, traveled to India with his twenty-five companions. He not only safely returned to China but continued translating Buddhist texts upon his return and wrote a travelogue (now lost). Shi Fayong's original inspiration was precisely Faxian.¹⁴ Likewise, Tang Dynasty monks Xuanzang 玄奘 (600–664) and Yijing 義淨 (635–713) also revered Faxian as their inspiration.

According to *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fasbi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 [Biography of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty]. Xuanzang travelled to India not only to seek *Yogācārabhūmi-sāstra* 瑜伽師地論 but also, in Xuanzang's own words, follow the tradition started by Faxian and other like-minded pilgrims.¹⁵ In another case, according to Zhisheng's 智昇 (active circa 730) record, the famous pilgrim Yijing, as a teenager, greatly admired Faxian and Xuanzang and vowed to 'seek the Dharma' (*qiufa* 求法) one day in the Western Regions.¹⁶

What are the commonalities that connect these three famous pilgrims? First of all, like Zhu Shixing, they all wanted to contribute to Buddhism by bringing back Buddhist texts. Secondly, they were all scholar-monks and—with the exception of Faxian—all descended from a family of scholars.¹⁷ Their family background influenced their education and worldview, but also determined their financial

¹⁴ *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2145, 55: 15.113c18–19: 常聞沙門法顯實雲諸僧躬踐佛國。

¹⁵ *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fasbi zhuan*, T no. 2053, 50: 1.222c6–8: 昔法顯、智嚴亦一時之士，皆能求法導利群生，豈使高跡無追，清風絕後？大丈夫會當繼之。

¹⁶ *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, T no. 2154, 55: 9.68b7–8: (義淨)年十有五志遊西域，仰法顯之雅操，慕玄奘之高風。This same passage is also recorded in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2061, 50: 1.710b10–11. But two texts do not agree on Yijing's age when he decided to travel; see Wang, *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*, 4–5.

¹⁷ Yijing's great-great grandfather was the governor of the commandery of Dongqi; see Emperor Zhongzong's 'Longxing sanzang shengjiao xu' 龍興三藏聖教序, Wang, *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*, 3. Xuanzang also descended from a family of Confucian scholars; see Ji, *Xiyu ji*, 103–04, where Ji Xianlin pointed

capacity. Thirdly, all three eventually returned to China and used their proficiency in Indic languages to translate Buddhist scriptures and help develop the Chinese Buddhist canon.¹⁸ Lastly, they all left a travelogue.¹⁹ These commonalities are noteworthy because they are deeply embedded in the popular representation of Indian-bound Chinese Buddhist pilgrims. According to this representation, a pilgrim travels to search for Buddhist texts and ‘authentic texts’ (*zhenjing* 真經); ideally, he should also return to China and become a translator. Therefore, the Chinese word for ‘pilgrimage’ (*chaosheng* 朝聖) became gradually replaced by the word ‘the search of Dharma’ (*qiufa* 求法). In other words, *qiufa seng*, or ‘dharma-seeker monk’ gradually became the standard representation of a pilgrim, shaped by the unique cultural conditions of Chinese Buddhism at the time. It represents a pilgrim who is determined to search for ‘authentic texts’, resists the temptation to remain in the sacred land of India, and returns to China to start a career of translation. If possible, he would also write a travelogue.

Returning to our previous discussion, we can now see that as far as intellectual elites and their writings are concerned, *qiufa* seems to have developed into a standardized religious ritual and behavior, pioneered by Faxian. Faxian’s goal, as mentioned earlier, was to search for a particular type of Buddhist texts. We can find passages in *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳 [Biography of the Eminent

out, ‘Xuanzang completely inherited the family tradition of Confucian learning, unlike later monks who entered the monastic order due to the family poverty.’

¹⁸ For studying the trade route between China and India, the following three sources are the most important and also the most convenient references (in addition to Faxian’s *Foguo ji*): Xuanzang, *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, T no. 2087 (for the annotated version, see Ji, *Xiyu ji*); Yijing, *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*, T no. 2125 (for the annotated version, see Wang, *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*); and Yijing, *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2066 (for annotated version, see Wang, *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*).

¹⁹ Xuanzang and Yijing are acknowledged as the master translators in China, but Faxian also made his contribution to the scriptural translation; see Zhang, *Sengren yanjiu*, 48–51.

Monk Faxian] in which Faxian explicitly states that his goal was to ‘seek Dharma’.²⁰ But it is Xuanzang who fully embodied the ideal of a *qiufa* monk. A standard biography for Xuanzang records that when his mother gave birth to him, she saw a Buddhist master dressed in white and traveling westward. The monk said he was ‘travelling to seek Dharma’ 為求法故去.²¹ In addition, whenever Xuanzang was asked about his identity, he invariably said he came for ‘seeking Dharma’ (and not for pilgrimage or other reasons).²² This response reflects a clear identity with which Xuanzang associated himself.

From this perspective, we can better appreciate Yijing’s decision to title his book *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 (Great Tang Chronicle of Eminent Monks who Traveled to the West Seeking the Dharma), a collection of biographies of Chinese monks who have been to the Western Regions. Additionally, the ideal of *qiufa* monk later spread to Korea and Japan.²³

This particular tradition of pilgrimage, started by Faxian and fostered by later travelers such as Xuanzang and Yijing, conveys an idealistic vision about pilgrimage, though it may not be fully accurate. On the one hand, this tradition inspired a great number of Buddhist monks to join the cause, but at the same time, it overshadowed non-

²⁰ *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 866a4–5.

²¹ *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan*, T no. 2019, 50: 1.222c14–15. The same passage is recorded in his ‘conduct account’ (*xingzhuang* 行狀). See *Da Tang gu sanzang Xuanzang fashi xingzhuang*, T no. 2052, 50: 214c15–18.

²² *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan*, T no. 2019, 50: 1.215c27–28; 216a8; 223a10; 223b26–27; no. 50: 234a24–25; no. 50: 273c4. Emperor Taizong also said Xuanzang travelled to the West for ‘*qiufa*’ and not for other reasons (T no. 50: 253a13–14).

²³ Gakhun 각훈 (覺訓, active in early thirteenth). *Haedong goseungjeon* 海東高僧傳. T no. 2065. In this work, Gakhun commented on a number of monks travelling to China or India for ‘*qiufa*’. Examples could be found in: T no. 2065, 50:2.1020a23–24, 1020b16, 1022a28. Similar instances could be found in the Japanese work: Ennin 円仁 (Jikaku Daishi 慈覺大師, 794?–864), *Nittō Gubō Junrei Kōki* 入唐求法巡禮行記. For the academic studies on Ennin’s text, see Katsutoshi, *Nittō Gubō Junrei Kōki*.

elite Buddhists who pilgrimed for various other reasons. Non-elite pilgrimages, however, were in reality more common and dynamic than their elite counterpart.

I. 2 A Wider Context: Dharma-Seeker Monks during the Jin and Tang Dynasty

Mingseng zhuan 名僧傳 [Biographies of Famous Monks], composed by the famous monk Baochang 寶唱 (465?-?) during the Southern Dynasties (420–589), is no longer extant, but thanks to the Japanese monk Sōshō 宗性 (1202–1278) who took some excerpts from the *Mingseng zhuan* in 1235²⁴, we could still glimpse its twenty-sixth chapter titled ‘Austere Practices of Dharma-Searching and Translating’ 尋法出經苦節. The chapter contains the biographies of eleven *qiufa* monks who reached the Western Regions during the Eastern Jin (265–420) and Qi Dynasty (479–502).²⁵ The fact that ‘*qiufa* monks’ stands alone as a separate theme seems to acknowledge that *qiufa*, as an ascetic practice, had already become a recognizable tradition. On the other hand, *Biographies of Eminent Monks* 高僧傳 [Biographies of Eminent Monks] composed by Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554) during the Liang Dynasty (502–557), though based on *Mingseng zhuan*, intriguingly chose to omit the category of ‘*qiufa* monks’. We can attribute this omission to Huijiao’s decision to simplify the taxonomy,²⁶

²⁴ The catalogue is included in *Manji Dai Nippon zoku zōkyō* 卅字續藏經, no. 77. But this edition contains numerous mistakes, as pointed out by Ding, ‘Mingseng zhuan’.

²⁵ These monks are: Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 from Chang’an during Jin; Faxian 法顯 from Daochang Monastery during Jin; Zhu Fawei 竺法維 from Andong Monastery during Jin; Sengbiao 僧表 from Tongxuan Monastery during Jin and Wu; Zhiyan 智嚴 from Zhiyuan Monastery during Song; Baoyun 寶雲 from Daochang Monastery during Song; Zhimeng 智猛 from Dingling Shang Monastery during Song; Fayong 法勇 from Huanglong during Song; Daopu 道普 from Gaochang during Song; Fasheng 法盛 from Qichang during Song; Faxian 法獻 from Dingling Shang Monastery during Qi. X no. 77: 350a14–20.

²⁶ Ji, *Huijiao*, 118–12; 210–15. *Gaoseng zhuan*’s structure is also largely influ-

but perhaps it also reflects his differing attitude from Baochang *vis-à-vis* the *qiufa* practice. But Huijiao, as much as we can know about him from the available sources, is relatively unknown compared to the prolific and distinguished Baochang.²⁷ This disparity perhaps also suggests that Buddhists with different social status and knowledge structure may harbor different attitudes towards the *qiufa* model. I will elaborate on this point later on.

By skimming through the biographies in *Mingseng zhuan*, we can see that not all monks are concerned with seeking Dharma or translating scriptures. In fact, if we do a comprehensive survey on Buddhist pilgrims during the Jin and Tang Dynasty who travelled to the Western Regions (see Appendix I), we can discover a multitude of reasons for pilgrimage. The present survey includes twenty-six monks. Thirteen among them show a clear or ambiguous goal to seek Buddhist scriptures and teachings; five visited sacred sites, two of which overlap with the first category; six are unknown for their motivation. The survey reveals that *qiufa* monks occupy almost half of all cases, but the pilgrims who visited sacred sites also feature prominently in the survey. In particular, Fasheng 法盛²⁸ and Faxian 法獻²⁹ stated respectively that they were inspired by Zhimeng 智猛 and Sengmeng 僧猛, suggesting that they were following a tradition that existed separately from the *qiufa* tradition.

In the record by Faxian, Xuanzang and Yijing, we find numerous references to their pilgrimage in sacred sites, but we also have records of pilgrims with less stature who also participated in worship rituals during their pilgrimage, such as Sengbiao 僧表 and Hulan 慧欖(覽) who practiced the alms-bowl offering.³⁰

enced by *Mingseng zhuan*, though it simplified the structure and removed several categories.

²⁷ Ji, *Huijiao*, 36–40.

²⁸ *Meisō den shō*, X no. 77: 1.358c17–18: 遇沙門智猛, 從外國還. 述諸神迹, 因有志焉.

²⁹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 13.411b28–29: 先聞猛公西遊, 備矚靈異. 乃誓欲忘, 身往觀聖迹.

³⁰ *Meisō den shō*, X no. 77: 1.358, b13–16: 聞弗樓沙國有佛鉢, 鉢今在罽賓臺

There are certainly more reasons to start a pilgrimage. For instance, some travelers harboured the wish to meet prominent masters in the Western Regions, including Zhiyan 智儼, Zuqu Jinsheng 沮渠京聲 (?–464) and Huilan 慧覽 (d.u.); these last two respectively became the disciple of Buddhasena 佛陀斯那 (d.u.) and Damo Biqu 達摩比丘 (d.u.). There is another kind of motive recorded in Baoyun's 寶雲 (376–449) biography in *Meisō den shō*. Baoyun went on a pilgrimage because he had killed a calf when he 'carried stones and worked the earth' (負石筑土). His 'remorse and melancholy' 慚悵惆悵 pressed him to travel to India so that he could 'witness miracles and perform repentances' (眼睹神跡, 躬行懺悔).³¹

This last motive may seem rare, especially among elite Buddhists, but it reflects the ritual aspect of Buddhism that emphasizes repentance and abstinence. Its popularity among non-elite Buddhists far exceeds what we tend to believe. For proof, it suffices to regard contemporary Mongolian and Tibetan Buddhists whose pilgrimage invariably has to do with repentance and salvation. But this motive is seldom written down in both official and popular record. What this suggests is that there is not only a gap that divides the popular and the official representation of Buddhist pilgrimage, but also between the popular record and the historical reality itself.

Repentance is also an important theme in the novel *Journey to the West* 西遊記. For instance, the protagonist Tangseng, Xuanzang's fictional counterpart, used to be a monk named Jinchanzi in his previous life. Jinchanzi once 'listened mindlessly to Buddha's sermon' and as a consequence, he is reborn as Tangseng and has to overcome countless obstacles for repenting the past sin.³² His disciples also committed transgressions in one way or another: Sun Xingzhe 孫行者 ravaged the Heavenly Palace; Zhu Wuneng 豬悟能 flirted with Chang'e; Sha Seng 沙僧 broke the precious glazed lamp while the

寺, 恒有五百羅漢供養鉢。鉢經騰空至涼洲。有十二羅漢隨鉢。停六年, 後還闕賓。僧表恨不及見, 乃至西踰蔥嶺, 欲致誠禮。

³¹ *Meisō den shō*, X no. 77: 1.358c8–11. Also see Zhang, *Sengren yanjiu*, 48–50.

³² Li, *Xiyou ji*, 203.

White Dragon Horse 白龍馬 set a precious pearl on fire. Their pilgrimage, therefore, is tantamount to a journey of repentance and represents a common type of pilgrimage in China. It is only in the elite writing that repentance becomes stripped of its importance.

We should also be mindful that the survey only used a limited sample group. For instance, Shi Fayong travelled with twenty-five companions and Shi Fasheng with twenty-nine fellow travelers, but among them only a handful returned to China and left evidence of their journey. Most travelers, however, did not even reach India. They either died from illness or abandoned their journey for miscellaneous reasons. But even among the travelers who reached India, many chose to remain in India rather than return to China, which is perceived as the borderland in the Buddhist world. We could not know the exact motive behind each pilgrimage, but it is perhaps plausible to assume that pilgrims who visited sacred places outnumber those who searched for the Buddhist teachings. After all, Buddhism is a religion that demands faith and comprises more Buddhists who perform rituals than those who study and translate Buddhist texts, as it is case among Mongolian and Tibetan pilgrims today. But without sufficient evidence, we shall leave this matter aside for now.

I. 3 A Larger Context: Dharma-Seeker Monks in Tang

The Tang Dynasty saw two great monk-travelers who followed Faxian's footsteps: Xuanzang and Yijing. They were among an increasing number of monk-travelers that flourished during this period, thanks to the improved means of transportation between India and China. We have biographies of these traveler-monks in *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 (Great Tang Chronicle of Eminent Monks who Traveled to the West Seeking the Dharma), which includes sixty monks who travelled to the Western Regions, India or Southern Sea. By examining closely these precious records (see Appendix II), some surprising discoveries could emerge from the seemingly banal details.

I. 3.1 The Forgotten *Qiufa* Monks

In the popular culture, Xuanzang stands as the singular icon for all Buddhist pilgrims. In academia, scholars hardly know better than the general public and are familiar only with such famous pilgrims as Faxian and Yijing. But these figures, even though familiar to us, are the rarest cases. In reality, the percentage of pilgrims who safely returned to China is staggeringly low. For every twenty or thirty pilgrims, only one or two returned to China. It is even rarer to find returned pilgrims who would translate scriptures and write about their journey. Faxian, Xuanzang and Yijing are only the visible tip of a colossal iceberg composed of countless pilgrims who never accomplished their goal and sank to the oblivion of history.

We can find many ‘failed’ pilgrims in Yijing’s record. For instance, Daosheng 道生 (d.u.) traveled through Tibet and reached India during the last year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 era (627–649). After visiting sacred sites in India, Daosheng commenced his studies at the Nālandā University. He was known for his erudition and impressed even the king Bhaskaravarman.³³ Daosheng later settled down in a Theravada monastery and spent years studying foundational Buddhist doctrines. When Daosheng decided to return to China, he brought along many scriptures and intended to translate them upon his return. Unfortunately, when Daosheng passed through Nepal, he caught a disease and died at the age of fifty. If a master such as Daosheng had returned to China, his outstanding education would have prepared him to become an important translator and a prominent figure in the history of Buddhism.

Another lamentable traveler is Xuanhui 玄會 (d.u.). He came from a prestigious family and was still young when he reached India. In India, his scholarship won the admiration of kings from several kingdom. Like Kumārajīva (Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什, 344–413?), Xuanhui was superbly gifted and knowledgeable. He was fluent in Sanskrit and planned to bring back Buddhist texts and translate

³³ Seventh century King of the Kingdom of Kāmarūpa; see Wang, *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, 50.

them. But unfortunately, he passed away in Nepal and was barely thirty years old!

The *Vinaya* scholar-monk Huining 會寧 (d.u.) also passed away young. Huining entered the monastery as a child where he received an excellent education. He later traveled to the Kingdom of Heling 訶陵國 in Southeast Asia and translated a Buddhist *sūtra* in collaboration with a foreign monk. He later continued his travel towards India, but we do not have any record about his subsequent journey. At the time, he was only thirty-four or thirty-five years old.

Among all the cases in Yijing's record, Xuanzhao 玄照 (620?–682?) stands out as perhaps the most regrettable case. Xuanzhao met all the prerequisites to becoming a great master but an incident abruptly ended his brilliant career. Let us take a closer look at his biography, recorded at the beginning of Yijing's text. Xuanzhao came from an aristocratic family and received a good education. During the Zhenguan reign (627–649), Xuanzhao learned basic Sanskrit with Xuanzheng 玄證 (d.u.) in the Da Xingshan Monastery 大興善寺.³⁴ It is probably during this time that Xuanzhao made the resolve to search for the Dharma in India. He first reached Central Asia before heading south to Tibet where he met Princess Wencheng (625–680). The princess subsequently arranged Xuanzhao's journey to Northern India. Xuanzhao arrived in the Kingdom of Shelantuo 闍闍陀國 and stayed for four years with the financial support from the king, where he continued the studies of Sanskrit. Xuanzhao then arrived at the Mahābodhi Monastery 大菩提寺 in Bodh Gaya where he stayed for another four years and resumed his studies of *Abhidharmakośakārikā* 俱舍論. Xuanzhao finally arrived at the famous Nālandā University and studied exegeses with great masters such as Jinaprabha 勝光 (active in the second half of the seventh century) and Ratnasimha 寶師子 (active

³⁴ On Xuanzheng and Da Xingshan Monastery, see Wang, *Da Tang Xiyu qiyu fa gaoseng zhuan*, 14. Not much is known about Xuanzheng, but regarding Da Xingshan Monastery, it was an important centre for Tantric Buddhism, the practice of which required a basic knowledge of Sanskrit alphabet. For more on this monastery, see Chou, *Tantrism in China*, 294 and footnote 52.

in the second half of the seventh century). Xuanzhao studied at the university for three years with the sponsorship from the king. In his return journey, Xuanzhao passed again through Nepal and Tibet, and met again with Princess Wencheng. Sometime during the Lingde 麟德 reign (664–665), Xuanzhao returned to the eastern capital Luoyang. At the time of his return, he was still in his most vigorous years. We can calculate his age at the time based on a number of biographical information. First of all, when Xuanzhao became Xuanzheng's disciple, he was barely twenty years old. More precisely, this discipleship happened in the last year of the Zhengguan reign, based on the timing of Xuanzhao's encounter with Princess Wencheng. Additionally, according to Yijing, Xuanzhao died in Central India at over sixty years old (when Xuanzhao deceased, Yijing was present at the Nālandā University where he left in 685). From these biographical data, we could determine that Xuanzhao was born around 620, so when he returned to the capital, he should be just over forty years old.

By now, a number of similarities should have emerged clearly between Xuanzhao and other prominent pilgrims, including Xuanzang. Like his predecessors, Xuanzhao received the necessary training for becoming a master translator: he acquired language skills and mastered Buddhist doctrines. Most importantly, he safely returned to China. It only awaited him the actual work of translation. Perhaps he would also record his journey in India, thereby completing what would have been a brilliant career.

As for Xuanzhao himself, he was ready to dedicate himself to translation. Upon his return to the eastern capital Luoyang, he arranged a meeting with local Buddhist masters and received fervent requests to translate *Mūlasarvāstivādinayayasangraha* (*Sapoduo bu lüshe* 薩婆多部律攝). If history had continued as such, we would have seen another great translator. But unfortunately, an imperial decree came and squandered all the knowledge that Xuanzhao had painstakingly acquired.

The decree sent Xuanzhao on a diplomatic mission, which required him to travel immediately to the Kingdom of Kaśmīra 羯濕彌囉國; the goal was to search for the long-lived Brahman Lokāditya (Lujiayiduo 盧迦溢多) who supposedly held the secret

of longevity.³⁵ Following the order, Xuanzhao left his Sanskrit texts in the capital and departed for North India. Xuanzhao relived the dangerous journey through Tibet before he arrived in his destination where he met Lokāditya who was heading towards China with a Tang emissary. Lokāditya, in turn, told Xuanzhao that he could find the longevity elixir in West India. Xuanzhao then had to undergo another dangerous trip to the kingdom. Xuanzhao stayed in the kingdom for four years before obtaining the elixir and getting ready for his return journey. On the way, he encountered Yijing who was studying at the Nālandā University. But the remaining trip to China turned out to be extremely difficult as the route through Nepal and Tibet was obstructed. Xuanzhao tried the northern route through the Kingdom of Kāpiśa 迦畢試國 in North India but failed again. Xuanzhao had no choice but to remain in Central India where he eventually died from illness.

While we could say that an untimely death was the cause that ended the brilliant career of these masters, we should also bear in mind that there was a cultural undervaluation of pilgrimage, which was caused by the writing of the elites who depicted pilgrimage as an exclusive activity. The consequence is that a pan-religious behavior became reduced to a narrow religious-cultural phenomenon.

I. 3.2 Pilgrimage is Optional

There are signs that Yijing deliberately degraded the *chaosheng* (versus *qiufo*) pilgrimage in his *Chronicle*. A case in point is the biography of Siṃha 僧訶 at the end of the book. His biography includes no mention at all of his pilgrimage activity. The biography is concerned exclusively with his honorific name (and whether he had a Sanskrit name), his place of origin, the places he visited, his knowledge of Sanskrit and Buddhist texts as well as the location of his death.

³⁵ According to *Tang shu* 唐書 and *Tang huiyao* 唐會要, Lokāditya was known for his occult ability and caught the attention of the Civilizing General during Gaozong's reign; see Wang, *Nanhai jigui neifa zhaun*, 29 and footnote 42. For more on the long-lived Lokāditya, see Takata, *Baramon*; Chen, *Śākyamitra*.

Chaosheng pilgrimage, commonly featured in monastic biographies, becomes only an optional piece of information in Yijing's writing.

The same pattern repeats in the biography of Cittavarman (Zhiduobamo 質多跋摩). Yijing knows little about him but still records his travel motive and that he disappeared during his return journey to China via the northern route. In particular, the biography includes an elaborate episode about Cittavarman being forced to eat meat in India. It is surprising that Yijing would allocate much more space to this episode regarding Cittavarman's vegetarianism, than to the information about pilgrimage. This discrepancy is jarring and warrants our attention. Yijing omits pilgrimage again in his writing of two Tibetan pilgrims, and only records their age, family background, Sanskrit level and the monasteries in India in which they have studied.

The biography of Yunqi 運期 (d.u.) is even more interesting. Yunqi is from Jiaozhou (Vietnamese: Giao Châu) 交州 and travelled to Southeast Asia to study local dialects, Sanskrit and Buddhist doctrines. After he became a layman, he continued spreading Dharma. Interestingly, during his entire career, he never once considered travelling to the Western region. For Yunqi, pilgrimage was less important than the responsibility to learn and spread the Dharma. Yunqi's biography is a telling example of the elite attitude towards pilgrimage.

Yihui 義輝 also bears a number of resemblances with Xuanzang. Yihui was a scholar-monk and went to the Western Regions because he also encountered difficulties with comprehending certain doctrines. In his own words, 'because doctrines contain differences, I feel conflicted emotionally and desire to investigate Sanskrit texts and listen to the subtle teaching in person.'³⁶ The entire biography, however, does not mention that Yihui bore any thought or performed any action to worship sacred sites. Such omission repeats in other biographies, including the biography of Huiyan 慧琰, Lingyun 靈運 and Sengzhe 僧哲.

Some biographies do include passages on *chaosheng* pilgrimage, but they are short and apparently not the focus of the biography.

³⁶ *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2066, 51: 1.5a7-8: 但以義有異同, 情生舛互, 而欲思觀梵本, 親聽微言.

For instance, the biography of Daolin 道林, included in the second volume, starts by introducing his clerical title, hometown and family background before explaining that Daolin travelled to India because China lacked dhyana and *Vinaya* texts. Daolin first travelled to Southeast Asia where he was cordially received by the king and stayed for a couple of years. He then headed to the Kingdom of Tāmralipti 耽摩立底國 in India. He stayed in the kingdom and studied esoteric mantras and the *vinaya* texts of *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* (*Shuoyiqieyou bu li* 說一切有部律). But in the entire 725-words text, there is only one sentence which bears on his pilgrimage experience (‘Afterwards, [Daolin] pilgrimed in North-Central India and paid homage to the royal throne of vajra and the divine appearance of bodhi’).³⁷ Subsequently, Daolin spent years at the Nālandā University studying *Mahāyāna* scriptures and treatises and the Theravada text *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (*Jushe lun* 俱舍論). Daolin then continued his studies in West and South India. At this point in the biography, Yijing interjects an elaborate introduction to the esoteric mantra. Yijing even made a personal remark about his own unfulfilled desire to learn the mantra when he was a student at the Nālandā University. Yijing concluded the biography by writing that Daolin arrived in North India to learn meditation and search for *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, but was never heard back from since, except two men from Central Asia who may have told Yijing about Daolin’s whereabouts. The meticulous record on Daolin’s studies forms a salient contrast with the cursory mention of his pilgrimage in sacred sites. From this contrast, we could sense Yijing’s bias towards *chaosheng* pilgrimage.

Yijing’s book may mislead us to believe the majority of traveler-monks did not travel for the sake of *chaosheng*, but this is not the case. We will look at another survey on *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*. Despite the word ‘*qiufa*’ in the title, the text does not only include *qiufa* monks. Among sixty monks in this survey (see Appendix II), nineteen of them have an unknown reason for travel; twenty travelled for *chaosheng*; only three were *qiufa* monks. As for those who travelled for both *chaosheng* and *qiufa*, we can count only six

³⁷ T no. 2066, 51: 1.6c16–17: 後乃觀化中天, 頂禮金剛御座、菩提聖儀。

cases.³⁸ By any standard, *chaosheng* pilgrims outnumber any other type of pilgrim.

We should also realize that Yijing himself falls under the category of *qiufa* monk. He was already biased in his choice of monks. In reality, there may be more *chaosheng* pilgrims than what his writing includes. In other words, his writing is already influenced by the elite perception of *chaosheng*. Yijing, as an aspirant towards the ideal of the *qiufa* monks, he imposed this ideal on his representation of pilgrims. In this process, Yijing obscured the rich assortment of motives behind pilgrimage and, either consciously or unconsciously, overlooked or debased activities that involved any worship ritual. But as Émile Durkheim reminds us, ‘religion is a whole composed of parts—a more or less complex system of myths, dogmas, rites and ceremony’.³⁹ Ritual and ceremony are integral elements of a religion, but in the eyes of Yijing and other Buddhist elites, ritual and ceremony only come second in importance to the Buddhist doctrine.

In Yijing’s record, but also in monastic biographies in general, we can detect another phenomenon; namely, it is not necessary that a *qiufa* monk returned to China. After all, the Western Regions is the land where Buddha lived and preached. As far as the early Buddhist texts are concerned, China is considered a borderland. We can sense this attitude in the following passage, in which Faxian describes his travel companion Daozheng 道整 (d.u.):

(In India), he witnessed the monastic regulations and the dignified demeanors of monks, which he could observe everywhere. He deplorably recalled the borderland of Qin with the lacunary and faulty precepts and disciplines practiced by the monks there. Therefore, he took the oath: ‘From this time forth until I reach the state of

³⁸ Another category is those who accompanied their masters to the Western Regions; eight monks fall under this category. There are also those with unclear motives. For instance, according to the biography of Yunqi 運期, he learned Buddhist teachings in countries in Southeast Asia, but never expressed the desire to seek scriptures or worship sacred sites in the Western Regions.

³⁹ Durkheim, *Elementary*, 33.

Buddha, I vowed not to be reborn in a borderland'. He consequently remained (in India) and never returned to China.⁴⁰

沙門法則，眾僧威儀，觸事可觀。乃追歎秦土邊地，眾僧戒律殘缺，誓言自今已去至得佛，願不生邊地，故遂停不歸。

In Yijing's record, there are many travelers who died during the travel, but we also find other travelers who remained and died in India by their own choice or due to external circumstances. Dashengdeng 大乘燈 is one such example. He learned from Xuanzang for several years and probably because of the latter's influence, he longed to travel to the Western Regions. He took the sea route and arrived in Sri Lanka where he paid homage to the relic of Buddha's teeth. He then travelled to India where he remained for twelve years. During this time, he mastered Sanskrit and could recite and read Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures. Later with Yijing, they together went on a pilgrimage in various places in India. According to the biography, Dashengdeng said that he feels compelled to stay in India and could only expect to return to China in the next life. Dashengdeng eventually passed away at the Parinirvāṇa Monastery 般涅槃寺 in Kushinagar 俱尸城⁴¹. Dashengdeng represents many Chinese monks in India who, after enduring numerous hardships, felt compelled to remain in India. Their decision to stay thus ended their prospect for becoming a great translator. Sengzhe and his disciples are among these expatriated monks.⁴² They broke away from the tradition established by Faxian and other *qiufo* monks.

II. External Points of Reference: Pilgrimage in Tibet and Mongolia

In Religious Studies in the West, Pilgrimage Studies is a vibrant discipline. In comparison, Pilgrimage Studies in China is yet to emerge as

⁴⁰ *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 1.864b29–c3.

⁴¹ *Da Tang Xiyu qiufo gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2066, 51: 1.4b18–c10.

⁴² T no. 2066, 51: 2.8b25–c17.

a well-developed field. Regarding pilgrimage as a pan-religious practice, V. W. Turner made an analysis and proposed that all pilgrimages share the following features: (1) The pilgrimage site is often located in a mountain or a forest far away from the residence of the pilgrim and generally far away from the city; (2) pilgrimage is perceived as outside a regular livelihood, the fixed social system and the secular world; (3) all marks of stratification, such as social or moral status, are temporarily erased; all pilgrims are equal; (4) pilgrimage is a personal choice but also a religious behavior that involves faith and asceticism; (5) pilgrims share a common matrix of values that transcend the regulations of religion and transcend even the political and ethnical demarcations.⁴³ In the case of Buddhism, Turner's observation does not seem entirely suitable, but we should keep in mind that our knowledge about Chinese pilgrimage came from Chinese Buddhist sources whose accuracy in regard to reality should be put into doubt. We should also analyze the cultural factors that influenced the Buddhist authors to intentionally distort the reality of pilgrimage.

Tibetan Buddhists are the most numerous among Buddhist pilgrims. In our studies of Chinese pilgrims, they could serve as a point of reference.⁴⁴ A large number of Western scholarships on Tibetan pilgrimage has revealed that despite modernization, Tibetans retain their earlier Buddhist paradigm relatively well and continue to value pilgrimage as a duty and an aspiration in their life.⁴⁵ Each pilgrimage is a significant life event that involves years of preparation with the entire family. Each year, over a million Tibetans will expend a costly sum of their savings in order to travel to Lhasa and other sacred places.⁴⁶ During the pilgrimage, a Tibetan would perform a number of rituals, including reciting mantra, hanging prayer flags and pros-

⁴³ Turner, *Ritual*, 166.

⁴⁴ According to the 2001 population census, there are 5.41 million Tibetans in China. In addition to a small number of Tibetans who hold Bon, Muslim and Christian faith, the majority are Buddhists; see Zeng, 'Baogao'.

⁴⁵ For an overview of the Western scholarship on the topic, consult this Chinese article: Cai, 'Fenxi'.

⁴⁶ Muchi, 'Xianzhuang'.

trating. Tibetan pilgrimage, comparing to that of other kinds, is more demanding physically, psychologically and financially.⁴⁷ Besides, as a Tibetan, one is deeply influenced by one's religious environment and has internalized two existential needs: the need to repent in order to overcome the difficulties in life and the need to accumulate merit which prepare for their eventual enlightenment. Pilgrimage, in the mind of Tibetan, is the most effective means to fulfill both needs, which explains why pilgrimage is the most commonly practiced ritual in Tibetan Buddhism.⁴⁸

II.1 Causes behind the Separation of Two Pilgrimages: Social Class, Pilgrimage Distance and Finance

With Tibetan pilgrimage and other forms of pilgrimage as our point of reference, we can now return to the pilgrimage tradition established by Faxian and his followers and ask some essential questions: what intention did they bear in mind when they started the journey? In other words, what were the needs, the motives and the causes behind the pilgrimage? What spiritual experiences did they undergo? What personal transformation has occurred by the end of their journey? What was their gender, age, origin, religious sect, social status and intellectual disposition, etc.; and how did these factors influence the way they chose the site for pilgrimage? How did the style of the pilgrimage (timing, material condition, pattern of movement, etc.) differ from those of other religious groups? If we take into account the above questions in our studies of the tradition established by Faxian, Yijing and Xuanzang, we should be able to see the differences that set Chinese pilgrimage apart from its foreign counterparts.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Chen, 'Xinli', 18–20.

⁴⁸ Chen, 'Xinli', 13.

⁴⁹ I will not venture deeper into this topic for the time being, but hope that others could. At least on the surface, we could see a number of differences between two forms of pilgrimages. For instance, Mongolian and Tibetan pilgrims pursue the singular goal of pilgrimage; and do not aspire to learn Buddhist teachings nor to retrieve texts, unlike *qiufa* monks such as Faxian. For them,

The anthropologist of religion, Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) has made the following remark about religion:

Religious beliefs proper are always shared by a definite group that professes them and that practices the corresponding rites. Not only are they individually accepted by all members of that group, but they also belong to the group and unify it. The individuals who comprise the group feel joined to one another by the fact of common faith.⁵⁰

Interestingly, in the case of Faxian, Xuanzang and Yijing, even though their tradition is biased towards the ritual aspect of pilgrimage, they created their own ‘ritual’ through the writing and inspired later Buddhists to imitate their ‘ritual’. From this perspective, we can say that pilgrimage is not only about religious faith but represents a way to reinforce one’s religious and social identity. By imitating a role model, one inherits one’s tradition. In Faxian’s case, we can thus say that Faxian was a model later imitated by Xuanzang, Yijing and other scholar-monks. As the tradition was repeated and reinforced by more travelers in history, it eventually morphed into a part of the collective memory shared by both Chinese Buddhists and laymen.

repentance and transformation are at the heart of the pilgrimage experience, which are not obvious components of Chinese pilgrimage. In terms of gender and age, Tibetan and Mongolian pilgrims show a wider spectrum than their Chinese counterparts, since pilgrimage encompasses almost the entire population in Mongolia and Tibet. In Chinese Buddhism, pilgrims were mostly young men, even though there were occasionally senior pilgrims such as Faxian (his age, however, is still debatable). In regard to the social and education level, Tibetan and Mongolian pilgrims also show more diversity than Chinese pilgrims. Besides, they also prefer more arduous mode of pilgrimage, such as prostration and walking, whereas Chinese pilgrims prefer the convenient means of transportation. In other words, Chinese pilgrims were not concerned with increasing the difficulty of travel as a means to satisfy their religious need. As for other more subtle differences between Tibetan and Chinese Buddhists, a more nuanced analysis would be required.

⁵⁰ Durkheim, *Form*, 41.

It is also important to realize that two kinds of pilgrims—the elite monks (e.g. Faxian, Xuanzang, Yijing) and non-elite Buddhists—both view their respective pilgrimage as honorable. Each pilgrimage evolved to become a micro-culture within the general Buddhist culture and served as a ritual to reinforce a collective identity.⁵¹ This is not only true for mass believers who strengthened their Buddhist identity through pilgrimage, as exemplified by Tibetans, but it is also true for Buddhist elites who cemented a common identity by pursuing the goal of *qiu fa*.

For Faxian and other elite Buddhists, their pilgrimage seems like purely an intellectual pursuit, but some subtle motives were involved at a deeper level, such as faith, repentance and the longing for religious protection. These motives, however, gradually lost their relevance in the writing. As this happened, the pattern of pilgrimage in China and India also shifted. In other words, intellectual elites reduced the sacredness and the ritual function that tended to be associated with India (though it is impossible to completely efface its sacredness; it is only relatively weakened in comparison to Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism). The elite representation of pilgrimage in turn influenced the non-elite population and compromised the general perception of India as being sacred. As Indian sacredness decreased, the sacred sites within China rose to prominence and filled the vacuum of sacred geography now unsatisfied by India. Cultural factors such as the cultural and ethnical pride and identity further fostered this rise of Chinese sacred geography.

II.2 Causes Underlying the Differences: Factor of Social Class, Geographical Distance and Wealth Transfer in Pilgrimage

We should also be mindful that the participants of the *qiu fa* tradition belong to a specific social class and that the *qiu fa* tradition involves a secular dimension in addition to the sacred one. On this point, we can compare Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist pilgrims. In her studies on Mongol pilgrims in Mount Wutai, Isabelle Charleux pointed out

⁵¹ Chen, 'Xinli', 82. Chen commented on the collective identity among Tibetan pilgrims.

that not only Mongolian aristocrats and lamas travelled to Mount Wutai, but so did Mongolian commoners.⁵² What caused this difference between Tibetan and Chinese pilgrimage? First of all, the Buddhist population in Tibet and Mongolia is broader than in China. In Chinese Buddhism, even at its peak of popularity, the percentage of Buddhist followers in relation to the overall Chinese population still lagged far behind the percentage in Tibet; and as for (historical) Mongolia, Buddhism encompassed almost the entire population. Even in modern times, the majority of Tibetans and Mongolians still remain Buddhists, at odds with the situation in ancient China where only elite Buddhists possess the financial and material means and the will to travel to India. Isabelle Charleux, after a meticulous historical and anthropological investigation, concluded that '[Buddhism] played a more important role than what we have previously thought [in Mongolia]'.⁵³ This popularity of Buddhist faith in Mongolia fostered the popular participation in pilgrimage among all Mongolians. On the other hand, even though Chinese Buddhists continuously travelled to India during the several hundred years lasting from the Six Dynasties period to the end of the Northern Song Dynasty, the popularity of pilgrimage never reached the same extent as in Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism.

When we study the pilgrimage phenomenon, we should place the *qiufo* tradition within a large context that includes other Buddhist and non-Buddhist traditions. At the same time, we should also investigate the act of pilgrimage itself and discover its various dimensions. After all, pilgrimage is not only a performance of rite or a pursuit of intellect; it also involves the consumption and transference of a large sum of wealth. Mongolian pilgrimage, for example, always required the transference of commerce, wealth and commodities.⁵⁴ Besides, different routes of pilgrimage demand different levels of material preparedness. The varying demands, as a result, stratifies Buddhist pilgrims according to their ability to fulfill them. On this last point,

⁵² Charleux, *Nomads*, 4.

⁵³ Charleux, 60.

⁵⁴ Charleux, 40.

we could still consult Charleux's studies. She concluded that all Mongolians, regardless of the social class, could go on a pilgrimage, but Charleux also pointed out that the pilgrimage destination varied. For Mongolian lamas, devout laymen and businessmen, they were willing to undertake a long journey, but the general population and women preferred nearby sites. Women, especially, were limited by their physical stamina so they favored Mount Wutai.⁵⁵ In short, pilgrimage requires varying degrees of financial fitness. This reality stratified pilgrims according to their social status.

Bearing the above discussion in mind, we can detect a pattern in Chinese pilgrimage: India-bound Chinese pilgrims generally travelled a longer distance than their Tibetan and Mongolian counterparts, even when compared to Mongolians who travelled to Lhasa. Since longer travel demanded more physical stamina, religious devotion, Buddhist knowledge and financial capitals, pilgrimage in China necessarily remained the privilege of the elites who, in their turn, dictated the ideal of pilgrimage in their writing and influenced the future pilgrims. Lastly, it is worth pointing out the domestic pilgrimage in China differed from the elite-centered international pilgrimage. Domestic pilgrimage required less physical, financial and intellectual capacity, and therefore bears more similarities with the Tibetan and Mongolian pilgrimage.

Conclusion: How Faithful is the Written History to History Itself?

Pilgrimage is not a phenomenon tied to a particular Buddhist tradition and pervades other Buddhist and non-Buddhist religions. Chinese pilgrimage, however, is somewhat unusual. It is a pilgrimage tradition with extensive written records which, through writing, morphed into a rigid form and influenced the way later Buddhists performed pilgrimage. It is an elitist vision of pilgrimage that emphasizes the goal of seeking the Buddhist teaching. The present study has closely analyzed the sources that bear on the monks during the

⁵⁵ Charleux, *Nomads*, 62.

Jin and Tang Dynasty; and also established Tibetan and Mongolian pilgrimage as the point of references to study Chinese pilgrimage. By now, hopefully it has become clear that Faxian, Xuanzang, Yijing and other *qiufa* monks have created their own tradition of pilgrimage which they established through the authority of their writing. The tradition is also responsible for concealing the true complexity of Chinese pilgrimage, chiefly due to the overpowering cultural trend dictated by Buddhist elites, but also due to Indian and Chinese geography. In short, this tradition, as well as the written records that it spawned, only reflects the elite perception of history rather than the actual history.

Even among the elite pilgrims who subscribed to the *qiufa* ideal, they still showed substantial differences in the style of their pilgrimage, because of their diverse cultural and social backgrounds (e.g. financial capacity). In the analysis of the Jin and Tang pilgrims, we discovered that some lesser-known pilgrims broke away from the tradition pioneered by Faxian. In fact, they shared more similarities with general Buddhist followers. At this point, we need to ask an apparent question: to what extent does the mainstream history of Buddhism, authored by Buddhist elites, reflect the true picture of Buddhist activities at the time?

Even among Buddhist elites who shared a common vision of pilgrimage, their actual pilgrimage still differed due to the differences in their culture and financial capacity. We could identify a number of *qiufa* monks during Jin and Tang whose pilgrimage seemed quite different from Faxian, Xuanzang and other Buddhist elites, and shared more similarities with non-elite Buddhist pilgrims. Given these jarring observations, we have to question the accuracy of the historical account, written by Buddhist elites, in relation to the reality. Some studies have compared inscription with elites' writing and revealed the discrepancy between the two.⁵⁶ The present study focuses on the representation of pilgrimage in the Buddhist elite writing and discovers a similar deviation from reality. Then how much faith could we still place on the narrative in the Buddhist texts? This is a question that needs further meditation.

⁵⁶ Hou, *Zaoxiang ji*.

Appendix I

Qiufa Monks During Jin and Tang

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
1	朱士行	誓志捐身, 遠迎《大品》	不明, 學問僧 ⁵⁷	不明	到達西域, 未返	無	皆無
2	竺法護	求大乘佛經 ⁵⁸	月氏人, 學問僧	精通 ⁵⁹	到達西域, 又返回了中原	無	大譯經師, 無行記
3	康法朗	西天朝聖 ⁶⁰	不明	似通西域文字 ⁶¹	到西域折返	無	皆無
4、5、6	慧常、進行、慧辨	似為取經 ⁶²	不明	不明	曾到西域, 似返回了中原 ⁶³	不明	慧常曾筆受《比丘尼戒本》 ⁶⁴

⁵⁷ *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2145, 55: 13.97a21–22: 常謂入道資慧, 故專務經典。

⁵⁸ T no. 2145, 55: 13.97c25–26: 方等深經蘊在西域。護乃慨然發憤, 志弘大道。遂隨師至西域。

⁵⁹ T no. 2145, 55: 13.97c27–28: 外國異言三十有六, 書亦如之。護皆遍學, 貫綜古訓, 音義字體, 無不備曉。

⁶⁰ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 4.347a28–b2: 嘗讀經見雙樹鹿苑之處, 鬱而歎曰: “吾已不值聖人, 寧可不覩聖處。”於是誓往迦夷, 仰瞻遺迹。

⁶¹ T no. 2059, 50: 4.347a28b15: 唯朗更遊諸國, 研尋經論。

⁶² These three figures are not recorded in monastic biographies but are only mentioned in some catalogues; see Zhang, *Sengren yanjiu*, 13.

⁶³ Huichang was involved in translating *Bhikṣuṇīs Precepts* 比丘尼大戒; see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2145, 55: 11.81b24.

⁶⁴ T no. 2145, 55: 11.81b24.

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
7、 8	僧純、 曇允	似為取 經 ⁶⁵	不明	不明	曾到西域， 後返回 中原	無	皆無 ⁶⁶
9、 10	法領、 法淨	受命取 經 ⁶⁷	不明	不明	曾到西域， 後返回 中原	無	皆無 ⁶⁸
11	曇猛	不明	不明	不明	曾到中印 度，并返 回中原 ⁶⁹	無	皆無
12	智嚴	志欲廣 求經法	不明	有譯經， 精通	曾二次到 印度，第 二次未能 返回	無	有譯經， ⁷⁰ 無行記

⁶⁵ These two figures are not recorded in monastic biographies but are only mentioned in some catalogues; see Zhang, *Sengren yanjiu*, 13.

⁶⁶ These two figures brought back *Ten Recitations Bhikṣuṇī Pratimokṣasūtra* 十誦比丘尼戒, which was later translated by Tanmoshi 曇摩侍 (active between 351–394).

⁶⁷ Both are Huiyuan's 慧遠 (334–416) disciple. They were instructed by Huiyuan to seek scriptures in the Western Regions; see Zhang, *Sengren yanjiu*, 14.

⁶⁸ Faling and Fajing brought back over 200 Mahāyāna texts, but as far as our current knowledge goes, only the 'thirty-six thousand verses of the first section of *Huayan jing*' 《華嚴》前分三萬六千偈 were translated by Buddhahadra 佛馱跋陀羅 (359–429).

⁶⁹ *Shijia fanzhi*, T no. 2088, 51: 2.969b11–12: 後燕建興末，沙門曇猛者，從大秦路入達王舍城。及返之日，從陀歷道而還東夏。

⁷⁰ *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2145, 55: 13.12c5–9. The text records that Zhiyan and others together translated three *bu* and eleven *juan*.

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
13	寶雲	誓欲躬觀靈跡, 廣尋群經	不明	精通 ⁷¹	到印度并返回中土	有 ⁷²	有譯經, 無行記
14	智猛	朝聖兼取經 ⁷³	不明	有譯經當精通	是, 是	有	有譯經, 有傳記 ⁷⁴
15	曇纂 ⁷⁵	不明	不明	不明	是, 是	不明	不明
16	慧叡	不明	不明	不明	是, 是	不明	皆無
17	沮渠京聲	不明	北涼王族	譯經師	曾至西域, 後歸中土	無	有譯經, ⁷⁶ 無行記
18	釋法勇 (25人)	受法顯啓發西行求經 ⁷⁷	不明	譯經師	曾至印度, 後坐船返回廣州	有	有譯經, 有行記

⁷¹ *T* no. 2145, 55: 15.113a13–14: 雲在外域遍學胡書。天竺諸國音字詰訓悉皆貫練。

⁷² *T* no. 2145, 55: 15.113a11–13: 遂歷于闐天竺諸國備觀靈異。乃經羅刹之野。聞天鼓之音。釋迦影跡多所瞻禮。

⁷³ *T* no. 2145, 55: 15.113 b6–7: 每見外國道人說釋迦遺跡, 又聞方等眾經, 布在西域。常慨然有感, 馳心遐外。

⁷⁴ Zhimeng not only translated scriptures but, according to *Suishu* 隋書, he also wrote the one-volume *Youxing waiguo zhuan* 遊行外國傳。

⁷⁵ There were in total sixteen travellers; nine decided to return to China when crossing the Pamir Mountains and the remaining travellers all deceased in India, with the exception of Zhimeng and Yunzuan who safely returned to China.

⁷⁶ According to the *juan 2* of *Chu sanzang ji ji*, he translated four scriptures that he had acquired in the Western Regions; see Zhang, *Sengren yanjiu*, 46.

⁷⁷ *Chu sanzang ji ji*, *T* no. 55: 15.113c18–19: 常聞沙門法顯、寶雲諸僧, 躬踐佛國。

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
19	道泰	西行求經 ⁷⁸	不明	精通 ⁷⁹	曾至印度，并循北道返回	無	有譯經，無行記
20	曇學等八僧	西行求經 ⁸⁰	不明	精通 ⁸¹	至西域而返	無	有譯經，無行記
21	道普	不明	高昌人，不明	精通 ⁸²	曾至印度，後第二次路中身亡	有	皆無
22	法盛(29人)	受智猛啓發 ⁸³	不明	不明	曾至印度，後返中土	有	無譯經，有行記 ⁸⁴
23	僧表	欲供養佛鉢 ⁸⁵	不明	不明	曾至印度，後返中土	有	皆無

⁷⁸ *T* no. 2145, 55: 10. 74a15–16: 往以漢土方等既備，幽宗粗暢。其所未練，唯三藏九部。故杖策冒嶮。

⁷⁹ *T* no. 2145, 55: 10.74a16–17: 綜攬梵文，義承高旨。

⁸⁰ *Chu sanzang ji ji*, *T* no. 55: 9.67c13: 結志遊方，遠尋經典。

⁸¹ *T* no. 55: 9. 67c16–17: 競習胡音，折以漢義。精思通譯，各書所聞。

⁸² *Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2059, 50: 2.337a29–b1: 善梵書，備諸國語。

⁸³ *Meisō den shō*, *X* no. 1523, 77: 1.358c17–18: 遇沙門智猛。從外國還。述諸神迹。因有志焉。

⁸⁴ *Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2059, 50: 2.337 b2–3: 復有沙門法盛，亦經往外國立傳，凡有四卷。This travelogue, however, is no longer extant.

⁸⁵ *Meisō den shō*, *X* no. 1523, 77: 358b13–16: 聞弗樓沙國有佛鉢，鉢今在罽賓臺寺。恒有五百羅漢供養鉢，鉢經騰空至涼洲。有十二羅漢隨鉢，停六年後還罽賓。僧表恨不及見，乃至西踰葱嶺，欲致誠禮。

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
24	慧攬 (覽) ⁸⁶	供養羅漢、禮敬佛跡	不明	不明	曾至印度，後返中土	有	皆無
25	道榮 (榮)	不明	不明	不明	曾至印度，後返中土	不明	無譯經，有傳一卷 ⁸⁷
26	法獻	受僧猛啓發，欲行朝聖 ⁸⁸	不明	不明	未至印度，後返中土	不明	無譯經，有佛牙記一卷

Travelogues of this period:

1. 法顯《佛國記》；
2. 寶雲《游履外國傳》，今佚；
3. 僧曇景《外國傳》五卷，見於《隋志》，今佚；
4. 智猛《遊行外國傳》一卷，今佚；
5. 釋法勇(曇無竭)《歷國傳記》，今佚；
6. 道普《游履外國傳》，今佚；
7. 法盛《歷國傳》二卷（《釋迦方志》載四卷）《隋志》著錄，今佚；
8. 道榮(道榮)，《道榮傳》一卷（見於《隋志》），今佚。

⁸⁶ *Meisō den shō* uses 攬; *Gaoseng zhuan* uses 覽.

⁸⁷ *Shijia fangzhi*, T no. 2088, 51: 2.969c4–6: 後魏太武末年 (451) 沙門道榮從疏勒道入，經懸度，到僧迦施國。及反，還尋故道，著傳一卷。

⁸⁸ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 2.411b28–29: 先聞猛公西遊，備囑靈異，乃誓欲忘身，往觀聖迹。

Appendix II
 Survey of *The Great Tang Biographies of Eminent Monks who Sought the Dharma in the Western Regions* 大唐西域求法高僧傳

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
1	玄照	掛想祇園	世家出身	精通 ⁸⁹	是、否 ⁹⁰	有	皆無
2	道希	觀化中天	門傳禮義、家襲摺紳	精通 ⁹¹	是、否 ⁹²	有	皆無
3	師鞭	不明	不明	精通 ⁹³	是、否 ⁹⁴	不明	皆無
4	阿難耶跋摩	追求正教，親禮聖蹤	新羅人，不明	似通 ⁹⁵	是、否 ⁹⁶	有	皆無

⁸⁹ He learned Sanskrit basics from Xuanzheng 玄證 in Da Xingshan Monastery and later studied scriptures and precepts and continued Sanskrit in the Kingdom of Jālandhara. Finally, he became the disciple of well-known masters at the Nālandā University.

⁹⁰ He died in the Kingdom of Anmoluopo 菴摩羅跋國 in Central India. About this kingdom, see Wang, *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, 23. In footnote 33, the location of the kingdom is discussed but not determined.

⁹¹ 爛陀寺頻學大乘，住輪婆伴娜專功律藏，復習聲明，頗盡綱目 (*shengming* 聲明 refers to a systematic studies of Indian languages).

⁹² *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2066, 51: 1.2b10: 菴摩羅跋國遭疾而終。

⁹³ *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2066, 51: 1.2b15: 善呪禁，閑梵語。

⁹⁴ T no. 2066, 51: 1.2b15–18: 卒於菴摩羅割跋城，當即菴摩羅跋國。Also see Wang, *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, 40 and footnote 3.

⁹⁵ T no. 2066, 51: 1.2b20–21: 住那爛陀寺，多閑律論，抄寫眾經。

⁹⁶ T no. 2066, 51: 1.2b21–22: 痛矣歸心，所期不契。

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
5	慧業	不明	新羅人, 不明	似通 ⁹⁷	是、否 ⁹⁸	有	皆無
6	玄太	禮菩提樹、詳檢經論	新羅人, 不明	不明	是、不明 ⁹⁹	有	皆無
7	玄恪	至大覺寺朝聖	新羅人, 不明	不明	是、否 ¹⁰⁰	有	皆無
8、9	二新羅僧	不明	不明	不明	否、否 ¹⁰¹	未及	皆無
10	佛陀達摩	周觀聖迹	觀貨速利國人、不明	似通 ¹⁰²	是、不明 ¹⁰³	有	皆無
11	道方	不明	出身不明, 文化似不高 ¹⁰⁴	似通 ¹⁰⁵	是、否 ¹⁰⁶	有	皆無

⁹⁷ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.2b27: 於那爛陀, 久而聽讀。

⁹⁸ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.2b26–29. 據那爛陀寺僧所言, 其終於此寺, 年將六十餘 (According to a monk at the Nālanda University, he died in this monastery at over 60 years old).

⁹⁹ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.2c4–6: 後歸唐國, 莫知所終。

¹⁰⁰ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.2c7–8: 既伸禮敬, 遇疾而亡。

¹⁰¹ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.2c10–12: 未至印度, 遇疾俱亡。

¹⁰² *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.2c13–17: 本為中亞人, 晚年又生活在印度, 但不能確定 (He was Central Asian and spent his last years in India, so it is not certain whether he spoke any Indic language).

¹⁰³ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.2c13–17.

¹⁰⁴ *Da Tang Xiyu qiyu gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.2c21: 不習經書。

¹⁰⁵ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.2c20. He has lived in the Mahābodhi Monastery for years, so it is likely that he knew Indic languages.

¹⁰⁶ According to *Yijing*, he remained in Nepal and never returned to China.

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
12	道生	不明	不明	精通 ¹⁰⁷	是、否 ¹⁰⁸	有	皆無
13	常愍 ¹⁰⁹	冀得遠詣西方禮如來所行聖迹	不明	似不通 ¹¹⁰	否、否 ¹¹¹	未及	皆無
15	末底僧訶	不明	不明	粗通 ¹¹²	是、否 ¹¹³	不明	皆無
16	玄會	不明	出身名門	精通 ¹¹⁴	是、否 ¹¹⁵	有	皆無
17	質多跋摩	不明	不明	粗通 ¹¹⁶	是、不明 ¹¹⁷	不明	皆無
18、 19	泥波羅國二人	不明	吐蕃公主孀母之息	善梵語并梵書	是、不明	不明	皆無

¹⁰⁷ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.2c23–29. He was a scholar-monk of Nālandā University who was revered by Bhāskaravarman (600–650), but died on his way back to China.

¹⁰⁸ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.2c23–29.

¹⁰⁹ His biography also records a disciple of his, but we do not know anything about him other than the fact that they both died, so I did not include him in the survey.

¹¹⁰ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.3a2–6. He was a follower of Pure land Buddhism and not a scholar-monk, and he went to India purely for pilgrimage.

¹¹¹ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.3a2–6. Died on his way to India.

¹¹² *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.3a29: 少閑梵語.

¹¹³ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.3a29–b1: 過泥波羅國, 遇患身死.

¹¹⁴ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.3b11: 梵韻清徹.

¹¹⁵ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.3b11–12: 到泥波羅國, 不幸而卒.

¹¹⁶ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.3b20–22: 少閑梵語.

¹¹⁷ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.3b20–22: 覆取北路而歸, 莫知所至.

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
20	隆法師	欲觀化中天	不明	精通 ¹¹⁸	否、否 ¹¹⁹	未及	皆無
21	明遠	為求佛法 ¹²⁰	出身不明，卻是學問僧 ¹²¹	不	不明 ¹²² 、否	未及	皆無
22、 23、 24	義朗、 智岸、 義玄	披求異典、頂禮佛牙	義朗為學問僧，另二人不明	不明	不明、否 ¹²³	有	皆無
25	會寧	志存演法，結念西方	出身不明，為學問僧 ¹²⁴	精通梵文，有譯經事	不明、否 ¹²⁵	不及	有譯經、無著述

¹¹⁸ *Da Tang Xiyu qiufu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2066, 51: 1.3b27–28: 誦得梵本法華經。

¹¹⁹ T no. 2066, 51: 1.3b27–28 Before he reached India, he died from illness in the Kingdom of Gandhāra.

¹²⁰ T no. 2066, 51: 1.3c6: 既慨聖教陵遲，遂乃振錫南遊。

¹²¹ T no. 2066, 51: 1.3c4–5: 善《中》、《百》，議莊周，早遊七澤之間。後歷三吳之表，重學經論，更習定門。

¹²² T no. 2066, 51: 1.3c7–12. In Sri Lanka, he was humiliated by the fact that he had attempted to steal Buddha's teeth. Later it was heard that he wanted to go to Central India but was never heard from since.

¹²³ T no. 2066, 51: 1.3c25–4a1. Zhi'an died in the journey; the other two were unknown for their subsequent travel.

¹²⁴ T no. 2066, 51: 1.4a4: 薄善經論，尤精律典。

¹²⁵ T no. 2066, 51: 1.4a16–21. According to Yijing, he may have died during his journey from Southeast Asia to India at the age of thirty-four or thirty-five years old.

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
26	運期	未曾存念西方朝聖 ¹²⁶	不明, 為學問僧 ¹²⁷	善崑崙音, 頗知梵語	從未想過前往西方, 一直在南海弘法	無	皆無
27	木叉提婆	不明	不明	不明	是、否 ¹²⁸	有	皆無
28	窺冲	隨師前往	不明, 不明	善誦梵經	是、否 ¹²⁹	有	皆無
29	慧琰	隨師前往	不明	不明	是、不明 ¹³⁰	不明	皆無
30	信胄	不明	不明	不明	是、否 ¹³¹	有	皆無
31	智行	不明	不明	不明	是、否 ¹³²	有	皆無

¹²⁶ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4a22–26. This figure is particularly noteworthy. The text only mentions that he travelled from Jiaozhou to Southeast Asia to learn Buddhist teachings and that he later became a layman, but nowhere in the text mentions that he wanted to pilgrim to the Western Regions.

¹²⁷ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4a22–26. The text mentions that he contributed greatly to spreading Dharma in Southeast Asia and that he was proficient in several languages.

¹²⁸ *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4a27–29. He passed away in the Mahābodhi Monastery at the age of 24 or 25.

¹²⁹ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4b5: 卒於竹園精舍.

¹³⁰ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4b7–8: 隨師到僧訶羅國, 遂停彼國, 莫辯存亡.

¹³¹ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4b10–13: 參禮之後, 遇疾而終.

¹³² *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4b16–17: 居信者寺而卒.

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
32	大乘燈	思禮聖蹤, 情契西極	不明, 為學問僧 ¹³³	頗閑梵語	是、否 ¹³⁴	有	皆無
33	僧伽跋摩	與使人相隨禮觀西國	不明	不明	是、否 ¹³⁵	有	皆無
34、 35	彼岸、 智岸	歸心勝理, 遂乃觀化中天	不明	不明	否、否 ¹³⁶	未及	皆無
36	曇潤	不明	不明, 為學問僧 ¹³⁷	不明	否、否 ¹³⁸	未及	皆無
37	義輝	解決義理難題 ¹³⁹	不明, 為學問僧 ¹⁴⁰	不明	是、否 ¹⁴¹	無	皆無

¹³³ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4b21–22: 於慈恩寺三藏法師玄奘處進受具戒, 居京數載, 頗覽經書。

¹³⁴ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4c13–14: 在俱尸城般涅槃寺而歸寂滅。

¹³⁵ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4c21–24: 奉使卒於交州。

¹³⁶ *Da Tang Xiyu qiyu fa gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4c28. Both died from illness during the journey to India.

¹³⁷ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4c29–5a1: 善呪術, 學玄理, 探律典, 翫醫明。

¹³⁸ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.5a3–4: 至訶陵北渤盆國遇疾而終。

¹³⁹ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.5a5–8. His reason for pilgrimage is similar to Xuanzang. He wanted to travel to India ‘because doctrines contain differences, I feel conflicted emotionally and desire to investigate Sanskrit texts and listen to the subtle teaching in person.’

¹⁴⁰ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.5a5–8: 理思鉤深, 博學為懷, 尋真是務。聽《攝論》、《俱舍》等頗亦有功。

¹⁴¹ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.5a9–10. 到郎迦成國, 嬰疾而亡。

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
38、 39、 40	大唐三僧	不明	不明	不明	是、不明 ¹⁴²	有	皆無
41	慧輪	奉勅隨玄照師西行以充侍者	不明，為學問僧 ¹⁴³	善梵言	是、不明 ¹⁴⁴	有	皆無
42	道琳	定門鮮入，律典頗虧。遂欲尋流討源，遠遊西國	不明，為學問僧 ¹⁴⁵	經三年學梵語	是、否 ¹⁴⁶	有	皆無
43	曇光	南遊溟渤，望禮西天	不明	不明	是、否 ¹⁴⁷	疑未及	皆無
44	佚名唐僧	不明	不明	不明	不明	不明	皆無

¹⁴² T no. 2066, 51: 1.5a12–13: 今亦弗委存亡。

¹⁴³ T no. 2066, 51: 1.5a22: 既善梵言，薄閑《俱舍》。

¹⁴⁴ T no. 2066, 51: 1.5a22–23: Yijing records that when he himself returned to China, Huilun was still in India and was almost forty years old.

¹⁴⁵ *Da Tang Xiyu qiyu fa gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2066, 51: 2.6c15–18. He was extremely knowledgeable, having systematically studied *Vinaya* and was proficient in tantric Dharani.

¹⁴⁶ T no. 2066, 51: 2.7a18–19. It is said that he encountered looters in the journey and had to return to North India.

¹⁴⁷ T no. 2066, 51: 2.7a23–24. He disappeared. Yijing suspected that he may have had an accident.

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
45	慧命	仰祥河而牒想, 念竹苑以翹心	不明, 為學問僧 ¹⁴⁸	不明	否、是 ¹⁴⁹	未及	皆無
46	玄達	不明	令族高宗, 兼文兼史	不明	否 ¹⁵⁰	未及	皆無
47	善行	義淨門人	不明	不明	否、是 ¹⁵¹	未及	皆無
48	靈運	追尋聖跡	不明	極閑梵語	是、是	不明	皆無
49	僧哲	思慕聖蹤	不明, 為學問僧 ¹⁵²	存情梵本, 頗有日新矣	是、否 ¹⁵³	不明	皆無
50	玄遊	僧哲弟子	不明	不明	是、不明	不明	皆無

¹⁴⁸ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.7a29. The text says his “studies concerns both inner and outer (dimension)”.

¹⁴⁹ *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.7b1–2. He encountered dangers in the journey and had to return to China.

¹⁵⁰ *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.7b17–20. He fell ill once he arrived in Guangzhou, where he soon died from illness.

¹⁵¹ *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.8b17–18: 隨其師義淨到室利佛逝, 後因病隨船返回。

¹⁵² *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.8b25–28: 幼敦高節, 早託玄門。而解悟之機, 實有灌瓶之妙; 談論之銳, 固當重席之美。沈深律苑, 控總禪畦。中百兩門, 久提綱目; 莊劉二籍, 亟盡樞關。

¹⁵³ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.8c13–15. According to Yijing, when he returned to China, Sengzhe still remained in India and was unknown for his subsequent journey.

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
51	智弘	欲觀禮西天	王玄策之姪, 為學問僧 ¹⁵⁴	諷誦梵本, 月故日新. 閑聲論, 能梵書	是、不明 ¹⁵⁵	有	似無譯經?
52	無行	不明	不明, 為學問僧 ¹⁵⁶	留學多年, 精通梵語	是、不明 ¹⁵⁷		有譯經, 無著述
53、 54、 55	法振、 乘悟、 乘如	思禮聖迹, 有意西遊	不明, 似為學問僧 ¹⁵⁸	不明	否、是 ¹⁵⁹	未及	皆無
56	大津	為巡禮西方	不明	解崑崙語, 頗習梵書	否、是 ¹⁶⁰	未及	皆無

¹⁵⁴ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.8c20–9a12. He is “excellent with writing” 頗工文筆 and has stayed at the Nālandā University for many years.

¹⁵⁵ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.9a19: 不知今在何所.

¹⁵⁶ *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.9a23–c4. He has received excellent education prior to joining the monastic order. He later learned after several masters and is an exemplary scholar-monk.

¹⁵⁷ *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.9c5–6: 疑取北天, 歸乎故里.

¹⁵⁸ *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.10a16–18. *Yijing* mentions that ‘his learning includes both inside and outside; and his wisdom profound’ 學窮內外, 智思鉤深. But we do not know whom of the three figures this saying is referring to.

¹⁵⁹ *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.10a20–24. Except for Shengru, the other two decided to return to China before they reached India and passed away during the return journey. Only Shengru safely returned to China.

¹⁶⁰ *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.10b2–9. He never reached India but brought *Yijing*’s texts back to China.

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
附1	貞固	有意欲向師子洲頂禮佛牙, 觀諸聖迹, 後受義淨鼓動	為學問僧	似通梵文 ¹⁶¹	否、是 ¹⁶²	未及	皆無
附2	僧伽提婆	貞固弟子	官宦出身, 年幼知書	解骨崙語, 頗學梵書	否、否 ¹⁶³	未及	皆無
附3	道宏	與貞固一起幫義淨取梵本	商人出身, 年幼知書	似通梵文 ¹⁶⁴	否、是	未及	皆無
附4	法朗	同前	家傳禮義門襲冠纓, 年幼知書	似通梵文	否、否 ¹⁶⁵	未及	皆無

¹⁶¹ *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.12b1–2. The following four figures, according to Yijing.

¹⁶² *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.12b2–4. The following four figures, according to Yijing, Zhenggu and Daohong returned to China but Falang passed away in the Kingdom of Heling. As for Sengqietipo 僧伽提婆, see the following footnote.

¹⁶³ *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.12b2–4. 此人後戀居佛逝, 不返番禺。

¹⁶⁴ *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.12a12: 隨譯隨寫。

¹⁶⁵ *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.12b2–3: Falang died in Heling Country 訶陵國。

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Abbreviations

- B* *Dazang jing bubian* 大藏經補編. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Lan.
- T* *Taishō shinsū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.
- X* *Manji zoku zōkyō* 卅字續藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, *Manji zoku zōkyō*.

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The Other Great Chinese *Trepiṭaka* in Japan: Faxian as Translator and Pilgrim in Medieval Japanese Manuscript Canons^{*}

GEORGE A. KEYWORTH
University of Saskatchewan

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Abstract: In what we may call the standard Sino-Japanese Buddhist canons of the medieval period in East Asia, two distinct biographies of eminent Chinese *trepiṭakas* and pilgrims to India, Xuanzang 玄奘 (Genjō, c. 602–664) and Faxian 法顯 (Hōgan, 337–ca. 422), figure prominently. Xuanzang enjoyed considerable repute in Japan since the establishment of Kōfukuji 興福寺 in Nara, by the powerful Fujiwara 藤原 family in the late seventh century. Little attention has been paid, however, to the notoriety of Faxian in Japan, where curious twelfth century copies of eighth century versions of his biography, *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳 (Z no. 1194, T no. 2085), are preserved within only three of the eight extant manuscript canons (Shōgozō 聖語藏, Nanatsudera 七寺一切經, Matsuo shrine 松尾社一切經). In this paper I investigate the provenance of these early and reliable manuscript editions of the *Faxian zhuan*, and reveal some of the textual differences between printed, received editions of this account of Faxian's life and travels and these Japanese texts. Through analysis of colophons to Faxian's translations of the *Mahāyāna*

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Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra (*Da bannihuan jing* 大般泥洹經, Z no. 137, T no. 376) and the so-called non-Mahāyāna version (*Da banniepan jing* 大般涅槃經, Z no. 774, T no. 7), which were widely—and explicitly—circulated in medieval Japan among Nara 南都六宗, Shingonshū 真言宗, and Tendai 天台宗 Buddhists, it is evident that the legacy of Faxian as an archetypal pilgrim, translator, and teacher may rival apparent admiration for Xuanzang in medieval Japan.

On Approaching Trepitakas, the Tripiṭaka, and Pilgrims in Search of the Dharma

There is ample evidence from early European studies of Buddhism that Chinese Buddhism is distinctive because of three particular pilgrims who traveled to India in search of sacred scriptures (*qiufa gaoseng* 求法高僧): Faxian (journey: 399–412 or 413), Xuanzang (journey: 629–645), and Yijing 義淨 (635–713, journey: 671–694). Why else would Giuseppe Tucci, writing in 1933 about one of the most famous Tibetan translators *lotsawas* (*lo Tsa ba*), Rinchen Zangpo (rin chen bzan po, 958–1055), have made such a curious statement about religious exchanges during the tenth and eleventh centuries between the Spiti valley in India and western Tibet (Gu ge)?

This was a wonderful period in which Buddhist masters did not disdain to help their Tibetan brothers, who full of faith and mystical ardour descended their steep mountains and did not hesitate in confronting dangers and discomforts of the Himalayan passes, submitted with resignation to the hardships that a stay in the hot and humid Indian plains induced; messengers and apostles of religion and civilization who renewed with equal daring the example of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims. Of this multitude of translators only names remain.¹

Unless we can assume that Tucci read in some arcane Tibetan

¹ Tucci, *Rin-chen-bzan-po*, 37.

commentary about how a lama (*bla ma*) praised Chinese pilgrims or cited one of the Chinese accounts of the travels of Faxian, Xuanzang, Yijing, or another eminent pilgrim, or perhaps he saw a mural with a Chinese pilgrim on it during his expeditions in the western Himālayas, I suspect that as a Sinologist and a specialist in the study of Indian and Tibetan religion Tucci read several of the early, chilling European language translations of these three monks' voyages across western China, central Asia, and India.² Although the chronology does not match up with Rémusat's 1836 translation of Faxian's *Autobiography of the Eminent Monk Faxian* (*Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳, Z no. 1194, T no. 2085, 51: 857a2–866c6)—also known as *Record of Buddhist Kingdoms* (*Foguo ji* 佛國記)—in one roll, it stands to reason that apart from [Protestant] missionizing activities in China, the reason so much attention was awarded to these three eminent Chinese pilgrims is because they enjoyed a remarkable status in Japan.

In Arthur Waley's *The Real Tripitaka*, in between discussing several surly letters Xuanzang sent to cohorts he had met at Nālandā after he returned to China and an apparent controversy over whether or not secular officials could grasp the profundity of his translations of Dignāga's *Nyāyapraveśa* (*Yinming ruzhengli lun* 因明入正理論, Z no. 726, T no. 1630) and *Nyāmukha* (*Yinmine zhenglimen lunben* 因明正理門論本, Z no. 724, T no. 1628), cites a Japanese historical record, the *Shoku Nihongi* 續日本紀 (comp. 797), to describe how the young monk Dōshō 道昭 (629–700, in China 653–660) met Xuanzang and received a small cooking pot (or kettle) as a gift from him.³ The casual reader might presume that Dōshō is mentioned in

² On Faxian, see Klaproth, Clerc de Landresse, and Rémusat, *Foé Koué Ki*; Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*. On Xuanzang, see Stanislas, *Histoire de la Vie de Hiouen-Tsang*; Beal, *Si-yu-ki*; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*. On Yijing, see Chavannes, *I-tsing* and Takakusu, *Record of the Buddhist Religion*. The most thorough analysis of Faxian in European language scholarship is Deeg, 'Has Xuanzang really been in Mathurā?' and *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan*.

³ Waley, *The Real Tripitaka*, 105–06 and 284, citing 'Shoku Nihonshoki, 1'.

A Biography of the Tripitaka master of the Great Ci'en monastery of the Great Tang dynasty (*Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳, Z no. 1192, T no. 2053), compiled by Huili 慧立 and Yancong 彥棕 in ten rolls, but he is not mentioned in the text. Furthermore, Dōshō is also not in the *Report on the career of Trepitaka Xuanzang of the Great Tang* (*Da Tang gu sanzang xuanzang fashi xingzhuang* 大唐故玄奘三藏法師形狀, T no. 2052). Therefore, it is unclear why Waley inserted this reference to Dōshō in his otherwise erudite reading of historiographical accounts of Xuanzang's life and times. I suspect that someone told him the connection to Dōshō is a fundamental part of Xuanzang's legacy in East Asia.

There is ample evidence from both premodern East Asian sources and contemporary academic scholarship to demonstrate that Faxian and Xuanzang are the two most famous eminent Chinese Buddhist translators and pilgrims who traveled to India and numerous other kingdoms along the way, with Yijing following closely behind. Why, then, do we hear so much more about the legacy of Xuanzang than we do about Faxian? This question is as much about methodology as it is about the sources we use to reconstruct various historical trajectories or legacies in the history of East Asian Buddhism. Today, if we wish to investigate the textual legacy of Faxian, Xuanzang, or Yijing, we typically peruse printed editions of texts either in the modern Sino-Japanese Buddhist canon compiled during the Taishō era (1924–1935) in Japan, primarily following the second Korean Buddhist canon (comp. 1236–1251), or perhaps the [Zhaocheng 趙成] Jin dynasty canon 金藏 (1147–1173), Jiaying canon 嘉興大藏經 (comp. 1579–1677), or the [Qianlong emperor (r. 1735–1796)] Dragon canon 龍藏 (comp. 1733–1738).⁴ Yet, as Sam van Schaik succinctly pointed out about Tibetan manuscripts from the so-called 'library cave' in Dunhuang, 'In the study of Tibetan Buddhism we have a canon, the *bKa'* *gyur* and *bsTan* *gyur*, containing over a hun-

⁴ The most exhaustive study of Chinese Buddhist canons in English I am aware of is still Deleanu, 'Transmission of Xuanzang's Translation'; see also Wu, 'From the "Cult of the Book"'. On the Korean canon(s), see Buswell, 'Sugi's Collocation Notes', 57.

dred volumes of scriptures, commentaries, and treatises; yet a canon does not tell us very much about the day-to-day practice of a religious tradition'.⁵ It stands to reason, therefore, that if we wish to assess when, where, why—or if—Chinese pilgrims like Faxian, Xuanzang, or Yijing were as highly praised as Tucci, and others, have imagined they were in premodern East—and perhaps central—Asia, we ought to investigate manuscripts, rather than printed editions of Buddhist texts. Material evidence, including manuscripts, can speak to at least some of the motivations, lives, habits, and even routines that may have involved veneration of eminent Chinese pilgrim-translators. Manuscripts, rather than printed books or canons, serve this purpose because, 'they were not carefully selected and organized to present an idealized image of a tradition', and '[w]hen we study manuscripts we are faced with the material evidence of a social group'.⁶

Whereas the cache of manuscripts discovered in cave seventeen of the Mogao grottoes near Dunhuang early last century are remarkable because they reflect a multilingual (e.g., in literary Chinese, Tibetan, Khotanese, Sanskrit, Old Uyghur, Tangut, Sogdian, and even Hebrew), multicultural, and even multireligious community, both the state of their preservation and organization pose problems for historical, philological, codicological, and paleographical research. Nearly 40,000 manuscripts and fragments from Chinese central Asia are now in libraries across the world: the British Museum has approximately 7,000 manuscripts with 6,000 fragments; the Bibliothèque nationale de France has about 10,000 documents; and the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg has 660 manuscript copies of Chinese Buddhist texts.⁷ As valuable as these manuscripts are from multiple research perspectives and questions, we probably cannot ever learn as much from them about a single social group as we can from at least two of the eight manuscript Buddhist canons preserved in Japan at Nanatsudera 七寺 (Nagoya) and Matsuo [Shintō] shrine 松尾社 (Kyoto), both of which were primarily copied during the

⁵ Van Schaik, 'Uses of Implements are Different', 221–22.

⁶ Van Schaik, 221–22.

⁷ <http://idp.bl.uk/pages/collections.a4d>, accessed February, 2019.

twelfth century, chiefly from eighth century manuscripts.

Because these manuscript canons have only received conscientious scholarly analysis almost entirely in Japan since the 1990s, it is unclear to me, for example, if Dōshō brought any of the manuscripts with him when he returned to Japan after studying several treatises that Xuanzang translated (e.g., *Yogācāryabhūmi-sāstra* [*Yuqiashidi lun*, *Yugashijiron* 瑜伽師地論, Z no. 690, T no. 1579] in one hundred rolls or *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-sāstra* [*Chengweishi lun*, *Jōyuisbikiron* 成唯識論, Z no. 734, T no. 1585] in ten rolls). It is evident that the twelfth century manuscript copies of eighth century copies of Tang dynasty (618–907) editions of Chinese Buddhist literature now preserved in Japan is that they are much more carefully organized than the incomplete Buddhist canon in the library of the small Three Realms temple (Sanjie si 三界寺) during the tenth century in cave 17 in Dunhuang. Many colophons exist to tell us about the history of these books in medieval Japan.⁸ The most pertinent information about the transmission of the texts that extoll the three pilgrims who traveled to India in search of the dharma and translated sacred Sanskrit scriptures into Chinese (Trepitaka, *sanzang* 三藏), Faxian, Xuanzang, and Yijing, is that the section of the canon devoted to eminent pilgrims (*guhō kōsōtō* 求法高僧等) should contain the biography of Xuanzang (Z no. 1192, T no. 2053), Yijing's account of forty-nine Chinese and seven Korean pilgrims who journeyed to India in *Biographies of Eminent Monks who Searched for the Dharma in the Western Regions* (*Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳, Z no. 1193, T no. 2066) in two rolls, and Faxian's autobiography, however, is incomplete in the Shōgozō collection and in the Matsuo shrine canon. Neither have the biography of Xuanzang and old Japanese manuscript canons do not preserve *Report on*

⁸ See Rong, 'Dunhuang Library Cave', who highlights the role of a monk named Daozhen 道真 who seems to have supplemented the cache/canon with apocryphal sūtras, Chan texts, and other material expunged from the canon by the Chinese state during the eighth century.

⁹ Forte, 'Relativity of the Concept of Orthodoxy in Chinese Buddhism', 247–48, note 7. Nakao and Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji, eds.,

the career of Trepitaka Xuanzang of the Great Tang (T no. 2052).⁹ Curiously, neither the Shōgozō repository for Buddhist scriptures, located at Tōdaiji 東大寺 (in Nara) next to the imperial Shōsōin 正倉院 treasury house, nor the Matsuo shrine canon appear to have kept a copy of *Record of a Journey to the Western Regions* (*Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記, Z no. 1178, T no. 2087) in ten rolls, which is the account of Xuanzang's travels that Bianji 辯機 is credited with writing for him when he returned from India in 645.¹⁰ Most of the other manuscript canons that were copied on behalf of Shingon 真言宗 temples kept copies of this famous chronicle, which, in turn, almost certainly inspired the marvelously popular adventures of Tripitaka (Xuanzang), Monkey 孫悟空, Sandy 沙悟淨, Pigsy 豬八戒, and their patron-saint, the female bodhisattva Guanyin (Avalokiteśvara) on their legendary journey from China to India in search of Buddhist scriptures in Wu Cheng'en's 吳承恩 (1501–1582) *Journey to the West* (*Xiyu ji* 西遊記).¹¹ Another unanticipated lacunae concerns Yijing's own account of his pilgrimage to Sumatra and India, *Tales of Returning from the South Seas with the Dharma* (*Da Tang*

'*Matsuosha issaikyō*', 370–71: book cases (*chitsu* 帙) 496 and 498. On Yijing's *Da Tang Xiyu qiu fa gaoseng zhuan*, see Buswell and Lopez, *Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 224.

Da Tang gu sanzang xuanzang fashi xingzhuang in the *Taishō* canon was kept in the *sūtra* library of Chion'in 知恩院 in Kyoto, and appears to date from the Heian period, which means it could have been [widely] available when the canons under review here were being copied; cf. T no. 2052, 50: 214a3n1: 【原】平安時代寫觀智院藏本, 【甲】平安時代寫寶菩提院本.

¹⁰ On the Shōgozō, see Lowe, 'The Discipline of Writing'; 'Buddhist Manuscript Cultures in Premodern Japan'.

¹¹ The end of the road for these pilgrims is an encounter with the Buddha, who, coincidentally, resides in Thunderclap Monastery 大雷音寺 on Vulture peak 靈山 (Gṛdhrakūṭa-parvata). He arranges for them to receive precisely 'one canon' (*yizang* 一藏)—or 'treasury'—of Buddhist scriptures, which amounts to precisely 5,048 rolls or scrolls 卷; see the translation by Wu Cheng'en and Yu, *Journey to the West, Revised Edition, Volume 4*, 396, n.7. *Da Tang Xiyu ji* is only absent from the Shōgozō and Matsuo shrine MSS canons in Japan.

Nanhai jigui neifazhuan 大唐南海寄歸內法傳, Z no. 1204, T no. 2125), which is preserved at Matsuo shrine and Nanatsudera, but not in the Shōgozō.¹²

MSS Editions of Faxian's Works: Dunhuang, Nanatsudera and the Matsuo Shrine Canons

Because of ground breaking efforts by members of the Academic Frontier Project of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies 国際仏教学大学院大学学術フロンティア実行委員会 (ICPBS) in Tokyo, directed by Ochiai Toshinori 落合俊典, we know a great deal about the Nanatsudera and Kongōji 金剛寺 canons. Rediscovered in 1990 by a team of researchers in Japan that included Ochiai and Antonino Forte, which was already catalogued in 1968 by a team from the Agency for Cultural Affairs 文化庁, the Nanatsudera collection of scriptures is remarkable because it is clearly organized according to the *Newly Revised Catalog of Buddhist Scriptures, Compiled During the Zhengyuan Era* [785–805] (*Zhengyuan xinding Shijiao lu* 貞元新定釋教錄, Z no. 1184, T no. 2157, comp. 800), rather than what we presume all fifteen premodern printed Chinese Buddhist canons—from the Kaibao ed. 開寶藏 (971–983) to the Dragon Canon—loosely follow: the order outlined in *Record of Śākyamuni's Teachings, Compiled During the Kaiyuan Era* [713–741] (*Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄, Z no. 1183, T no. 2154, comp. 730). Yet the Nanatsudera canon has more texts than it should. Instead of 1,258 titles in 5,390 rolls as the *Taishō* edition contains, the Nanatsudera edition of the Zhengyuan lu has 1,206 titles in 5,351 rolls. The Nanatsudera edition of the Kaiyuan lu, which is copied from a manuscript dated to 735 (Tenpyō 天平 7) and brought back to Japan by Genbō 玄昉 (d. 746; in China: 718–735), has 1,046

¹² The Shōgozō contains 715 titles in 4,063 scrolls, which were hand-copied at the behest of the imperial family during the Nara period eighth century. Cf. Iida, 'Shōgozō kyōkan "Jingo keiun ni nen gogangyō" ni tsuite'; Sakaehara, *Shōsōin monjo nyūmon*.

titles in 5,048 rolls, in contrast to the *Taishō* edition with 1,076 titles in the same number of rolls. The Matsuo shrine canon closely reflects the Nanatsudera *Zhengyuan lu*, but only 3,545 rolls are extant.¹³

The Matsuo shrine canon may only appear to be incomplete. Whereas the Nanatsudera canon has 4,954 rolls and the Kongōji canon has about 4,500, despite the ravages of time, only 3,545 rolls (approx. 825 separate titles) of the Matsuo shrine canon survive today. Nevertheless, this canon is remarkable because of the number of colophons (*okugaki* 奥書) it has. The Nanatsudera canon has 378 rolls with colophons (158 separate titles) with dates or marginalia; the Kongōji canon has about 230 rolls (103 titles) with colophons. The Matsuo shrine canon has 1,236 rolls (approx. 345 titles) with colophons that provide dates, collation information, scribes' names, and evidence to tell us why both Shintō priests (*kannushi* 神主, *negi* 禰宜, etc.) and Buddhist monastics copied scriptures at sacred sites across the Kinki 近畿 region and beyond to be recited before the *kami* of Matsuo shrine-temple complex (*jingūji* 神宮寺).¹⁴

In the following analysis of texts about, connected to, or attributed to Faxian preserved in East Asian canons, I compare manuscripts primarily from the Matsuo and Nanatsudera canons in Japan to those from Dunhuang and what is now held in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts St. Petersburg from other archaeological excavations by Pyotr Kozlov who made an expedition to Khara-Khoto (Heishuicheng 黑水城) during 1907–1909.¹⁵

There are six texts connected to Faxian: (a) *Biography of the Eminent Monk Faxian* (*Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, Z no. 1194, T no. 2085, 51: 857a2–866c6), also known as *Record of Buddhist Kingdoms* (*Foguo ji*) in one roll; (b) Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (*Da bannihuan jing* 大般泥洹經, Z no. 137, T no. 376, 12: 853a2–899c24) in six rolls; (c) the so-called non-Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (*Da banniepan jing* 大般涅槃經, Z no. 774, T no. 7, 1: 191b2–207c12) in three rolls; (d) *Kṣudraka-sūtra* (*Foshuo*

¹³ Keyworth, 'Apocryphal Chinese books', 3, 8.

¹⁴ Keyworth, 2.

¹⁵ Solonin, 'Glimpses of Tangut Buddhism'.

zazang jing 仏說雜藏經, *Z* no. 884, *T* no. 745, 17: 557b11–560b6) in one roll; (e) **Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya* (*Mohe sengqi lü* 摩訶僧祇律, *Z* no. 1008, *T* no. 1425, 22: 227a2–549a3) in forty rolls; and (f) **Mahāsāṃghika-bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa-sūtra* (*Mohe sengqi biqiuni jieben* 摩訶僧祇比丘尼戒本, *Z* no. 1017, *T* no. 1427, 22: 556a22–566c6).

No copy of the *Biography of the Eminent Monk Faxian* was discovered in cave seventeen at Dunhuang.¹⁶ Only a small fragment of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (*Z* no. 137, *T* no. 376) survived from Chinese central Asia. It is in the St. Petersburg collection, Dx3203 corresponds with *Daban nibuan jing* 2, *T* no. 376, 12: 867c4–14.¹⁷ There are ten fragments of the non-Mahāyāna version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (*Z* no. 774, *T* no. 7) from Dunhuang.¹⁸ Two fragments of the *Kṣudraka-sūtra* are extant: P. 3710 [*T* no. 745, 17: 557b14–c15] and F142 [*T* no. 745, 17: 557c15–558c4]. There are nearly sixty fragments of the **Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya* from

¹⁶ Kokusai bukkyōgaku daigakuindaigaku fuzokutoshokan, *Taishōzō Tonkō*, 228.

¹⁷ Kokusai bukkyōgaku daigakuindaigaku fuzokutoshokan, 130.

¹⁸ Kokusai bukkyōgaku daigakuindaigaku fuzokutoshokan, 3: BD6207-2 [*T* no. 7, 1: 411a7–419c29] and S. nos. 486 [*T* no. 7, 1: 411a16–c3], 6072 [*T* no. 7, 1: 4428b16–28], 81 [*T* no. 7, 1: 429a10–433c19], 3385 [*T* no. 7, 1: 441a14–446b15], 489 [*T* no. 7, 1: 482b9], 6534 [*T* no. 7, 1: 522b2–528a4], 307 [*T* no. 7, 1: 522b18–528a4], 2849 [*T* no. 7, 1: 543c29–546b6], and 2855 [*T* no. 7, 1: 574b10–580c16].

¹⁹ Kokusai bukkyōgaku daigakuindaigaku fuzokutoshokan, 212–13. *T* no. 1425, 22: 227a2–549a3 viz. S. 5766[14] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 235a2–9), S. 5766[15] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 235b10–c24), S. 3448 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 235c14–236a7), S. 5766[2] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 235c24–236a11), S. 5766[3] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 236a28–b11), S. 5766[7] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 236b14–29), S. 5766[9] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 236c6–10), S. 5665[2-3] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 239b26–c22), S. 5665[2-2] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 239c24–243a2), S. 5665[2-5] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 240a7–21), S. 5665[2-13] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 240a24–c4), S. 5665[2-1] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 240c4–241a4), S. 5665[2-14] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 241a4–16), S. 5665[2-8] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 243a5–28), S. 5665[2-9] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 243b3–c5), S. 5665[2-10] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 243c9–244a12), S. 5665[2-11] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 244a12–b15),

the Stein, Pelliot, St. Petersburg, and Chinese collections.¹⁹ Finally, there are three fragments of the **Mahāsāṃghika-bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa-sūtra*.²⁰

Although there are no colophons to rolls 2280–2282 of the Matsuo shrine canon, these comprise the three chapters of Faxian’s translation of the non-Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*.²¹ Also without colophons, rolls 3417–3419 are together in a designated sec-

Dx197 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 244c22–245b2), Dx199 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 245b2–c6), Dx198 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 245c7–19), S. 5665[2-7] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 248a28–b26), S. 5665[2-6] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 248b29–c29), S. 5665[2-12] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 249a7–16), S. 5665[2-4] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 249b5–b19), S. 5665[2-15] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 249b21–c7), S. 5766[5] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 250c2–15), S. 5766[4] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 250c18–251a2), S. 5766[12] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 251a5–18), S. 5766[13] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 251a18–b5), S. 5766[10] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 251b7–19), P. tib. 1073V (*T* no. 1425, 22: 262a17–b16), BD5274 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 264a17–c15), BD11562 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 264c11–c19), BD10137 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 264c19–26), BD11752 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 265b18–c9), BD10386 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 265c22–23), BD9854 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 265c24–266a7), Zhejiang no.136 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 266a6–19), Zhejiang-no.137 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 266a19–b1), BD2481 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 266b21–c19), BD7649 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 266c19–267a26), BD10859 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 267a26–b1), BD12035 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 267b9–16), BD9687 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 267b26–c11), BD10439 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 268a8–12), Zhejiang no.66 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 268a12–27), P. 3996 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 268a26–b15), BD11120 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 268b14–20), Dx2602A2 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 268c25–269a7), Dx2602A1 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 269a8–29), BD3068 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 269b28–270c24), Dx3938 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 282c8–283a17), Dx5484 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 283a17–b29), BD1345V3 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 285b2–286a21), Guohui-no.32(47)-2 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 304a19–306b16), S. 2818 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 320b24–324b24), Dx2728[1] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 335a8–b10), Dx2728[2] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 360a8–16), Dx2728[3] (*T* no. 1425, 22: 369b15–23), Dx5214 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 378b29–c23), BD14569 (*T* no. 1425, 22: 452a5–460a29).

²⁰ Kokusai bukkyōgaku daigakuindaigaku fuzokutoshokan, 106: BD10695 [*T* no. 1427, 22: 556b20–28], BD14930 [*T* no. 1427, 22: 556a21–565a20], and BD11486 [*T* no. 1427, 22: 556b28–c8].

²¹ Nakao and Myōrenji, eds., ‘*Matsuosha issaikyō*’, 426–29.

tion for biographies of three Chinese eminent monks who searched for the Dharma (*guhō kōsōtō*): Yijing's Biographies of *Eminent Monks who Searched for the Dharma in the Western Regions* (Z no. 1193, T no. 2066, rolls 3417–3418) comes first, followed by *Faxian zhuan* (3419).²²

Rolls 1176–1181 of the Matsuo shrine canon provide much more information about when and where these manuscripts were copied. What seems incongruous is that the first three rolls (1176–1178) of Faxian's Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* were copied from an original manuscript, which was probably in a private library that belonged to the abbot of a small cloister (Tōrinbō 東林房) at Higashidani in Saitōin of Enryakuji 延暦寺西塔院東谷 on Mount Hiei 比叡山. There is no copy date, but Gonkaku 嚴覺 (1056–1121) checked this edition when he either copied these rolls for Matsuo shrine or for his own monastic library at Miidera 三井寺 (alt. Onjōji 園城寺). Since 1115.6.1²³ is the earliest date we have for colophons on other rolls in the Matsuo shrine canon, it appears that this is the right Miidera monastic that could have copied Faxian's translation of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* to vow to the *kami* of Matsuo shrine. However it is curious why Gonkaku would have copied a manuscript on behalf of Matsuo shrine from an assumed scriptorium up on Mount Hiei, where warrior monks (*sōhei* 僧兵) literally beat or killed their Tendai rivals.²⁴ Sōjun 相順 (alt. Shōjun), who may have been another Miidera monastic or perhaps an Enryakuji monk, copied rolls four to six (1179–1181) of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* from an original [once] held by Seiryūji 青龍寺 at Kita-

²² Nakao and Myōrenji, eds., *Matsuosha issaikyō*, 370.

²³ All dates in this format are to the Lunisolar calendar and not the Gregorian calendar.

²⁴ Gonkaku, in *Nihon jinmei daijiten*. It appears that Gonkaku was a prominent disciple of Gyōson 行尊 (1055–1135), a famous exegete and esoteric Buddhist ritual master from Miidera. On Miidera-Enryakuji struggles, see, Adolphson, *Teeth and Claws of the Buddha*, and Keyworth, 'Apocryphal Chinese books', 16–17 and Appendix 1.

²⁵ Nakao and Myōrenji, eds., *Matsuosha issaikyō*, 238 with notes 395–400.

Kurodani 北黒谷 in Saitōin of Enryakuji on Mount Hiei 比叡山.²⁵

The other three primary translations attributed to Faxian include the *Kṣudraka-sūtra* (*Foshuo zazang jing* 仏説雜藏經, Z no. 884, T no. 745); **Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya* (*Mohe sengqi lü* 摩訶僧祇律, Z no. 1008, T no. 1425) in forty rolls; and **Mahāsāṃghika-bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa-sūtra* (*Mohe sengqi biqiuni jieben* 摩訶僧祇比丘尼戒本, Z no. 1017, T no. 1427). Roll 2363 in the Matsuo shrine canon is the *Kṣudraka-sūtra*, rolls 2565–2599 are the *Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya*, and roll 2714 is the *Mahāsāṃghika-bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa-sūtra*.²⁶ There are no colophons for any of these rolls. Perhaps this is not unforeseen either because these scriptures belonged to a shrine-temple complex where we cannot presume that strict adherence to the [Indian] monastic codes was especially relevant to married shrine priests or their aristocratic kin, or because the bulk of the Matsuo shrine canon seems to have been copied by and from Tendai libraries affiliated with either Miidera and the Tendai Jimon 寺門派 (Temple) or Mountain (Sanmon-ha 山門派) branch up on Mount Hiei within the massive monastic complex of Enryakuji.

Nara versus Tendai: exegetes versus pilgrims-ritual masters

According to traditional Japanese narratives about Heian-era (794–1185) religion, politics, and institutional history, after Kūkai 空海 (774–835) and Saichō 最澄 (767–822) returned from pilgrimages to China in search of the dharma in the early ninth century, the religious context for Buddhism in the archipelago was altered forevermore. Even though we now know that it was their disciples who followed in their footsteps—and revered Chinese pilgrims to India—and ventured to the continent in search of sacred Buddhist texts and ritual manuals to find a corpus of highly unified esoteric or tantric texts and rituals translated under the direction

²⁶ The Matsuo shrine canon has rolls 2–6 (2565–2569), 8–20 (2570–2582), 22–29 (2583–2590), 31–37 (2591–2597), and 39–40 (2598–2599) of the *Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya*.

of three translators, Śubhakarasiṃha 善無畏 (in China 719–735), Vajrabodhi 金剛智 (662–732), and Amoghavajra [Jin'gang 金剛] Bukong 不空 (705–774), rather than either Kūkai or Saichō, who actually introduced esoteric Buddhism to Japan, there seems to be little question that the institutions of Tōji 東寺 (formally Kyōōgokuji 教護国寺), Enryakuji, and Miidera rivaled the older, seven great state-sponsored temples in Nara.²⁷ In addition to manuscript—and printed—editions of Buddhist scriptures and commentaries held primarily by Nara temples and monasteries, pilgrims brought new editions and texts to Shingon, Tendai, and new imperially- and aristocratic family-sponsored temples and shrine-temple complexes during the ninth to twelfth centuries. On the one hand, we have the Shōgozō, which primarily preserves texts presumably significant for Buddhists in Nara, with special consideration for the communities from Tōdaiji and Kōfukuji 興福寺, as well as other Kegon- 華嚴宗 and Hossō- 法相宗 affiliated temples such as Hōryūji 法隆寺 and Kiyomizudera 清水寺 (in Kyoto). On the other hand, we have ample evidence that suggests there was a primarily Tendai sponsored canon—or set of canons—which was copied from a vowed canon held at emperor Shirakawa's 白河 (1053–1129, r. 1073–1087) Hossōji 法勝寺. Fujiwara no Tadahira 藤原忠平 (880–949) had Hossōji converted into a temple in 925. Shirakawa unofficially ruled—rather than reigned—from this cloister after 1077.

Among the many rare books in the Shōgozō is a tenth century printed edition for Kasuga shrine (春日版) of Xuanzang's *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-sāstra* (Z no. 734, T no. 1585) from Kōfukuji, as well as sufficient evidence about the first canon vowed (*ganmon* 願文) and copied in 740 under the patronage of Queen Consort Kōmyō 光明 (701–760)—the 5/1 canon (*Gogatsuichinichikyō* 五

²⁷ Strickmann and Faure, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 206–07. The great seven Nara temples include: Kōfukuji 興福寺, Tōdaiji 東大寺, Saidaiji 西大寺, Yakushiji 藥師寺, Hōryūji 法隆寺, Gangōji 元興寺, and Daianji 大安寺 or Tōshōdaiji 唐招提寺 or even Hokkeji 法華寺.

²⁸ Nara National Museum, ed., *Special Exhibit*, 54–56, English explanations 166. Dated colophons are from 1088, 1116, and 1119.

月一日經)—that had 4,243 rolls.²⁸ There appears to be scholarly consensus that this canon was, in turn, widely distributed in Japan among aristocrats, and especially by the Fujiwara family, which sponsored Kōfukuji and nearly all other Hossō temples—including Kiyomizudera—as well as Kimpusenji 金峯山寺, a Fujiwara temple affiliated with the mountain training monk tradition called *shugendō* 修驗道.²⁹ Coupled with the manuscripts copied, at least in part, from Hosshōji, scholars are roughly divided between two explanations for the existence of these canons. Abe Yasurō has written extensively on the notion of ritual offerings (*kuyō* 供養, *pūjā*) of either Xuanzang's massive translation of the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra* or sets of 'all the scriptures' as part and parcel of ritual activities increasingly bolstered by an esoteric Buddhist orientation toward conferring merit on or placating all manner of autochthonous and allochthonous deities.³⁰ Colophons from the Nanatsudera and Matsuo shrine scriptures establish that they were intended to be read or chanted in front of or for the *kami* (*shinzen dokyō* 神前読經) to alleviate natural and man-made disasters and to bolster the imperial and aristocratic clans.³¹

Another approach to these manuscripts is to assess their likely use

The 5/1 canon took twelve years to complete; we have approximately 3,500 rolls from it today in the Shōgozō collection: Abe, *Chūsei Nihon no shūkyō tekusuto taiki*, 156. Abe suggests that it must have been this canon which was recited—in part or in full—at the consecration of the state of Vairocana buddha in Tōdaiji in 752.

²⁹ *Chūsei Nihon no shūkyō tekusuto taiki*, 176–77; and Nara National Museum, *Special Exhibit of Ancient Sutras from the Heian Period*, nos. 15–17, 168, which show that the Fujiwara clan sponsored preserving scriptures—especially the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, *Fahua*, *Hokkekyō* 法華經, Z nos. 146–149, T nos. 262–264)—in so-called *sūtra* mounds (*kyōzuka* 經塚 or *maikyō* 埋經) in preparation for *mappō* 末法 in 1052.

³⁰ Abe, *Chūsei Nihon no shūkyō tekusuto taiki*, 286–335.

³¹ Nara National Museum, *Special Exhibit*, images nos. 14-1 and 14-2 on pages 32–41, have the same colophon discussed in Keyworth, 'Apocryphal Chinese books', 2, to the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra*.

by exegetes from Nara—especially Hossō monastics—and Shingon and Tendai temples who participated in court-sponsored debates.³² While it may seem intriguing to ponder the idea of shrine-temple religious professionals or priests studying arcane treatises such as the *Chengshi lun* 成實論 (*Tattvasiddhi-śāstra?*, Z no. 1086, T no. 1646]) or Xuanzang’s translations of the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra* or **Abhidharmanyāyānusāra-śāstra* [Samghabhadra] (*Apidamo shunzheng lun* 阿毘達磨順正理論, Z no. 1076, T no. 1562), contextual evidence seems to support Abe’s perspective about the Nanatsudera and Matsuo shrine scriptures. There is, however, an important caveat: Sangō and Minowa’s research clearly demonstrates that Miidera monastics during the twelfth century were particularly successful at these debates, which suggests that the colophons from Faxian’s Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* in the Matsuo shrine scriptures may provide evidence of Jimon branch Tendai-orientated views of what was important within an *issaikyō*.

On pilgrims who traveled to *China* in search of sacred scriptures (*gubō kōsō*)

The sectarian world of Heian-era Japanese religion cannot, however, be mapped on to any advantageous or constructive impression of continental Buddhism, even when it comes to the matter of the reception of Chinese pilgrim-monks and translators in Japan. According to Gyōnen Daitoku 凝然大德 (1240–1321) in the *Hasshū kōyō* 八宗綱要 (Guiding Essentials of the Eight Sects, comp. 1268), there are eight ‘schools’ (*shū*) of Japanese Buddhism: (1) *Kusha* 俱舍 (Abhidharma); (2) *Jōjitsu* 成實 (*Tattvasiddhi-śāstra*, Z no. 1086, T no. 1646)]; (3) *Ritsu* 律 (Vinaya); (4) Hossō (Yogācāra); (5) Sanron 三論 (Madhyamaka; Three Treatises); (6) Tendai; (7) Kegon (*Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, Z nos. 95–96, T nos. 278–279); and (8) Shingon.³³ Missing, of course, are the so-called ‘New Bud-

³² Minowa and Groner, ‘The Tendai Debates’; Sango, *The Halo of Golden Light* and ‘Buddhist Debate’.

dhism' Pure Land traditions and Zen 禅宗. Often referred to by scholars as the Southern Capital schools (Nantō bukkyō 南東仏教), these sects of Japanese Buddhism are different from Tendai, Shingon, Jōdoshū 浄土宗, Jōdoshinshū 浄土真宗, and the three Zen traditions (Rinzai 臨済宗, Sōtō 曹洞宗, and Ōbaku 黄檗宗) because they cannot claim to transmit orthodox lineages, and their teachings rest upon particular commentaries (*śāstras*) and scriptures.³⁴ By virtue of having been founded during the Nara period, Hossō and the other Nara schools are closely connected to the eminent, aristocratic Fujiwara family, which sponsored numerous trade and diplomatic missions to the continent during the seventh to eleventh centuries.³⁵ It is these Nara schools that presumably prompted Stanley Weinstein to pronounce that we must err on the side of caution when speaking of separate *shū* or *zong* 宗 in the history of Chinese (or continental East Asian) Buddhism:

The root of the problem lies in the word *tsung*, for which dictionaries list as many as twenty-three separate definitions. In Buddhist texts, however, it is used primarily in three different senses: (1) it may indicate a specific doctrine or thesis, or a particular interpretation of a doctrine; (2) it may refer to the underlying theme, message, or teaching of a text; and (3) it may signify a religious or philosophical school...*Tsung* in the sense of doctrine or thesis is frequently encountered in fifth-century texts in such phrases as *kai-tsung* [開宗], 'to explain the [basic] thesis', or *hsu-tsung* [虛宗], 'the doctrine of emptiness'. Especially common was the use of the term *tsung* to categorize doctrinal interpretations of theses enumerated in a series... The term *tsung* should be translated as 'school' only when it refers to a tradition that traces its origin back to a founder, usually designated

³³ Bielefeldt, 'Kokan Shiren', especially 305. On the Hasshū kōyō, see Pruden, 'Hasshu koyo'. The best translation of the *Hasshū kōyō* is Kamata, 'Chūgoku bukkyōshi jiten'.

³⁴ For just one example, see Sueki, Shimoda, and Horiuchi, eds., *Bukkyō no jiten*, 113–17.

³⁵ Grapard, *Protocol of the Gods* and 'Institution, Ritual, and Ideology'.

‘first patriarch’, who is believed to have provided the basic spiritual insights that were then transmitted through an unbroken line of successors or ‘*Dharma* heirs’.³⁶

Whether or not Xuanzang actually translated the seventy-seven treatises or *sūtras* A. C. Muller culled from Louis Lancaster’s catalog, *The Korean Buddhist Canon*, it seems to be his status as the preeminent translator-pilgrim that was buttressed in Japan in Nara at Kōfukuji via lavish patronage from the Fujiwara family.³⁷ Until the editors of the *Taishō* made several rather peculiar amendments to the order of all manner of texts in the East Asian Buddhist canon, including moving the so-called *Āgama* 阿含部 (*T* nos. 1–151, vols. 1–2) and *Jātaka* 本緣部 (*T* nos. 152–219, vols. 3–4) sections from the middle to the front of the canon, Xuanzang’s translation of the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra* (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, *Dabore boluomiduo jing*, *Daibannya haramittakyō* 大般若波羅蜜多經, *Z* no. 1, *T* no. 220) came first.³⁸ Perhaps because it was the first and longest Mahāyāna Buddhist scripture or because it explicitly says to do so, this scripture was widely copied and distributed for merit-making and to prevent natural disasters or subdue a wide range of Indian and East Asian deities.³⁹ Several scholars, including Sagai Tatsuru, see the merit-making activities connected to proliferating Xuanzang’s translation of the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra* as the likely basis for large-scale coping projects of all the scriptures

³⁶ Weinstein, ‘Chinese Buddhism’, Vol. 2, 482–84.

³⁷ <http://www.acmuller.net/yogacara/thinkers/xuanzang-works.html>, accessed March, 2019. Cf., Lancaster and Park, *The Korean Buddhist Canon*.

³⁸ The most insightful and succinct account of Chinese Buddhist canons and catalogs is in Sueki Fumihiko, Shimoda Masahiro, and Horiuchi Shinji, *Bukkyō no jiten*, 44–46. See also the essays in Wu and Chia, eds., *Spreading Buddha’s Word*.

³⁹ On examples from medieval Japan, see Keyworth, ‘Apocryphal Chinese books’, 15. Just one example of how popular the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in 600 rolls was elsewhere in East Asia during the premodern period can be glimpsed from the translation into Tangut: Huang, *Zhongguo guojia*.

(*issaikyō* 一切經) in Nara Japan that led to the production of the Matsuo shrine, Nanatsudera, and six other extant old Japanese canons we have access to today.⁴⁰

What is clear from the intricate history Abe Yasurō, Sagai Tatsuru, and Bryan Lowe provide of the early history of copying the canon and the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra* in eighth to tenth century Japan is that Kōfukuji played an essential role—as did Hōryūji, another Hossō affiliated, legendary temple—in the dissemination of scriptures in premodern Japan. An example discussed previously is the tenth century Kasuga [shrine] printed edition of Xuanzang’s *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra* from Kōfukuji which demonstrates the extent to which it *appears* that Xuanzang’s ‘lineage’ or ‘school’ disseminated his teachings in Nara. Unlike especially the Tendai and Shingon traditions during the ninth to twelfth centuries especially, the institutions that produced our old manuscript canons, the Hossō tradition did not celebrate a lineage of patriarchs that connected them to nor necessitated a pressing need for paying close attention to the ideal of pilgrims who traveled to China in search of sacred scriptures (*gubō kōsō*). The need to construct a Hossō patriarchate would only develop centuries later. From the additional perspective

⁴⁰ Sagai, *Shinbutsu shūgō*. On the history of these canons, see Abe, *Chūsei Nihon no shūkyō tekusuto taikai*, 174–85. Lowe, ‘Contingent and Contested’, especially 228. Alternative evidence exists from Shiga prefecture, where Prince Nagaya 長屋王 (680–729) sponsored the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra* between 712–728, which appear to have been copied from scriptures once held in the Fujiwara capital 藤原京 (694–710). See Iwamoto, ‘Nagaya no ōkimi hot-sugankyō (zō wadō kyō) denraikō’; see also Abe, above. Funayama, *Butten wa dou kanyaku sareta no ka*, 11–12 makes an important distinction between the East Asian Buddhist terms meaning ‘all the collected scriptures’ (*yiqie jing*, *issaikyō*), which he posits can be traced to the Taihe 太和 [3] reign period (ca. 479) of the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534) and in use during the Northern and Southern Dynasties period (420–589), ‘collected scriptures’ (*zhongjing*, *shukyō* 衆經), used more prominently in southern China from the mid-sixth century on, and ‘canon’ [referring to the *tripitaka*] (*da zangjing*, *daizōkyō*), which was applied by the Tang (618–907) government.

of translation in Japan, there is another reason why Xuanzang stands alone: he initiated a ‘new’ system of translating Sanskrit into Chinese (*shinyaku* 新訳 versus *kuyaku* 旧訳) with phonetic changes such as *sanmodi* (*sanmaji*) 三摩地, rather than *sanmei* (*sanmai*) 三昧, for *samādhi*. By extension, Xuanzang inaugurated a new period in the history of Chinese Buddhist translation; whereas Faxian—with his part-time collaborator Buddhahadra 仏馱跋陀羅 (alt. 佛陀跋陀羅, 359–429) in Jiankang 建康—exemplifies ‘old’ translations. It would be a gross distortion of the historical records to suggest that either Xuanzang’s so-called ‘new’ translations were more popular than ‘older’ texts.

During the Nara period, many Hossō and Sanron monks made the perilous voyage to China in search of sacred scriptures—and perhaps teachers like Xuanzang. Here is a short list of some of these monks:

1. Dōji 道慈 (?–744, Sanron monk): Taihō 大宝 2.6 (702)–Yōrō 養老 2.10 (718), in China 17 years.
2. Bensei 弁正 (d.u.): Taihō 2.6 (702)–?? Poet-monk in China.
3. Genbō (?–746, Hossō monk): Yōrō 養老 1.3 (717)–Tenpyō 天平 5.4 (733), in China 18 years.
4. Eiei or Yōei 栄叡 (?–749, Kōfukuji monk): Tenpyō 5.4 (733)–died in China; in China 16 years. Met Ganjin 鑑真 (Jianzhen, 688–763) in China.
5. Fushō 普照 (d.u., Kōfukuji monk): Tenpyō 5.4 (733)–Tenpyō shōhō 天平勝宝 6 (754), in China 21 years. Met Ganjin in China after 10 years.
6. Genrō 玄郎 (d.u., Kōfukuji monk): Tenpyō 5.4 (733)–Tenpyō 14 (742/743) returned to Japan.
7. Genhō 玄法 (d.u., Kōfukuji monk): Tenpyō 5.4 (733)–Tenpyō 14 (742/743) returned to Japan.

It would appear that not long after the capital was moved to Kyoto, in 794, however, we see another category of pilgrims who traveled to China in search of sacred scriptures. These ten are the most famous, and have everything to do with why we saw that the texts that celebrate Xuanzang do not seem to have been as admired at Matsuo or Nanatsudera as the texts which commemorate either Faxian or Yijing.

1. Saichō (767–822): Enryaku 延曆 23.7 (804.7)–Daidō 大同 1.6 (805.6). Traveled to Tiantaishan 天台山; in China 1 year.
2. Kūkai (774–835): Enryaku 23.7 (804.7)–Daidō 1.10 (806.10). Traveled to Chang’an, in China 2 years.
3. Ennin 圓仁 (794–864): Jōwa 承和 5 (838.6.17)–Jōwa 14 (847.9.18). Traveled to Tiantaishan and Wutaishan 五臺山; in China 9 years and 4 months.⁴¹
4. Enchin 圓珍 (814–891): Ninju 仁寿 3 (853.7.15)–Tennan 天安 1 (858.6.22). In China 4 years and 4 months.
5. Shūei 宗叡 (809–884, Shingon monk): Jōgan 貞觀 4 (862)–Jōgan 7 (865). Traveled to Wutaishan and Bianzhou 汴州.
6. Chōnen 裔然 (938–1016, Shingon monk): Eikan 永觀 1 (983)–Kanna 寛和 2 (986). Traveled to Tiantaishan, Wutaishan, and the Song capital of Bianjing 汴京. Raised funds for restoration of Tōdaiji. See *Nittōki* 入唐記.
7. Nichien 日延 (d.u., Tendai 天台宗 monk): Tenryaku 天曆 7 (953)–Tentoku 天德 1 (957). Visited Wuyue Kingdom 吳越國 (907–978) under Qian Chu 錢俶 (r. 947–978); witnessed dissemination of *Baoqieyin ta* 寶篋印塔 *stūpas* (J. *Hōkyōinntō*, *Sarvatathāgatadhiṣṭhāna-hṛdayaguhyadhātu karaṇḍamudrā-dhāraṇī*, T nos. 1022a, 2023).
8. Jakushō 寂照 (962–1034, Tendai monk): Chōtoku 長德 5 (1003)–died in China. Secular name Ōe no Sadamoto 大江定基. See *Raitō nikki* 来唐日記.
9. Jōjin 成尋 (1011–1081): Enkyū 延久 4 (1072)–died in China. See *San Tendai Godai san ki* 參天臺五臺山記.
10. Kaikaku 戒覺 (d.u., Tendai monk): (1082)–??. On Yuanfeng 5 (1082) 9.18 at Wutaishan.⁴²

The narrative of what Kūkai may—or may not—have personally acquired in terms of texts, teachings, and ritual technology is well

⁴¹ Cf. *Nittō gubō junrei gyōki* 入唐求法巡礼行記.

⁴² See *Tosōki* 渡宋記.

⁴³ See Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*; ‘Scholasticism, Exegesis, and Ritual Practice’.

beyond the scope of this study.⁴³ Almost all the other pilgrims speak to the tradition(s) of Buddhism best represented by the contents of the Matsuo shrine canon and, by extension, the Nanatsudera canon as well.

There are two Tendai lineages that trace back to two pilgrims: Ennin and Enchin. Ennin's diary, *Record of a Pilgrimage to Tang China in Search of the Dharma* (*Nittō gubō junrei gyōki* 入唐求法巡礼行記), became a guide for later pilgrims, including Jōjin, whose diary may be even more valuable for the study of Buddhism in China than Ennin's.⁴⁴ Enchin's (Chishō daishi 智証大師), diary, of sorts, is *Gyōrekisho* 行歷抄.⁴⁵ Both are, therefore, examples of pilgrims who ventured to the continent in search of the Dharma, and returned to Japan to establish—through their immediate disciples—distinctive lineages of East Asian Buddhism. When a dispute arose over the selection of Enchin as the fifth chief abbot (*zasu* 座主) of Enryakuji in 873, Ennin's followers protested, and subsequently Enchin and his supporters fled down the mountain to Miidera, where they established the Tendai Jimon 寺門派 (Temple).⁴⁶ Ennin's followers established the Mountain (Sanmon-ha 山門派) branch of the Tendai tradition of Japanese Buddhism, which led to centuries of strife between these two armed factions.

Perhaps because of this monastic violence, the Tendai tradition is severely underrepresented in contemporary research on Japanese religion both in Japan and beyond. Even though we have a comparatively clear picture of the institutional history of Nara Buddhist schools and of the Shingon tradition during the medieval period, the Matsuo and Nanatsudera canons suggest that without greater attention to the tex-

⁴⁴ Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*. On Jōjin, see Borgen, 'San Tendai Godai san ki'; 'Jōjin's Travels from Center to Center'; and 'The Case of the Plagaristic Journal'.

⁴⁵ *Gyōrekisho* in *NBZ* vol. 72, no. 572, 188–92.

⁴⁶ Itō, ed., *Matsuno'o taisha no shin'ei*, 56–57, and 84–85. Still perhaps the most comprehensive study of Onjōji and Enchin is Miyagi Nobumasa and Tendaishū Jimon-ha Goonki Jimukyoku, *Onjōji no kenkyū*. A more readily available yet brief discussion of Enchin's travels in China can be found in Yoritomi Motohiro, *Nicchū o musunda bukkyōsō*, 149–60.

tual history of the Tendai traditions we might continue to possess an incomplete understanding of not only medieval Japanese Buddhism, but also of East Asian Buddhist texts and the transmission of them.

Until I encountered the manuscript Buddhist canon held by Matsuo shrine in Kyoto, Japan, which was copied during the twelfth century and kept on site until the mid-nineteenth century in a building called the Godokyōjo 御読経所, I had never seen, nor even imagined, that anyone in East Asia vowed so-called Little Vehicle 小乗部 (Hīnayāna), Śrāvakayāna, or non-Mahāyāna treatises. Yet the *Ekottarāgama* (*Zengyi aban jing* 增一阿含經, *Z* no. 770, *T* no. 125) with fifty-one rolls and *Samyuktāgama* (*Za aban jing* 雜阿含經, *Z* no. 771, *T* no. 99) with fifty rolls were vowed by chief shrine priest (*kannushi*) Hata no Yorichika 秦頼義 to the *kami* at Matsuo shrine on 1138.5.29–7.1 and 1138.5.30–7.8, respectively. Xuanzang's translation of the **Abhidharmanyāyānusāra-sāstra* in eighty rolls was vowed to the canon in the eleventh month of 1141 by Ryōkei 良慶, the abbot of Myōhōji 妙法寺, a temple in the southern valley of the shrine-temple precincts, and later vowed and added more scriptures between 1159 and 1165.⁴⁷

Analysis and Context: Looking at history from an inverted chronological perspective

The value of manuscripts is that they were not carefully selected and organized to present an idealized image of a tradition. Historians of East Asian Buddhism follow the great European Sinologists—many of whom translated the biographies or hagiographies of Faxian, Xuanzang, and Yijing—by carefully studying printed editions of Buddhist texts 版本學. If we seek to investigate communities who copied this

⁴⁷ Keyworth, 'Apocryphal Chinese books', 7, 18. Rolls 2176–2221 (colophons 892–916) are from the *Ekottarāgama* (*Z* no. 770, *T* no. 125); rolls 2222–2262 (colophons 917–941) are from the *Samyuktāgama* (*Z* no. 771, *T* no. 99); and rolls 3046–3117 (colophons 1065–1132). See Nakao and Myōrenji, 'Matsuo-sha issaikyō', 263–67, 275–81.

literature for express purposes such as vowing an entire canon for the protection—or sublimation—of particular deities, whether these are considered Indian, Chinese, Japanese, or even Korean in the case of the *kami* enshrined at Matsuo, then manuscripts like the ones we examined here can provide information that may not make much sense. Why, for example, did Hata no Yorichika vow the *Ekottarāgama*, *Samyuktāgama*, or Xuanzang's translation of the **Abhidharmaśāstra*? This was possibly because it was important for the Hata clan to sustain the comprehensiveness of the canon preserved on site within the Godokyōjo. In that case, what happened to the Huili and Yancong's biography of Xuanzang? Why are this and *Record of a Journey to the Western Regions* not in the canon as we have it today? Perhaps the hypothesis this paper provides is an inverted one: I suspect that these texts are not missing because of excessive use or *tendoku* 転読 practice, in which they recited only key passages from the beginning, middle, and end of a chapter or perhaps only titles.

There is a clue to this and several of the other questions I raised in a colophon to rolls twenty-nine and thirty of the *Zhengyuan lu*, which shows that the seven-hall temple of Mount Tōen (Tōenzan Nanatsudera 稲園山七寺), a Chizan Shingonshū 智山真言宗 temple today, was part of Atsuta *jingūji* when governor of Owari 尾張 county, Ōnakatomi no Yasunaga 大中臣安長, vowed more than 300 rolls between 1175–1178; the work was interrupted in 1180.⁴⁸ The colophon reveals that the copyist or scribe checked with manuscripts from Fushimi [Inari shrine] 伏見稻荷大社 (in red to the left), Bonshakuji 盆積寺 (a Tendai scriptorium, with a black circle), and Hōshōji (in red and to the right), which was significantly enlarged

⁴⁸ Ochiai, Girard, and Kuo, 'Découverte de manuscrits bouddhiques chinois au Japon', 370. Please note that the Kongōji canon was also apparently vowed to the *daimyōjin* of a *chinjusha* of Mount Kōya: Kōyasan Tennomiya 高野山天野宮. See rolls 003–33, 0073–001 (Z no. 73), 411–001, 411–001, 514–001 as examples in Ochiai, ed., *Kongōji issaikyō*.

⁴⁹ Makita et al., eds., *Chūgoku senjutsu kyōten*, 441, 59–65; Akao Eikei, 'Koshakyō', 797–809. Cf. Miyabayashi and Ochiai, 'Nanatsudera', 116 also notes that the catalog from Kiyomizudera of these rolls was checked.

and supported by Emperor Shirakawa in 1077.⁴⁹ These collation notes are an important discovery that connects the Nanatsudera and Matsuo canons: these rolls of the *Zhengyuan lu* were vowed to fifteen *avatāras* or manifestations (*gongen* 権現) of the principal *kami* of Atsuta, Yatsurugi no daimyōjin 八劔大明神, at sites including the Naikū and Gekū 内外宮 of Ise 伊勢神宮, three sites at Kumano 熊野本宮大社 (Hongū 本宮, Shingū 新宮, Nachi 那智), the three sages of Hiyoshi 日吉社 (shrine on Mount Hiei), and Tsushima 津島, and Nangū 南宮 shrines in the Owari region (Aichi prefecture). Both Nanatsudera and Matsuo canons were apparently copied for *kami* tied to the imperial lineage or centers of ritual power. It would appear that either the priests or monks at these shrine-temple complexes were not as enthralled with Xuanzang as they were with Faxian and Yijing, or that Xuanzang was seen as more of an eminent translator than he was an exemplary pilgrim who went on a quest in search of sacred scriptures.

I argued in this paper that one of the reasons we are unable to clearly see this perspective is because the editors of the *Taishō* made some peculiar editing decisions. For instance, they separate the biographies of these three eminent pilgrims. Perhaps, as Max Deeg, among others, has shown, it may very well have been a keen, Protestant—and Counter-Reformation—obsession with the origins of all things, and especially religion, that drove the pronounced interest in translating Faxian's autobiography in nineteenth to twentieth century Europe.⁵⁰ Despite the many ways Chinese and Japanese Buddhists emulated key aspects of what Gregory Schopen called Protestant presuppositions in the study and practice of Buddhism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to the best of my knowledge, there was no countervailing emphasis on Faxian in East Asia.⁵¹ Rather, unlike in European language studies of East Asian Buddhism, which I contend Arthur Waley's masterful *The Read Tripitaka* surely is, we tended to abide by demarcated periodization

⁵⁰ Deeg, 'Has Xuanzang really been in Mathurā?'; *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan*, 51.

⁵¹ Schopen, 'Archaeology'.

schemes (*panjiao* 判教, for example) and see beyond the order of the canons, whether printed editions, manuscript canons, or fragments in a hidden abandoned library, to restrict the perspectives through which we examine the agents who transmitted these sacred texts through the ages.

Part of the problem may not have much to do with Faxian, Xuanzang, or Yijing in terms of either their status as eminent monk-pilgrims or even as translators, but instead may have to do with the concept of legacy. The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives us several ways to think about legacy. Etymologically derived from French or Latin, when used as a noun, a legacy refers to a body of delegates or legates or even papal legates (as in on behalf of the Roman Catholic Pope) who are sent in legacy of an authority or authoritative group to speak in an official capacity with other legates, delegates, and so on.⁵² It is difficult to conceive of any two Chinese Buddhist monastics other than Xuanzang and Faxian who posthumously played such a pivotal role as, for example, spreading the teachings of Buddhism to Japan or Korea. The word ‘spread’ brings me to another meaning of the word legacy: the act or action of bequeathing. With connotations that complement the English word ‘bequeath’ in terms of inheritance after the death of a family member, in Mandarin Chinese we might opt for the term *yizeng* 遺贈 to translate bequeath. Yet in Japanese, the verb *tsutaeru* 伝える circles back to the crucial post-mortem role Yijing, Xuanzang, and Faxian played in the transmission of Buddhism. Buttressed as the penultimate Chinese eminent monk within multiple narratives of transmission, it is what Faxian transmitted or, more importantly, what he and especially Xuanzang, but also Yijing, are understood to have transmitted long after they deceased which seems to have determined their status within the history of East Asian Buddhism.

Perhaps it is time for scholars who investigate the history of East Asian Buddhism—and particularly the literary corpus we rather audaciously refer to in English as the Buddhist canon or *da zangjing*

⁵² ‘Legacy’ in OED, third ed., 2016: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/107006?rskkey=j23SzI&result=1#eid>, accessed February 2019.

大藏經 (lit. great storehouse of scriptures or classics) in Chinese—to pay more attention to one of the more pressing questions posed by our colleagues who work in the field of Jewish and Christian studies: is it vituperative to refer to the canonical collection of Jewish scriptures in Biblical Hebrew with some Aramaic, the Tanak (Tanakh), as the Old Testament? Should we, instead, refer to it as the Hebrew Bible? ‘Old Testament’ suggests that there must be a corresponding New Testament, and mistakenly implies that the Jewish Tanak is the same thing as the Christian Old Testament and is therefore obsolete. Whereas the Tanak consists of twenty-four books (Pentateuch [Torah], Nevi'im, and Ketuvim), the Catholic, Anglican, and Orthodox Christian Old Testaments, for example, include additional books considered apocryphal, deuterocanonical, or as pseudepigrapha (e.g., Judith, Baruch, Wisdom of Solomon, Maccabees, Enoch, etc.), which are not part of the Hebrew Bible, and yet were preserved in the Septuagint (Greek translation of an early Hebrew Bible). Different vocabularies, punctuation, canonical order, and emphases separate Masoretic manuscripts from the Vulgate and later derivatives. Furthermore, can there be a New Testament without an Old Testament, out of which, presumably, we can trace the legacy and multiple narratives of a singular Judeo-Christian tradition? What may be most important for specialists in the study of East Asian religions to bear in mind is what J. Z. Smith refers to as ‘the relative economy of the library (*bibliotheca*)’ that stimulates these deliberations: ‘One thinks, by way of contrast, of the Ming Daoist canon with its 1607 supplement, which contains 1,487 separate texts, or the already noted Chinese Buddhist Canon (84,000), and distinctive Tibetan collections totaling 4,681 titles.’⁵³ Smith cites Lewis Lancaster on the contents of the Tibetan *bKa' gyur* and the *bsTan gyur*, and Nanjō Bunyū 南条文雄 (1849–1927) and Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900) for the

⁵³ Smith, ‘Religion and Bible’, especially 17.

⁵⁴ Smith cites Lancaster, ‘Buddhist Literature’; see also ‘Editing Buddhist Texts’ on the Tibetan canon. For the Chinese, he cites Müller, *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, 114, note 10 and suggests that the brochure, *English Translation Project*, 2, corroborates the claim of 84,000 texts. 84,000 far exceeds the

‘84,000’ texts in the Chinese Buddhist canon.⁵⁴ Just because there are many more sacred books in the various Buddhist canons than in, for example, the Tanak (Tanakh) or the Bible, this does not mean that the order of the books is any less significant for Buddhists than it is for Jews or Christians. Whether in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, German, or English, Genesis comes first in both the Tanak and the Bible, and it appears to have been this way for a long, long time. Perhaps the same can be said for the order of the East Asian Buddhist canon(s), which warrant further scrutiny.

Jerome (347–420), who translated the Septuagint from Greek into Latin, the Vulgate, was a contemporary of Faxian. Like Jerome, Faxian’s notoriety appears to be eclipsed by posterity. Nearly all signs point to the fact that he was surpassed in almost every conceivable way by Xuanzang. Whereas Faxian spent only slightly less time away on his quest than Xuanzang did (399–412 or 413 versus 629–645), the 1335 rolls of seventy-five different titles that Xuanzang translated from Sanskrit manuscripts seems to have cemented his preeminence. Yet when we look more closely at manuscripts in whose hands we can determine the context for their production and several plausible uses, some of which are almost certainly religious, it may very well have been Faxian’s status as a pilgrim, first and foremost, that inspired medieval Japanese as much or more than Yijing or Xuanzang.

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Abbreviations

- BD *Dunhuang Baozang* 敦煌寶藏. See Bibliography, Sources, *Dunhuang Baozang*.
 Dx. or F. Dunhuang manuscript collection at the St. Petersburg

actual number of separate texts contained in any version of a Buddhist canon, and instead represents an immeasurable or all-inclusive number of the historical Buddha’s teachings, earthly desires, or even the number of *stūpas* King Aśoka (r. ca. 268–232 BCE) is said to have had built.

- Branch of the Institute of [дх and ф] Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences. Facsimile ed. See Bibliography, Sources, Dunhuang manuscript collection.
- NBZ *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書. See Bibliography, Sources, *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho*.
- P. Pelliot collection of Dunhuang manuscripts. See Bibliography, Sources, Pelliot collection of Dunhuang manuscripts.
- S. Stein collection of Dunhuang Manuscripts. See Bibliography, Sources, Stein collection of Dunhuang Manuscripts.
- T *Taishō shīnshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.

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PART THREE

Textual Studies

Research on Faxian VI: On the Chinese Term *Bangti* (傍梯) and *Yi* (杙) Corresponding to the Sanskrit *Śāṅkupatha* as Recorded by Faxian, Dharmodgata and Xuanzang*

HAIYAN HU-VON HINÜBER 胡海燕

*International Research Institute of Advanced Asian and Buddhist
Studies, Freiburg/Germany*

Keywords: Faxian, *bangti*, *śāṅkupatha*, Dharmodgata, *yi*, Xuanzang, *zhuoyi*, *bangyi*, 法顯, 傍梯, 曇無竭, 杙, 玄奘, 椽杙, 傍杙

Abstract: The *Foguo ji* 佛國記 [A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms] contains the following record: “Men of former times had bored into the stone to affix *bangti* [or pole-steps] to secure a path, there are seven hundred (pole-steps) we had to overcome” (昔人有鑿石通路施傍梯者, 凡度七百). Academics have long been uncertain regarding the best interpretation of “*bangti*”, a term of which I have already authored two articles that, based on textual research of early commentaries on Sanskrit grammar and a study of the relief sculpture on the Bhārhuṭ Buddhist *stūpa*, suggest it to signify the *śāṅkupatha* (*xiezilu* 楔子路) found in the northern mountainous region of India. The *Han shu* 漢書 [Book of Han] names these ‘peg roads’ “hanging

* In March 2017, the Wutaishan International Institute of Buddhist Studies and the University of British Columbia jointly held an international conference on the eminent Buddhist monk Faxian (4th–5th century) in Xiangyuan County,

passages". This article provides supplementary evidence to substantiate those two articles, specifically, the three sources considered herein are: (1) the account in the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 [Biographies of Eminent Monks] of Dharmodgata navigating a cliff face using “*yi* 杙” and Xuanzang’s account in the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 [Records of the Western Regions of the Great Tang Empire] of a very similar passage that he describes the crossing of as “*zhuoyi niedeng* 椽杙躡蹬”; (2) records of “hanging passages” within Chinese historical records and Buddhist literature; and (3) recent accounts of two Western scholars’ visits to the area.

1. Preface: Another Look at Faxian’s *Bangti* 傍梯

Having crossed large tracts of Central Asian desert and the Pamir plateau (Chn. Congling 葱嶺), Dharma masters Faxian 法顯, Huijing 慧景, Daozheng 道整 and Huiying 慧應 found themselves faced with traversing the Indus River for the first time between Toli (Chn. Tuoli 陀歷) and Udyāna (Chn. Wuchang 烏菴). Considered alongside various other historical materials, Faxian’s writings indicate that passage through the Pamir mountains and plateau brought the travelers immediately into the Northern part of the ancient Indian area (Chn. Bei Tianzhu 北天竺). As Faxian wrote: ‘Across the mountains commenced Northern Tianzhu. As we advanced into the region, there was a small country named Toli’.¹ From there, Faxian and his party skirted the southern foot of the Pamir Plateau,

Shanxi Province, China. This paper arose from a report on exchanges during that conference with more recent findings included. I would like to thank the conference organizer, Prof. Chen Jinhua 陳金華 (Vancouver), for the kind invitation. The present English version has been largely translated by Jack Hargreaves (London) from an article written in Chinese, including numerous quotations from the original historical sources and Dharmodgata’s biography (§7). I sincerely thank Prof. Ji Yun 紀贇 (Singapore) who kindly organized the English translation as well as the editing of the proceedings of the above mentioned conference.

¹ T no. 2085, 51: 857c28–858a10: 度嶺已到北天竺, 始如其境有一小國名陀歷.

heading southwest for the next fifteen days, a route which saw them meet with extraordinary dangers. This belt is still widely known today as the Darel Valley. Located in what is now the northeastern mountainous region of present-day Pakistan, it fell within the territory of the ancient kingdom of Jibin 罽賓 (present southeast Afghanistan, northern Pakistan and northwestern Kashmir).² At that time, it was an unavoidable route for those hoping to reach Northern Tianzhu (India). Following Faxian's example, and in his footsteps, Buddhist monks from the Northern Tianzhu and the Han territories began a relationship of increased exchange via this area (see sections 3 and 5).

According to the *Foguo ji* 佛國記 (A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms), perched atop the sharp banks of the Indus River, Udyāna was only accessible by traversing the sheer cliff faces that lined the Sindhu/Indus River (Chn. *xintouhe* 新頭河). Here, 'men of former times had bored into the stone to affix *bangti* [or pole-steps] to secure a path, there are seven hundred (pole-steps) we had to overcome'.³ As is discussed in my 2011 paper, 'Research on Faxian II', multi-view research suggests that '*bangti*' 榜梯 (lit. pole-step) is Faxian's choice of term for referring to the Sanskrit *śaṅkupatha* (see section 2).⁴ The first element of the compound phrase, *śaṅku* means 'peg' or 'awl', which in classical Chinese was named 'yi' 杙. Sharpened to a point at one end, this 'peg' could be inserted into the ground for tethering livestock and other animals. In Ancient India, *śaṅku* were also used as a weapon or cutting tool. The second half of the phrase, *patha* means 'road' or 'path'. Together, *śaṅkupatha* signifies a road or passage that cannot be traversed without the use of pegs. Arriving at such a road,

² Concerning this area, see the recent publications by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan (ACT Project), for example, Meister and Olivieri, 'Gumbat Balo-Kale (Swat)'.

³ T no. 2085, 51: 857c28–858a10: 昔人有鑿石通路施榜梯者, 凡度七百。

⁴ See Hu-von Hinüber, 'Faxian's (342–423) Perception of India'. For the Chinese translation of this paper, see Hsue, *Qiufa Gaoseng Faxian jiqi 'Foguoji' Yanjiu*. Both the English original and Chinese translation have been jointly published in Hu-von Hinüber, *Dongjin Faxian's 'Foguoji' Yanjiu Lunwenji*.

the traveler would fix the pointed end of the *śāṅku* into the cliff face at ninety degrees to the surface, leaving a length of stick protruding from the wall onto which they could safely step. These pegs would support the whole weight of whoever was climbing the mountain (inclusive of their equipment and other baggage) above an open drop down the cliff side.

To safely negotiate such mountain roads required enormous skill and experience as well as a fair amount of physical strength and courage, and to some degree this sounds like a fantastical—and near preposterous—endeavour to modern populations who are used to living with advanced transportation and technology. Professional mountaineers might constitute the minority who find it both fascinating and impressive. But in previous ages, the ingenious *śāṅku-upatha* was an economical and expedient method of movement and transport. This article serves to supplement my 2011 thesis with new material evidence and focuses on the following three points:

1. Eight years after Faxian's return to his home country, 'having heard about Faxian and others trekking to the kingdoms of Buddha',⁵ Dharmodgata (Chn. Tanwujie 曇無竭; also, Fayong 法勇) set out to follow the route originally taken by Faxian in his quest for Dharma. In the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 [Biographies of Eminent Monks], Monk Huijiao 慧皎 describes the daring and skill shown by Dharmodgata and his entourage when walking the rocky cliff faces of Northern Tianzhu (India): 'Each man was equipped with four *yi*. First, he retrieved the lower peg, then grasping the peg above him with his hand, lifted himself along the wall, repeating this over and over' (see section 3).⁶
2. At the beginning of the fifth century, the Sanskrit poet Haribhaṭṭa, a contemporary of Faxian and Dharmodgata who lived in Kashmir, refashioned the stories of the Buddha's lives into his own telling using the popular title of the *Jātakamālā*

⁵ T no. 2059, 50:338b–339a: 嘗聞法顯等躬踐佛國。

⁶ T no. 2059, 50:338b–339a: 人各執四杙，先拔下杙，手攀上杙，展轉相攀。

(Chn. *Benshengman* 本生鬘). Haribhaṭṭa's retellings include a description of how the prince Sudhana used *śanku* to climb a mountain wall. This Sanskrit poem corresponds line by line, word by word with the above account of Dharmodgata's method (see section 4).

3. Similarly, in the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 [Records of the Western Regions of the Great Tang Empire], completed around two hundred years after Faxian and Dharmodgata's lifetimes, Master Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664) wrote of using a 'zhuoyi' 椽杙 (lit. hitting-peg) to climb a mountain. Moreover, one description therein includes the term 'bangyi' 傍杙 (lit. pole-pegs) which is lexically similar to Faxian's 'bangti' 傍梯.

This paper aims to evidence via comparison the equivalence of 'yi'—or 'bangyi'—as named by Dharmodgata and Xuanzang, and 'bangti', the term used by Faxian. Ultimately, the hope is to convince readers that all three terms are examples of the earliest attempts to translate the Sanskrit *śankupatha* into Chinese.

In March 2017, the Wutaishan International Institute of Buddhist Studies and the University of British Columbia jointly held an international conference on the topic of Faxian in Xiangyuan County, Shanxi Province, China. The objective of the conference was to elevate research on records by and biographies of eminent monks to new heights. This paper arose from a report on exchanges during that conference with more recent findings included. It concludes (section 6) by outlining the most recent relevant research published over the past years.

2. Multi-View Investigation of the Sanskrit Term *Śankupatha* (*Xiezilu* 楔子路; Lit. Peg Road)

In order to better compare Dharmodgata's and Xuanzang's accounts with those of Faxian, my 2011 thesis is summarised below according to four choice elements, namely, the original *Foguo ji* text, Chinese historical records, Sanskrit grammar and Indian art. New supplementary material is also included for each.⁷

2.1 Relevant Passages of the *Foguo ji*

Up until 2011, the research consensus with regard to the significance of *bangti* in the *Foguo ji* remained consistently ambiguous at best, with most scholars interpreting it to indicate a ‘stone step’ that was cut into a steep precipice using mining techniques.

Across the mountains commenced Northern Tianzhu... Following the Congling Mountains southwest for fifteen days, we took a challenging and precarious path by sharp slopes and drops. The terrain was only rock with a steep cliff wall 1000 *ren* 仞 across. Approaching the edge to look out sent my head spinning: if we hoped to traverse it, there was no place to put our feet. Below was the river named Xintou (i.e. Indus). Men of former times had bored into the stone to affix *bangti* [or pole-steps] to secure a path, there are seven hundred steps we had to overcome. After traversing the steps, we had to walk on tiptoes along a suspended rope to cross the river. From bank to bank was nearly eighty double steps. According to all reports (*jiuyi* 九譯, lit. nine translations), neither Zhang Qian 張騫 (164–114 BCE) nor Gan Ying 甘英 (d.u.) of the Han Dynasty made it this far.⁸

To an extent, the scholars’ misunderstanding can be attributed to uncertainty as to the specific meaning of ‘*zaoshi tonglu*’ 凿石通路—‘bored into the stone to secure a path’. Certain scholars skimmed over this detail in the past, neglecting to give it proper attention, while Japanese scholars simply chose not to translate the phrase at all, opting instead to directly use the Chinese. In my opinion, although the phrase

⁷ For the sources of sections 2.1 to 2.4, see Hu-von Hinüber, ‘Faxian’s (342–423) Perception of India’, 224–31. For the Chinese translation, see Hu-von Hinüber, *Dongjin Faxian’s ‘Foguoji’ Yanjiu Lunwenji*, 88–101, 140–52. My apologies for not listing them in detail here.

⁸ *T* no. 2085, 51: 857c28–858a10: 度嶺已到北天竺。... 順嶺西南行十五日，其道艱阻、崖岸嶮絕。其山唯石，壁立千仞，臨之目眩，欲進則投足無所下。有水名新頭河。昔人有鑿石通路施傍梯者，凡度七百。度梯已，躡懸絙過河。河兩岸相去減八十步。九譯所記，漢之張騫、甘英皆不至此。

bangti consists of only two characters, it is a potential source of many valuable insights about the contemporary culture. Specifically, more detailed investigation of the term revealed two reasons why the question of its meaning is so much more complex than previously considered.

First, without the means for blasting rock yet invented, cutting away the rock from a steep precipice so as to install steps would have required an inconceivably enormous construction effort, of which not a single record from relevant ancient documents about Northern Tianzhu (India) has been found to report. Therefore, it is highly unlikely that Faxian's '*bangti*' refers to steps cut or dug into the cliff face. Moreover, the original meaning of the second character '*ti*' 梯 was 'a spot where one places one's feet', or a 'foothold', and not at all what we associate with steps or ladders in modern vernacular.

Second, it took Faxian six years before he finally arrived in central India, a journey which saw him take innumerable treacherous paths. In the whole of the *Foguo ji*, which is a book celebrated for its concise style, the only road that Faxian describes is the one in question. It can be assumed then that if the *bangti* were not an unusual means of passage, Faxian would not have wasted his ink writing about it. Moreover, for him to have included such precise detail as the number of steps—'seven hundred' to be exact—betrays, perhaps unintentionally, Faxian's terror at having to traverse the long passage, a terror so great that many years later when he recalled the experience, still his 'heart raced and he started sweating'.⁹

⁹ See Hu-von Hinüber, 'The Case of the Missing Author', 310. *T* no. 2085, 51: 866b27–29:

After his additional stories. Faxian himself said: still today, when I look back at passed adventures, my heart involuntarily beats faster and sweat laces my forehead. Why did I encounter danger and rush into such an adventure without regard for my own life? It must have been due to the fact that I had a definite goal in mind on which I was concentrating in an unflinching and almost monomaniacal way. That is why I exposed my life where death seemed inevitable in the hope that I could be the only one of ten thousand who would survive. 自云: 顧尋所經, 不覺心動汗流。所以乘危履險、不惜此形者, 蓋是志有所存、專其愚直, 故投命於必死之地, 以達萬一之冀。

2.2 'Hanging Passages' in Chinese Historical Records and Buddhist Literature

Reports about the 'hanging passage' (Chn. *Xuandu* 悬度) of ancient Jibin 罽賓 can be found aplenty in historical documents. In the above extract from the *Foguo ji*, Faxian emphasises that neither Zhang Qian, an imperial envoy for the Western Han emperor, nor Gan Ying, sent to Daqin 大秦 in the ninth year of the Yongyuan era of the Eastern Han Dynasty (97 CE), ever travelled to the Darel Valley at the southern foot of the Pamir plateau.¹⁰

Current evidence shows that the earliest crossing of the Darel Valley via 'hanging passage' heading into northern Tianzhu (India) was probably completed by imperial envoy Cai Yin 蔡愔 and his team sent by the Emperor Ming (or Xiaoming) in the third year of the Yongping era of the Eastern Han Dynasty (60 CE). In *Shijia fangzhi* 釋迦方志 [Gazetteer of Buddhism], Xuanzang's contemporary Master Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667 CE) recorded that after being visited in a dream by a golden image of a man, Emperor Ming of Han dispatched Cai Yin and a retinue to 'cross the hanging passage located on the southern side of the snowy mountain' and enter India (Tianzhu) to search for the image of the Buddha. There, they were to appeal for the Buddha's teachings. Cai Yin returned to Luoyang in the tenth year of the Yongping era with Kāśyapa Mātāṅga (Chn. Jiayemoteng 迦葉摩騰) and Dharmaratna (Chn. Zhufalan 竺法蘭) at his side, for this occasion the Ming emperor ordered Baima Temple 白馬寺 be built:

In the Later Han, year three of the Yongping era, Emperor Ming alias Xianzong dreamed of a golden figure over one *zhang* (about three meters) tall, the light of the sun and moon around his neck, who flew up to the [emperor's] palace. In the morning, the emperor asked his

¹⁰ Gan Ying's diplomatic mission was assigned to him by the Protector-general of the Western Regions, Ban Chao 班超 (32–93), and eventually took him to Daqin 大秦, which was the ancient Chinese name for the Roman Empire, specifically, its territories in Western Asia.

officials and advisors what the dream meant, to which the learned court scribe and astrologer Fu Yi 傅毅 replied: Your subject has heard that there is a divine figure in the Western Regions who is named Buddha. Your majesty must have dreamt of him. The Emperor thus dispatched the senior official Cai Yin and the court academician Qin Jing 秦景 among others to cross the hanging passage located on the southern side of the snowy mountain to arrive in India (Tianzhu) and search for Buddhist Dharma by finding that image [from his dream]. When they returned with the *śramāṇas* Kāśyapa Mātāṅga and Dharmaratna, they followed by the original route back all the way to Luoyang.¹¹

Ban Gu 班固 (32–93) included a chapter about Jibin in section 66 of the tales of the Western Regions within the *Han shu* 漢書 [Book of Han]. He describes the intimidating ‘hanging passages’, therein:

In addition, they pass over the ranges [known as hills of the] Greater and the Lesser Headache, and the slopes of the Red Earth and the Fever of the Body. These cause a man to suffer fever; he has no color, his head aches and he vomits; asses and stock animals all suffer in this way. Furthermore, there are the Three Pools and the Great Rock Slopes, with a path that is a foot and six or seven inches wide, but leads forward for a length of thirty li, overlooking a precipice whose depth is unfathomed. Travellers passing on horse or foot hold on to one another and pull each other along with ropes; and only after a journey of more than two thousand li do they reach the Suspended Crossing. When animals fall, before they have dropped half-way down the chasm they are shattered in pieces, and when men fall, the situation is such that they are unable to rescue one another. The danger of these precipices begs description.¹²

¹¹ T no. 2088, 51: 969a14–20: 後漢顯宗孝明皇帝，永平三年夜夢金人，身長丈餘，項佩日月光，飛行殿前。帝問群臣，通人傅毅曰：臣聞西域有神其名曰佛，陛下所夢將必是乎。帝乃遣郎中蔡愔博士秦景等，從雪山南頭懸度道，入到天竺，圖其形像尋訪佛法。將沙門迦葉摩騰、竺法蘭等還，尋舊路而屆雒陽。

¹² This translation is taken from Hulsewé, *China in Central Asia*, 110f. For

Daoxuan recorded a similar event during the final year of the Northern Wei Emperor Taiwu's reign (452), when *śramaṇa* Daoyao 道藥 travelled along the ancient road equipped by the kingdom *Sule* 疎勒 with Kašgar in Central Asia as its capital and then crossed that hanging passage to arrive at Saṃkāśya (Chn. Sengjiashi guo 僧伽施國) in the Ganges region of Central India. Later, he set out from there to retrace his earlier route homeward:

In the last year of the reign of Emperor Taiwu during the Later (i.e.) Northern Wei, the *śramaṇa* Daoyao entered the hanging passages from the Sule road and arrived at Saṃkāśya before returning by following his former way. He recorded this in a one-fascicle account.¹³

In the first year of the Shengui era of Northern Wei Emperor Ming's reign, Empress Dowager Hu sent *bhikṣu* Huisheng 惠生 of Luoyang's Chongli Monastery and Song Yun 宋雲 of Dunhuang to the Western Regions to retrieve Buddhist literature. According to the *Beiwei seng Huisheng shi Xiyu ji* 北魏僧惠生使西域記 [Record of Northern Wei Monk Huisheng's Mission to the Western Regions], having traversed the Pamir mountains, Huisheng and his retinue succeeded in crossing the 'hanging passage' so as to reach Udyāna (Chn. Wuchang guo 烏場國):

the Chinese, see *Han shu*, 3887: 又歷大頭痛、小頭痛之山，赤土身熱之阪，令人身熱無色，頭痛嘔吐，驢畜盡然。又有三池磐石阪，道陘者尺六七寸，長者徑三十里。臨崢嶸不測之深，行者騎步相持，繩索相引，二千余里乃到懸度。畜隊，未半阬谷盡靡碎；人墮，勢不得相收視。險阻危害，不可勝言。

¹³ *T* no. 2088, 51:969c4–6: 後魏太武末年，沙門道藥從疎勒道入經懸度到僧伽施國。及返還尋故道，著傳一卷。In *Guang Hongming ji*, Xuandao explains the meaning of 'xuandu' 懸度, emphasizing that it should not be confused with 'xiandou' 賢豆, 'shendu' 身毒 or 'tiandu' 天毒: 'Xuandu, hanging passages, are dangerous paths in Northern Tianzhu, one walks across chains to cross them' (*T* no. 2103, 52:129b5–6: 尋夫懸度乃北天之險地，乘索而度也). The potential for misunderstanding here not only lies in the closeness of pronunciation but may also come from the fact that taking the 'xuandu', or hanging passage, was necessary for crossing the 'shendu' river into the kingdom of 'shendu'.

Gradually leaving Congling (Pamir), the road which is all hard and full of sharp stone becomes threateningly dangerous, and so steep that only one man or one horse alone can pass through. The ground under iron chains and hanging passages is beyond one's sight. During the first third of the twelfth month, they entered the kingdom of Udyāna which in the north borders the Pamir and in the south is connected with India. The climate is mild and the plateau fields fertile. It is highly populous and abundant of goods.¹⁴

In terms of direction, Huisheng's route was identical to that of Cai Yin (in the Eastern Han Dynasty, completing the round trip between 60–67 CE), Faxian (in the Eastern Jin Dynasty, travelling toward India from 399–405 CE), and Dharmodgata (also in the Eastern Jin, departing in 420 CE). Two hundred years later, Xuanzang followed that very same path. There is a variety of data to suggest that the so-called 'hanging passages' in fact included a whole

¹⁴ T no. 2086, 51:867a14–17: 漸出葱嶺，磽角危峻，人馬僅通。鐵鎖懸度，下不見底。十二月初旬入烏場國，北接葱嶺，南連天竺，土氣和暖，原田臚臚，民物殷阜。In *juan* five of the *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 [A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang], completed in the middle of the sixth century, Yang Xuanzhi 楊銜之 recorded the journey that Song Yun 宋雲 and Huisheng 惠生 took to gather scripture:

The high road was extremely dangerous and barely accommodated one person and a horse. Between Paṭola Śāhi (Chn. *Bolule guo* 鉢盧勒國) to Udyāna was a bridge of iron chains that hung over the river. The ground below was beyond our sight. Without anyone to hold on to at your side, you might fall 10,000 *ren* below. Consequently, the travellers eschewed this route as soon as they got wind of it. At the beginning of the twelfth month, they entered Udyāna which in the north borders the Congling (Pamir) and in the south is connected with Tianzhu (India). The climate is mild and there are several thousand villages. It is highly populous and abundant of goods. 峻路危道，人馬僅通一直一道。從鉢盧勒國向烏場國，鍊鎖爲橋，懸虛爲渡。下不見底，旁無挽捉，倏忽之間投軀萬仞，是以行者望風謝路耳。十二月初入烏場國。北接葱嶺，南連天竺。土氣和暖，地方數千，民物殷阜 (T no. 2092, 51: 1019c14–19).

gamut of dangerous corridors throughout Darel Valley. Taking all of them into consideration, the peg paths (Skt. *śāṅkupatha*) undoubtedly belonged to the most perilous track.¹⁵ Xuanzang himself later stated that the diverse challenges included ‘sometimes walking rope bridges, sometimes climbing iron chains. Also, a plank path suspended over an open drop—that perilous flying bridge—required carefully stepping across the pegs hit [into the wall]’¹⁶ (see section 5).

¹⁵ Archaeological research and surveying of this area, as well as the resulting reports, were carried out over the previous centuries by such influential figures as the British archaeologist A. Cunningham, who worked in the middle of the nineteenth century during Britain’s colonial era, British Indologist and scholar of central Asia, A. Stein, who worked during the early twentieth century and late-twentieth century Japanese scholar Tsuchiya Haruko 土谷遙子.

¹⁶ *T* no. 2087, 51: 884b6-b9: 或覆繩索、或牽鐵鎖，棧道虛臨，飛梁危構，椽杙躡躑。Xuanzang’s disciple Huili 慧立, in *Da Tang Da Ci’en si sanzang fashi zhuàn*, also refers to his master Xuanzang’s journey across the hanging passage: With a whole twenty years of resources for the return journey, Xuanzang admitted that he felt inevitable unease at where to begin. Leaving the water source in Turfan there are hardly any damp areas in the desert. Having climbed the Pamir Mountains, one is grateful to have overcome this difficult task. If you’ve survived the hazard of the hanging passage, then there’s no greater concern than this’. 令充二十年往還之資，伏對驚慚不知啓處。決交河之水，比澤非多。舉葱嶺之山，方恩豈重。懸度陵溪之險，不復爲憂。 (*T* no. 2053, 50:226a6–a9)

Also:

During the Zhenguan era, India (Shendu) was converted to a good relationship with Tang’s China. The official calendar of the Tang has been posted there via the hot desert; India’s state gifts were brought to China over the hanging passage. Communication and traffic between both countries became increasingly uniform; there were hardly any obstacles on the travel route. *Śramaṇa* Xuanzang set out leant on a monk’s staff in search of the true Dharma, leaving via the Jade Gate (Yumen Pass), he persisted onward the Ambavana (at Rājagṛha) and finally reached India’. 貞觀中年，身毒歸化。越熱阪而頒朔，跨懸度以輪躑。文軌既同，道路無擁。沙門玄奘，振錫尋真。出自玉關，長驅奈苑，至於天竺。 (*T* no. 2053, 5: 258b19–b22)

2.3 Sanskrit Grammar and *Śāṅkupaṭha* in Its Commentaries

The *śāṅkupaṭha* in Darel Valley was, according to Faxian, built by ‘men of former times [who] had bored into the stone to affix *bangti* [or pole-steps] to secure a path’. Likewise, Dharmodgata described that ‘the stone wall’s surface was covered with holes for pegs arranged in a systematic way’.¹⁷ Given that these *bangti* were built by former generations, it is sensible to scour records within Indian literature that precede the fifth century for other instances of *śāṅkupaṭha*.

Relative to that of Chinese literature, the study of ancient Indian historical documents developed late (around the tenth century) and was hindered by considerable regional limitations. As a result, erroneous notions are commonplace in the field. One such belief is that historiography does not exist in India. Clearly, this is not the case. Despite India lacking a formal written language prior to Aśoka’s reign in the Mauryan Dynasty (third century BCE), thanks to the unique means of oral transmission developed by the Aryans, a great number of the Vedic texts has been successfully conveyed from the eleventh century BCE until today with an impeccable degree of accuracy. Buddhism from fifth century BCE also possessed a similar oral tradition that was used to transmit knowledge, as did the Sanskrit grammatical system of the same era. It is as a result of India’s unique cultural formation that the country’s most valuable legacies were preserved using oral means.

There are two Indian grammarians who did interpret the Sanskrit term *śāṅkupaṭha* in the third and second centuries BCE. By then the knowledge of Sanskrit used in authoritative texts had long been preserved via an unprecedented three-tiered system of review, namely, *sūtra* followed by elaboration followed by commentary.¹⁸ Below is a brief outline of the system’s development centered on three principal grammar treatises that were completed chronologically:

¹⁷ T no. 2059, 50:338b–339a: 石壁皆有故杙孔，處處相對。

¹⁸ The threefold system *jīng* 經 → *zhu* 注 → *shu* 疏 meaning that an elaboration (Vārttika) was written on the original *sūtra* and a commentary (Bhāṣyā) was written about the elaboration at an even later date.

1. The father of Sanskrit grammar was Pāṇini who lived sometime during the fourth and fifth centuries BCE. His grammar is called *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, hence the text's alternate name of the *Pāṇinisūtra*.¹⁹
2. Approximately in the third century BCE, another grammarian named Kātyāyana produced a *Vārttika*, or elaboration, on Pāṇini's grammar.
3. The above two books, however, are only conserved as quotations within the *Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣyā*, or the *Mahābhāṣya* for short, completed in second century BCE by Patañjali.

The 'sūtra' in the *Pāṇinisūtra*'s title indicates a specific genre of ancient Indian text that typically comprises a condensed manual of 'aphoristic scripture'.²⁰ In less than four thousand lines, the *Pāṇinisūtra* covers the whole of Sanskrit grammar. Besides its contents, the book's author himself is also of interest to our discussion of *śāṅkupaṭha*, specifically given his birthplace. According to Xuanzang's records, Pāṇini was born in Śālātura, the northern mountain region of what is present-day Pakistan and an unavoidable passage in monks' progress west to search for Dharma.

The *Pāṇinisūtra*, chapter 5, section 1, line 77 reads '*uttarapaṭhenābhṛtam ca*', which refers to '[goods brought via the Northern Route] a word which can be used by analogy to construct other words'.²¹ This succinct expression attests to a system of word-building for nouns: (a) Here, the meaning in Sanskrit, 'something brought via the Northern route', expressed with the noun *ābhṛtam* combined with the instrumental case *uttarapaṭhena* can also be uttered by forming the noun *uttarapaṭhikam*. The grammatical rule in this

¹⁹ For details, see Jin, 'Fanyu yufa *Bonini jing* gaishu'.

²⁰ 'Jing' 經 in 'Fojing' 佛經 meaning Buddhist *sūtra*, also has this meaning. An early text referred to as a *sūtra* typically had to follow a fixed form and contain a specific type of content.

²¹ Regarding the *uttarapaṭha* (northern routes), see Neelis, *Early Buddhist Transmission and Trade Networks*, 183f.

case requires that the initial simple vowel ‘u’ (cero grade) should be replaced by its *Vṛddhi* vowel ‘au’ (lengthened grade). In addition, the nominalizing suffix ‘-ika’ is to be attached to the end of the word. In this way, a noun can be constructed in the neuter.²² (b) Following the same rule, the meaning in Sanskrit, ‘someone who travels via the northern route’, can be directly expressed with the noun ‘*uttarapatthikah*’. This construction also requires that we replace the weak grade vowel of ‘u’ at the start of the word with the protracted ‘au’ vowel and attach the nominalizing suffix ‘-ika’ so as to complete the masculine noun form.

The *Mahābhāṣya* indicates that Kātyāyana, the commentator of Pāṇini’s grammar who lived approximately a century after his predecessor, expanded on ‘via the Northern route’ *uttarapatthena* with the instrumental dual *ajapathasāṅkupathābhyām*. ca which means ‘via both the goat- and the peg-path as well (i.e. from both these words nouns can also be formed)’. In this grammar example, Kātyāyana identified ‘the Northern route’ with two types of passage that were unique to the Northern mountains: *ajapatha*, or a ‘goat path’, and *sāṅkupatha*, or a ‘peg-path’.²³ Another century later, Patañjali, the synthesizing commentator of the Sanskrit grammar and the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, succeeded to explain Kātyāyana’s above examples more comprehensible:

ajapathasāṅkupathābhyām ceti vaktavyam /
ajapathena gacchaty ājapathikah / ajapathenāhṛtam ājapathikam /
sāṅkupathena gacchati sāṅkupathikah / sāṅkupathenāhṛtam sāṅk-
upathikam /

²² The nouns in question are constructed according to the traditional Sanskrit word-building system named *ṭhañ*. See Böhtlingk, *Pāṇini’s Grammar*, 166b.

²³ For further information on ‘*shanyanglu*’ 山羊路 (*ajapatha* or goat-path) and ‘*muguanlu*’ 木管路 (*vetrapatha* or wood-pole-path), see Hu-von Hinüber, ‘Faxian’s (342–423) Perception of India’.

[Here, with regards to Kātyāyana’s commentary], the following should be taught: ‘[(goods brought) via both the goat- and the peg-path] Both these words can be used by analogy to construct the corresponding noun’.

‘To go via the goat-path’ can be expressed as *ājapathikaḥ* [Author’s note: a masculine noun that means “somebody who takes a goat-path’, for which the grammar rule dictates that the initial strengthened gradation vowel of ‘a’ (Guṇa) is replaced with the protracted ‘ā’ (*Vṛddhi*) as well the nominalising suffix ‘-ika’ is added];

‘Goods brought via the goat-path’ can be expressed as *ājapathikam* [Author’s note: a neuter noun that means “something which has been transported via a goat-path’, for which the grammar rule dictates that the initial strengthened gradation vowel of ‘a’ is replaced with the protracted ‘ā’ as well the nominalising suffix ‘-ika’ is added].

‘To go via the peg-path’ can be expressed as *śāṅkupathikaḥ* [Author’s note: a masculine noun that means ‘somebody who takes a peg-path’, for which the grammar rule dictates that the initial strengthened gradation vowel of ‘a’ is replaced with the protracted ‘ā’ as well the nominalizing suffix ‘-ika’ is added].

‘Goods brought via the peg-path’ can be expressed as *śāṅkupathikam* [Author’s note: a neuter noun that means ‘something which has been transported via a peg-path’, for which the grammar rule dictates that the initial strengthened gradation vowel of ‘a’ is replaced with the protracted ‘ā’ as well the nominalizing suffix ‘-ika’ is added].

Typically, grammarians avoid using rare or anachronistic terms in their examples, preferring to quote actively used vocabulary. Therefore, it can be assumed that the terms cited above, such as *śāṅkupatha*, not only existed already in Ancient India, but were in common usage, especially in the mountains of Northern regions. This clarification allows us to more accurately assess the link between the Darel Valley landscape and the language used to describe it.



FIG. 1 A relief carving from the stūpa in Bhārhut. Photo courtesy: Dr. Tadashi TANABE 田辺理. The National Museum in New Delhi, exhibit no. 68.163.

2.4 The Relief Sculpture on India's Bhārhut Buddhist *Stūpa*

Ancient Indian archaeological findings, epigraphy (the study of inscriptions), and the history of art are all imperative and indispensable disciplines in the pursuit of a comprehensive history of early Buddhism. Only by combining these fields can textual and pictorial materials be accurately connected. The Buddhist *stūpa* in Bhārhut, central India is surrounded by railings which bear exquisite relief carvings dating from the second or third century BCE. One of the sculpted representations (see Figure 1) shows two men who are each holding four pegs in their hands and climbing a cliff face. Both men's feet are also supported on pegs, as is described by Xuanzang as 'stepping across the pegs hit [into the wall]' (see section 5.1).²⁴ Likewise, Dharmodgata's description discussed above seems to accurately capture the scene depicted by the carving as well: 'Each man was equipped with four *yī*. First, he retrieved the lowest peg, then grasping the peg above him with his hand, lifted himself along the wall, repeating this

²⁴ T no. 2087, 51: 884b6–b9: 椽杙蹶躑.

over and over' (see section 3).²⁵ The two men in the image, likely of the forest- and mountain-dwelling Śābara people, are wearing 'clothing' made of leaves. Upon the backs of these *sāṅkupathikah*, or 'people who take a peg-path', are baskets that contain an unknown cargo, which Patañjali would have identified as *sāṅkupathikam*, or 'something which has been transported via a peg-path'.

3. Dharmodgata's (Tanwujie 曇無竭; Alias Fayong 法勇) Use of 'Yi' 杙

After returning to Han territory, Faxian set about writing the *Foguo ji*. In the year 414, when the book was completed, its reception was one of widespread shock and awe. It is through this text that, a mere six years later, Dharmodgata, 'heard about Faxian and others trekking to the kingdoms of Buddha', and, deeply moved by their dedication, 'vowed to leave behind his life' to follow the example of Faxian.²⁶ In the first year of the Yongchu era of the Liu Song reign (420, during the Northern and Southern dynasties), Dharmodgata and his fellow *śramaṇas*, altogether twenty five of them, set out via the same route westward on a quest for Dharma. Only twenty-one years separated Dharmodgata's and Faxian's travels to India. It was while receiving the monk ordination (*upasampadā*) in India that Fayong was bestowed his Buddhist name of Dharmodgata (or Dharmakṣama) in Sanskrit by Master Buddhahadra (Chn. Fotuoduoluo 佛馱多羅).

In Huijiao's (approx. 497–554) collected biographies of eminent monks, the *Gaoseng zhuan*, Dharmodgata sits immediately after Faxian.²⁷ By comparison with all other Dharmodgata biographies to

²⁵ *T* no. 2059, 50:338b–339a: 人各執四杙, 先拔下杙, 手攀上杙, 展轉相攀。

²⁶ *Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2019, 50: 3.338b28–29: 嘗聞法顯等躬踐佛國。乃慨然有忘身之誓。

²⁷ See *T* no. 2059, 50: 337b9–b12: *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳, *juan* three. Written by *śramaṇa* Huijiao of Jiexiang Monastery 嘉祥寺 in Huiji 會稽 during the Liang Dynasty. In the second part of the section *Yijing* 譯經 [Translated Scripture], Faxian I, Dharmodgata II. Also, see *T* no. 2059, 50: 419b24–b26, *Gaoseng*

which we still have access today, namely, Sengyou's 僧祐 (445–518) *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 [Records on the Collected Texts in the Tripiṭaka],²⁸ Fei Zhangfang's 費長房 *Lidai Sanbao Ji* 歷代三寶紀 [Records of the Three Treasures Throughout the Successive Dynasties],²⁹ and Zhipan's 志磐 *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 [Chronological

zhuan, *juan* three, in the second part of the section about thirteen translators: Faxian of Xing Monastery 辛寺 in Jiangling 江陵 during the Liu Song Dynasty (420–479), and Dharmodgata from Huanglong 黃龍 in the Liu Song Dynasty.

²⁸ *T* no. 2145, 55:12a28–b2: '*Guanshiyin shouji jing* 觀世音授記經 [Avalokiteśvara's Prediction Sūtra], *juan* one. This *sūtra* only contains one *juan*. During the reign of Emperor Wu of Liu Song (363–422), *śramaṇa* Dharmodgata from Huanglong travelled west to India and returned with this *sūtra* before translating it'. 觀世音授記經一卷。右一部，凡一卷。宋武帝時，黃龍國沙門曇無竭。遊西域譯出。

²⁹ *T* no. 2034, 49:92c12–c19:

Guanshiyin pusa shouji jing 觀世音菩薩授記經 [Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara's Prediction Sūtra], *juan* one. Second translation of this text. Slightly different from the Dharmarakṣa's translation (Chn. Zhufahu 竺法護) during the Jin Dynasty. In *Waiguo zhuan* 外國傳 [Records of Foreign Kingdoms] *juan* five, Dharmodgata's journey west is recorded. Both these texts together total six *juan*. In the first year of the Yongchu era during Emperor Wu's reign, *śramaṇa* Dharmodgata from Huanglong, whose Song (i.e. Chinese) name was Fayong, gathered twenty-five brother monks including Sengmeng 僧猛 and set out toward the western regions for twenty years with them. Everyone else stayed abroad or died, only Dharmodgata returned home, he brought this Sanskrit sutra which he copied in Jibin. In the final year of the Yuanjia era, he arrived in Jiangzuo and immediately translated the text in capital Yang(zhou). See the records by Wang Song, Sengyou, Huijiao, Li Kuo, Fashang, and others saying that he (Dharmodgata) wrote a travel report consisting of five *juans*. 《觀世音菩薩授記經》一卷，第二出，與晉世竺法護譯者小異。《外國傳》五卷，竭自遊西域事。右二部合六卷。武帝世永初元年，黃龍國沙門曇無竭，宋言法勇，招集同志釋僧猛等二十五人，共遊西域二十餘年。自外並化，唯竭隻還。於罽賓國寫得前件梵本經來。元嘉末年達於江左，即於楊都自宣譯出。見王宋·僧祐·慧皎·李廓·法上等錄，白：著《行記》五卷。

Record of the Buddhas and Patriarchs] from the Southern Song Dynasty,³⁰ it is clear that Huijiao's is the most detailed. Despite being short, Dharmodgata's biography is an invaluable source of information about the culture of eminent monks during the Eastern Jin Dynasty.³¹

Following Faxian's route to India as was intended from the beginning, Dharmodgata and his team, after 'ascending to the Pamir plateau and crossing the snowy mountains', inevitably arrived at the *śaṅkupatha* for the next step of the journey. Dharmodgata used the Chinese word 'yi' 杙 for rendering the Sanskrit *śaṅku*, which is a fitting interpretation both in terms of what it evokes visually and how accurately it corresponds to the original: 'yi' is a small wooden peg or short wooden stick with a sharpened end very similar in shape to the Sanskrit *śaṅku*.³²

Dharmodgata provided a description of how people used these 'yi' to climb along a cliff wall: each person carried four pegs in their hands and to progress would first pull out the peg below them, then insert it into the hole previously cut out by former travelers, thus permitting them to navigate perilous and challenging cliff faces one peg at a time.

³⁰ T no. 2035, 49:344a13–a15:

Śramaṇa Dharmodgata from Huanglong and twenty-five monks including Sengmeng travelled to the western heavens (i.e. India) together in search of Buddhist scripture for more than twenty years. Only Dharmodgata returned to capital Yang(zhou) and translated the *Sūtras* (brought back). 黃龍國沙門曇無竭與僧猛等二十五人，往西天求經越二十年。唯無竭還揚都譯經。

³¹ For the full text of Dharmodgata's biography as recorded by Huijiao (T no. 2059, 50:338b–339a), see appendix with the Chinese original.

³² In the early fifth century, it is possible that the 'yi' (pegs) used for climbing rock faces were made of metal. For example, the *Jātakamālā* mentions iron pegs (see section 4). However, compared with wooden pegs, the extra weight involved with carrying four metal pegs will have been considerable. It is important to note that Xuanzang's seventh century record of his passage wrote 'yi' 杙 and 'zhuoyi' 椽杙 using the radical for wood, 木.

After three day travel, we had to traverse the snow mountain once more. The cliff faces rose vertically around us and there was nowhere for our feet to find solid purchase. Also, the stone wall's surface was covered with holes for pegs arranged by former people in a systematic way. Each man was equipped with four *yi*. First, he retrieved the lower peg, then grasping the peg above him with his hand, lifted himself along the wall, repeating this over and over. It took a whole day to cross this section when our feet finally returned to flat ground and we waited for the others to arrive so as to count our numbers: twelve of the entourage had perished (see section 3).

If once more we look back at the relief carving upon the stūpa's railing in Bhārhut (see section 2.4), then we will find a scene that is highly reminiscent of this account by Dharmodgata. Similarly, the above description corresponds word for word with the poem in the *Jātakamālā* discussed below (see section 4). Dharmodgata's words are particularly valuable too in helping us to understand the multitude finer details of the *Foguo ji* text (see section 2.1):

1. Both explanations as to why Faxian and Dharmodgata were forced to cross the peg-path, in order to advance, center around the same reason: along the steep precipice, there was nowhere to place their feet. Faxian worded this: 'The terrain was only rock with a steep cliff wall 1000 *ren* 仞 across. Approaching the edge to look out sent my head spinning: if we attempted to go forward, there was no place to put our feet'. Whereas Dharmodgata wrote: 'The cliff faces rose vertically around us and there was nowhere for our feet to find solid purchase'.
2. Both also indicated that the peg-path on their journey west was already installed by people before them when they arrived, likely the local people of Northern Tianzhu (India). Faxian said 'men of former times had bored into the stone to affix *bangti* [or pole-steps] to secure a path'. While Dharmodgata wrote that 'the stone wall's surface was covered with old holes for pegs'.
3. This dangerous 'peg-path' was by no means short, as Faxian

emphasized by pointing out the ‘seven hundred steps’. As one can probably imagine, traversing a cliff face across so many peg-steps, each as dangerous as the last, was a time-consuming challenge. Dharmodgata confirms that it ‘took a whole day to cross this section when [his] feet finally returned to flat ground’—a mention of time which is absent in the *Foguo ji*. Together, the monks’ accounts paint a complete picture of the daring journey, with Faxian providing the number of *bangti* (peg-steps) crossed and Dharmodgata the necessary time for crossing them.³³

4. Faxian, Huijing, Daozheng and Huiying apparently did not lose a member of their team at this stage and whether they received assistance from the local inhabitants is unknown. By contrast, Dharmodgata and his team of twenty-five suffered heavy sacrifices, with their numbers cut in half by the time they reached the other side: ‘...when our feet finally returned to flat ground and we waited for the others to arrive so as to count our numbers: twelve of the entourage had perished’.

Although Huijiao never includes Faxian’s term ‘*bangti*’ in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, opting instead to adopt Dharmodgata’s practical

³³ In 1987, after conducting a site survey in Darel Valley, Karl Jettmar, an ethnologist of the Heidelberg University, wrote an article: ‘The “Suspended Crossing”: Where and Why?’. His description agrees with the records of Faxian and Dharmodgata: ‘Diplomatic missions, merchants, and Buddhist pilgrims had the option to choose a time-saving but dangerous way to shorten the process. They could use the only permanent open connection between the Transhimalayan zone and the south, namely the Suspended Crossing. ...When this footpath was used by peddlers coming from the north, they had to leave the bank of the Indus between Shatial and Sazin and climb up to a place near the village of Sazin, approximately 300 meters higher than the bottom of the Indus valley. There a group of stone slabs marked the beginning of the most dangerous part of the track. It was practicable only because tree branches had been fixed in fissures on the rock supporting galleries, steps had been carved out, in many places there were logs with notches to be used as ladders’.

translation of ‘yi’, he does place the two monks side by side for ease of comparison:

I believe the True Dharma is profound and vast, uncontainable even by eight hundred million letters. Yet the scriptures we have acquired through translation so far number barely more than a thousand volumes. These are works retrieved by transcending desert boundaries and surpassing great dangers. Climbing over perilous routes when the smoke fired by the locals was seen as a signal for traversal or relying on pegs to continue forward. When they finally met again at the destination and counted their number, then usually eight to nine persons out of ten companions lost their lives. This is why Faxian, Zhimeng 智猛, Zhiyan 智嚴, Fayong and others finally returned home all alone although each of them did form a retinue with many companions on departure. What a dreadful outcome! So it should be known that every sacred scripture retrieved in this country had in fact been paid for with the lives of Buddhist monks.³⁴

4. *A Jātakamālā* Poem about Sudhana Climbing a Mountain Wall with *Śaṅku*

In the early fifth century, the Sanskrit poet Haribhaṭṭa, a contemporary of Faxian and Dharmodgata, used the popular title *Jātakamālā* for his refashioned telling of the Buddha’s life stories. In one piece, the poet from Jibin (Kashmir) describes how the prince Sudhana used *śaṅku* to climb a precipice. Again, the lyrics of the poem almost exactly correspond to Dharmodgata’s above account:

*tatra bhūbhṛty ayaḥśaṅkum mudgareṇa garīyasā
kiṣkumātre sthīrikartum ājaghāna punaḥ punaḥ.*

³⁴ *T* no. 2059, 50:346a10–a15: 竊惟正法淵廣，數盈八億。傳譯所得，卷止千餘。皆由踰越沙阻，履跨危絕。或望烟渡險，或附杙前身，及相會推求，莫不十遺八九。是以法顯、智猛、智嚴、法勇等，發趾則結旅成群，還至則顧影唯一，實足傷哉！當知一經達此，豈非更賜壽命。

*taṃ ca kīlakam āruhya sa jaghānāparam punaḥ
sthitvā tatra ca taṃ kīlam adbastād udapāṭayat.*

With a heavy hammer, he drove on the iron peg again and again, in order to fix it one yard deep into the mountain face. And after he climbed on this peg, he hammered in another peg. He then stood on this one and pulled out the peg below.

This practice of climbing a cliff face with pegs and boring peg holes into the rock was still used by the locals in the Darel Valley until the forties of the last century. The report of A. Stein, who conducted fieldwork in this area, agrees exactly with Dharmodgata's and Haribhaṭṭa's description:

When this was being made the men had often to be suspended from pegs while they were at work boring holes to blast the rock or to fix in fissures the tree branches which were to support galleries.³⁵

5. 'Zhuoyi' 椽杙 and 'Bangyi' 傍杙 in the *Da Tang Xiyu Ji* 大唐西域記

In chapter three of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, Xuanzang introduces a total of eight countries. The first among them is Wuzhangna guo 烏仗那國, which is the very same country as the Wuchang guo 烏菴國 described in the *Foguo ji*—both refer to Udyāna. In this chapter, Xuanzang's own narrative of the mountain trails 'which will be eschewed by travelers as soon as they got wind of those notorious paths'³⁶ is as follows:

Heading in the opposite direction to the Indu River's current, the road was hazardous, the valley deep. Sometimes walking rope bridges, sometimes climbing iron chains. There were also plank paths

³⁵ Stein, 'From Swat to the Gorges of the Indus', 55.

³⁶ T no. 2087, 51:884b6–b9: 行者望風謝路.

suspended over an open drop, flying pillars constructed in dangerous places, or wooden pegs (Chn. *chuanyi* 椽杙, see section 5.1) which required carefully stepping across. After walking one thousand *li*, we arrived at Darel Valley, the site of Udyāna's old capital city.³⁷

5.1 'Zhuoyi' 椽杙 or 'Chuanyi' 椽杙

The key word in this passage is '*chuanyi*' 椽杙. We already looked at the meaning of '*yi*' in our analysis of the Dharmodgata's biography by Huijiao (section 3). The focus of this section, therefore, is on the first character, '*chuán*' 椽, which essentially means 'wood stick'. In the edited and annotated edition of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* published in 1985 (*Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu* 大唐西域記校註), Ji Xianlin and other co-editors note that most versions of Xuanzang's narrative text—namely, the Shi edition 石本 [Shishan Monastery edition], Song edition 宋本 [Song Dynasty edition], Zifu edition 資福本 [Zifu Monastery edition], Yuan edition 元本 [Yuan Dynasty edition], Mingnan edition 明南本 [Mingnan Tripitaka edition], Jingshan edition 徑山本 [Jingnan Tripitaka edition], Jinling edition 金陵本 [Jinling Sutra Printing edition], *Xinji zangjing yinyi suihanlu* 新集藏經音義隨函錄 [*New Collected Record of the Glossaries of Buddhist Sutras edition*], and the edit by Xiang Da 向達—all use the character '*zhuó*' 椽 instead. Despite this, Jiang Zhongxin 蔣忠新, who was responsible for the Indian section of the text, still opted for '*chuanyi*' in accordance with the *Huilin yinyi* 慧琳音義 [Pronunciation and Meaning by Huilin], citing as his reason that 'the meaning of *zhuo* is unsuitable, while "carefully stepping across *chuanyi*" perfectly evokes the danger of navigating wooden planks as a path'.³⁸ This choice of reading aligns with the earlier cited passage from the *Taishō* canon 大正藏 as well. However, given that the compound noun '*chuanyi*'

³⁷ T no. 2087, 51:884b6–b9: 逆上信度河。途路危險，山谷杳冥。或覆繩索、或牽鐵鎖。棧道虛臨，飛梁危構，椽杙躡躑。行千餘里至達麗羅川，即烏仗那國舊都也。

³⁸ Cited from Ji Xianlin, et al., *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu*, 296, note 3: 按椽字義不合，“椽杙躡躑”，正狀棧道架木之險。

comprises two characters which mean the same thing, it can only be understood to signify one thing: a ‘wood stick peg’. This description by no means fits with the two verbs that follow it, ‘*nie*’ 蹶 and ‘*deng*’ 蹬 (both, lit. step on), neither syntactically nor in its significance.

Therefore, on the basis of the varied research elucidated on thus far in sections 2 through 4, I hold the opinion that ‘*zhuoyi*’ is actually the correct word choice. The original meaning of ‘*zhuo*’ is ‘beat’ or ‘hit’, thus placed before ‘*yi*’, it serves as a verb to provide the meaning of ‘hitting the peg’, or more specifically, hitting a peg into the rock face. Consequently, once combined with ‘*nie*’ 蹶, meaning ‘to step on’, the complete phrase of ‘*zhuoyi niedeng*’ 椽杙蹶蹬 describes the exact scene depicted by Dharmodgata, Haribhaṭṭa and the Bhārhuṭ carving: hitting pegs into the rock face, then stepping onto them to climb forward.

Here, it is also important that we emphasize the difference between climbing on pegs and climbing along a plank path ‘*zhandao*’ 棧道, which is another method entirely. It was in the two early Han Dynasty works, the *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 [Strategies of the Warring States] and *Shi ji* 史記 [Records of the Grand Historian], that the word *zhandao* first appeared, where it described the use of wooden planks installed horizontally on the rock face so as to form a level path. Although these planks were narrow and suspended above open drops, it was still possible to stand and walk across their flat surface in a relatively normal manner. The distinction between ‘*zhandao*’ and ‘*zhuoyi*’, therefore, is a significant one and must be stressed. They are two different methods of climbing that may have had to be alternately used in certain areas. If Faxian, Dharmodgata, Xuanzang and other itinerant monks only ever saw *zhandao* along their journeys, then the already extant early Chinese term would be sufficient and there would not be a need to resort to new terms like ‘*bangti*’ or ‘*yi*’ for their accounts.³⁹ In *Shijia Fangzhi*, Daoxuan even identifies

³⁹ Of course, before finding the Sanskrit term *śankupatha*, it was difficult to accurately grasp the eminent monks’ accounts using the Chinese alone. Japanese scholar Nagasawa Kazutoshi 長澤和俊 (1928–2019) attempted in his 1996 publication (Nagasawa, *Hokken den*) to use images of plank-paths (Chn. *zhandao* 棧道) in Nepal to explain ‘*bangti*’. See Hu-von Hinüber, ‘Faxian’s (342–423) Per-

‘*zhanliang*’ 棧梁 (lit. plank-bridge) and ‘*suoyi*’ 鎖杙 (lit. lock-peg) as complementary techniques used together as an alternating system of climbing: ‘Heading in the opposite direction to the Indu River’s current, the way was hazardous. They climbed along suspended plank-bridges and carefully stepped across locked pegs. More than one thousand *li* later was Darel Valley, the former site of Udyāna’s capital city’.⁴⁰ The ‘locked pegs’ as mentioned by Daoxuan means nothing else than hitting pegs into holes to firmly lock them in the wall.

5.2 ‘*Bangyi*’ 傍杙 Used by Non-Buddhist Ascetics

In chapter five of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, Xuanzang uses the word ‘*bangyi*’ 傍杙 (‘pole-peg’). Throughout his writings, this term is most similar to Faxian’s ‘*bangti*’ 傍梯. Six countries are described within that particular chapter, the fourth of which is Boluonajia guo 鉢邏耶伽國, or Prayāga in Sanskrit, which means ‘the land of sacrifice’. It was in this country that Xuanzang encountered an extremely challenging *tapas* practice: before sunrise, tens of Non-Buddhist (lit. heretic) ascetics would cling to tall posts erected in the middle of a river, each using only one hand and one foot to secure themselves on ‘*bangyi*’—the pegs protruding from their post. They would then stretch their free hand and foot out and with eyes wide open, stare at the sun throughout the whole day, following its trajectory by turning their neck to the right. This continued until sunset.

ception of India’, 225, note 8; 230, note 25. My mentor Prof. Ji Xianlin 季羨林 (1911–2009) and Prof. Jiang Zhongxin 蔣忠新 (1942–2002), while collating an edition of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* during the first year of China’s Reform and Opening, lacked materials and data for the work, therefore that they neglected to take into account Xiang Da’s 向達 (1900–1966) viewpoint is not at all surprising: Effective research and investigation requires a comprehensive look at all previous research and data around a question, else errors, of a single word or more, might arise.

⁴⁰ *T* no. 2088, 51:955c4–c6: 逆上信渡河，途路極險。乘緬棧梁、鎖杙躡躑。千有餘里至達麗羅川，烏仗那舊所都也。

Once upon when King Harshavardhana offered mass alms, a macaque residing by the riverside has retreated alone beneath a tree and refused the food. Several days later the macaque starved to death. As a reaction, a number of ascetics of Non-Buddhist religions put themselves through a form of *tapas* that involved erecting tall posts in that river and climbing atop them when the sun was about to rise. With one hand they held onto the post head and one foot stood on a peg protruding from the post. The other hand and foot were extended out with nothing to support them. They didn't bend their limbs at all. Stretching their necks, they gazed at the sun, turning to the right to keep their eyes on the sun as it moved. They only came down when dusk finally arrived. Tens of practitioners underwent this ritual in the hope that such an asceticism would help them to transcend the cycle of life and death. Many of them have not rested a day for decades.⁴¹

In this passage by Xuanzang, the phrase '*nie bangyi*' 躡傍杙, or to 'step on a peg protruding from the post', shares the same verb as the '*zhuoyi niedeng*' 椽杙躡蹬 looked at earlier. Moreover, Xuanzang's use of the term '*bangyi*' serves to substantiate my proposed connection between '*bangti*' and '*yi*'. Not only was this form of *tapas* highly demanding on a person's strength, more impressive than that is the stamina of focus needed, as with 'stepping across pegs hit [into the wall]', to not slip from the peg. The slightest lapse in concentration could lead to a fall. Such intense *tapas* practices are not favored by Buddhism. However, as someone familiar with the pursuit of liberation and the decades-long perseverance and untiring willpower that it requires, even Xuanzang was impressed by the unquestionable power on display.

⁴¹ T no. 2087, 51:897c19–c27: 當戒日王之大施也, 有一獼猴居河之濱, 獨在樹下屏迹絕食, 經數日後自餓而死。故諸外道修苦行者, 於河中立高柱, 日將旦即便即昇之。一手一足執柱端、躡傍杙。一手一足虛懸外申。臨空不屈, 延頸張目, 視日右轉, 逮乎曛暮方乃下焉。若此者其徒數十, 冀斯勤苦出離生死, 或數十年未嘗懈怠。

6. Conclusion: The Future of Deepening Research on the *Foguo Ji*

The *Foguo ji*, despite being a short book relative to others of its ilk, abounds with historical materials about the Silk Road. Only two characters from its pages have been covered by this paper: *bang* 傍 and *ti* 梯. Four, at most, if we count Dharmodgata's *yi* 杙 and *zhuoyi* 椽杙 from the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*. Yet, by way of exploring these characters alone, we happened upon the earliest Chinese translation of the Sanskrit *śāṅkupaṭha*, deciphered the relief carving at Bhārhut, and now understand the previously perplexing line of poetry in Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā*.

From Cai Yin in the Han Dynasty until Faxian and Dharmodgata of the Eastern Jin, then from Xuanzang of the High Tang through until the Song, a history of one thousand years extending from the first century forward, innumerable monks faced and conquered the hanging passages of Darel Valley—paths for which ‘even ascending to the skies were no match’—in their search for the Dharma. Exactly how many of these brave souls dared to use the ‘*bangti*’ or ‘*yi*’ to navigate the cliff faces is difficult to estimate given the limited surviving materials, yet even what is left to us requires significant further research before we ever come close to exhausting the potential insights therein. Different from the tradition of Theravāda and Tibetan Buddhism, the Tripiṭaka transmitted in Chinese language has its own wealth of unique resources that still require in depth analysis, especially its ‘Section of Historical Records and Monk’s Biographies’ (‘Shizhuan bu’ 史傳部, text no. 2026–2120 in vol. 49–52 of the Taishō edition) which lacks in all other traditions of Buddhist literature. Today, as the study of Buddhism becomes an ever more global pursuit, it is necessary to conduct research on the invaluable Chinese Buddhist heritage through interdisciplinary, multi-view approaches. Looked at through this lens, the *Foguo ji* alone contains endless new threads of investigation waiting to be picked up and questions to be answered, my article is nothing more than a single example among many potential future theses.

This year marks ten years since my revered teacher Prof. Ji Xianlin passed away. It was he who taught me to hold every question firm

and never let go. I respectfully dedicate this paper to the memory of his scholarly spirit in the hope that I can encourage myself and my colleagues to persist in our own pursuits for knowledge.

Since releasing two papers about Faxian in 2010 and 2011, I completed another three that discuss such topics as the writer of *Foguo ji*'s epilogue (released in 2013); Faxian's return journey via the South China Sea and Guanyin as the patron of seafaring (2015); and the psychological challenges faced by monks questing for the Dharma (2016). These five papers, originally written in German and English, were all translated into Chinese by Dr. Hsue Yu-na 許尤娜 of Taiwan and published in volume 23, 27 and 28 of the *Yuanguang Foxue Xuebao* 圓光佛學學報 [Yuan Kuang Journal of Buddhist Studies]. In 2017, thanks to the generous support of the Yuan Kuang Institute of Buddhist Studies, all five papers along with their Chinese translations were compiled and printed in *Faxian Lunwen Ji Shuangyuban* 法顯論文集雙語版 [Collected Papers on the Chinese Buddhist Monk Faxian: Bilingual Edition].⁴² The following year, in her as yet unpublished doctorate dissertation, Hsue Yu-na compiled a comprehensive database of all publications that include any research on Faxian, which the editors of the proceedings of the Xiangyuan Conference decided to publish as an appendix for easier distribution. For this, I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to Professor Ji Yun 紀贇, Dean of Studies at the Buddhist College of Singapore. I would also like to thank Professor Yang Yuchang 楊玉昌 of the Sun Yat-sen University and Professor Harry Falk⁴³ of the Free University of Berlin for their interest in Dharmodgata which served to drive this paper toward completion.

⁴² See Hsue, *Qiufa Gaoseng Faxian jiqi 'Foguoji' Yanjiu*, 192–194.

⁴³ Cf. Falk, 'The Five Yabghus of the Yuezhi'.

Appendix

Biography of Dharmodgata (Shi Tanwujie, Alias Fayong)

T no. 2059, 50:338b-339a [Huijiao's Gaoseng Zhuan 高僧傳]

釋曇無竭，此云法勇。姓李，幽州黃龍人也。幼為沙彌便修苦行，持戒誦經，為師僧所重。嘗聞法顯等躬踐佛國，乃慨然有忘身之誓。遂以宋永初元年招集同志沙門僧猛、曇朗之徒二十五人，共齋幡蓋供養之具，發跡北土遠適西方。

初至河南國，仍出海西郡，進入流沙到高昌郡。經歷龜茲、沙勒諸國，登葱嶺、度雪山。障氣千重，層冰萬里。下有大江，流急若箭，於東西兩山之脇繫索為橋，十人一過，到彼岸已，舉煙為幟。後人見煙，知前已度，方得更進。若久不見煙，則知暴風吹索人墮江中。行經三日，復過大雪山。懸崖壁立無安足處。石壁皆有故杙孔，處處相對。人各執四杙，先拔下杙，手攀上杙，展轉相攀。經日方過，及到平地，相待料檢，同侶失十二人。

進至罽賓國，禮拜佛鉢。停歲餘，學梵書梵語。求得觀世音受記經梵文一部。復西行至辛頭那提河，漢言師子曰。緣河西入月氏國，禮拜佛肉髻骨及覩自沸木舫。後至檀特山南石留寺，住僧三百餘人，雜三乘學。無竭停此寺受大戒。天竺禪師佛馱多羅，此云覺救，彼土咸云已證果，無竭請為和上。漢沙門志定為阿闍梨。

停夏坐三月日。復行向中天竺。界路既空曠，唯齋石蜜為糧。同侶尚有十三人，八人於路並化，餘五人同行。無竭雖屢經危棘，而繫念所齋觀世音經，未嘗暫廢。將至舍衛國，野中逢山象一群。無竭稱名歸命，即有師子從林中出，象驚惶奔走。後渡恒河，復值野牛一群鳴吼而來，將欲害人。無竭歸命如初，尋有大鷲飛來，野牛驚散，遂得免之。其誠心所感在險剋濟，皆此類也。後於南天竺隨舶汎海達廣州。所歷事迹別有記傳。其所譯出觀世音受記經，今傳於京師。後不知所終。

Shi Tanwujie (Dharmodgata), who is named Fayong in China. Surnamed Li, from Huanglong in Youzhou. A novice monk since young, he long cultivated himself via *tapas*, abiding by the precepts (*Vinaya*) and reciting scriptures (*Sūtra*). Consequently, his masters

and the *Samgha* thought highly of him. When he heard Faxian and others trekking to the kingdoms of Buddha, awed, he vowed to leave behind his life to repeat that journey. In the first year of the Liu Song Dynasty's Yongchu era (420), he gathered a twenty-five-strong team of *Śramaṇas*, including Sengmeng and Tanlang, and equipped with the tools, food and other supplies, they headed west, setting out from the north of the territory.

First, they arrived in the kingdom Henan (Centre of Western Qin 西秦 established by Qifu Xianbei 乞伏鮮卑: 385–431), then passed through the commandery Xihai (read Xihai jun 西海郡 alias Juyan 居延 established during the Han dynasty) and entered the desert to continue onto the commandery Gaochang. Passing through such places as Kizil and Shale (Kashgar), they ascended Congling and crossed the Snowy Mountains. Along the route they travelled by one thousand *li* of poisonous miasma and ten thousand *li* of ice-covered glacier before reaching a mountain with a great river beneath it, rushing as fast as an arrow. To cross between two mountains, there was nothing more than a steel chain for a bridge over which a team of ten climbed to the other side and lit a fire to inform the others. On seeing the smoke, it was known that the first team successfully crossed the bridge and the remaining group carried on forward too. If they didn't see any smoke for a long time, they knew that those crossing had been blown into the river by strong winds. After three days travel, they had to traverse the great snow mountain. The cliff faces rose vertically around them and there was nowhere for their feet to find solid purchase. The stone wall's surface was covered with holes for pegs arranged in a systematic way. Each man was equipped with four pegs. First, he retrieved the lower peg, then grasping the peg above him with his hand, lifted himself along the wall, repeating this over and over. It took a whole day to cross this section when their feet finally returned to flat ground and they waited for the others to arrive so as to count their numbers: twelve of our group had perished.

Arriving in Jibin, Dharmodgata worshipped Buddha's alms bowl. Here, he stayed for more than one year in order to study Sanskrit language and handwriting. He attained the Sanskrit manuscript of

the *Guanshiyin Shouji Jing* (**Avalokiteśvara-Vyākaraṇa-Sūtra*). Then he carried on further westward to the *Xintounati* River (Sindhunadi alias Indus) which means lion in Chinese. Along the river and from the west he entered the kingdom of Rouzhi (Kuṣāṇa) where he worshipped Buddha's topknot (*uṣṇīṣa*). Next to the Shiliu Monastery south of Tante Mountain where over three hundred monks lived, and the teachings of the three factions (*śrāvaka*-, *pratyekabuddha*-, *bodhisattva-yāna*) had been learned together. Dharmodgata received monk's full ordination (*upasampadā*) at this temple. The Indian Master Buddhahadra, whose name means liberation through being awakened in Chinese. In India, all people say that he had already attained the fruits of enlightenment (*abhisambuddha*), therefore Dharmodgata requested him (Buddhahadra) to be his instructor (*upādhyāya*), and the Chinese monk Zhiding became his supervisor (*āchārya*).

They stayed at this monastery as residence during the rainy season (*varṣā*) for three months. Afterwards, they travelled toward Central India. The borderland on the way was sparsely populated, so there was only jaggery for food. Of the thirteen monks walking together, eight died, leaving only five remaining. Despite the constant dangers they were met with, Dharmodgata always thought of the *Avalokiteśvara Sūtra* he was holding and never gave up his goal. Just before arrival in the kingdom of Śrāvastī, their advance through the wilderness was blocked by a pack of mountain elephants. Dharmodgata called Buddha's name taking refuge in him and out from the forest emerged instantly a lion to chase the elephants away. Afterwards, they crossed the Gaṅgā River, where a bevy of wild cows charged toward them making loud noises as if they wanted to harm the travellers. Dharmodgata invoked Buddha's name once more and a great vulture swept down frightening the wild cows away. Again, they avoided another danger. There has always been a similar situation that he touched the Buddhas with his devoutness so that he could be saved despite the danger. Finally, Dharmodgata boarded a ship in southern India to sail back to Guangzhou. There is a separate report on his travel experiences. His translation of the *Guanshiyin Shouji Jing* is still circulated in the capital. It is unknown where he died later on.

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Abbreviations

T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.

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‘Please Be Seated (還坐)’— Faxian’s Account and Related Legends Concerning the First Buddha Image

NICOLAS REVIRE

Thammasat University, Bangkok

Keywords: Buddhist legends, Faxian, *Foguo ji*, first Buddha image, King Prasenajit, King Udayana, sandalwood image

Abstract: In this paper, I compare and examine several legendary traditions relating to the appearance of the ‘first’ icon of the living Buddha. The legend is well known across Buddhist Asia and was particularly influential in first-millennium China. Faxian 法顯 (ca. 337–422), the first Chinese pilgrim to travel to India in the early 400s CE, left a fairly detailed report on this ‘first image’ of the Buddha. The account given in his important travelogue, *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms* or *Foguo ji* 佛國記, states that King Prasenajit of Kośala ordered the statue to be executed in sandalwood during the Buddha’s lifetime at Śrāvastī, when the Lord departed on a preaching journey. Many related legends from China, Japan, Tibet, Sri Lanka, and even mainland Southeast Asia exist. But, according to this copious literary evidence, what exactly did the ‘sandalwood’ model look like? While these narratives may enjoy numerous variations and additions, all versions—starting with Faxian’s—agree that the sandalwood image was originally intended to ‘be seated’ on a throne (還坐), despite common and later assertions that it was a standing statue. This paper thus proposes a different interpretation for the appearance of the first ‘enthroned’ Buddha image.

Introduction

In the early days of Buddhist art in India, ‘icons’ of the Buddha are not represented and the artists or craftsmen used what are called ‘indexical’ forms of representation, where an ‘index’ indicates the physical trace of a missing object.¹ For example, in the same manner that smoke is indexical of fire, the bodhi-tree, a pair of footprints, or the ‘empty throne’ can be indices of the presence of the Buddha in the early Buddhist carvings and low-reliefs at the sites of Bhārhut, Bodhgayā, Mathurā, Amarāvātī, or Sāñcī.

In this paper, however, I turn to examine some legendary traditions relating to the appearance of the ‘first’ ever icon of the living Buddha made of sandalwood. The legend is well known across Buddhist Asia and may have been created *a posteriori* to justify the production and worship of anthropomorphic images of the Buddha. In brief, the story states that the statue was executed in sandalwood by the order of a pious king² when the Buddha went away on a preaching journey. But what exactly did the ‘sandalwood’ model look like according to the literary evidence? Many observers have

¹ I, after Dehejia (*Discourses*, 36–54), use the terms ‘icon’ and ‘index’ following Charles Peirce’s famous semiological theory of signs (for a summary of which, see Atkin, ‘Peirce’s Theory of Signs’). Accordingly, an icon ‘most closely resembles the object it evokes’, hence the exact identity of Buddha statues with the Buddha is sought. To be fair, the belief in the absence of a Buddha image in the early artistic material, so-called ‘aniconism’ by scholars, has been challenged in recent decades by some art historians (e.g. Huntington, ‘Shifting the Paradigm’).

² Diverse competing traditions and texts recount that this pious king was Udayana or Prasenajit. The two also appear together in perhaps the oldest version of the tale, from the **Ekottarika-āgama* 增壹阿含經 (Ch. *Zengyi aban jing*, T no. 125), where Udayana has a sandalwood image and Prasenajit a gold image produced, in a kind of rivalry. For textual citations of this and various other sources in Chinese translation, see Soper, *Literary Evidence*, 259ff. For more on King Udayana of Vatsa, said to have been either converted to Buddhism, Jainism or Hinduism, see Adaval, *The Story of King Udayana*.

long pointed to the importance of the sandalwood statue's presumed resemblance to the living Buddha. According to Alexander Griswold, this 'likeness' indicated that the icon had ultimately inherited some part of the power of the Buddha himself through a series of copies extending back to the original sandalwood image.³ Moreover, as Angela Chiu aptly expresses about the sandalwood image, 'it was the progenitor of a lineage of images and contributed to the prosperity of Buddhism'.⁴ Naturally, the features on the imitations were not expected to be exact reproduction of the original. Only the model's iconography (i.e. his posture and hand gesture) would be duplicated; the style, however, would depend much more on the training and experience of the craftsman than on the model and slight variations could thus be made from the original image.

Central Asian and Chinese Accounts

One of the earliest known accounts of the legend of the first Buddha image is the one found in the monk Faxian's 法顯 (ca. 337–422 CE) travelogue, *Foguo ji* 佛國記 (*A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*), i.e., *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳 (Account by the Eminent Monk Faxian).⁵ The Chinese pilgrim who had travelled to India indeed mentions a statue of Śākyamuni, said to have been commissioned by

³ Griswold, *Dated Buddha Images*, 17. On sandalwood, a precious wood found in India and Southeast Asia, known for its fragrance, and its medicinal qualities, see Gode, 'Some Notes on the History of Candana (Sandal)'. Compared to stone or metal, wood is a living material, that is, it lives and dies, has diseases, is individualized, suffers like human beings and so on. In this light, a wooden icon probably has more chance to be perceived as a 'living image' and perform miracles than a sculpture in stone (Charleux, 'Cong Bei Yindu dao Buliyate'). In all fairness, however, wood, stone, and certain metal images probably all have been painted, such that they would have looked quite similar to the common people.

⁴ Chiu, *The Buddha in Lanna*, 177.

⁵ *T* no. 2085, vol. 51.

King Prasenajit, and which he discovered at Śrāvastī, northern India.⁶ The narrative here takes place in the famous Jetavana monastery. Accordingly, when the Buddha returned from Trāyastriṃśa Heaven after three months, he addressed these words to the sandalwood portrait when it miraculously descended from its elevated seat to salute the Master:

When the Buddha ascended to the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven to preach the Dharma to his mother for ninety days, King Prasenajit, eager to see his features, had an image of him carved out of oxhead sandalwood and put it on the place where the Buddha usually sat in meditation. When the Buddha returned to the *vihāra*, the image left its seat and went out to meet him. The Buddha said to it, ‘**Go back to your seat** [還坐]. After my *parinirvāṇa*, you may serve as a model from which the four groups of my followers can make images.’ The image returned to the seat. This was the first image ever made of the Buddha, and it served as a model for Buddha images for people of later generations.⁷

⁶ See Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan*, 297–301. I leave aside here the famous Chinese legend of Emperor Ming (r. 58–75 CE) who dreamed of a golden figure, that of a deity known in the West as the Buddha. According to some versions probably composed in the late fifth century CE at the earliest, the Emperor sent an embassy to ‘India’ [i.e. Bactria?] which returned to China with many sūtras, Buddhist monks and a ‘*yi* image’ (*yixiang* 倚像, on which see note 45) of the Buddha, said to be the fourth copy made of sandalwood for King Udayana. A copy of the famous sandalwood image thus became associated with the legendary account of the introduction of Buddhism into China. On this legend and its different versions, see Maspero, ‘Le songe’.

⁷ See Li, ‘The Journey of the Eminent Monk Faxian’, 181. Older translations of the same key passage in English run as follows: ‘**Return, I pray you, to your seat.** After my Nirvāṇa you will be the model from which my followers shall carve their images’ (Beal, *Sī-Yu-Ki*, xliv), and ‘**Return to your seat.** After I have attained to *parinirvāṇa*, you will serve as a pattern to the four classes of my disciples’ (Legge, *Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, 57). We can see from these various renditions that the translators treated the usage of *zuo* (坐) in *huanzuo* (還坐)

佛上忉利天，爲母說法九十日，波斯匿王思見佛，即刻牛頭栴檀，作佛像，置佛坐處。佛後還入精舍，像即避出迎佛。佛言：‘還坐。吾般泥洹後，可爲四部衆作法式。’像即還坐。此像最是衆像之始，後人所法者也。⁸

Here Faxian specifically says that Prasenajit had originally installed the image of the sitting Buddha in the place where the Tathāgata usually sat. In the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 [*Record of the Western Regions During the Great Tang Dynasty*], the great monk Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 602–664 CE) also recounts the story in a similar way at Kauśāmbī, albeit with King Udayana, instead of Prasenajit, the ruler of Vatsa.⁹ He describes the miraculous circumstances¹⁰ of its manufacturing as follows:

[Speaking about the origin of the image,] it is said that when the Tathāgata, after having realized full enlightenment, went up to the Trāyāstrimśa Heaven to preach the Dharma to his mother, the king was eager to see him and wished to make a likeness of him. Then he requested the Venerable Maudgalyāyana to transport by supernatural power an artisan to the heavenly palace to observe the fine features of the Buddha, and the artisan carved an image of him in sandalwood.

in a nominal way as ‘seat’ although one could also parse it as ‘to be seated’ or ‘sit there’ (e.g. Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China*, 439–40). Clearly, this phrase is used when the sandalwood image was originally seated and has risen out of respect for the real Buddha. So essentially, he is going to be told to ‘be seated’ again, meaning to go back to his previous position. For a similar rendering of this passage in German, see Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan*, 537.

⁸ *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳, T no. 2085, 51: 860b18–23.

⁹ Xuanzang also confirms that he saw another sandalwood Buddha image at Śrāvastī made for Prasenajit, but that the latter got the idea from Udayana (cf. Julien, *Mémoires*, I, 296; Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, II, 4; Li, *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*, 167).

¹⁰ For a reflection on the ‘miraculous nature’ of the Buddhist images seen by Xuanzang in India, see Brown, ‘Expected Miracles’, 26–7; also Choi, ‘Quest for the True Visage’, and ‘Zhenrong to Ruixiang’.

When the Tathāgata returned to earth from the heaven, **the sandalwood image stood up** [檀之像起] to greet the World honored One, who said to it sympathetically, ‘Are you tired from teaching the people? You are what we hope will enlighten the people at the last period of the Buddha-dharma’.¹¹

初，如來成正覺已。上昇天宮爲母說法。三月不還。其王思慕，願圖形像。乃請尊者沒特伽羅子，以神通力，接工人上天宮，親觀妙相，雕刻栴檀。如來自天。宮還也，**刻檀之像起**迎世尊，世尊慰曰：‘教化勞耶？開導末世，寔此為冀。’¹²

Following the account of Faxian, Xuanzang’s report that the sandalwood image arose certainly presupposes that the statue was originally ‘seated’, not standing.¹³ In the same vein, Benjamin Rowland interpreted a Gandhāran relief kept in the Peshawar Museum depicting a royal figure offering a seated Buddha statuette to a large preaching Buddha as the ‘gift of Udayana’ (Figure 1 and Figure 2).¹⁴ Martha Carter concurs but thinks that this scene should rather be identified as the ‘gift of Prasenajit’.¹⁵ In addition, the Old Khotanese version of the story of the first Buddha image—featuring King Udayana in this case—, as found in Chapter 23 of the fifth-century Buddhist poem known as *The Book of Zambasta*, makes absolutely clear that the sandalwood image ‘must be made sitting, because it was sitting [that] he [i.e. the Buddha] realized *bodhi*, sitting [that] he proclaimed the

¹¹ Li, *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*, 160.

¹² *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, T no. 2087, 51: 5.898a10–16.

¹³ Beal’s translation of the same passage report that ‘the carved figure of sandalwood **arose** [起] and saluted the Lord of the World’ (Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, I, 235–6). See also Julien, *Mémoires*, I, 284–5. I am grateful to Yoko Shirai for her assistance with the Chinese.

¹⁴ See Rowland, ‘A Note on the Invention of the Buddha Image’, 183–4. Another Gandhāran relief kept in a private collection in Japan has been identified as King Udayana presenting a standing Buddha image to the Buddha (Kurita, *Gandāra bijutsu*, figure 424).

¹⁵ Carter, *The Mystery of the Udayana Buddha*, 8, note 24.



FIG. 1 The Gift of Udayana or Prasenajit? Gandhāran relief, Sahrī Bahlol, ca. 3rd–4th century CE, Peshawar Museum, inv. no. 1534 /new no. 107. Grey schist, H. 30 cm. After Kurita, *Gandāra bijutsu*, fig. 425.



FIG. 2 The Gift of Udayana or Prasenajit? Gandhāran relief, ca. 3rd–4th century CE, Private Collection Japan. Grey schist, H. 12 cm x W. 28 cm. Kurita, *Gandāra bijutsu*, fig. 635. Courtesy of Joachim Bautze.

excellent Law, sitting [that] he defeated all the heretics with great *prā-tihārya*'.¹⁶ In addition, certain mural paintings from Kizil and Simsin caves from the Kucha region depict the moment where the Buddha descends from Trāyāstrimśa Heaven after instructing the gods. To his proper lower right, a kneeling and adorned figure is presenting to the Buddha an oval-shaped object with due respect which is most probably representing the gift of the first aforementioned Buddha image credited to either King Prasenajit or Udayana.¹⁷ It is not always very clear, however, if the Buddha image is aimed to be standing or sitting in all these murals.

In contrast, an early text translated into Chinese and known as the *Sūtra on the Ocean-Like Samādhi of the Visualization of the Buddha* (**Buddhadhyānasamādhisagara*; *Guan fo sanmei hai jing* 觀佛三昧海經, *T* no. 643) advocates that the Buddha image should rather be made standing.¹⁸ Other persistent traditions relate that an early copy of the sandalwood Buddha image, also assumed to be of a standing type, eventually reached China, Tibet, Mongolia, Japan, and even, perhaps, Russia.¹⁹ One such introduced 'standing type' is exemplified by the famous wooden statue from Seiryōji in Kyoto, Japan.²⁰ But

¹⁶ See Emmerick, *The Book of Zambasta*, 350–1. Among the various parallel versions of the story, the closest to the Khotanese is *T* no. 694. For a synoptic presentation of the Khotanese text vis-à-vis *T* no. 694, see Inokuchi, 'Tokaran oyobi Utengo no butten'. I wish to thank Bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā for drawing my attention to these references.

¹⁷ Zin, 'The Identification of Kizil Paintings VI', figures 1–2, 4.

¹⁸ Cf. Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China*, 439.

¹⁹ See Warner, 'The Precious Lord'; Terentyev, *Sandalovyi Buddha*; and Charleux, 'Cong Bei Yindu dao Buliyate'. For other literary sources and further references on the tale of the first image of the Buddha in South and East Asia, see *inter alia* Demiéville, 'Butsuzō', 210–1; Carter, *The Mystery of the Udayana Buddha*; and Choi, 'Quest for the True Visage', 61–72. In other legends, the Buddha portrait is simply projected onto a cloth as a painting (e.g. Skilling, 'Paṭa (Phra bot)', 228–9).

²⁰ Henderson and Hurvitz, 'The Buddha of Seiryōji', pl. I. The Seiryōji image, made in 985 by the Japanese monk Chonen, was copied from a southern

the argument that the first legendary Buddha image, either carved at the order of King Prasenajit or Udayana, was originally thought to be seated in most versions following Faxian finds further confirmation in the following accounts.

South and Southeast Asian Accounts

It is not known when and where exactly the legend of the first sandalwood Buddha image was initially elaborated in South Asia but presumably it circulated across India in one form or another since early times. According to Anna Maria Quagliotti, a stone relief from Amarāvati dating to around the second century CE may precisely depict the first image of the Buddha—presumably made by King Prasenajit—who is shown sitting in a medallion (Figure 3).²¹

This legend is also known in Sri Lanka and mainland Southeast Asia, although the frame story differs in many respects and is always associated there with King Pasenadi the Kosalan (Skt, Prasenajit). The story is found for example in one Pali text from Sri Lanka, the *Kosalabimbavaṇṇanā*, along with several Sinhalese versions of the same story,²² in at least one Khmer recension,²³ and in a few vernacular Thai chronicles from Lanna, northern Thailand, known as *Tamnan Phra Kaenchan* ตำนานพระแก่นจันทร์,²⁴ *Tamnan*

Chinese model, which, in turn, possibly copied an earlier 'King Udayana' image said to have been brought to China by Kumārajīva in the early fifth century CE (Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China*, 432–45). To the question how and why two such different iconographic types of the 'King Udayana image' could exist at the same time—a standing and a seated type—see Choi, 'Zhenrong to Ruixiang', 381–2, especially note 108, figures 21–2.

²¹ Quagliotti, 'Presenting the Image of the Buddha'. For a different interpretation on this relief, see Shimada, 'A Seated Buddha Image from Amaravati'.

²² Gombrich, 'Kosala-Bimba-Vaṇṇanā'.

²³ Bizot, 'La consécration des statues', 102–4; Thompson, 'Mémoires du Cambodge', 437–40.

²⁴ Sanguan, ed., *Prachum Tamnan Lanna Thai*, 417–26.



FIG. 3 Homage to the (first?) Buddha image seated within a medallion, dome slab from Amarāvati, ca. 2nd century CE, Amaravati Site Museum, acc. no. 879. White limestone, H. ca. 100 cm. Courtesy of Monika Zin.

Phra Chan Chao ตำนานพระจันทน์เจ้า (MS EFEO 005 012), and *Tamnan Phra Chan Phra Sing Phra Kaeo* ตำนานพระจันทน์ พระสิงห์ พระแก้ว (MSS EFEO 006 003 and 034 008).²⁵ The Lanna chronicles composed locally extend the story to say that the image moved from India to the northern Thai region at the request of a certain king named Phraya Suvaṇṇabhūmi.²⁶ The sandalwood Buddha image is said to have been installed at the Asoka monastery to the east of Chiang Mai for some time while some people believe that it is now enshrined in a reliquary monument at Wat Suan Dok.²⁷ From the foregoing, Chiu concludes that the story was certainly known in Lanna by at least the early sixteenth century, but she also reckons that a version of the story was probably already in circulation from a very early time in mainland Southeast Asia and that it may have even inspired the creation of other famous Buddha images and chronicles such as the seated Mahāmuni image of Rakhine/Arakan in Myanmar.²⁹

The same legend is incorporated into the *Vatṭaṅgulirājajātaka*, part of an 'apocryphal collection' of Pali *jātakas* or so-called *Paññāsa-jātaka*.³⁰ The latter composition is known in the Chiang Mai or Burmese recension,³¹ but a similar version is also found in palm-leaf manuscripts, written in Khom/Khmer script, from the central Thai region.³² It is known there under the title *Vatṭaṅgulirāja-*

²⁵ The EFEO manuscripts are still unpublished but are now inventoried online in the database of Lanna Manuscripts: http://www.efeo.fr/lanna_manuscripts/. The legend is also summarized in the *Jinakālamālī*, composed in Chiang Mai in the early sixteenth century. See Jayawickrama, *The Sheaf of Garlands*, 174–80.

²⁶ Chiu, *The Buddha in Lanna*, 176–7.

²⁷ Chiu, 23, 45.

²⁸ Chiu, 23.

²⁹ Chiu, 94–5.

³⁰ Jaini, 'On the Buddha Image'.

³¹ Jaini, ed., *Paññāsa-Jātaka*, 414–32, and Jaini, trans., *Apocryphal Birth-Stories*, 103–21.

³² Unebe et al., 'Three Stories', 16–23.

suttavaṇṇanā or ‘Exposition Sutta of the King with Tapering Finger’. These two versions are nearly identical in content, but, while the latter is described as an ‘Exposition Sutta’ (*suttavaṇṇanā*) and starts with *evam me sutam*, i.e. ‘so it was heard by me’, followed by the narrative of the sandalwood image, the former is typically portrayed as a former-birth story, i.e. a *jātaka*. In both versions, however, the Buddha narrates to King Pasenadi the story of the *bodhisattva* who once repaired a broken finger of a Buddha image. As a result, the *bodhisattva* was reborn as King Vaṭṭaṅguli who could deter one hundred rival kings eager to attack him by the power of a single finger, hence his name. As far as I am aware, the *Vaṭṭaṅgulirāja-suttavaṇṇanā* remains untranslated into English. Here I give the key passage where the Buddha, after having returned from his journey, enters the royal dwelling of King Pasenadi and then approaches the sandalwood image:

*tasmim̐ khañe buddhapatimā satthāraṃ disvā sajjīvamānasam-
māsambuddhe dharamāne mayā evarūpe uccāsane nisīdituṃ
ayuttan ti cintetvā sattaratanasihāsanato otaritum ārabhhi | atha
bhagavā pana taṃ disvā erāvanasonḍasadisam̐ dakkhiṇabhattham̐
pasāretvā nivāresi nisīdatu mā āvuso otari ahaṃ na cīrasseva
parinibbāyissāmi tvañ cāvuso pañcavassasahassāni mama sāsanaṃ
pālehi sabbalokatthāyā ti sāsanaṃ paṭicchādesi^[33] | so taṃ sutvā viya
punāsane nisīdi^[34]*

At that moment, **the [sandalwood] Buddha image**, upon seeing the Teacher, thought: ‘When there is a Perfectly Self-Enlightened One still living, it is unfitting for me to sit on a lofty seat of this kind’, and **started to descend from the seven-jeweled^[35] lion throne** (*sattaratanasihāsanato*). Then, the Lord, upon seeing him, stretched

³³ Emend for *paṭiṭṭhāpesi* or *paṭicchāpesi*, i.e. ‘he caused to install/entrusted [the *sāsana*]?’

³⁴ Unebe et al., ‘Three Stories’, 17.

³⁵ Gold, silver, pearls, rubies, lapis-lazuli, coral, and diamond (*Concise Pali-English Dictionary*, s.v.).

out his right arm, which was similar to Erāvana's trunk, restraining him, saying: **'Be seated; do not descend, friend.** I will very shortly attain *parinibbāna*, and you, friend, should guard my *Sāsana* for five thousand years for the benefit of the whole world', thereby covering the *Sāsana*. As though hearing this, **he sat down once again on the throne** (my translation).³⁶

Here the Buddha statue is vacating the 'lofty seat' (*uccāsane*) because he thinks he is not entitled to it and should leave it to the real Buddha who refuses and even gently admonishes him to return to its seat, therefore to a sitting position, as his substitute for the benefit of future generations. It is important to note, therefore, that in all these versions of the same tale, the sandalwood image is clearly intended as a seated image,³⁷ though his exact posture on the seat or throne

³⁶ I am grateful to Peter Masefield for his assistance in reading this passage.

³⁷ For example, the *Kosalabimbavaṇṇanā* reads: *Tasmiṃ khane taṃ acetanaṃ paṭimārūpaṃ sacetanaṃ Sammā-Sambuddhaṃ disvā Satthu ādarena utṭhānākāraṃ dassento vyākato*; i.e. 'At that moment that **non-sentient statue**, on seeing the sentient fully Enlightened one, out of regard for the Teacher showed that **it was rising to greet him**, and received a prediction' (Gombrich, 'Kosala-Bimba-Vaṇṇanā', 291, 298). The Khmer version reads in a slightly different fashion:

ប្រិះពុទ្ធរូបគ្នាឯលើអាស្នាខ្ពុះនោះមិញអញនេះជាព្រះពុទ្ធរូបតតវិញ
 នទេនោះករពុះពុទ្ធចមុនកគ្នាឯធម្មមាននៅលើយសុតចេមកនាវនេះមិនគួរ
 អញនៅលើហាសុនារខុសដូចនេះអញចុះទៅថវាយបង្អំមអនកហនតិចអះ
 មិនថាតមេលាះរម្យកិលចុះពីយលើហាសុនារនិងមកថវាយពុះដថាគុតត/រ័យ
*braḥ buddharūb guṇ loe āsnā kbbuḥ noḥ miñ añ neḥ jā braḥ buddharūb it
 viñān der noḥ kar braḥ buddh anak guṇ dhammār nov loey stec mak nov
 neḥ miñ gūr añ nov loeh āsnār kbbus tūcneḥ añ cuḥ dov thvāy paṅgam
 anak pāntic a-eh min thā te mloh raṃmkil cuḥ bīy loeh āsnār niñ mak
 thvāy braḥ tathāgutt*; i.e. 'As for the statue of the Buddha standing on
 the high altar, he said to himself: "I am only a statue of the unconscious
 Buddha, while the Buddha, who still reigns over the Dharma, stands right
 here. It is not right that I should be on a high altar. **So I will go down to
 salute him.**" Not content to say it, **he slipped from the top of the altar**

(*āsana*) is not always precisely described and can only be conjectured. But in this regard, the Thai versions of the sandalwood image story add a significant detail concerning the image's posture. For example, the relevant section from the *Tamnan Phra Kaenchan* reads:

เมื่อนั้นพระพุทธรูปเจ้าดุจดังมีชีวิตนั้น จักคารวะพระพุทธเจ้าอัน
เข้ามานั้นก็เหยียดบาทลงมารับพระพุทธเจ้านั้นแล พระพุทธเจ้า
จึงห้ามว่า ดูกรอ้าวโส ท่านอย่าได้ลงจากอาสนะ [...] ที่นี้ พระพุทธรูปเจ้าก็เลิกบาทขึ้นนั่งอยู่ เหนืออาสนะดังเก่านั้นแล³⁸

Then, that seemingly alive **Buddha image**, so as to respect the Lord Buddha as he entered, **stretched out its leg(s)**. Lord Buddha then prohibited it, saying: ‘**Friend, you should not come down from the throne**’ [...]. At that time, **the Buddha image raised its leg(s) and sat on the throne as before** (my translation).

To be sure, in Thai, it is not always clear if nouns are singular or plural. In this particular case, this gives rise to the question whether the image extended only one leg/foot or two legs/feet (Th. *bat* บาท; P. *pāda*) when it began to descend from his throne. When describing this action, the above Thai texts use the words ‘เหยียดบาทลงมา’ and ‘เลิกบาท ขึ้น’, which Hans Penth renders as ‘the image stretches its leg to descend from the pedestal’ and ‘the image draws its leg up and returns to its former sitting position’.³⁹ In other words, Penth assumes, probably with good reason, that the word *bat/pāda* referred to above should be singular. The edition and translation of the corresponding Pali passage by Padmanabh Jaini in the *Vatṭaṅgulirāja-jātaka* confirms this interpretation:

and came to greet the Tathāgata’ (cf. Bizot, ‘La consécration des statues’, 102–4; Thompson, ‘Mémoires du Cambodge’, 438–9; my translation from the French).

I wish to thank Trent Walker for his assistance with the Khmer.

³⁸ Sanguan, *Prachum Tamnan Lanna Thai*, 418–9.

³⁹ Penth, *Jinakālamāli Index*, 324.

*evañ ca pana cintento viya eso bimbo sammāsambuddhassa'eva
gāravam karonto attano nisinnāsanā ekapādam nikkhipitva
tatt'eva āgataṃ sammāsambuddhaṃ paccuggamanākāra dassesi ||*⁴⁰

That image, as if thinking thus, appeared to be showing his respect to the Fully Enlightened One. He seemed to be about to go forth [to receive] the Buddha who had arrived there, by **raising one leg**^[41] (*ekapādam*) **from the seat upon which he was sitting**.⁴²

It is presumably this version of the tale which is still depicted in some unique modern mural paintings from Battambang, northwest Cambodia, showing the sandalwood image stretching its leg down from the seat upon seeing the Buddha (Figure 4).⁴³ Moreover, there are several modern standing Buddha images from Thailand that depict precisely this moment in the narrative when Lord Buddha forbids the sandalwood image from rising up from its seat with his left hand raised and open palm facing outwards. This rare iconographic type is traditionally known as 'restraining the sandalwood image' or *pang ham phra kaenchan* ปางห้ามพระแก่นจันทร์.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Jaini, ed., *Paññāsa-Jātaka*, 425.

⁴¹ Here we could emend Jaini's translation of *ekapādam nikkhipitva* and substitute his rendering with 'by stretching down one leg' or 'setting down one foot'. I am thankful to Giuliano Giustarini for making this suggestion.

⁴² Jaini, trans., *Apocryphal Birth-Stories*, 115.

⁴³ See also Roveda and Sothon, *Buddhist Painting in Cambodia*, 168. It should be noted that although this posture with one leg down is often replicated by kings and bodhisattvas throughout South and Southeast Asia, to my knowledge, it never is used for Buddha images in ancient times except these modern painted examples.

⁴⁴ Cf. Skilling, 'For Merit and Nirvana', 81–2, figures 6, 8.

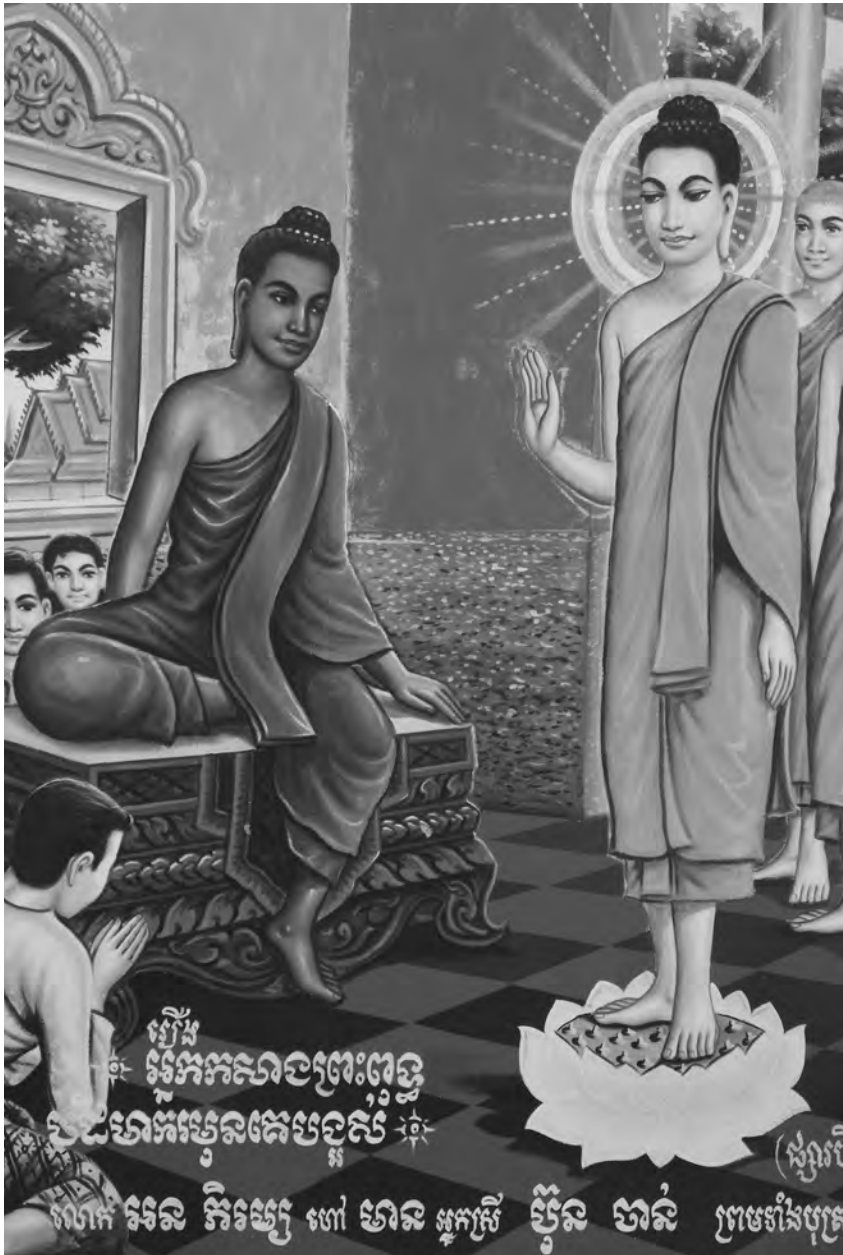


FIG. 4 Lord Buddha forbids the sandalwood image from rising up from its seat; modern mural painting from Wat Ek Phnom, Battambang, Cambodia, late 20th century. Photo by Nicolas Revire.

Conclusion

Overall, we have seen that the fortune of the legend of the sandalwood image over nearly two millennia was great and that it spread variously in different regions and cultures of Buddhist Asia. While Chinese versions of the legend attribute the making of the first sandalwood image either to King Prasenajit of Kośala/Śrāvastī (after Faxian) or King Udayana of Vatsa/Kauśāmbī (after Xuanzang), South and Southeast Asian recensions only know of the former as King Pasenadi the Kosalan. At any rate, it is likely that all these stories share a common origin.

In addition, despite the plethora of variant versions and readings of this legend in diverse languages, a strong case can be made that the posture of the first Buddha image was commonly interpreted as originally seated with one, if not two legs extended, even by artists or craftsmen in ancient times. Indeed, we know that the legend of the first Buddha image was at times influential in the art of first-millennium China as we can see, for example, with the making of the mysterious and short-lived inscribed 'King Udayana' sculptures (Ch. *Youtianwang xiang* 優填王像) of the Buddha. These images are found in rather large numbers at the Longmen caves or grottoes 龍門石窟 in early Tang China (ca. 655–80 CE), and, incidentally, all are seated with both legs extended, that is, in *bhadrāsana* (Figure 5a and Figure 5b).⁴⁵ I have endeavoured to study elsewhere these images in detail, along with their possible bearing on the early imagery of Buddhas in *bhadrāsana* found in mainland Southeast Asia,⁴⁶ but this takes us well beyond the scope of the present paper.

⁴⁵ See also McNair, *Donors of Longmen*, 102ff. This posture is often designated as a 'yi image' (Ch. *yixiang*; Jap. *izō* 倚像) which ordinarily means 'to depend on' or to 'lean on' a chair. In later Chinese Buddhist terminology, a 'yi seated' (*yizuo* 倚坐) image is always identified as seated in *bhadrāsana* (Soper, *Literary Evidence*, 2; Carter, *The Mystery of the Udayana Buddha*, 2; Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China*, 85–6).

⁴⁶ See Revire, 'New Perspectives', and 'The Enthroned Buddha in Majesty'.



FIG. 5A Rubbing of inscription from image of Youtianwang 優填王 (King Udayana) dedicated in memory of her husband by Great Aunt Li, dated 659 CE. Courtesy of Harvard Fine Arts Library, HOLLIS # 9974925.



FIG. 5B 'King Udayana Image', Longmen Cave 440, China, late 7th century. Stone, H. 112 cm. After Choi, *Zhenrong to Ruixiang*, fig. 29.

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Abbreviation

T *Taishō shinsū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.

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Was the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* 大般涅槃經 T7 Translated by ‘Faxian’?: An Exercise in the Computer- Assisted Assessment of Attributions in the Chinese Buddhist Canon^{* †}

MICHAEL RADICH
University of Heidelberg

Keywords: Faxian, Guṇabhadra, *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, Chinese Buddhist canonical ascriptions, computational philology

Abstract: In the *Taishō* canon, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* 大般涅槃經 *T* no. 7 is attributed to Faxian 法顯. However, on the basis of an examination of reports in the catalogues about various Chinese versions of the ‘mainstream’ *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, Iwamatsu Asao 岩松浅夫 once questioned whether Faxian ever translated any such text. Iwamatsu argued further, on the basis of unspecified features of translation terminology and phraseology, that *T* no. 7 should instead be reascribed to Guṇabhadra 求那跋陀羅. This paper will examine the problem of the attribution of *T* no. 7 on the basis of a detailed examination of its language.

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1. Introduction

In the *Taishō* canon, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* 大般涅槃經 *T* no. 7 ('FX'-MPNS) is attributed to Faxian 法顯 (d. 418–423).¹ However, on the basis of an examination of reports in the catalogues about various Chinese versions of the mainstream *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, Iwamatsu Asao 岩松浅夫 once questioned whether Faxian ever translated any such text. Iwamatsu argued further, on the basis of unspecified features of translation terminology and phraseology, that 'FX'-MPNS should instead be ascribed to Guṇabhadra 求那跋陀羅 (394–468).² This paper evaluates Iwamatsu's hypothesis by examining the ascription of 'FX'-MPNS on the basis of internal stylistic evidence.

A cursory reading of 'FX'-MPNS in comparison to other Faxian ascriptions certainly seems initially to support the idea that 'FX'-MPNS at least cannot be by the same author as Faxian's other texts. For example, probably the most striking difference is the transcription of *nirvāṇa*, which is particularly telling given that both 'FX'-MPNS and the (Mahāyāna) *Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra* 大般泥洹經 *T* no. 376, also ascribed to Faxian, concern themselves centrally with the *parinirvāṇa*. Famously, Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 (350?–409?) seems to have coined the new transcription *niepan* 涅槃, whereas prior to Kumārajīva's time, other transcriptions were used, like *nihuan* 泥洹/泥垣, *niyue* 泥曰, etc. Kumārajīva's transcription seems largely to have supplanted the older transcriptions, and this term is therefore among the most famous watershed markers of chronology in the Chinese Buddhist canon. In this light, it is striking that the older transcription, *nihuan* 泥洹, is used copiously in *T* no. 376 and

¹ Glass, 'Guṇabhadra', 190, note 17, notes that Faxian's dates have been the subject of disagreement. Legge suggests he might have been as young as twenty-five when he went to India (Legge, *A Record*, 3). Deeg (*Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan*, 29) suggests he might have been thirty or forty.

² Iwamatsu, '*Nehan gyō*'; '*Daibatsunehan gyō*'. The ascription to Faxian is also questioned in Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, 4:3358-9, s.v. *Daibatsunehan gyō* 大般涅槃經.

the *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳 *T* no. 2085—despite the fact that both texts were produced after Kumārajīva³—but never in ‘FX’-MPNS; whereas *niepan* 涅槃 is copious in ‘FX’-MPNS, but never used in *T* no. 2085, and only twice in *T* no. 376. Even more strikingly, in the remainder of the ‘Faxian’ corpus, *banniepan* 般涅槃 for *parinirvāṇa* only appears two times in the Mahāsāṅghika Vinaya 摩訶僧祇律 *T* no. 1425.⁴

Similarly, further following the language associated with the particular theme and setting of the *parinirvāṇa* genre, ‘FX’-MPNS transcribes Kuśinagara with the rare *jiushina* 鳩尸那, but *T* no. 376 and *T* no. 2085 both use *juyi* (*cheng*) 拘夷(城). ‘FX’-MPNS transcribes the name of Cunda (a key personage) *chuntuo* 淳陀, whereas *T* no. 376 transcribes *chuntuo* 純陀.⁵ ‘FX’-MPNS uses the rare transcription *doupo* 兜婆 for *stūpa*, which never appears in any other Faxian text, whereas other Faxian texts use *ta* 塔. For the *sāla* trees among or between which the Buddha passes into *parinirvāṇa*, ‘FX’-MPNS uses the transcription *suoluo* 娑羅, whereas *T* no. 376 uses *jiangu* (*lin*) 堅固(林). Finally, for the verb ‘weep’ or ‘lament’, ‘FX’-MPNS uses *tiqi* 涕泣, which is otherwise only ever found twice in *T* no. 1425 of the ‘Faxian’ corpus, whereas *T* no. 376 uses *tiku* 啼哭, which is conversely never found in ‘FX’-MPNS.

Such anecdotal observations might suggest that Iwamatsu was correct, at least inasmuch as we should dissociate ‘FX’-MPNS from Fax-

³ Especially in *T* no. 2085 (where Faxian was presumably the sole author), this perhaps reflects the fact that Faxian had his formative education before Kumārajīva’s activity and was conservative in this wording.

⁴ The matter is complicated further by the fact that in the Faxian group’s *Vinaya* translations, *T* no. 1425 and *T* no. 1437 include both transcriptions, though *nibuan* is still numerically dominant; *T* no. 1427 (a short text) includes one instance of *niepan* only. The instances in which *niepan* is used in *T* no. 376 are interesting precisely because they break this usual pattern. Both appear in verse: 1) 圓應神通眼/無量功德相/為眾生哀請/捨涅槃方便, *T* no. 376, 12: 1.858a29–b1; 2) 異法修無我/無量諸煩惱/異法修常存/佛性及涅槃, 885c12–13.

⁵ There is one apparent exception at *T* no. 376, 12: 1.858a9, but SYMP have the v.l. 純陀.

ian's name. However, for various reasons, the assessment of ascriptions of Chinese Buddhist translations on the basis of style is a complex matter and requires that we marshal as much evidence as possible, as I will discuss in more detail below. Therefore, the best approach is to systematically compare the style of 'FX'-MPNS with other Faxian ascriptions and see whether or not any clear and significant commonalities and differences can be established. If we do find differences, we can then proceed to examine their possible significance, including whether they might point to a concrete alternative ascription.

This study therefore compares 'FX'-MPNS to other texts ascribed to Faxian. The other texts generally ascribed to Faxian at present are:

- the (Mahāyāna) *Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra* 大般泥洹經 *T* no. 376;
- the **Kṣudrakapitaka* 雜藏經 *T* no. 745.⁶
- the Mahāsāṅghika Vinaya 摩訶僧祇律 *T* no. 1425;
- the Mahāsāṅghika Bhikṣuṇī Vinaya 摩訶僧祇比丘尼戒本 *T* no. 1427;
- the Sarvāstivāda Bhikṣuṇī *Prātimokṣa* 十誦比丘尼波羅提木叉戒本 *T* no. 1437;
- Faxian's biography/travelogue, *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳 *T* no. 2085.⁷

In the study of such questions, we should work conservatively to identify texts most certainly ascribable to the putative author of the text(s) under investigation, and take the style of those texts as a benchmark. In this light, we should note that there are reasons to be wary of taking *T* no. 1427 and *T* no. 1437 as direct representations of the Faxian style. Generally speaking, in the study of the Vinaya texts translated in the first decades of the fifth century, we need to be aware of extensive verbatim correspondences between them, which indicate

⁶ On *T* no. 745, see Tokiwa, *Gokan*, 55–56 and de Jong, 'Fa-hsien', 105–07 (who saw no reason to doubt that Faxian translated this text).

⁷ On *T* no. 2085, see Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan*; Liu, 'Stories Written and Rewritten', especially 5–10.

heavy borrowing or recycling of wording. This problem potentially affects *T* no. 1427 and *T* no. 1437 particularly heavily, since they are both short texts (one fascicle each, compared to the forty fascicles of *T* no. 1425), so that the dilution affected by such verbatim borrowing is proportionally more intense.⁸ I therefore provisionally exclude them from our benchmark corpus.⁹

By contrast, I know of no particular reasons to doubt the ascriptions of *T* no. 376, *T* no. 745, *T* no. 1425, and *T* no. 2085, and in the course of research for this paper, I was unable to discover any.¹⁰ I have therefore tentatively kept all these texts in the mix.¹¹

⁸ For examples, see Appendix I.

⁹ This is a strictly methodological measure, and I do not intend by it to imply any judgment as to the reliability of the ascription of these texts to Faxian.

¹⁰ Special considerations apply to *T* no. 2085, Faxian's travelogue, which is quite different from the other texts in the 'Faxian' corpus. First, it is not a translation at all. This means that it is not a collective work in the sense they are; and that it belongs to an entirely different genre. Its idiom is closer to standard classical Chinese than almost any translation literature. We could naturally expect that many types of language that frequently recur in translation literature would not occur here—formulaic phrases of various types, common lists or pericopae for various doctrinal concepts, and so on. On the other hand, *T* no. 2085 is also the most likely source in which we might find preserved, undiluted, Faxian's own 'voice', and thereby, pinpoint traces of his individual contribution to the other more collective works.

These factors might lead us both to expect and to hope to find considerable stylistic differences between *T* no. 2085 and other 'Faxian' texts. In the event, however, my methods allow me to discover in *T* no. 2085 only a surprisingly small number of items of language that (possibly) are not content-related (e.g. do appear in other translation literature), and also appear in no other Faxian ascription: e.g. 毀壞 'destroy'; 貝多 'palm leaf'; 石柱 'stone pillar'; 彼土 'that country'; 校飾 'ornamented(?)' (in varying orthography, this word is otherwise strongly associated with the Dharmarakṣa idiom); 佛處 'where the Buddha is/was'; 頂骨 '(Buddha's) skullbone, "uṣṇīṣa bone"'. At one fascicle, *T* no. 2085 is a relatively short text. Even allowing for this factor, however, these differences seem minimal. For the present, this means that despite differences in genre,

This study was undertaken with the assistance of TACL (‘Text Analysis for Corpus Linguistics’), a suite of computer tools I am currently developing in collaboration with Jamie Norrish.¹² As applied to the analysis of Chinese Buddhist texts, TACL allows a conceptually simple comparison of the n-grams¹³ (strings of length n characters, where n is defined by the user), in two or more texts or corpora of any size, up to and including the entire canon, in either of two ways: (1) What n-grams are found only in A, and not in B (or vice versa)? (2) What n-grams are found in both A and B? The tool generates full lists of n-grams matching these criteria, which the researcher can then examine in context, in conjunction with digital searches via the CBETA CBReader.¹⁴

idiom and compositional process, it is safe to leave it in the reference corpus for ‘Faxian’ style.

¹¹ It is also *a priori* plausible that Faxian translated these texts. Faxian is supposed to have obtained in India manuscripts of the *Mahāpari-nirvāṇa-mahāsūtra*, the Mahāsāṅghika Vinaya, and the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya (among other texts); Glass, ‘Guṇabhadra’, 194–95. It would make sense that he would have translated those texts upon his return to China. However, his name may also have been associated with the texts because he supplied the manuscripts; or the ascription to him could function as the (quasi-talismanic) guarantor of authenticity in the form of the living link with India.

¹² The code repository for TACL may be found at: <https://github.com/ajenhl/tacl/>.

¹³ The use of n-gram analysis for Chinese Buddhist texts has been pioneered by Ishii Kōsei. Ishii’s methods differ somewhat from mine, but his ground-breaking work was an important source of inspiration. See Ishii, ‘*Daijō kishin ron*’; Ishii, ‘Shintai kan’yo bunken’. I also gratefully acknowledge the benefit to my work of email discussions with Professor Ishii, and his generosity in sharing with me some of his unpublished data.

¹⁴ Other studies using TACL are Radich, ‘On the Sources’ (part of a larger study with Radich, ‘Tibetan Evidence’); Funayama, ‘*Da fangbian Fo bao’en jing*’; Radich and Anālayo, ‘Were the *Ekottarika-āgama*...’. For other studies using these tools, see Radich, ‘Problems of Attribution’. For a little more discussion of TACL and its application, see Radich, ‘On the Sources’, 208.

The present study is intended in part as an introduction to TACL-assisted methods, and a showcase of their power to solve our research questions. For this reason, I have deliberately pursued a heuristic mode of exposition, which risks appearing somewhat mannered. To this end, I mimic the steps that such an investigation might take, beginning with the state of knowledge as we find it in the primary sources and the secondary literature, and ‘walking the reader through’ by steps to my final conclusions.

2. ‘FX’-MPNS is closer to ‘Guṇabhadra’ than to ‘Faxian’

With the assistance of TACL, we can discover in ‘FX’-MPNS numerous terms and phrases that never appear in any other text ascribed to Faxian. At the same time, many of these terms and phrases do appear in various ‘Guṇabhadra’ ascriptions. However, as I will discuss below, it turns out that these phrases are not evenly distributed, but appear most frequently in a particular subset of the Guṇabhadra corpus. For this reason, and because the evidence is copious and threatens to be overwhelming, I present here data for only a select subset of the Guṇabhadra corpus:¹⁵

- Samyuktāgama* 雜阿含經 *T* no. 99;
 the Mahāyāna *Angulimāla-sūtra* 央掘魔羅經 *T* no. 120;
Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing 過去現在因果經 *T* no. 189 (abbreviated *Guoqu*);
Pusa xing fangbian jingjie shentong bianhua jing 菩薩行方便境界神通變化經 *T* no. 271;
 **Ratnakāraṇḍavyūha-sūtra* 大方廣寶篋經 *T* no. 462;
Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經 *T* no. 670.

¹⁵ I did not especially target these texts in my searches. Rather, I searched equally over the whole corpus of ascriptions to Guṇabhadra in the *Taishō*. These texts emerged from such searches as most frequently containing phraseology linking them to ‘FX’-MPNS.

The terms and phrases in question are shown in Table 1. Throughout this paper, the translations or equivalents supplied for each item are approximate only (in any case, for some markers the meaning can shift somewhat depending on context, so that it is artificial to provide a single equivalent)—to aid readers in absorbing the information, and for the purposes of subsequent discussion about the types of language involved.

TABLE 1 Markers in ‘FX’-MPNS, but never in other Faxian texts, found in key ascriptions to Guṇabhadra

Faxian reference corpus (‘FX’): *T* no. 376, *T* no. 745, *T* no. 1425, *T* no. 2085.

	‘FX’-MPNS	FX	<i>T</i> no. 99	<i>T</i> no. 120	<i>Guoqu</i>	<i>T</i> no. 271	<i>T</i> no. 462	<i>T</i> no. 670
宮城 ‘palace’	5	-	-	-	9	-	-	-
寶輿 ‘jewelled carriage’	5	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
四兵 ‘fourfold army’	6	-	9	4	2	1	1	-
大叫 ‘cry out’	6	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
勝進 ‘to advance’	1	-	12	-	-	1	1	6
聰慧 ‘intelligent, intelligence’	1	-	12	-	4	2	1	-
極為 ‘extremely’	15	-	6	3	19	2	2	-
俄爾 ‘suddenly’	2	-	1	-	10	-	-	-
寂默 ‘silent(ly)’	2	-	9	-	-	-	-	-
天及人 ‘gods and men’	2	-	1	16	-	-	1	-
無上正真道 <i>anuttarasamyaksambodhi</i>	1	-	-	-	1	13	2	-
外境 ‘external object’	1	-	36	-	1	-	-	3
踰闍那 <i>yojana</i>	10	-	-	-	9	-	-	-
擇法 <i>dharmapracicaya</i>	1	-	54	-	-	-	-	-
正語 ‘right speech’	1	-	53	-	-	-	-	-
道跡 ‘ <i>srotaāpanna</i> ’	1	-	268	-	10	-	-	-
曼陀羅花 ‘ <i>mandāra</i> flower(s)’	5	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
天龍 ‘ <i>devas</i> and <i>nāgas</i> ’	7	-	5	8	12	-	2	-
滅盡定 <i>nirodhasamāpatti</i>	7	-	1	-	-	-	-	1

	'FX'-MPNS	FX	T no. 99	T no. 120	<i>Guoqu</i>	T no. 271	T no. 462	T no. 670
兜婆 ¹⁶ <i>stūpa</i>	18	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
鳩尸那(城) ¹⁷ Kuśinagara	18	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
迦比羅旆兜 Kapilavastu ¹⁸	1	-	7	-	-	-	-	-
富蘭那迦葉 Pūrāṇa-kāśyapa	2	-	12	-	-	-	-	-
既聞 'having heard'	5	-	-	-	17	-	1	-
今者宜~ 'should now...'	11	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
答之 'replied to him'	9	-	4	-	6	-	-	-
遠塵離垢得法眼淨 'get rid of all defilements, and attain the pure [Dharma-] eye'	8	-	19	-	13	-	-	-
嗚呼苦哉 'Alas! Alack! Woe is me!'	8	-	3	1	-	-	-	-
歌唄讚歎 'hymns and paeans'	5	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
微聲 'in a feeble voice'	6	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
心自思惟 'thought to himself'	6	-	-	-	24	-	-	-
已畢 'were finished, had finished'	5	-	5	-	7	-	1	1
說種種法 'expounded various <i>dharmas</i> '	5	-	6	-	3	-	-	-
作此念已 'having had this thought'	5	-	1	-	12	-	-	-
時彼天子 'then that <i>devaputra</i> '	1	-	225	-	-	-	-	-
從座起 'rose from his seat'	6	-	155	-	5	1	-	-
於後夜 'in the later watch of the night'	1	-	104	-	1	-	-	-
鹿野苑中 'in Deer Park'	2	-	47	-	3	-	-	-
坐一面。爾時... '...and sat to one side. Then...'	2	-	33	1	-	-	2	-
坐一面而 'sat to one side and...'	2	-	18	-	-	-	-	-
舍衛國 'Śrāvastī'	1	-	949	4	3	-	3	-

¹⁶ In 'translation' literature, 兜婆 (in this meaning) is otherwise found (in isolated instances in each text) only in *Guoqu* (ascribed to Guṇabhadra), *T* no. 405, and *T* no. 613.

¹⁷ In 'translation' literature, otherwise found only in *T* no. 99, *T* no. 245, *Mahāmāyā*, and *T* no. 1331. It is striking that apart from *T* no. 99, these texts are all thought to be Chinese compositions.

¹⁸ See further note 58 and accompanying text.

	'FX'-MPNS	FX	T no. 99	T no. 120	<i>Guoqu</i>	T no. 271	T no. 462	T no. 670
坐一樹下 'sat under a tree'	1	-	30	-	1	-	-	-
端坐思惟 'sat in meditation'	1	-	2	-	8	-	-	-
則能 'can then'	2	-	28	1	2	-	-	5
生貪欲 'conceived of a desire [for]'	1	-	24	-	1	-	-	2
漏盡意解 'defilements exhausted and mind liberated'	3	-	1	-	3	-	-	-
則是 'is therefore/thus'	2	-	21	2	2	1	-	6
為汝說[:]何 'teach you[:] What...'	1	-	21	-	-	-	-	-
大福利 'great merit/benefit'	2	-	20	-	-	-	-	-
說偈曰 'recited a <i>gāthā</i> saying...'	1	-	17	-	-	1	-	1
佛即答 'the Buddha then replied...' ¹⁹	4	-	18	-	-	-	-	-
阿難聞佛 'Ānanda heard the Buddha...'	5	-	18	-	-	-	-	-
有侍者 'had/there was an attendant'	1	-	17	-	-	-	-	-
...也。爾時... '[sentence-final particle +]' ²⁰ Then...'	4	-	4	1	16	-	1	2
古昔 '[in days] of yore'	1	-	16	-	7	-	-	-
嬉戲 'enjoy oneself, take one's pleasure'	1	-	16	1	1	-	-	-
生梵天 'was reborn in the Brahma heaven'	1	-	7	-	1	-	-	1
佛此語 'these words of the Buddha' ²¹	16	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
作此言已 'upon uttering these words' ²²	4	-	-	-	7	-	-	-
墮於 'fall into'	1	-	12	-	3	6	1	4
王又 'Moreover, the king...'	2	-	2	-	15	15	-	-

¹⁹ This phrase is surprisingly rare throughout the translation literature. The other text in which it is most concentrated is the **Ratnamegha* T no. 658(8x). In all other translation texts, it only appears once.

²⁰ I term markers like this 'juxtaposition markers'. They are constituted by the recurring combination of two or more habitual usages—here, for instance, a sentence marked with the final particle 也 and the habit of beginning a new sentence with 爾時 for 'at that time'. As 'wallpaper' (see p. 251), such markers may be particularly telling, though easily overlooked, and in application to some problems, they may combine to comprise a substantial set of evidence in their own right.

	'FX'-MPNS	FX	T no. 99	T no. 120	<i>Guoqu</i>	T no. 271	T no. 462	T no. 670
略說法要 'expound briefly the essentials of the Dharma'	1	-	14	-	-	-	-	-
力/壯士屈伸臂頃 'the time it takes a strong man to bend or stretch out his arm' ²³	1	-	10	-	3	-	-	-
精勤思惟 'cultivate the thought [that]'	1	-	14	-	-	-	-	-
生憂悲 'be sad'	1	-	13	-	-	-	-	-
答我言 'said in reply to me'	2	-	13	1	-	-	5	-
鬚髮自落袈裟著身 'his beard and hair fell out of their own accord, and a <i>kāśāya</i> appeared on his body'	2	-	-	-	10	-	-	-
即成沙門 'immediately became a <i>śrāmaṇera</i> '	2	-	-	1	10	-	-	-
深生~ 'to feel profound [surprise, wonder etc.]'	4	-	-	-	12	-	-	1
讚嘆 'exclaim in praise'	1	-	12	-	-	-	-	-
從禪起 'to arise from meditation'	1	-	11	-	-	-	-	-
世尊即便 'the Blessed One then...'	11	-	-	-	9	-	1	-
於我滅後 'after my [<i>pari</i>]nirvāṇa'	3	-	4	-	-	-	-	-
眾多上座比丘 'many senior monks' ²⁴	1	-	9	-	-	-	-	-
而不覺知 'and was unaware [of it]'	2	-	6	-	-	-	-	1
四大海水 'the waters of the four great oceans'	1	-	5	-	2	-	-	-
斷諸煩惱 'extirpate the defilements'	1	-	8	2	2	-	-	-
於林中 'in[to] the forest'	1	-	8	-	1	-	-	-
之中有 'in/among [X] there was...'	7	-	1	-	-	1	1	-
娑羅林中 'in the <i>śāla</i> grove'	7	-	3	-	-	-	-	-

²¹ Again, this phrase is surprisingly rare—it occurs only sixteen times in the remainder of the translation literature, and no more than twice in any other given text.

²² Otherwise only *Dirghāgama* T no. 1(1x), T no. 69(1x), T no. 203(1x), T no. 834(1x), T no. 1450(1x).

²³ The form 壯士屈伸臂頃 is unique to *Guoqu* in the Guṇabhadra corpus.

²⁴ This phrase is unique to 'FX'-MPNS and T no. 99 in all the translation literature.

	'FX'-MPNS	FX	T no. 99	T no. 120	<i>Guoqu</i>	T no. 271	T no. 462	T no. 670
妙花 'wondrous flowers'	1	-	1	1	6	-	-	-
不動搖 'is not shaken, does not waver'	1	-	6	-	-	1	-	-

By contrast, we also find a large number of words and phrases that occur in more than one text among *T* no. 376, *T* no. 745, *T* no. 1425, and *T* no. 2085, but not in 'FX'-MPNS (with very few exceptions, nearly all the items listed below occur at least ten times across the Faxian corpus as a whole).²⁵

TABLE 2 Language found in Faxian, but not in 'FX'-MPNS

4 texts:

- 聚落 'settlement [place of habitation]'
- 金銀 'gold and silver'
- 怖畏 'fear'
- 行乞(食) 'go on begging rounds'
- 還復 'to return, [go/put etc.] back'
- 無數 'countless'
- 眾僧 'the congregation of monks'
- 福德 'good fortune, merit'
- 塔 '*stūpa*'
- 天眼 'heavenly eye', *divyacakṣus*
- 釋迦 Śākya (including in Śākyamuni)
- 恒水 'Ganges River'

²⁵ I ask readers to be patient with the quantity of this evidence. I present it in full because an important part of the case I am presenting is that such copious evidence all points in the same direction; because I make use of the same evidence again below in a different connection; and because I believe the quantity of such evidence is significant methodologically.

不與 ‘not give/not with’
 是惡 ‘is bad/this bad ~’
 其家 ‘his home/family’
 所作 ‘what one does/should do, done’
 是人 ‘this person’
 不信 ‘not believe/trust’
 餘者 ‘the others/the remaining ~’
 人問 ‘someone asks’
 後當 ‘after [X...], should/will...’
 飲酒 ‘drink alcohol’
 佛為 ‘the Buddha, for [the sake] of...’
 作大~ ‘made/became a great ~’
 不盡 ‘not exhaust(ed)’
 能知 ‘can know’
 是身 ‘this body’, ‘is [of] the body’

3 texts:

樹木 ‘tree’
 石蜜 ‘sugar [etc.]’
 盜心 ‘thieving intent’
 王子 ‘prince’
 酥油/蘇油 ‘butter/ghee’
 飯食 ‘food’
 獵師 ‘hunter’
 曠野 ‘wilderness, desert’
 草木 ‘trees and grasses, plants’
 衣服 ‘clothing, dress’
 寶物 ‘valuables’
 甘蔗 ‘sugar cane’, Īkṣvākus
 財物 ‘wealth’
 醫藥 ‘medicine’
 城邑 ‘city’
 諸方 ‘directions, regions’
 河邊 ‘riverside, riverbank’
 粳米 ‘millet’
 群臣 ‘[royal] ministers’
 天神 ‘a god’
 彫/雕文刻鏤 ‘carved patterns and inlay’

浴池 ‘bathing pond’
 草蓆/褥 ‘grass mat’
 妄語 ‘speak frivolously/falsely’
 剃髮 ‘shave the head’
 設供²⁶ ‘to offer, make offerings’
 自稱 ‘claim for/of oneself that...’
 稽首 ‘kowtow, pay obeisance with the head’
 執持 ‘hold, bear, carry’
 示現 ‘show, demonstrate’
 長大 ‘to grow/be tall’
 娛樂 ‘take pleasure, disport oneself, dally’
 殺生 ‘kill, take life’
 遣人 ‘dispatch someone [e.g. as a messenger]’
 敷置 ‘to spread out [a seat or bed]’
 欺誑 ‘deceive, deception’
 可信 ‘trustworthy, reliable, to be believed [in]’
 無畏 ‘fearless(ness), dauntless(ness)’
 愁憂 ‘sad, sorrow’
 微妙 ‘subtle, wondrous’
 所欲 ‘[which is] desired’
 盛滿 ‘full’
 泥洹 *nirvāṇa* (also 般泥洹 *parinirvāṇa*)
 大德 *bhadanta*
 方便 ‘an expedient, [*kuśala*] *upāya*’
 沙彌 *śrāmaṇera*
 悔過 ‘repent for an infraction’
 甘露 ‘ambrosia’, *amṛta*
 優鉢羅 *utpala* (flower), Utpalā (nun)
 惡行 ‘evil conduct’
 天女 ‘heavenly maid’, *apsaras*
 佛塔 ‘*stūpa* of the Buddha’
 戒律 ‘precepts and Vinaya’
 所欲 ‘[which is] desired’
 象王 ‘king of elephants’
 出家人 ‘renunciant, ascetic’

²⁶ This word, which is to be distinguished from the phrase 設供養, is quite rare.

龍王 ‘*nāga* king’
 華香 ‘flowers and incense’
 楊枝 ‘tooth-stick, *dantakāṣṭha*’
 目連 Maudgalyāyana
 恒河 ‘Ganges River’
 波斯匿 Prasenajit
 魔波旬 Māra Pāpīyas
 亦名 ‘is also called’
 國名 ‘country is called’
 故說 ‘teach for [the reason that]’
 非法 ‘not right, *adharma*’
 見已 ‘seeing ~, having seen ~...’
 是語 ‘[say] this [these words]’
 諸大 ‘great ~ [plural]’
 人中 ‘among people, among men’
 此非 ‘this is not’
 世尊制(戒) ‘the World-Honoured one laid down [a rule/precept] that...’
 比丘皆 ‘*bhiksus* all...’
 處處 ‘everywhere’
 水中 ‘in the water’
 人為 ‘person is/people are’, ‘person/people for’
 死者 ‘death/dead [+ topic marker/nominaliser]’
 作何 ‘do what [-]?’
 過是 ‘exceed/pass this ~’
 住此 ‘live/stay here’
 眾生故 ‘for the sake of sentient beings’
 不爾 ‘[if] it is not so’
 口中 ‘in the mouth’
 治罪 ‘exact/make amends for sin’
 在道 ‘on the road’
 多有 ‘there are many, has many’
 著地 ‘touch the ground’
 汝若 ‘if you...’
 人間 ‘among people, among humans, the human realm’
 無餘 ‘no more ~, no other ~’

²⁷ See note 20.

耶汝 ‘...? You...’²⁷
 唯除 ‘with the sole exception of’
 不敢 ‘dare not’
 雨時 ‘when it rains’
 人皆 ‘...people all...’
 我請 ‘my request/invitation’
 是思惟 ‘this thought’
 不同 ‘not the same’
 當為汝(等) ‘will... for you’
 終不 ‘never’²⁸
 國有 ‘in...country there is...’
 我不能 ‘I cannot...’
 相與 ‘together with’
 人能 ‘person can...’
 風吹 ‘wind blows’
 有客 ‘there is a guest [monk]’
 此經 ‘this *sūtra*’
 城內 ‘in the city’
 而取 ‘and take [it]’
 何況 ‘let alone.../ how much the more...?’
 惡心 ‘evil mind, ill intent’
 知足 ‘be [easily] satisfied’
 一宿 ‘stay one night’
 不了 ‘not understand’
 有國 ‘there is a country’
 也復 (‘[sentence-final particle]. Moreover...’ juxtaposition marker²⁹)
 威儀庠序 ‘comportment is dignified’
 山中 ‘in/among the mountains’
 已, 乃... ‘having [X-ed], then...’³⁰
 恭敬供養 ‘offer respectfully’
 見而 ‘see, and...’³¹

²⁸ The sole instance in *T* no. 745 is slightly different in meaning: 將終不久, *T* no. 745, 17: 1.559a23.

²⁹ See note 20.

³⁰ See note 20.

³¹ See note 20.

云何不 ‘why not [V]?’
 入其 ‘enter its/his/that...’
 不惜 ‘do not begrudge the cost [in money, even of one’s life etc.]’
 恭敬問訊 ‘ask respectfully’
 彼國王 ‘the king of that country’
 答曰 ‘replied’
 遂便 ‘then, immediately, before long’
 兩邊 ‘both sides’

2 texts:

男子 ‘man’ (including 善男子, *kulaputra*)
 姊妹 ‘sister(s)’
 小兒 ‘child’
 賈客 ‘merchant’
 織師 ‘weaver’
 愚癡人 ‘imbecile, sot’
 王家 ‘royal household/family’
 樹葉 ‘leaf’
 寡婦 ‘widow’
 湯藥 ‘medicinal broth’
 魚肉 ‘fish [and?] meat’
 美食 ‘delicacies’
 王大臣 ‘principal royal minister’
 種子³² ‘seed’
 世俗 ‘the customs of the world’
 手足 ‘hands and feet’
 手脚 ‘hands and feet’
 錢財 ‘money’
 乳酪 ‘sour cream’, *dadhi*
 驕慢 ‘pride, arrogance’
 果樹 ‘fruit tree’
 奴婢 ‘slave, servant’
 自活 ‘livelihood, living’
 邊地 ‘borderland, frontier region’
 相貌 ‘appearance’

³² To be distinguished from 釋種子 *śākyaputra*.

諸病 'illnesses'
 勢力 'force, power, strength'
 毒蛇 'venomous snake'
 牛羊 'cows and sheep'
 華鬘 'garland'
 幟幟 'pennant, flag'
 恐畏 'fear'
 諂曲 'fawning, flattery'
 諸患 'misfortunes, calamities'
 財寶 'wealth, valuables'
 叢林 'grove, forest'
 黠慧 'cleverness, intelligence'
 隨順 'accord with, follow'
 覆藏 'conceal, hide'
 教誡 'instruct and admonish'
 習近 'be(come) intimate/familiar with'
 驅出 'expel'
 饒益 'profit, benefit, aid'
 長養 'grow, make flourish, make thrive'
 呵責 'scold, reprimand'
 殺人 'commit murder'
 毀訾 'slander, malign'
 誹謗 'slander, malign'
 堪忍 'tolerate, bear'
 變易 'transform, change'
 尊重 'to respect, to venerate'
 自殺 'kill oneself'
 愛念 'to love, feel affection for'
 破壞 'destroy'
 水灑 'sprinkle with water'
 解知 'understand'
 噉 'eat'
 積聚 'gather, accumulate'
 隱覆 'conceal'
 救護 'save, protect'
 敬信 'venerate and believe in'
 暴害 'do violence to'
 長老 'venerable'

- 自恣 ‘unrestrainedly, freely’
 毒藥 ‘venom(ous)’
 賢聖 ‘holy (person), saint(ly)’
 諸惡 ‘evil, bad [plural]’
 無憂 ‘sorrowless’
 殊勝 ‘excellent, unusual’
 中間 ‘within/among’
 同一 ‘the same’
 若使 ‘if’
 假使 ‘if’
 爾許 ‘so many, so much’
 精舍 *vihāra*
 釋子 *sākyaputra*
 聲聞 ‘disciple, *śrāvaka*’
 應供 *arhat*
 瞋恚 ‘aversion, anger’
 房舍 ‘monk’s quarters’
 由延 *yojana*
 契經 *sūtras*
 人法 ‘human *dharma*/law/ways’
 犯戒 ‘violate the precepts’
 舊比丘 ‘old *bhikṣu*, *bhikṣu* of long standing’
 阿練若處 ‘in the *āraṇya* (‘wilderness’)’
 犯罪 ‘commit an infraction’
 等正覺 *saṃyaksambodhi/saṃyaksambuddha*
 糞掃 ‘rubbish heap [*paṃśū*]’
 無間罪 *ānantaryakarma*
 法師 ‘Dharma master, **dharmabhāṇaka*’
 泥犁 *niraya*, ‘hell’
 顛倒 *viparyāsa*
 起塔 ‘erect a *stūpa*’
 阿修羅 *asura*
 重罪 ‘grave infraction’
 多羅樹 ‘*tāla* (palmyra) tree’
 旃陀羅 *caṇḍāla*
 阿毘曇 *Abhidharma*
 諸天世人 ‘gods and humans’
 道人 ‘religious practitioner’

染污 ‘taint, defilement’
 頌曰 ‘[pronounced/sang] a *gāthā*, saying...’
 人身 ‘human body, incarnation as a human’
 教法 **deśitadharma*, ‘the teaching’
 淨想 ‘notion of purity’
 良福田 ‘field of merit’
 彼岸 ‘the other shore, the further shore’
 滅度 ‘attain extinction, enter *nirvāṇa*’
 梵志 ‘Brahmin’
 大乘 Mahāyāna
 達多 -datta [in transcribed names]
 文殊師利 Mañjuśrī
 拘睺彌 Kauśambī
 拘夷(城) Kuśinagara
 迦維羅衛 Kapilavastu
 梨車 Licchavis
 彌勒 Maitreya
 釋迦文 Śākyamuni
 阿那律 Anuruddha
 巴連弗 Pāṭaliputra
 娑婆 Saha (world)
 是名 ‘this is called’
 即名 ‘is called’
 不名 ‘is not called’
 何名 ‘What is called...?’
 皆名 ‘are all called’
 佛住 ‘the Buddha stayed at’
 作是念 ‘had this thought’
 當作 ‘should do/act...’
 佛問 ‘the Buddha asked’
 說若 ‘...said, “If...”’
 (作)是說 ‘say this’
 知而 ‘knew, and [so]...’
 何道之有 ‘how could that be [acceptable]?’
 便作 ‘then/thereupon did...’
 應問 ‘should ask’
 汝何以 ‘why do you...?’
 不如是 ‘not like this’

法應 ‘...*dbarma* should’
 不語 ‘not speak’
 自手 ‘oneself, with one’s own hand’
 若過~ ‘if [a certain amount of time] passes, if more than [a certain amount of time]’
 無病 ‘free of illness’
 當如 ‘it should be understood’
 不和合 ‘not in accord/harmonious’
 事者 ‘matter [+ topic marker/nominaliser]’
 莫作 ‘do not [imperative]’
 此處 ‘here, this place’
 不問 ‘not ask’
 言:「云何...’said: How...?’³³
 亦得 ‘can also/also obtain’
 如前 ‘as before, as above’
 久住 ‘stay for long’
 不也 ‘No’, ‘It is not so’
 後人 ‘people of later times’
 云何為 ‘what/how/why is...?’
 令捨 ‘induce to give up’
 年年 ‘every year’
 一子 ‘a son’
 令彼 ‘cause/induce him/that to...’
 其實 ‘in fact’
 以何 ‘with what...?’
 諦視 ‘scrutinise/look carefully’
 不死 ‘not die, deathless’
 地中 ‘on/in the ground’
 母人 ‘every person’
 所受 ‘[which is] received’
 捉杖 ‘grasping a stick’
 有因 ‘has a cause, there is a reason’
 未至 ‘not [yet] reached/arrived’
 幾許 ‘how long [in time]?’
 後時 ‘later’
 無數劫 ‘countless *kalpas*’

³³ See note 20.

於自~ 'in one's own ~'
 是輩 'them, these people'
 有過 'is guilty of an error'
 其性 'its nature, his/her nature, that nature'
 惡法 'bad *dharmas*'
 我等當 'we will/should'
 或能 'some [people] can', 'or...can'
 漸漸 'gradually, little by little'
 當從 'should follow'
 向此 'towards here, towards this ~'
 往看 'go and see'
 所言 '[that which is] said'
 怪哉 'Remarkable! Oh my goodness!'
 何因緣故 'Why? For what reason...?'
 一切皆 'all alike'
 夢中 'in a dream'
 彼女 'that woman, she'
 以神足 'by means of supernatural powers (**ṛddhipāda*)'
 ...故欲... 'therefore want to...'
 爾時佛 'At that time, the Buddha...'
 短壽 'short lifespan'
 食而 'eat, and...'³⁴
 人云 'person says/people say'
 作失想 'think [something is] lost'
 惡比丘 'bad *bhikṣu*'
 所犯 '[which (infraction)] is committed'
 其心 'his/her/that mind'
 悉知 'know [them] all'
 是呪 'this spell'
 他國 'an/other country/ies'
 皆應 'should all'
 (不)能壞 '(in)destructible'
 能說 'can expound'
 若干 'a certain number, various'

³⁴ See note 20.

Thus, we find that 'FX'-MPNS and the remainder of the corpus ascribed to Faxian differ strikingly in the exact way they repeatedly phrase a wide range of terms and ideas. It is important to note that the above Tables include a wide range of types of language: ordinary nouns, verbs, and adjectives; words and phrases to do more specifically with Buddhism, in both its more technical aspects and in the more general 'worldview' that comes bundled with it; proper names; and recurring phrases, some betraying habitual preferences in conjunctions, pronouns and adverbs (in all lists in this paper, I have arranged markers very roughly into categories in this order). It is exactly this sort of recurring, diverse, and copious difference that adds up to a style, and these global differences between 'FX'-MPNS and other Faxian ascriptions indeed suggest that there was something fundamentally different about the compositional process behind each side of the comparison, and the person(s) responsible for them.

I believe it is safe to say that the application of these techniques shows us for the first time the quantities of such evidence to be found in a given body of text. TACL's first strength is the fine grain of the vision it bestows. It is as if we have been handed a microscope, which enables us to see features of the texts too fine to have been visible to the 'naked eye' of a human reader equipped only with ordinary philological acumen. The power of the tool is further increased by its scope. It is possible for TACL to work through the entire canon in a few minutes or hours, examining every fine detail of each text (if only details of a certain very narrowly circumscribed type), whereas the same task would take a human reader multiple years at best. Finally, an additional strength of these methods derives from the brute blindness of the machine. Buddhologists steeped in Buddhist problems and texts have tended overwhelmingly in prior studies to notice and exploit markers with an explicitly Buddhist colour—formulaic textual clichés (especially at the opening and closing of *sūtras*), doctrinal categories, proper names, and the like. By contrast, TACL does not know or care what kind of word or phrase an item is—it trades indifferently in all contiguous strings of characters. This enables us to expand our purview, as above, beyond such explicitly and saliently 'Buddhist' markers, to include a wide range of more ordinary language typically too nondescript to catch our attention. (I call such markers 'wallpaper'.)

It is typical of work with TACL, as here, to discover that two texts or bodies of text are distinguished by a large number of such recurring fine-grained differences. This discovery is both exciting and challenging. On the one hand, it suggests that use of such internal evidence may eventually make possible much greater headway than we have achieved to date on questions of ascription, dating, and intertextual relations. At the same time, it also opens more than one new can of worms, each squirming with a lively knot of slippery problems.

One such problem is that it is difficult in many cases to differentiate with absolute clarity between content-related and stylistic material. For example, one area in which lexemes differ between texts because of content is Vinaya terminology (much of which appears for the first time in texts translated in Faxian's generation).³⁵ Some of this terminology also appears in *T* no. 376, mostly likely because some content in *T* no. 376 is also *Vinaya*-related.

However, against these considerations, we should note first that the above evidence includes a copious number of particular renderings of a wide range of items very common in *sūtra* literature. In total, we found over eighty items systematically differing from Faxian in the three fascicles of 'FX'-MPNS; and over 350 items systematically differing from 'FX'-MPNS in the Faxian reference corpus (a total of forty-eight fascicles). It is unlikely that such wide-ranging differences could be produced by accidents of content alone.

In the present case, we can also control for the possible confound of content by the fact that we find different translations or transcriptions for items identical in meaning: 'FX'-MPNS 兜婆 vs. FX 塔 for

³⁵ Examples in the Faxian corpus include: 波夜提 *pāyantika*; 羯磨 *karma* (in the sense of monastic ritual); 某甲 'so-and-so, such-and-such a person'; 越比尼 'commit an infraction of the Vinaya'; 床褥 'bed, couch'; 革屣 'leather sandals'; 受具 'received [precepts, ordination]'; 迦絺那(衣) *kaṭhina*; 偷蘭(遮) *sthūlātīyaya*; 和上 *upādhyāya* (和尚); 布薩 *poṣadha*; 非時漿 'irregular fluids'; 長衣 'robes in excess of the permitted quota' (*atirekacīvara*); 夏安居 'summer retreat'; 非律 'not [in accord with] *Vinaya*'; 破僧 'cause a schism in the Saṅgha'; 阿梨耶[僧聽] *śṛṇotu me ārya saṃgho* (Nyānatusita, s.v. DDB); 學法 *śaikṣadharmā*; 式叉摩尼 *śikṣamāna*; 阿浮呵那 *āvāhana*; 發露 'confess'; 摩那埵 *mānātva*, etc.

stūpa; ‘FX’-MPNS 踰闍那 vs. FX 由延 for *yojana*; ‘FX’-MPNS 鳩尸那(城) vs. FX 拘夷(城) for Kuśinagara; ‘FX’-MPNS 迦比羅旃兜 vs. FX 迦維羅衛 for Kapilavastu; ‘FX’-MPNS 天及人 vs. FX 諸天世人 for ‘gods and humans’; ‘FX’-MPNS 說偈曰 vs. FX 頌曰 to introduce a *gāthā*.³⁶ These are reasonably common items in Buddhist discourse. The fact that they are systematically rendered differently on each side of our comparison strengthens the likelihood that we are dealing with various authors or translators.³⁷ A single person or group would be unlikely to switch between different renderings for such common terms, and if they were in the habit of alternating, we would expect to find both renderings occurring within single texts, rather than the clean split between texts that we see here.

In the present case, we also have an additional control against the possible confound of content. In addition to ‘FX’-MPNS, the Chinese canon contains two other independent translations of the (Mainstream, non-Mahāyāna) *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*: the *Fo bannihuan jing* 佛般泥洹經 *T* no. 5 ascribed to Bo Fazu 白法祖,³⁸ and the anonymous *Bannihuan jing* 般泥洹經 *T* no. 6, which appears in the *Taishō* with a by-line dating the text to the E. Jin 東晉 (317–420), but which scholars have predominantly thought is probably by Zhi Qian.³⁹ In both *T* no. 5 and *T* no. 6 we find a large number of the exact markers listed in Table 2 above as distinguishing the Faxian

³⁶ In ‘FX’-MPNS, 頌 only occurs in the phrases 歌頌讚歎 and 歌頌讚頌. In other Faxian ascriptions 偈 never occurs in direct combination with 曰, as in ‘FX’-MPNS; rather, it appears in the compound 偈頌, or with the verb of speech 言 (偈言), or with a verb of speech preceding, 說偈 (with no second verb of speech following), etc.

³⁷ For a more extended application of this method, see Radich and Anālayo, ‘Were the *Ekottarika-āgama*...?’

³⁸ Iwamatsu and Park argued that *T* no. 5 is by Zhi Qian, but Nattier does not find these arguments convincing; Iwamatsu, ‘*Nehan gyō*’; Park, ‘New Attribution’; Nattier, *Guide*, 126, note 39, 127–28.

³⁹ Nattier, *Guide*, 126–27. Nattier cites Ui, *Yakukyōshi*, 517–23. Iwamatsu, ‘*Nehan gyō*’, argues that *T* no. 6 was probably by Dharmarakṣa. Park, ‘New Attribution’, also treats the text as by Zhi Qian.

corpus from 'FX'-MPNS: in *T* no. 5, approximately 122 items;⁴⁰ and in *T* no. 6, also 122 items.⁴¹ Because these are parallel translations of the same text as 'FX'-MPNS, we can expect that differences in recurring wording between these texts and 'FX'-MPNS would primarily not inhere in content, but rather, in style.⁴²

⁴⁰ 一子, 不了, 不問, 不敢, 不死, 不爾, 不盡, 不與, 不語, 中間, 事者, 云何不, 人中, 人間, 人法, 人為, 人皆, 人能, 人間, 以何, 何況, 佛問, 佛為, 作何, 入其, 兩邊, 其家, 其心, 國有, 地中, 大德, 天女, 天眼, 天神, 奴婢, 妄語, 小兒, 山中, 彌勒, 後人, 後當, 惡心, 惡比丘, 憍慢, 所作, 所受, 所欲, 所犯, 所言, 故欲, 教誡, 文刻鏤, 方便, 是人, 是惡, 是語, 是身, 是輩, 有國, 有過, 未至, 梵志, 樹木, 此非, 死者, 殊勝, 殺生, 比丘皆, 水中, 泥洹, 浴池, 滅度, 無憂, 無數, 無數劫, 無病, 無餘, 當作, 當如, 當從, 皆應, 相與, 眾僧, 瞋恚, 知足, 石蜜, 福德, 稽首, 答曰, 精舍, 終不, 美食, 群臣, 能壞, 能知, 自活, 舊比丘, 若干, 若過, 草木, 草蓐, 華香, 著地, 行乞, 衣服, 諸大, 財寶, 財物, 賢聖, 起塔, 過是, 道人, 還復, 醫藥, 釋迦, 釋迦文, 長老, 阿那律, 兩時, 非法, 飯食, 龍王.

⁴¹ 不也, 不信, 人中, 人能, 佛住, 入其, 其性, 國有, 在道, 大乘, 大德, 天眼, 奴婢, 娛樂, 山中, 巴連弗, 微妙, 悉知, 惡比丘, 我請, 所言, 是身, 是輩, 有國, 有過, 死者, 母人, 法師, 無憂, 無數劫, 無餘, 真諦, 瞋恚, 等正覺, 終不, 美食, 能壞, 自恣, 草蓐, 著地, 行乞, 解知, 說若, 賢聖, 長老, 兩時, 非法, 魔波旬, 不敢, 不死, 不與, 久住, 亦得, 人皆, 令彼, 何況, 佛問, 佛為, 作何, 其心, 國名, 地中, 天神, 寶物, 已乃, 彌勒, 彼岸, 後當, 惡法, 惡行, 戒律, 所作, 所受, 所欲, 拘夷, 教誡, 方便, 是名, 是語, 梵志, 樹木, 此非, 殊勝, 殺生, 比丘皆, 汝何以, 河邊, 泥洹, 浴池, 滅度, 無數, 無畏, 無知, 甘露, 由延, 當作, 當如, 當從, 盛滿, 眾僧, 福德, 稽首, 答曰, 精舍, 群臣, 聲聞, 能知, 自稱, 若干, 若過, 華香, 處處, 衣服, 諸患, 象王, 起塔, 道人, 金銀, 阿那律, 頌曰, 飯食, 飲酒.

Although the number of markers of Faxian against 'FX'-MPNS is the same in both *T* no. 5 and *T* no. 6, this is something of a coincidence—only a little under two thirds of the markers (about 78) are shared between the two texts. Some of the language that is shared between the two texts could be accounted for by the fact that *T* no. 5 may be a revision of *T* no. 6; Nattier, *Guide*, 127.

⁴² This is naturally not to deny that there do indeed exist differences in details of content between *T* no. 5, *T* no. 6 and 'FX'-MPNS. The existence of such differences is well known. Careful analysis of the patterns of such difference (and contrasting commonalities) between these and other versions of the text (*T* no. 1(2), Pali, fragmentary Sanskrit, versions incorporated in the *Vinayas*) formed

Nattier adduced strong reasons to think that *T* no. 6 is by Zhi Qian, and further, on the basis of relations between *T* no. 5 and the *Fo mu bannibuan jing* 佛母般泥洹經 *T* no. 145, that *T* no. 5 was ‘likely... produced in the Wu kingdom in the third century CE’.⁴³ In showing the presence in *T* no. 5 and *T* no. 6 of markers more characteristic of Faxian than of ‘FX’-MPNS, I therefore do not mean to suggest that either *T* no. 5 or *T* no. 6 should instead be ascribed to Faxian. Rather, my point is that *even these two texts* are closer to the style of the ‘Faxian’ corpus than ‘FX’-MPNS, and this evidence therefore serves as an indication of the significant distance between ‘FX’-MPNS and other Faxian texts. It also shows that differences in content cannot be responsible for this distance between ‘FX’-MPNS and other Faxian texts.

To sum up the argument thus far: We have found over eighty terms and phrases recurring in ‘FX’-MPNS, that never appear elsewhere in ‘Faxian’, but do repeatedly appear in Guṇabhadra. On the other hand, we also found over 350 items recurring in the remainder of the ‘Faxian’ corpus, which never occur in ‘FX’-MPNS. We can exclude the possibility that these differences are based upon differences in content between ‘FX’-MPNS and other ‘Faxian’ texts, because the same terms are sometimes translated differently on either side of the comparison, and because the markers otherwise characteristic of ‘Faxian’ do occur repeatedly in *T* no. 5 and *T* no. 6, which are parallel translations to ‘FX’-MPNS. This evidence shows very strongly that ‘FX’-MPNS is far closer, on stylistic grounds, to the Guṇabhadra corpus than it is to the Faxian corpus.

3. Complications

On the basis of the evidence surveyed thus far, it would be easy to leap to the conclusion that the above results resoundingly confirm Iwamatsu’s hypothesis—‘FX’-MPNS is stylistically closer to (some)

the basis of a line of serious studies with historicist aspirations, such as Bareau, ‘Les récits’; Waldschmidt, *Die Überlieferung*.

⁴³ Nattier, *Guide*, 126–28.

texts ascribed to Guṇabhadra than those ascribed to Faxian, and we are therefore warranted in ascribing the text to Guṇabhadra. However, matters are in fact more complicated.

The study of ascriptions of Chinese Buddhist translations on the basis of stylistic evidence is complicated by the fact that translators often worked in teams, and the composition of those teams could shift over time. Insofar as we can show empirically that certain regular and consistent features are shared by a group of texts most firmly associated with the name of a given translator and his group, it is nevertheless still reasonable for us to seek to discriminate between works more or less typical of that ‘author’ and others. That is to say, we can reinterpret the names associated with texts in traditional ascriptions as labels for a translation group or atelier (for example, ‘Faxian’ = ‘the Faxian group’) and proceed from there. This is the approach taken here.⁴⁴

In the case of Faxian, however, these questions are further complicated by the fact that Faxian himself may not have been the person doing the principal work of actual ‘translation’ in the teams he worked in, but rather, the ‘grunt work’ of translation may have been done by Faxian’s erstwhile travel companion, Baoyun 寶雲 (372?/376–449). In the case of the (Mahāyāna) *Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra* T no. 376, we have direct evidence that this was the case.⁴⁵ This is consistent with

⁴⁴ One useful approach to such questions, suggested by Nattier, is to think in terms of ‘rhetorical communities’, identifiable by ‘tracers’ (distinctive terms of limited circulation), and divisible on occasion into further sub-groups. Such an approach has the advantage of shaking the problem of style loose from assumptions about named individuals (or even their ateliers). On the one hand, several such ‘translators’ could be members of a single ‘rhetorical community’; while on the other, the corpus ascribed to a single ‘translator’ might comprise several separable ‘rhetorical communities’. These two possibilities do not need to be mutually exclusive in a single case, since for various purposes, we might analyse a problem along a spectrum from coarse- to fine-grained. See Nattier, *Guide*, 5, 162–63, and especially 166–68.

⁴⁵ 禪[*var.* 神]師佛大跋陀。手執胡[*var.* 梵]本。寶雲傳譯。於時坐有二百五十人, T no. 2145, 55: 8.60b9–10. On conflicting reports about Baoyun’s date of

a wider pattern indicating that Baoyun may have been the foremost Sanskrit-Chinese translator of his age.⁴⁶ We must therefore consider the possibility that Faxian, despite his extensive time in India, may not have actually been a real ‘translator’ (in our terms) after his return, and that any stylistic characteristics we can find in his corpus may in fact be the fingerprints of Baoyun (or someone like him).

This is a particular problem for consideration of the present question. The *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 (CSZJJ) biography states that Baoyun did the main work of translation for at least some of the texts ascribed to Guṇabhadra, just as he did for Faxian.⁴⁷ Elsewhere, in a note to a list of thirteen texts, Sengyou writes, ‘These texts... were all recited/read 宣出 by the Indian Mahāyāna Dharma Master Guṇabhadra...and translated 傳譯 by the *śrāmaṇera* Shi Baoyun and his disciple *Bodhidharmodgata 菩提法勇’.⁴⁸ Our primary sources also famously present evidence that Guṇabhadra himself may have been virtually incapable of speaking Chinese.⁴⁹ In other words,

birth, see Yoshikawa and Funayama, *Kō sō den*, 274, note 4. The birth date of 372, reported in the *Ming seng zhuan* 名僧傳, does not stack up with Baoyun’s supposed age at death.

⁴⁶ See particularly indications in Baoyun’s biographies, CSZJJ *T* no. 2145, 55: 15.113a5–b2; GSZ: *T* no. 2059, 50: 3.339c18–340a14; also MSZ *X* no. 1523, 77: 1.358c7–14. Other indications of Baoyun’s importance are found in prefaces to the **Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya* *T* no. 1552, *T* no. 2145, 55: 10.74c3–7 (also 104c21–24, 12b20–21) and the *Śrīmālādevīsīmbanāda-sūtra* *T* no. 353, *T* no. 2145, 55: 9.67b3–5; and in the biography of Guṇabhadra, *T* no. 2145, 55: 14.105c14–20; GSZ, *T* no. 2059, 50: 3.344b3–10; Yoshikawa and Funayama, *Kō sō den*, 334–35. See also note 49 below.

⁴⁷ 頃之眾僧共請出經。於祇洹寺集義學諸僧。譯出雜阿含經。東安寺出法鼓經。後於丹陽郡譯出勝鬘楞伽經。徒眾七百餘人。寶雲傳譯。慧觀執筆， *T* no. 2145, 55: 14.105c14–20; GSZ, *T* no. 2059, 50: 3.344b3–10; Yoshikawa and Funayama, *Kō sō den*, 334–35.

⁴⁸ ...天竺摩訶乘法師求那跋陀羅...宣出諸經。沙門釋寶雲及弟子菩提法勇傳譯， *T* no. 2145, 55: 2.12c19–13a8.

⁴⁹ *T* no. 2145, 55: 14.105c20–27; cf. Funayama, Butten, 87–89; Saitō, *Kango butten*, 40–44.

Baoyun may often have been the real translator in Guṇabhadra's group as well, in which case, it could be meaningless to reascribe a text from 'Faxian' to 'Guṇabhadra'.

Indeed, it is sobering to note that when we search in the Guṇabhadra corpus for the items in Table 2, which distinguish Faxian from 'FX'-MPNS, they appear most copiously in:

- T* no. 99 (320–323 items,⁵⁰ i.e. almost all the items in the table);⁵¹
- T* no. 120 (197–198 items);
- Guoqu* (172–174 items);
- T* no. 670 (150–151 items);
- T* no. 462 (128 items);
- the **Mahābherihāraka-sūtra* 大法鼓經 *T* no. 270 (not listed in Table 1;⁵² 126–127 items);
- T* no. 271 (111 items);
- the *Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanāda-sūtra* *T* no. 353 (not listed in Table 1;⁵³ 71 items).

These are exactly the texts that also feature the largest concentration of the items in Table 1, which distinguish 'FX'-MPNS from Faxian. With the exception of *T* no. 270 (in which only eight items from Table 1 appear), this means that largely the same texts in the Guṇabhadra corpus are most like 'FX'-MPNS, *and* most like 'Faxian'. We must therefore consider the possibility that 'FX'-MPNS represents something more specific than a 'Guṇabhadra' text that was mis-ascribed by the tradition to 'Faxian'.

⁵⁰ Unlike CBETA, TACL has the capacity to search the Taishō apparatus for variant readings in other witnesses. Counts for a given word or phrase sometimes differ between witnesses.

⁵¹ This is likely to be in part because *T* no. 99, at fifty fascicles, is very large. See below.

⁵² *T* no. 270 features only 8 of the markers listed in Table 1.

⁵³ *T* no. 353 also features only 8 of the markers listed in Table 1.

4. A smaller corpus associated especially closely with ‘FX’-MPNS

Recall that as Table 1 shows, our markers of ‘FX’-MPNS against other Faxian works are far from evenly distributed in the Guṇabhadra corpus. When we consider the length of the texts, moreover, we see that the imbalance is even greater:

Guoqu has 54 items in 4 fascicles (13.5:1);
T no. 353 has 8 items in 1 fascicle (8:1);
T no. 271 has 15 items in 2 fascicles (7.5:1);
T no. 462 has 18 items in 3 fascicles (6:1);
T no. 270 (not in Table 1) has 8 items in 2 fascicles (4:1);
T no. 120 has 16 items in 4 fascicles (4:1);
T no. 670 has 15 items in 4 fascicles (3.75:1);
T no. 99 has 67 items in 50 fascicles (1.3:1).

Thus, the markers in Table 1 are nearly twice as frequent in *Guoqu* as in any other ‘Guṇabhadra’ text. By this crude measure, ‘FX’-MPNS lies closer to *Guoqu* than any other text in that corpus by a considerable margin.

It is also possible to find other evidence pointing in the same direction—phrasing shared by *Guoqu* and *T* no. 7, and entirely unique to them in all of the translation literature (in many cases, appearing more than once in one or both texts):⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Some of these terms and phrases are also found in one other text—the *Yinguo benqi jing* 因果本起經, which was excluded from the canon, but preserved with an ascription to Guṇabhadra in the Fangshan stone canon (text no. 69 in Zhongguo Fojiao xiehui, *Fangshan shi jing*): 迦比羅施兜 Kapilavastu; 自傷貧乏 ‘beggaring themselves’; 非為小緣 ‘this is no trivial circumstance’. But these overlaps are to be explained by the fact that F69 is largely verbatim identical to about the first half of the first fascicle of *Guoqu* (*T* no. 189, 3: 1.620c15–623b27). Note that this makes F69 an important witness for the textual study of corresponding portions of *Guoqu*.

TABLE 3 Terms and phrases unique to ‘FX’-MPNS and *Guoqu* in translation literature

在尼連禪河側 ‘on the banks of the Nairāṅjanā River’ ⁵⁵
心大悲惱 ‘greatly sorrowing and troubled in mind’
迦蘭仙人 [Ā]jāra Kālāma/ *Arāḍaḥ Kālāma
喚言善來比丘鬚髮自落袈裟著身即成沙門 ‘...called [to him,] “Come, O Monk!” [where-upon] his hair and beard fell out of their own accord, and <i>kāṣāya</i> robes appeared on his body, and he immediately became a <i>śrāmaṇera</i> ’
作此言已即便 ‘immediately upon uttering these words...’
其數凡有八萬四千 ‘in all, they were 84,000 in number’
我四部眾：比丘、比丘尼、優婆塞、優婆夷 ‘my fourfold Saṅgha: <i>bhikṣus</i> , <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i> , <i>upāsakas</i> and <i>upāsikās</i> ’
良久微聲而[...問/言] ‘after a long pause, [said/asked etc.] in a quiet voice...’
統理民務 ‘the duties of governing the people’
極大巨富 ‘extremely wealthy’
還歸宮城 ‘returned to the palace’
俄爾之頃 ‘in the twinkling of an eye’
緣路而[V] ‘along the road’
而見答言 ‘and replied’ ⁵⁶
堪為世間作上福田 ‘can be the supreme field of merit for the world’
迦比羅旆兜 Kapilavastu ⁵⁷
自傷貧乏 ‘beggaring themselves [? <i>viz.</i> , by the lavishness of their offerings]’
非為小緣 ‘this is no trivial circumstance [i.e. this is a fateful, weighty matter]’ ⁵⁸

⁵⁵ 尼連禪河側 (without 在) also has a telling distribution: ‘FX’-MPNS, *T* no. 99; *Guoqu*, *T* no. 192; *Mahāmāyā*, *T* no. 1509.

⁵⁶ The syntactically peculiar use of 見答 here may be a reflex (at what remove?) of an Indic passive; cf. the related 唯願見答, which is entirely unique to *Guoqu*.

⁵⁷ In *Guoqu*, the reading 迦毘羅旆兜 in K hides this phrase from ordinary CBETA searches, but SYM and Shōgozō all record a v.l. identical to ‘FX’-MPNS; in F69 (see note 54) we encounter the slight variant 迦毗羅旆兜.

⁵⁸ Note also 迦比羅旆兜 Kapilavastu (note 18).

Other items shared between ‘FX’-MPNS and *Guoqu*, though not entirely unique to these two texts, are still extremely rare, and provide additional evidence of close links between the two.⁵⁹

Where these rare pieces of phraseology appear in ‘FX’-MPNS and *Guoqu* respectively, with one partial exception, in content and context that would indicate direct borrowing from one text to the other.⁶⁰ This means that they indicate, rather, some unusually close relation between the idiom of these two texts, and the person(s) who composed them.

At the same time, when we look further abroad, it turns out that one work outside the Guṇabhadra corpus has even closer links to ‘FX’-MPNS than any of the Guṇabhadra works listed above,⁶¹ excepting *T* no. 189—the **Mahāmāyā-sūtra* 摩訶摩耶經 *T* no. 383 (hereafter

⁵⁹ For example, the two texts share a verse, though the context differs in each text: 諸行無常/是生滅法/生滅滅已/寂滅為樂, *T* no. 7, 1: 3.204c23–24, *T* no. 189, 3: 1.623c21–22. This verse otherwise appears only in the anonymous *Samyuktāgama* *T* no. 100, *Dharmakṣema’s *Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra* *T* no. 374 (and *T* no. 375), and the *Mile da cheng Fo jing* 彌勒大成佛經 *T* no. 456 ascribed to Kumārajīva.

⁶⁰ The exception is a passage in *Guoqu* in which the Buddha refuses Māra’s request, on the banks of the Nairāñjanā River, to enter into *parinirvāṇa*, *T* no. 189, 3: 3.649a16–24. With the exception of a very few words, this passage is matched verbatim in a slightly longer and more repetitive passage at *T* no. 7, 1: 1.192a22–b12. However, even this long pericopae is set in a different larger context in each of the two texts: *Guoqu* is describing the initial encounter of Māra and the Buddha, at the beginning of the Buddha’s teaching career; whereas ‘FX’-MPNS is describing the reminiscence of this occasion forty-five years later, at the end of his career, when the Buddha agreed with Māra that he would enter *parinirvāṇa* three months later.

⁶¹ The *Abhinīṣkramana-sūtra* 佛本行集經 *T* no. 190, ascribed to *Jñānagupta, features the next largest gross number of Table 1 markers after *T* no. 99 and *Guoqu*. But it is a large text at sixty fascicles. Further, as the name suggests, *T* no. 190 comprises a collection of various other texts relating narratives about the Bodhisatva/Buddha’s lives. As such, *T* no. 190 probably incorporates the linguistic features of *Guoqu* because it in large part cannibalised it.

abbreviated *Mahāmāyā*), ascribed to Tanjing 曇景 (fl. ca. 479–502). This text features twenty-five items from Table 1, in a span of only two fascicles (12.5:1).

Utsuo argued that *Mahāmāyā* was composed in China, and further, that ‘FX’-MPNS was among its principal sources.⁶² Certainly, a close link between the two texts is corroborated by some very long and exact verbatim matches in phrasing.⁶³ However, not all the distinctive phraseology overlapping between the two texts can be accounted for by *Mahāmāyā* borrowing and reworking whole passages from ‘FX’-MPNS, suggesting that the relation between the two texts might have some other dimension. These clues suggest that ‘FX’-MPNS and *Guoqu* might belong together with *Mahāmāyā* in a group of texts sharing some quite specific interrelation.

As we will see immediately below, further investigation shows that in fact, these three texts share a considerable quantity of quite specific phraseology, and moreover, that the same characteristics are shared (to a lesser degree) by two more texts: the *Buddhacarita* 佛所行讚 *T* no. 192, ascribed to *Dharmakṣema, and the closely related *Fo benxing jing* 佛本行經 *T* no. 193, ascribed to none other than Baoyun.

The ascription of both *T* no. 192 and *T* no. 193 has been contested, and their interrelations shown to be complex. Some version of the *Buddhacarita* 佛本行贊 [var. 讚] 經 is ascribed to Baoyun in the primary biographical sources,⁶⁴ but it is uncertain whether this text was in fact *T* no. 193, which bears Baoyun’s name in the *Taishō*. Sakaino noted close relations between both texts, and further, with the *Fo chui banniepan lüe shuo jiaojie jing* 佛垂般涅槃略說教誡經 *T* no. 389 (without passing opinion upon the ascriptions of any of these texts).⁶⁵ According to Willemen, Ōminami Ryūsho held that it

⁶² Utsuo, ‘*Makamaya kyō*’, 11–14.

⁶³ For example: 以金棺內銀棺中，又以銀棺內銅棺中，又以銅棺內鐵棺中，*T* no. 7, 1: 3.206a26–28; *T* no. 383, 12: 2.1011b9–10; 鳩尸那(竭)國力士生地熙連河側娑羅雙樹間，*T* no. 7, 1: 2.198c4–5, 199a3–4; *T* no. 383, 12: 2.1011a23–24.

⁶⁴ 雲性好幽居以保閑寂。遂適六合山寺。譯出佛本行贊 [var. 讚 SYMP] 經; GSZ *T* no. 2059, 50: 3.340a7–9; cf. CSZJJ *T* no. 2145, 55: 15.113a24–26.

⁶⁵ Sakaino, ‘*Butsu yuikyō gyō*’.

was actually *T* no. 192 that was by Baoyun, and in presenting a full translation of the work, Willemen follows Ōminami in this regard.⁶⁶ Willemen also reports that Hikata Ryūshō believed *T* no. 193 was written after Zhi Qian and before Kumārajīva.⁶⁷ On the basis of a somewhat unconvincing computer-assisted analysis, Gotō argued that *T* no. 193 was translated by Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 (fl. ca. 284–306) rather than Baoyun; in the course of the same study, he appears to assume that *T* no. 192 is in fact by (Buddhabhadra and) Baoyun.⁶⁸

The evidence presented immediately below is ambiguous with regard to this question. It shows that *T* no. 192 and *T* no. 193 sport features that associate them closely with ‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, and *Mahāmāyā*, but such features can be found in either text, and sometimes in both. This may be at least in part because one text could have been prepared in consultation with the other. This question, and the question of the ascription of both texts, deserves further study, but for present purposes, it will suffice to show the special relation enjoyed by both texts with the others in this group.

TABLE 4 Terms and phrases shared by ‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, *T* no. 192/ *T* no. 193, and *Mahāmāyā*, but never in ‘Guṇabhadra’

Table 4 presents a sampling of phraseology distinguishing *Guoqu* from other texts ascribed to Guṇabhadra, but shared by texts in the group comprising ‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, *T* no. 192/193, and *Mahāmāyā*. For each item, I specify, after the item itself, whether it appears in T192, T193, or both.

All 4 ‘texts’:⁶⁹

舉世 ‘the whole world, everyone’ (*T* no. 192)

欄楯 ‘balustrades’ (*T* no. 193)

親戚 ‘kinsfolk, relations’ (*T* no. 192)

⁶⁶ Willemen, *Buddhacarita*, xiv, 209, note 1.

⁶⁷ Willemen, xv.

⁶⁸ Gotō, ‘*Butsu hongyō kyō*’.

⁶⁹ For the purposes of such counts, I have treated *T* no. 192 and *T* no. 193 as ‘one text’, because of the difficulties with these texts discussed immediately above.

辭別 ‘to take one’s leave’ (*T* no. 192/193)
 嚴辦 ‘to lay out [ritual implements], to prepare/array’ (*T* no. 193)
 戀慕⁷⁰ ‘to feel poignant affection for, to be unable to bear parting with’ (*T* no. 192/193)
 號哭 ‘to wail and lament’ (*T* no. 192/193)
 怖懼 ‘terror, terrified’ (*T* no. 192)
 曼陀羅花 ‘mandāra flowers’ (*T* no. 192)
 解脫路 ‘the road to liberation’ (*T* no. 193; very rare)
 覩如來 ‘see the Tathāgata’
 ~之眼 ‘the eye of ~’ (*T* no. 192/193; usually only once)
 以梵音 ‘with [his] *brahmā* voice’ (*T* no. 193)
 國內 ‘in the kingdom’ (*T* no. 193)
 世尊既~ ‘when the World-Honoured One had...’ (*T* no. 192)
 我國 ‘our kingdom’ (*T* no. 192/193)
 既得 ‘having obtained/being able to’ (*T* no. 192)
 步步 ‘step for step, at every step’ (*T* no. 192/193)
 飾以 ‘to ornament/decorate with’ (*T* no. 192/193)
 共同聲 ‘with one voice’ (*T* no. 193)
 [V]已即還 ‘having [V-ed], returned immediately’ (*T* no. 193)
 所應度者 ‘those who can/should be saved’ (*T* no. 193)
 於中路 ‘in/on the road’ (*T* no. 192)
 眾妙花 ‘various wondrous flowers’ (*T* no. 192)
 而答之 ‘and replied to him/her/them’ (*T* no. 193)

3 ‘texts’:

明星 ‘a (bright) star’ (*Guoqu*, *T* no. 192/193, *Mahāmāyā*)
 父子 ‘father and son’ (*Guoqu*, *T* no. 192/193, *Mahāmāyā*)
 卿等 ‘you [pl.]’ (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, *T* no. 193)
 後宮 ‘the inner palace [i.e. the royal harem]’ (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, *T* no. 192)
 號泣 ‘to weep and wail’ (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, *T* no. 192)
 拔濟 ‘to save’ (*Guoqu*, *T* no. 192/193, *Mahāmāyā*)
 死至 ‘death comes’ (*Guoqu*, *T* no. 192/193, *Mahāmāyā*)
 積財 ‘accumulate wealth’ (*Guoqu*, *T* no. 192/193, *Mahāmāyā*)
 明曜 ‘bright, shining, well lit’ (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, *T* no. 192/193)
 澄清 ‘clear, limpid’ (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, *T* no. 192)

⁷⁰ HYDCD lists this word, but the earliest instance it gives is in the Ming.

[V]已悲號... ‘having [V-ed], set to woeful wailing’ (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, *Mahāmāyā*)
 天鼓 ‘heavenly drum(s)’ (often 天鼓自然, 天鼓自鳴, 天鼓自然鳴 etc.) (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, T no. 192/193)
 ‘Mt. Tai’ 太山 (*Guoqu*, T no. 192/193, *Mahāmāyā*)
 悉達 Siddhārtha (in *Guoqu* in 薩婆悉達; in T no. 192 in the two *hapax legomenon* transcriptions 悉達羅他, 悉達阿羅陀; in *Mahāmāyā* in 悉達多⁷¹)
 阿私陀 Asita (*Guoqu*, T no. 192, *Mahāmāyā*)
 藍毘尼園 Lumbinī (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, T no. 192,—extraordinarily specific⁷²)
 或在~ ‘sometimes in ~’ (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, T no. 192)
 汝等宜 ‘you [pl.] should...’ (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, *Mahāmāyā*)
 節節 ‘every limb/member [of the body]’ (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, T no. 192/193)
 諫王 ‘petition the king’ (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, T no. 192/193; surprisingly rare in translation literature)
 歡喜踊躍不能自勝 ‘jumped uncontrollably for joy’ (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, *Mahāmāyā*)
 降神 ‘his spirit descended [into his mother’s womb—referring to the moment of conception]’ (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, T no. 192/193)
 歌唄讚歎 ‘hymns, paean, and joyous praise’ (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, *Mahāmāyā*; extremely rare)
 利益無量眾生 ‘benefit countless sentient beings’ (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, *Mahāmāyā*)
 彼諸商人 ‘those merchants’ (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, T no. 192)
 出遊觀 ‘go out on a tour of inspection’ (*Guoqu*, T no. 192/193, *Mahāmāyā*)
 聞此語已 ‘on hearing these words’ (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, *Mahāmāyā*)
 語之言:「汝... ‘said to him, “You...”’ (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, *Mahāmāyā*)
 佛福田 ‘the field of merit of [= that is] the Buddha’ (*Guoqu*, T no. 193, *Mahāmāyā*)
 今者宜應 ‘should now...’ (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, *Mahāmāyā*)
 當爾之時 ‘at that time’ (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, T no. 193)
 ~之光 ‘the light of ~’ (*Guoqu*, T no. 193, *Mahāmāyā*)
 既到 ‘when [he] had arrived’ (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, *Mahāmāyā*)
 前至 ‘advance to [a place], go to’ (*Guoqu*, T no. 192, *Mahāmāyā*)
 驚喜 ‘in a shock of joy’ (*Guoqu*, T no. 193, *Mahāmāyā*)
 ~交流 ‘[tears and snot, or tears and blood] flow together’ (涕泣交流, 涕泗交流, 泣血而交流) (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, T no. 192/193)
 寶輿 ‘jewelled cart’ (‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu*, T no. 192/193; very rare)

⁷¹ Setting aside appearances in later texts, the only other place 悉達多 ever appears in this period is *Dharmakṣema’s MPNMS T no. 374 (and T no. 375).

⁷² Other than ‘FX’-MPNS, *Guoqu* and T no. 192, the only translation texts ever to feature this transcription are T no. 386 (Narendrayaśas) and T no. 1450 (Yijing).

Utsuo's work might give us reason to suspect that at least *Mahāmāyā*, in particular, shares such distinctive language with the other texts because it takes them as its sources. In fact, however, in very many cases, where these items occur in these texts, we do not generally find relations between contexts and content of the type that would show such borrowing. Moreover, as with earlier sets of evidence, we see recurring here all types of language. Again, these recurring features together constitute evidence of a style, which sets these four texts apart from 'Guṇabhadra' and ties them closely to one another. Further, much of this shared phraseology is otherwise rather rare in Chinese Buddhist translation literature as a whole. This suggests that these 'four texts' (treating *T* no. 192 and *T* no. 193 together for the time being) are the product of the same close context or group. Future investigation should aim to discover whether these texts are linked by other features (including features of content), and whether more can be discovered about their context and links to other literature.

5. Conclusions

On the basis of the evidence presented above, we can conclude that the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* *T* no. 7 is much closer to the style of certain texts ascribed to 'Guṇabhadra' than it is to 'Faxian'. Indeed, by the same yardstick, even 'FX'-MPNS's sister texts, *T* no. 5 and *T* no. 6, are closer to 'Faxian' than 'FX'-MPNS itself. We should, therefore, overturn the ascription to Faxian carried by 'FX'-MPNS in the *Taishō*.

At the same time, however, it is not safe to follow Iwamatsu and simply re-ascribe the text to 'Guṇabhadra'. In fact, markers distinguishing 'FX'-MPNS from the 'Faxian' corpus are found much more densely in the *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing* than in any other 'Guṇabhadra' text. Further, a range of highly specific markers associate 'FX'-MPNS and *Guoqu* very closely with two further bodies of material, the **Mahāmāyā-sūtra*, and the *Buddhacarita* *T* no. 192 and/or the *Fo benxing jing* *T* no. 193. Stylistically speaking, these four (or five) texts comprise a tightly interrelated group, which are also connected by common themes and content.

As we saw, historical evidence strongly suggests that Baoyun may have been the real translator in the production of several important works ascribed to both Faxian and Guṇabhadra. In this light, it is very tantalising to note that *T* no. 193 is one of only three texts ascribed to Baoyun in the present canon,⁷³ and among those texts, this is the ascription that is supported by the strongest external evidence. This might make it tempting to think that the ‘FX’-MPNS-*Guoqu*-*T* no. 192/*T* no. 193-*Mahāmāyā* group might have especially close links with Baoyun himself, or that the features discussed above, which unite those texts, comprise together a fingerprint of Baoyun’s own style. In fact, however, the range of texts in which Baoyun is likely to have had a hand is much broader than only this group, and the problems involved in their study are considerable.⁷⁴ Those broader questions would take us well beyond the bounds of this study, but until they are resolved, we can say nothing reliable about the likelihood that Baoyun was involved in any or all of these texts. For the present, then, we can safely conclude only that ‘FX’-MPNS is probably not by the exact same translator(s)/author(s) as the remaining core ‘Faxian’ texts (*T* no. 376, *T* no. 745, *T* no. 1425, and *T* no. 2085); and that our best indications tie it closely, rather, to *Guoqu*, *T* no. 192 and/or *T* no. 193, and *Mahāmāyā*.

As mentioned at the outset, the above study was prepared with the aid of TACL, a suite of computer software tools designed for the discovery of evidence bearing on questions of style, attribution, and other intertextual relationships in the Chinese Buddhist canon. I hope that this study also demonstrated some of the promise and power of the careful use of those tools. It does not seem an overstatement to say that to date, without the aid of such tools, scholars in the field have been unaware of the full range, quantity and diversity of

⁷³ The others are the *Si tianwang jing* 四天王經, *T* no. 590, ascribed to Baoyun in collaboration with Zhiyan 智嚴; and the *Akṣayamati-nirdeśa* included in the *Mahāsaṃnipāta*, 無盡意菩薩品 *T* no. 397 (12), also ascribed to Baoyun and Zhiyan.

⁷⁴ I am currently preparing a systematic study of Baoyun’s possible corpus and translation style and hope to take up these questions again in that work.

evidence, like that examined here, that might exist in any given body of text. In comparison to the copious quantities of evidence discussed here, and the diverse range of types of language that can serve as distinctive markers on either side of a given comparison, I suggest that the handfuls of hand-picked (supposed) markers deployed in prior studies often now look impressionistic, scattershot and shaky. In this light, it will probably be necessary to re-examine even the small number of problematic ascriptions that have been critically studied on the basis of internal evidence in prior work.

At the same time, however, I believe that the present paper amply shows that these new tools promise to allow us to come to grips with such questions far more effectively than in the past. The mind boggles at the likely number of such problems that have probably slept for centuries beneath the surface of the canon, and the likely scale of the task of analysing the potential evidence, if it everywhere presents such an embarrassment of riches as here. If we can rise to the challenge, however, I also believe that such techniques might allow a profound and rigorous revision of the entire textual-evidential basis for many of our most important historical questions.

Appendix I

Matches Found in *T* no. 1425 and *T* no. 1427

T no. 1427, 22: 1.557b24–c1 = *T* no. 1425, 22: 36.521b29–c6
(nearly 100 characters);

T no. 1427, 22: 1.557c9–22 = *T* no. 1425, 22: 36.521c18–522a2
(well over 200 characters);

T no. 1427, 22: 1.558b2–9 = *T* no. 1425, 22: 37.523c26–524a8
(over 150 characters).

We also find pericopae (e.g. individual rules, or verses) shared more or less verbatim between *T* no. 1427 and other texts, some of which appear in more than two texts (including *T* no. 1421, *T* no. 1422a/b, *T* no. 1428, *T* no. 1431, *T* no. 1435):

T no. 1427, 22: 1.556b4–17 = *T* no. 1437, 23: 1.479a26–b10
(verse, slightly over 100 characters) = *T* no. 1422a, 22:
1.194c12–25, *T* no. 1423, 22: 1.206c1–14, *T* no. 1426, 22:
40.549a27–b11, *T* no. 1436, 23: 1.470c4–17;

T no. 1427, 22: 1.558c3–5 = *T* no. 1425, 22: 9.302b10–12
(a rule plus a gloss, over 30 characters), *T* no. 1421, 22:
4.27b28–29 (the rule only, without the gloss);

T no. 1427, 22: 1.558b22–24 (a rule, over 35 characters) =
T no. 1428, 22: 23.727c7–9, *T* no. 1431, 22: 1.1033c4–6;

T no. 1427, 22: 1.559b9–12 = *T* no. 1425, 22: 10.315b25–28
(a rule, over 50 characters), *T* no. 1426, 22: 1.551c17–20,
T no. 1435, 23: 8.54b8–12, *T* no. 1437, 23: 1.482a18–21;

T no. 1427, 22: 1.559b21–22 (a rule, over 20 characters) =
T no. 1435, 23: 8.55a17–18, *T* no. 1435, 23: 8.55a17–18;

T no. 1427, 22: 1.564c29–565a1 = *T* no. 1425, 22: 27.447a5–7
(verse, 28 characters), *T* no. 1421, 22: 7.46a12–13, *T* no.
1422b, 22: 1.206a27–28.

For *T* no. 1437, we find a similar pattern, but notably, the longest matches are most frequently with *T* no. 1435 (which, unlike *T* no. 1425, is not ascribed to Faxian, and so all the more a possible source of contamination of the ‘stylistic signal’). For example, a paragraph

around 200 characters long corresponds verbatim, with a few variant readings: *T* no. 1437, 23: 1.481a12–22 = *T* no. 1435, 23: 43.311a19–b2.

The total portion of each text comprised by such verbatim overlaps with other larger translations is large. For example, in *T* no. 1427, approx. 70% of the text is accounted for by verbatim matching strings of 8 characters or more in length with the four main *Vinaya* translations of the early fifth century (*T* no. 1421, *T* no. 1425, *T* no. 1428, and *T* no. 1435). In *T* no. 1437, the proportion of the same overlaps is approximately 67%. To give the reader some sense of the extent of this phenomenon, I have arranged each the two lists of overlaps from *T* no. 1427 above in the order in which they appear in the text.

Appendix II

TACL methods used in this study

TACL includes a range of separate functions. For the convenience of the reader, I here provide a list of the basic functions deployed in this study, keyed to the places where they were used.

tacl difference: Finds all contiguous strings unique to each side of a comparison between two (or more) bodies of text. Examples:

- ‘FX’-MPNS versus other solid ascriptions to ‘Faxian’ (*T* no. 376, *T* no. 745, *T* no. 1425, *T* no. 2085): Table 1, p. 236 ff; Table 2, p. 240 ff.
- *T* no. 2085 versus other Faxian texts (*T* no. 376, *T* no. 745, *T* no. 1425): fn. 10.
- *Guoqu* versus ‘Guṇabhadra’, Table 4.

tacl intersect: Finds all overlapping literal and contiguous strings between two or more bodies of text. Examples:

- *T* no. 1427 intersect [*T* no. 1421, *T* no. 1425, *T* no. 1428, *T* no. 1435]: Appendix I.
- *T* no. 1437 intersect [*T* no. 1421, *T* no. 1425, *T* no. 1428, *T* no. 1435]: Appendix I.
- *Guoqu* intersect F69, fn. 54.

tacl search: Takes a list of multiple n-grams (sometimes many hundreds) and searches every text in the entire canon for all of them. Outputs a list and count of n-grams from that set found in every text. This allows the user to easily find places in the canon where a given set of n-grams are most (or least) concentrated. Examples:

- Items from Table 2 in *T* no. 5 and *T* no. 6: ‘In both *T* no. 5 and *T* no. 6 we find a large number of exactly the markers listed in Table 2 above as distinguishing the Faxian corpus from “FX”-MPNS...’, p. 253–54, and fn. 40, fn. 41.
- Items from Table 1 in ‘Guṇabhadra’: ‘...our markers of “FX”-

MPNS against other Faxian works are far from evenly distributed in the Guṇabhadra corpus...’ p. 259.

- ‘...measured by the same criteria, one work outside the Guṇabhadra corpus has even closer links to “FX”-MPNS than any of the Guṇabhadra works...*Mahāmāyā*’, p. 261 ff.
- ‘The *Abhiniṣkramana-sūtra* 佛本行集經 *T* no. 190 ascribed to *Jñānagupta features the next largest gross number of Table 1 markers after *T* no. 99 and *Guoqu*...’, fn. 61.

tacl highlight: Takes the results of a **tacl intersect** test (see above) and conveniently highlights in a display of one text all the overlaps with the other text(s). Examples:

- *T* no. 1427 and *T* no. 1437 overlaps with [*T* no. 1421, *T* no. 1425, *T* no. 1428, *T* no. 1435], Appendix I (I used this function to arrive at percentage estimates of the proportion of overlap to the whole text).
- Overlaps between *Guoqu* and F69, fn. 54.
- ‘...we do not find the sorts of overlaps in content and context that would indicate direct borrowing from one text to the other... [viz. “FX”-MPNS and *Guoqu*]’, p. 261.
- ‘...not all the distinctive phraseology overlapping between the two texts can be accounted for by *Mahāmāyā* borrowing and reworking whole passages from “FX”-MPNS...’, p. 262.

Tests may also be concatenated (the results of one test may be fed as input into another test). This allows operations like the following:

- [‘FX’-MPNS intersect *Guoqu*] difference [remainder of *T* no. 1- *T* no. 1692]: ‘Terms and phrases unique to “FX”-MPNS and *Guoqu* in translation literature’, p. 260.
- [*Guoqu* difference Guṇabhadra] intersect [‘FX’-MPNS, *T* no. 192, *T* no. 193, *Mahāmāyā*]: ‘Terms and phrases shared by “FX”-MPNS, *Guoqu*, *T* no. 192/ *T* no. 193, and *Mahāmāyā*, but never in “Guṇabhadra”’, Table 4.

Readers should bear in mind that users can also define upper and

lower limits for the length of n-grams in which they are interested, for maximum or minimum number of instances of n-grams, for the maximum or minimum number of works in which n-grams must appear, and so on; and that TACL also, unlike CBETA, searches the *Taishō* apparatus, and so, in principle, can take into account all the witnesses to a text consulted by the *Taishō* editors.

It should also be emphasised that TACL is only a tool or aid to human analysis. All the potential evidence that it finds must be subjected to further informed and careful analysis in context, as it occurs in the texts themselves. This phase of the analysis can only be performed by a competent human reader, and is just as difficult, and prone to error, as any other philological work. To the best of my ability, I have subjected all the evidence presented in this paper to such analysis.

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Abbreviations

- CSZJJ *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 *T* no. 2145.
- DDB *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*. See Bibliography, Sources, Muller, ed.
- F Fangshan stone canon. Numbering of texts follows Zhongguo Fojiao xiehui, *Zhongguo shi jing*.
- FX ‘Faxian’ 法顯, usually used in this paper to refer to the corpus ascribed to Faxian as author or translator.
- ‘FX’-MPNS *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* 大般涅槃經 *T* no. 7.
- Guoqu* *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing* 過去現在因果經 *T* no. 189.
- GSZ *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳.
- M Ming version of a text, as noted in the apparatus of *T* under the siglum 明.
- Mahāmāyā* **Mahāmāyā-sūtra* 摩訶摩耶經 *T* no. 383.
- MPNS *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, in various versions.
- MPNMS (Mahāyāna) *Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra* *T* no. 374, *T* no. 375, *T* no. 376.
- P ‘Palace library’ 宮內省 version of a text, as noted in the apparatus of *T* under the siglum 宮.
- T* *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, as accessed via CBETA.
According to the standard layout for this volume, references to the *Taishō* follow the order: Text number, volume number, *juan*/fascicle number, page, column and line number. Thus e.g. *T* no. 225, 8: 2.483b17 is text 225, volume 8, fascicle 2, page 483, second register, line 17.
- S Song version of a text, as noted in the apparatus of *T* under the siglum 宋.
- Y Yuan version of a text, as noted in the apparatus of *T* under the siglum 元.

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Sites of *Caṅkrama* (*Jingxing* 經行) in Faxian's Record*†

KIM MINKU 金玟求

The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Keywords: Faxian, *caṅkrama*, *caṅkramaṇa*, Madhyadeśa, *caitya*, 經行, 經行處

Abstract: *Caṅkrama* is a classical Indian notion denoting a special form of ritualized locomotion or 'mindful pacing'. In Chinese Buddhism, *jingxing* is adopted, as early as in the Eastern Han translations by Lokakṣema, to render the technical sense of the Indic term, overriding pre-existing, homophonous parlance in Chinese. It is in this standard Buddhist context, too, that Faxian, who traveled India in the early fifth century, recorded ten specific sites of *jingxing* within India proper (or Madhyadeśa), associated with the Historical Buddha or other worthies in the past. The Chinese pilgrim monk's witness offers us an intriguing firsthand testimony to the sites of *caṅkrama* being actively commemorated and worshipped in Indian Buddhism as a sacred place.

* This essay stands as a preamble to a larger thread of discussion presented at the Faxian conference held in Xiangyuan 襄垣, Changzhi 長治 (Shanxi) in March 2017. The main art-historical part of the conference paper has been published as a separate essay, 'Where the Blessed One Paced Mindfully'. The author is most thankful to Chen Jinhua 陳金華 for his invitation to the conference and for having this current paper translated into Chinese. In assisting him for the

I. Introduction

The early Liu Song 劉宋 (420–479) record (*T* no. 2085) of Faxian’s 法顯 (trad. 337–ca. 422) pilgrimage (ca. 399–412) to India and the adjacent world intrigues us with a wide array of Buddhist, geographical, historical, linguistic, and other Sino-Indian topics and problems on which it touches.¹ Among these, this paper picks up specifically on the term *jingxing* 經行 in the pilgrim’s record. With the philological particulars of the term to be investigated in what follows, for now it suffices to say that the Middle Chinese expression (EMC *kejŋ ɣajŋ*) has a Buddhist-technical counterpart in the Indic *caṅkrama*, which signifies a type of ritualized ambulation or ‘mindful pacing’, the specific translation I adopt in this paper.²

organization of the conference, the author aspired to invite Yi Chaech’ang 李載昌 (1928–2017), the first translator of Faxian’s text into Korean. His original translation had been published serially in a now exceedingly obscure periodical throughout the 1970s; later, it was revised into a *bunkobon*-size paperback, *Pöp’yön jön* 法顯傳. The latter edition was then entered, with minimal alterations, into the massive *Han’gŭl taejanggyöng* 한글大藏經 series (vol. 248). See Yi, *Kosŭng Pöp’yön jön* 高僧法顯傳. When I was seeking him in late 2016 for the conference, Professor Yi was already too feeble to undertake international travel, and we belatedly heard that he passed away in December 2017, only several months after the conference. Nevertheless, I was privileged to invite Lim Sang-hee [Im Sanghŭi] 林祥姬, who has recently completed a new version of the translation in Korean. See Lim, *Kosŭng Pöp’yön jön*.

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¹ Our *textus receptus* of *T* no. 2085, despite its relatively short length, is notoriously laden with a number of critical difficulties, beginning with the very ambiguity in the taxonomy among various titles under which the textual tradition (or traditions) has taken shape. The date of Faxian’s departure may not necessarily be a clear-cut ‘fact’ either. According to the regnal year given in our *editio princeps* (51: 1.857a6), the date corresponds to 400 CE, but like the majority of scholars in the field, I, too, opt for 399, the year that the sexagenary of *jihai* 己亥 falls. Cf. Adachi, *Hokken den*, i–xxxii and 1, n. 2.

On his journey in India, Faxian witnessed several *jingxing* sites or *jingxingchu* 處 (viz. *caṅkramaṇa*), at which the Historical Buddha—and also some other Buddhist worthies of the mythic past—are known to have once walked in this manner. However elusive the nature of this walking activity was, scholars today must wonder how this historic knowledge reached the Chinese pilgrim. Particularly, art historians may be haunted by the suggested physicality of those sites described in Faxian's records. One of the sites in question is the Mahābodhi Temple complex (or *mahāvihāra*) in Bodhgayā (Bihar), within which a reputed 'Caṅkramaṇa', despite various changes and alterations, has been preserved until today.

Before plunging into these thorny issues, we must survey several relevant related concepts in philology. This essay thus examines the Sinitic term *jingxing*, first by investigating its usages found in the classical (or pre-Buddhist) Chinese corpus and comparing these usages with those contemporary to Faxian. Then, I will consider Faxian's terminology *vis-à-vis* the Indic vocabularies of *caṅkrama* and *caṅkramaṇa* in a comparative linguistic perspective. While doing this, I will also review how the term has been translated into European languages since the nineteenth century. Finally, the paper will conclude by offering some suggestions on Faxian's underlying habit in recording the sites of *caṅkrama* in India.

II. *Jingxing* and *Caṅkrama*

In regards to morphology, the term *jingxing* 經行 can be understood as a disyllabic verbal compound. Here, the preceding *jing* 經, etymologically 'to pass through', is agglutinated to another verbal component, *xing* 行, 'to go', or, more performatively, 'to walk'.³ However, the precise lexical interrelation between the two morphemes is not automatically determined, as each can be considered, to some extent, as appositional to one another; both lemmas pertain to certain aspects

² For EMC (Early Middle Chinese), see Pulleyblank, *Lexicon*, 159 and 344.

³ Schuessler, *ABC Etymological Dictionary*, 317; Wang Li, 924, q.v.

of going or walking. But, in this shared spectrum of meanings, more weight would be placed on the latter, while more semantic complexity would be carried by the former. *Jīng* thus is subordinate, which modifies and complements the overall nuances of the primal *xíng*.

This observation is well supported by an actual textual occurrence, in which the compound is stacked as part of a serial verb construction, such as ‘*zhu jingxing zuo*’ 住經行坐. This example can be found in Faxian’s own record.⁴ Here, the meaning of *jingxing* rests between the interval of the acts of ‘standing’ (*zhu* 住), at one end of the spectrum, and ‘sitting’ (*zuo* 坐), at the other. With the addition of a fourth action, ‘lying-down’ (*wo* 臥), and by singling out the co-verb to *xíng*, the expression may be indeed expecting the more common, standard Buddhist formulation *xíng zhu zuo wo* 行住坐臥 (or *xíng li zuo wo* with *zhu* replaced by *li* 立). Collectively termed as the ‘Four Postures’ (*sishi* 四勢) or ‘Departments’ (*weiyi* 威儀, *iryāpatha*), the figure of speech can be understood to encompass the entirety of one’s life. But any difficulty in Faxian’s expression of ‘*jingxing*’ still lies with the specific nuance of meaning denoted by *jīng*, as well as the differentiation it denotes between *jingxing* and the basic act of ‘walking’ as in ‘*xíng zhu zuo wo*’.

To be able to discern this nuance, it is necessary to examine the usage of ‘*jingxing*’ found elsewhere, ideally in a text whose existence predates Faxian’s departure from Chang’an 長安 (present-day Xi’an 西安) towards the end of the fourth century. Here, it is noteworthy that the *Han shu* 漢書, completed a few of centuries earlier than Faxian’s work, mentions three separate instances of *jingxing* in its Biographies (*zhuan* 傳) section. All three cases speak to the moral disposition of the individuals under discussion in relation to their ideological qualification to occupy an official post.⁵ With this Imperial Han 漢 (206 BCE–220 CE) morality strictly conforming to Confucian mainstream, *jīng* is here short for *jingshu* 經術, or ‘classical technique’

⁴ T no. 2085, 51: 1.864a24–25.

⁵ The individuals in question are Xue Guangde 薛廣德 (fl. mid-first century BCE), Kong Guang 孔光 (65 BCE–5 CE), and Shi Dan 師丹 (d. 3 CE). *Han shu*, *liezhuan* 列傳, *juan* 71, 3047; *juan* 81; 3354; and *juan* 86, 3507.

(or 'canonical art'), and the nominal stem, combined with *xing*, as in *pinxing* 品行, or 'moral behavior', forms a *dvandva*-type copulative compound to mean 'orthodox conduct' or even 'pedantic life'.⁶ Aside from these mentions, the received literary corpus of the Early Imperial period barely records actual usage of the word. With the aid of modern lexicons and full-text databases (including such digital tools as the Chinese Text Project), I am able to locate no more than six additional appearances of the term in the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書.⁷ This text, completed as late as the mid-fifth century, is at risk of having served as a conduit for later post-Han topoi to intrude into an earlier stratum of the matters under description here. However, mentions of *jingxing* appear to be immune to such anachronism. They all carry the same Confucian shade of meaning. In any case, Faxian's '*jingxing*' is thoroughly dissimilar to any of these non- or pre-Buddhist allusions.

What, then, does Faxian's expression mean exactly in a Buddhist context? In fact, the expression can be frequently observed in early Chinese Buddhist literature. Most prominently, it is none less than the tremendously important Eastern Han translator Zhi Loujiachen (or °chan) 支婁迦讖, or Lokakṣema (or °kṣama), who makes recurrent use of the term in his body of work.⁸ To be precise, four texts, which are generally assumed to have been produced by the Rouzhi (or Yue-°) 月支 translator (or which are, at least, considerably similar to his trans-

⁶ Cf. Luo ed., *Hanyu da cidian*, 9:861, q.v.

⁷ These are also in the Biographies. See *Houhan shu, liezhuan, juan* 26, 905, 916, 921; *juan* 32, 1131; *juan* 37, 1256; and *juan* 69, 2239 for Song Han 宋漢 (fl. early second century), Mou Rong 牟融 (d. 79), Wei Zhe 韋著 (fl. late second century), Yang Xing 陽興 (9–47), Huan Yu 桓郁 (d. 93), and Dou Wu 竇武 (d. 168), respectively.

⁸ Instead of citing Lokakṣema, Li Weiqi 李維琦 (*Fojing ciyu huishi*, 174–175) lists the *Anban shouyi jing* 安般守意經 (*T* no. 602) as an Eastern-Han locus of the term. Of course, *T* no. 602 has been traditionally assigned to be a translation of An Shigao 安世高. But with the recent discovery of Kongōji 金剛寺 in Ōsaka of a Kamakura-period manuscript, titled *Da anban shouyi jing* 大安般守意經 (0926-002), such attribution now seems no more tenable. Cf. Zacchetti, 'A "New" Early Chinese Buddhist Commentary'; Nattier, *A Guide*,

lation style), show persistent and coherent usage of *jingxing*.⁹ Gratifyingly, this headword was given a due entry in Karashima Seishi's 辛島静志 (1957–2019) *tour-de-force* lexicography over the *Daoxing banruo* (or *bore*) *jing* 道行般若經 (T no. 224), as *jingxing* occurs once in Chapter 3 (Gongde pin 功德品) and again in Chapter 29 (Tanwujie pusa pin 曇無竭菩薩品).¹⁰ While defining *jingxing* as 'walk[ing] about (to take a break after meditation, eating, etc., to clear up drowsiness)', Karashima reports that neither of two occurrences in Lokakṣema's text has an exact equivalent wording in three parallel Sanskrit editions of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* available today.¹¹ Nevertheless, he indicates that in Sanskrit parallels, *īryāpatha* obliquely replaces this gap found in the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata's Chapter. Karashima further consults a preceding Sanskrit passage, which is not parallel in Lokakṣema's Chinese text, but which includes another relevant keyword of interest for the present discussion, namely *caṅkrama*.¹²

The Indic term *caṅkrama* is an intensive (or frequentative), signifying the intensity (or frequency) of the action or state denoted by the root verb *kram* ('to walk').¹³ Assuming the meaning of 'walking (repeatedly) back and forth', the word may well convey the ritualized sense of 'walking about' or mindful locomotion. On the other hand,

60–61. *Jingxing* is left unrecognized as a lexicon of An Shigao's by Vetter, *A Lexicographical Study*, 235–236 and 274–276, qq.v.

⁹ These texts are the *Daoxing banruo jing* (T no. 224), the *Achu foguo jing* (T no. 313), the *Banzhou sanmei jing* (T no. 418), and the *Wenshushili wen pusa shu jing* 文殊師利問菩薩署經 (T no. 458, 14: 1.441a9). Nattier (*A Guide*, 76–77) lists eight core texts in total as works genuinely attributable to Lokakṣema.

¹⁰ T no. 224, 8: 2.433c14 and 10.474b16. Cf. Karashima, *A Critical Edition*, 80 and 508.

¹¹ Karashima, *A Glossary of Lokakṣema's Translation*, 272. Cf. Soothill and Hodous, *A Dictionary*, 409, q.v.: 'To walk about when meditating to prevent sleepiness; also as exercise to keep in health.'

¹² In fact, the spelling adopted by Karashima has an *anusvāra* (*caṅkrama*). But for the sake of consistency this paper emends the latter as *anunāsika*.

¹³ I owe this grammatical clarification of Sanskrit to Max Deeg. Also see Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 382.

īryāpatha—composed of two nominal stems, *īryā*, derived from the verbal root, *īr* ('to go'), connoting 'wandering about as a religious ascetic, whether Jain or Buddhist, without hurting any creature', and *patha* or 'way'—may literally refer to the specific way of such mindful perambulation, or, more rhetorically, to the collection of the aforementioned Four Departments and its observations.¹⁴ That is to say, *caṅkrama* is, by metonymy, part of *īryāpatha*. It is thus becoming increasingly certain that Lokakṣema's *jingxing* does precisely convey this meaning of 'mindful walking'.

Besides, we learn that the prefix of *jīng* 經 before *xíng* 行 parallels the Indic original in an ambivalent but sophisticated way. It appears that the technical structure of Sanskrit intensive is here being duplicated by the shrewd positioning of *jīng* before *xíng*.¹⁵ More phenomenally, the Buddhist translative term *jingxing* displays an exquisite etymological resonance with the same word's pre-Buddhist usage in early China. As much as it could mean 'orthodox conduct', so, too, can the meaning of *īryāpatha* be articulated as always indicating 'orthodox conduct'.

The term *jingxing*, as it was meant by Lokakṣema, was used consistently throughout our known Buddhist corpus of the Three Kingdoms period (220–280).¹⁶ For instance, the word is found not only in Zhi Qian's 支謙 *Fanmoyu jing* 梵摩渝經 (*T* no. 76) and *Yizu jing* 義足經 (*T* no. 198), but also in Kang Senghui's 康僧會 *Liudu ji jing* 六度集經 (*T* no. 152).¹⁷ Additionally, the same use is noted in Zhu Fahu 竺法護, or Dharmarakṣa, mostly imposingly in his *Zheng Fahua jing* 正法華經 (*T* no. 263) and *Puyao jing* 普曜經 (*T* no. 186).¹⁸ In his

¹⁴ Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 170.

¹⁵ Refreshingly, Zhu Qingzhi 朱慶之 (*Fodian*, 239–40) argues that *jīng* 經 here is a 'phonetic transcription' (*yinyi* 音譯) of *caṃ*. But in view of LHan (*key*), I see neither the initial consonant nor the medial vowel as permitting such interpretation. For LHan (Later Han Chinese), see Schuessler, *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese*, 135, q.v.

¹⁶ For the works of the reliable Three Kingdoms date, see Nattier, *A Guide*, 111–60, 177–78.

¹⁷ *T* no. 76, 1: 1.884b12 and c6; *T* no. 198, 4: 1.176a3; *T* no. 152, 3: 6.34b25,

commendable lexicography of the former text, Karashima also lists Dharmarakṣa's wording of *jingxing*, whose parallelism of *caṅkrama* is reported to be abundantly found in Sanskrit editions of the *Lotus Sūtra*.¹⁹ All this suggests that the Chinese term, adopted as early as in Eastern Han translations, was widely in circulation, with its usage generally witnessed around the core readership of Buddhist texts through the Western Jin 晉 period (265–316).

Faxian's contemporary, Kumārajīva (Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什, 344–413) also adopts *jingxing* in his translation of the *Lotus Sūtra* or *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (*T* no. 262), which was, arguably, the most popular text in East Asian Buddhism.²⁰ Thus, it is no coincidence that in Japan, the word, pronounced *kyōgyō* 經行 (or *kinhin* via *Tō-on* 唐音, the *yomi* that is more common among the sectarian Zen communities, especially Sōtōshū 曹洞宗) is frequently listed in many bestselling dictionaries (*jiten* 辭典 or *jisho* 書).²¹ Today in Japan, the performance of mindful locomotion may take a regular part in a Buddhist practitioner's daily routine. Also known as *gyōzen* 行禪 or 'walking meditation', *kyōgyō* often denotes a break amid a longer session of *zazen* 座禪 (or 坐-) or 'seated meditation'. It is thus very rewarding to come across a pictorial manual of calisthenics that instructs on how to conduct this practice in the most decorous manner.²²

35a3, and 7.42c26. Zhu Qingzhi (*Fodian*, 239) discusses the reference of the *Fanmou jing*. On the other hand, Chen Xiulan 陳秀蘭 (*Dunhuang suwenxue*, 63–64) cites several Dunhuang-discovered *bianwen* 變文-type texts in reference to *jingxing*, but these manuscripts are dated much later (e.g. 933 CE), to the period under discussion here.

¹⁸ *T* no. 263, 9: 1.65a2; *T* no. 186, 3: 1.486:b27.

¹⁹ Karashima, *A Glossary of Dharmarakṣa's Translation*, 229–30.

²⁰ Karashima, 142–43.

²¹ For example, Shinmura Izuru 新村出, ed., *Kōjien* 広辞苑, 544, especially *kyōgyō*, and 553, s.v. *kyōdō* 經道; Matsumura Akira 松村明, ed., *Daijirin* 大辞林, 630 and 673.

²² See Sasagawa, 'Kinhin ni tsuite'; Kim, 'Where the Blessed One Paced Mindfully', fig. 1. I also thank Sobhitha Thero for personally demonstrating to me his act of *caṅkrama*, as now in practice within the Sinhalese *saṅghā*.

III. Faxian's Witness

Faxian's expression *jingxing*—and, more pertinently, *jingxingchu*, in the discussion that is to follow—is not at all removed from the general terminology noted above. This concordance, as personified by Faxian, will be seen to speak in favor of the assumption that the term (*jingxing* or *jingxingchu*) was in wide, regular, and established use among Buddhist *belles-lettres* by the early fifth century in China. In order to introduce the next step in my discussion of this issue, let me enumerate Faxian's actual quotes, according to the order of their appearance in *T* no. 2085:²³

Sāṅkāśya (Sengjiashi 僧迦施)

1. There is a site (along with other miscellaneous places of interest in the environs), where Śākyamuni and Three Buddhas of the Past *paced mindfully*, the location of which is commemorated by a *caitya* (塔).

過去三佛并釋迦文佛坐處經行處。及作諸佛形像處。盡有塔。今悉在。(51:1.860a2-4)

*Hari (Heli 呵梨)

2. There is a site, where the Buddha *paced mindfully*, the location of which is commemorated by a *caitya*.

佛於此中說法經行坐處盡起塔。(860b3-4)

Sāketa (Shaqi 沙祇)

3. There is a site, where the Four Buddhas (of the Past) *paced mindfully*, the location of which is commemorated by a *caitya*.

四佛經行坐處。起塔故在。(860b8)

²³ For a quick synoptic table, see Kim, 'Where the Blessed One Paced Mindfully', 182.

Śrāvastī (Shewei 舍衛)

4. Within Jetavana (Qihuan 祇洹) there is a site, where the Buddha used to *pace mindfully*, the location of which is commemorated by a named *caitya*.

祇洹精舍大院各有二門。一門東向一門北向。此園即須達長者布金錢買地處。精舍當中央。佛住此處最久。說法度人經行坐處。亦盡起塔。皆有名字。(860c14–17)

Rājagṛha (Wangshe 王舍)

5. In the slope of the Ḡḍhrakūṭa (Qishejue 耆闍崛) Mountain, there is a cave in front of which the Buddha, while *spacing mindfully*, was injured by Devadatta's (Diaoda 調達) rolling rock. This rock still stands.

佛在石室前東西經行。調達於山北嶮巖間橫擲石傷佛足指處。石猶在。(862c26–27)

6. Outside the Old City (Jiucheng 舊城), there is a large black stone on which a legendary suicidal *bhikṣu* used to *pace mindfully*.

離此五十步有大方黑石²⁴。昔有比丘在上經行。思惟是身無常苦空。得不淨觀厭患是身。即捉刀欲自殺復念世尊制戒不得自殺。又念雖爾我今但欲殺三毒賊。便以刀自刎。始傷肉得須陀洹。既半得阿那含。斷已成阿羅漢果般泥洹。(863a16–22)

Gayā (Jiaye 伽耶)

7. There is a site under the Pattra (*beiduo* 貝多) Tree where the Buddha *paced mindfully* in the second week of his Enlightenment.

²⁴ Following the *Taishō apparatus critici* (8) Sō 宋-Gen 元-Min 明 and Kū 宮, I suppressed the graph *ku* 窟 inserted after *shi* 石. See Nagasawa, *Hokken den yakuchū kaisetsu*, 85 and 313.

佛成道已七日觀樹受解脫樂處。佛於貝多樹下東西經行七日處。(b13–14)

8. In his previous birth, King Aśoka (Ayu 阿育) was a small boy who offered soil to the Buddha, and the latter brought it to his ground for *mindful pacing*.

阿育王昔作小兒時。當道戲過釋迦佛²⁵行乞食。小兒歡喜。即以一掬土施佛。佛持還泥經行地。因此果報作鐵輪王王閻浮提。(b23–26)

Kauśāmbī (Jushanmi 拘睢彌)

9. Away from Ghositārāma (Jushiluoyuan 瞿師羅園), there is a site where the Buddha *paced mindfully*, the location of which is commemorated by a *caitya*.

佛本於此度惡鬼處。亦常在此住經行坐處。皆起塔。亦有僧伽藍。可百餘僧。(864a24–25)

Campā (Zhanbo 瞻波)

10. There is a site, where the Buddha *paced mindfully*, the location of which is commemorated by a *caitya*.

瞻波大國佛精舍經行處及四佛坐處。悉起塔。現有僧住。(c5–6)

Above, I have made consistent use of ‘to pace mindfully’ instead of Faxian’s *jingxing*. Technically, however, the choice of ‘mindfully’ would harbor a risk of colliding unnecessarily with the disparate concept of *smṛti*, of which translation nowadays is firmly established

²⁵ In fact, the *Taishō* edition represents ‘Jiashe Fo’ 迦葉佛 (Kāśyapa Buddha), but I emended the reading for ‘Śākyamuni’, honoring the *Taishō apparatus critici* (23) Sō-Gen-Min and Kū 宮 as well as the better-known *locus classicus* of the story in the *Aśokāvadāna*. See Zhang, *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 130, note 57. Also see Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan*, 462–63.

as ‘mindfulness’.²⁶ On the other hand, the translation ‘walk in meditation’, as found in many other exegeses, could carry unwanted emphasis on ‘meditation’ as a generally codified routine of Buddhist practice. I therefore intentionally choose the riskier distinction, which offers some distance from a more well-known custom of translation.

It will now prove useful to consider, albeit briefly, how the term was historically understood in several major translations of the text into the European languages. Unfortunately, the length constraints of this essay prohibit me from examining translations of all ten expressions listed above. However, I trust that what matters here is the identification of a pattern, and I will therefore limit my focus to the very first occurrence of the word in Faxian’s text, *Sāṅkāśya* (1).²⁷

To begin with, Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat (1788–1832) offers *parcourir*.²⁸ It is unknown whether the pioneering Orientalist sought a literal translation by approximating the underlying morphological structure of the original term—whether the Chinese or Indic—in his use of the Latin-derived French verb with its prefix *par*. Whether intentionally or not, this is, no doubt, a supremely graceful translation of *jingxing* (or even *caṅkrama*) into French. To one’s disappointment, however, the direct English re-translation of the French version yields the verb *journey*, which dismisses all multifold trans-linguistic subtlety of Abel-Rémusat’s *parcourir*.²⁹ Samuel Beal’s (1825–1889) *walk for exercise* is, likewise, not entirely satisfactory.³⁰ Even worse is the translation

²⁶ Cf. Gyatso ed., *In the Mirror of Memory*.

²⁷ Hereafter, when Faxian’s reference to *jingxingchu* is cited, I will, for the sake of convenience, use these serial numbers in parentheses, taken from the preceding paragraph that listed such venues in sequence, instead of repeating the *Taishō* citations again and again.

²⁸ Abel Rémusat, *Foë Kouë Ki*, 126.

²⁹ See *The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian*, 132. Strangely, this English version does not credit an individual as its translator, but it is widely known that the work was done by John Watson Laidlay (1808–1885), who also incorporated, into this re-translation, scholarship by Horace Hayman Wilson (1786–1860) and Christian Lassen (1800–1876), among others. See ‘Notes of the Quarter’, 170.

³⁰ Beal, *Travels*, 67.

by Herbert Allen Giles (1845–1935), who claims, in his first attempt at translating Faxian, to have produced an ‘improved rendering’ of Beal’s version, but in doing so ends up offering the phrase *take exercise*.³¹

The superior translation comes to us from James Legge (1815–1897), who simply translates *jingxing* as *to walk*, but who, in his annotation, requalifies the term as *to walk in meditation*, and even alludes to *caṅkramaṇa* or *jingxingchu* 經行處.³² This insightful addition can be credited to Legge’s co-resident in Hong Kong, namely Ernst Johann Eitel (1838–1908), who published his important dictionary just in time for Legge’s translation.³³ Although Legge does not mention the famous Caṅkramaṇa of Bodhḡayā (7), the famed monument itself had been introduced well before Eitel, most prominently by Robert Spence Hardy (1803–1868), who understood this to mean a *caitya of ambulation*.³⁴ Following the watershed contribution by Legge, there remains no question how to render *jingxing*. Even Giles, in his re-translation, emends his earlier infelicity (*walk for exercise*) to *walk in meditation*.³⁵ In our time, too, Max Deeg, in his commanding study in German, renders the expression as in *Meditation wandeln*.³⁶ More recently, Jean-Pierre Drège offers *marcher*, which, again, may not be fully satisfactory.³⁷

³¹ Giles, *Record*, 36.

³² Legge, *A Record*, 51.

³³ Legge’s debt to Eitel’s work, especially the latter’s foremost clarification of Indic terminology, is candidly acknowledged in the former’s Preface (*A Record*, xi). Cf. Girardot, *The Victorian Translation*, 74–75. Eitel’s headword is indeed *caṅkramaṇa*, spelled quaintly as *tchangkramana* or *tchangkramasthāna*. *Hand-Book for the Student of Chinese Buddhism*, 144, (The latter, first edition of the dictionary, which Legge actually cited, is difficult to find nowadays. Thus I also cite the popular, revised and expanded second edition, *Hand-Book of Chinese Buddhism*, 173)

³⁴ Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism* [sic], 181, which spells it ‘chaitya of chankramana.’

³⁵ Giles, *The Travels*, 26.

³⁶ Deeg, *Das Gaoseng*, 533.

³⁷ Drège, *Mémoire*, 29.

IV. Conclusion

Apart from these philological particulars, an interesting thing to note about Faxian's quote of either *jingxing* or *jingxingchu* is that the expression does not occur until he crosses the Indus (Xintou 新頭) to enter the bounds of 'India' (or Tianzhu 天竺). More precisely, the expression does not even appear when he enters Greater India at large, but only when he arrives in 'Middle India' (Madhyadeśa), or Zhongguo 中國. Indeed, only when crossing the Yamunā (Yaobuna 遙捕那) from Mathurā (Motouluo 摩頭羅) does Faxian at last verbalize the word for the first time.³⁸ Following Faxian's itineraries, the very first locality he would have encountered in Madhyadeśa is Sāṅkāśya (1), where he notices a *jingxingchu* commemorated with the connection to the so-called Four Buddhas of the Bhadra-kalpa (Xianjie 賢劫). Then, as Faxian leaves India from the port of Tāmralipti (Duomalidi 多摩梨帝) in the direction of Siṃhaladvīpa or Shiziguo 師子國 (present-day Sri Lanka), we never see him use the word again. For Faxian, the referent notion seems strictly reserved for the sacred worthies, especially the Historical Buddha, and his career in Madhyadeśa or the Gangetic Plains proper.

³⁸ For Yamunā, the *Taishō* edition (859a24) offers, indeed, without any critical apparatus, the corrupt reading of Puna 蒲那. This is the same textual corruption that confounded Legge (*A Record*, 42, note 3), who wrote, '[w]hy it is called, as here, the P'oo-na has yet to be explained'. But the challenging variant is preceded by *youjing* 又經, which is represented in several other editions as *youyao* 有遙 instead as Zhang Xun (*Faxian zhuan*, 55, note 2) collates. Also, *pu* is rendered in those latter editions as *bu* 捕 (without the 'grass' radical atop), a critical interpretation that I, too, assume to result in 'Yaobuna' instead.

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Abbreviation

T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.

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Author Biographies

T. H. BARRETT

Tim H. Barrett is Emeritus Professor of East Asian History at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. He studied Chinese at Cambridge and Buddhist Studies at Yale, and spent much of his career publishing on the history of the religious traditions of East Asia, primarily with regard to China. His books include *Li Ao: Buddhist, Taoist, or Neo-Confucian?* (1992), *Taoism Under the Tang* (1996), *The Woman Who Discovered Printing* (2008), and *From Religious Ideology to Political Expediency in Early Printing* (2012).

Jinhua CHEN

Jinhua Chen is a professor of East Asian intellectual history (particularly religions) at the University of British Columbia, where he also served as the Canada Research Chair in East Asian Buddhism (2001–2011). He has received numerous grants and awards from major funding agencies for his work on East Asian state-church relationships, monastic (hagio-)biographical literature, Buddhist sacred sites, relic veneration, Buddhism and technological innovation in medieval China, and Buddhist translations. He is a prolific author, having published six monographs, and co-edited ten books, and written over seventy book chapters and journal articles.

Max DEEG

Max Deeg is Professor in Buddhist Studies at Cardiff University. He received his Ph.D. in Classical Indology and his professorial degree (Habilitation) in Religious Studies at Würzburg University, Germany. His main research interest is in the history of Buddhism and its spread; he has researched and published extensively on Chinese

Buddhist travelogues. His most recent publications are: *Miscellanae Nepalicae: Early Chinese Reports on Nepal—The Foundation Legend of Nepal in its Trans-Himalayan Context* (2016), and *Die Strahlende Lehre—Die Stele von Xi'an* (2018).

JI Yun 紀贇

Ji Yun received his Ph.D. from Fudan University, Shanghai, in 2006. During the writing of his doctorate dissertation, his research encompassed the study of Buddhism within the philological studies of Buddhist written texts, the collecting of biographical materials of monks, and the anthropological studies of religion. Eventually, his dissertation, 'Huijiao *Gaoseng zhuan yanjiu*' 慧皎《高僧傳》研究 [A Study on the Biographies of Eminent Monks written by Huijiao] was published in early 2009. As a full-time lecturer of BCS, Ji Yun is now engaged in teaching subjects such as Buddhist Literature, the institution of Buddhist Sangha, and Chinese and Indic languages. Ji Yun also assists in overseeing the operation of the college's Academic Office and the library.

Haiyan HU-VON HINÜBER 胡海燕

Trained in Indology and Buddhist Studies in China (Peking University, M.A.) and Germany (Göttingen, Ph.D.), Haiyan Hu-von Hinüber has held professorial appointments, teaching and serving as research scholar at the universities of Freiburg, Copenhagen, Vienna and Erfurt. She has also been visiting scholar in France, Japan and China, and she has served as Professor-at-large at the Faculty of Historical and Cultural Studies, Shandong-University (China). Recently she has served as senior researcher at Shenzhen-University (China), and currently she is affiliated in the same capacity to the Center of Buddhist Studies at Peking University.

George A. KEYWORTH

Dr. George A. Keyworth is Associate Professor in the Department

of History at the University of Saskatchewan in Canada. He received his Ph.D. in Chinese Buddhist Studies from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). Dr. Keyworth has received grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) of Canada to support research about and the publication of peer-reviewed articles on Northern Song dynasty (960–1127) Chinese Chan Buddhism and the figure of Juefan Huihong 覺範惠洪 (1071–1128); Japanese pilgrims to Song China (e.g., Jōjin 成尋 [1011–1081]); apocryphal Chinese Buddhist scriptures and the particular case of the *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經 (**Śūraṅgama-sūtra*) using sources from Dunhuang, Central Asia, and Japan; esoteric Buddhism in Tang (618–907) and Song China; Zen Buddhism in Edo Japan and the figure of Kakumon Kantetsu 覺門貫徹 (d. 1730); and old Japanese manuscript Buddhist canons, especially from Nanatsudera 七寺, Amanosan Kongōji 天野山金剛寺 and the Matsuo shrine 松尾大社 canon kept at Myōrenji 妙蓮寺. Dr. Keyworth is currently working on two books, tentatively titled: *A History of Matsuo Shrine* and *Copying for the Kami: A Study and Catalog of Three 12th century Manuscript Buddhist Canons*.

KIM Haewon 김혜원 (金惠媛)

Kim Haewon is curator of Asian Art at the National Museum of Korea. She previously taught at the University of Georgia as assistant professor of Asian Art and earned her Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania. Her publications include ‘New Research on Central Asian Paintings in the National Museum of Korea’, *Archives of Asian Art*, vol. 63, issue 2 (2013).

KIM Minku 金玟求

Professor Kim is an art historian specializing China between the Han and Six Dynasties (206 BCE–589 CE), particularly in relation to Buddhism. His research aims to encompass the pan-Buddhist world in its entirety. As a result, he is profoundly intrigued by the relationships and interplays within and among cultures in Eurasia.

He publishes on a wide range of topics including archaeology, philology, and religious studies, and is currently working, among other projects, on a book-length monograph, titled, tentatively, *Sculpture for Worship: Buddhism and The Cult of Statues in Early Medieval China*.

Before joining the Department of Fine Arts, he was Assistant Professor of East Asian Art & Archaeology at the University of Minnesota (2012–2015) and an Andrew W. Mellon Scholar in the Humanities at Stanford University (2010–2012). He studied under Lothar von Falkenhausen and Gregory Schopen at UCLA for his doctorate (2011) and earned his M.A. (2005) and B.A. (2003) from the Department of Archaeology & Art History at Seoul National University.

Occasionally, he also reads Sanskrit, Gāndhārī, Tocharian, and Classical Tibetan in their original forms.

KUAN Guang

Kuan Guang completed his B.A. in Buddhist studies at the Buddhist Academy of China from 1994 to 1998. He also studied Theravada Buddhism in the Postgraduate Institute of Pali and Buddhist Studies, University of Kelaniya in Sri Lanka. He conducted his doctoral research on Chinese Buddhism in the Ming dynasty at SOAS, the University of London. His doctoral thesis, completed in 2010, focused on the Buddhist development of Wutai Shan in north China during the Ming dynasty. Before joining King's College at the University of London as an affiliated research fellow in October 2013, he worked as a Research Associate at SOAS. His research interests lie in Chinese Buddhist history, particularly Ming Buddhist history. He has published several papers on Indian Buddhist masters' activities at Wutai Shan and other areas in China. His other interests include Buddhist monastic education, the interaction between Buddhism and Confucianism in the late imperial China.

LIU Yuan-ju 劉苑如

Liu Yuan-ju is Research Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy, Academia Sinica. She was a 2005–2006 HYI

visiting scholar. Her current research focuses on war writing and intertextuality between Northern and Southern writers in medieval China. Her research interests revolve around religion and literature, traditional Chinese philology, and the Digital Humanities. Her main publications include *Toward a Literary Interpretation of Life-World—The Body Practice in Six Dynasties Religious Narratives and Space Writing* (2010), and *Bodies, Gender, Class: the Narrative of Normal/Nonnormal and the Aesthetics of Fiction in Six Dynasties Zhiguai Tales* (2002).

Michael RADICH

Michael Radich took up his post at VUW in 2005, and received his doctorate from Harvard University in 2007. In 2009, he spent three months at Kyōto University as a visiting scholar, at the invitation of Professor Shingū Kazushige. His first monograph, published in 2011, treats the history of the Buddhist story of the sins and redemption of King Ajātaśatru, as it changed across two thousand years of Buddhist history in India, China and Japan. In the winter term of 2013–2014, he was the Numata Visiting Professor of Buddhist Studies at the Hamburg University Numata Center for Buddhist Studies. Dr Radich also spent the entirety of 2015 in Hamburg, this time on a Humboldt Fellowship for Experienced Researchers from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, hosted by Prof. Dr. Michael Zimmermann.

Nicolas REVIRE

Nicolas Revire is a lecturer at the Faculty of Liberal Arts, Thammasat University, in Bangkok, Thailand. He has completed a doctoral degree at the Université Paris 3–Sorbonne nouvelle in France and he specializes in the Buddhist art and iconography of South and Southeast Asia with a research focus on pre-modern Thailand. He is general editor of a collective volume titled *Before Siam: Essays in Art and Archaeology* (Bangkok, 2014).

WANG Bangwei 王邦維

Professor Wang Bangwei obtained his Ph.D. from Peking University in 1987. He is currently a professor and director of the Institute of Oriental Studies and Oriental Literature Research Center in Peking University. He is also the director of the India Research Center in Peking University.

Since 1984, Professor Wang has published a wide variety of academic works in China and other countries like Germany, France, India, Sweden, Japan and Estonia. He has also published more than 60 research papers and their contents include accounts of the Chinese monks Xuanzang and Yi Jing, as well as the cultural exchange history between China and India. He is also a member of the International Nalanda mentor group that was established in 2007 to rebuild the Nalanda University in India.

ZHAN Ru 湛如

Zhan Ru is a Professor in Peking University's School of Foreign Languages. Additionally, he is a member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) National Committee, Vice President of the Buddhist Association of China and Vice President of the Peking University Orientalism Research Institute.

His areas of research include: Buddhist and Buddhist literature, the Indian Ministry of Buddhism, Dunhuang Buddhism, Buddhist system.

ZHANG Xuesong 張雪松

Zhang Xuesong is currently an Associate Professor at School of Philosophy, Renmin University of China. He obtained a B.A. in Philosophy (2002) and a M.Phil. in Religious Studies (2005) from the Renmin University of China, and a Ph.D. in Religious Studies (2008) from The Chinese University of Hong Kong. His academic interest focus on the history of Chinese Buddhism and Chinese local religion. His research mainly explores the organizations of Buddhist clergies and the interactions between Buddhism and local society

in China. He has published four monographs, including *A Study of Master Yinguang in the Historical Progress of Modern Chinese Buddhism* (2011), *The History of Chinese Buddhism before Tang Dynasty* (2013), *The History of Chinese Buddhism in Han, Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties* (2014), *Buddhist Dharma Lineage: The Model of Religious Organizations in China* (2015), in addition to numerous journal articles and book chapters.

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