The Early Development of Buddhism in the Red River Delta Basin, Jiaozhi, and Southern China:

The Case of a Sogdian-Jiaozhi Buddhist Monk Kang Senghui 康僧會

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I hereby declare that this dissertation has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at any other institution, and that it is entirely my own work.

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Abstract

The Early Development of Buddhism in the Red River Delta Basin, Jiaozhi, and Southern China:

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By

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For many centuries, Buddhologists have considered Chinese Buddhism as a dominant and influential force in the Far East. However, this assumption is debatable. My dissertation addresses this assumption to determine its validity. Here, I have argued that Early Buddhism in Jiaozhi has had an indispensable and influence on Early Chinese Buddhism due largely to the significant contributions of Kang Senghui, a Sogdian-Jiaozhi born Buddhist monk. Hence, I have reappraised his life, his role, and his contributions to Early Chinese Buddhism, as well as the cultural and social environments prior and contemporary to him. It is my conclusion that Jiaozhi Buddhism in Red Delta River basin has had a great influence on the genesis of Early Chinese Buddhism as well as providing a solid foundation for Chinese Buddhism through the groundwork of Kang Senghui via his own Jiaozhi philosophies and ideologies.

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Chapter 01. Introduction

This dissertation shall argue that Early Buddhism in Jiaozhi has had an indispensable and influence on Early Chinese Buddhism due largely to the significant contributions of Kang Senghui. This work is divided and structured into four chapters, which will effectively argue Senghui's contributions to Early Chinese Buddhism. The first of these chapters is an introduction to the dissertation, including the motivation to write, the establishment of hypothesis, the inquiry question, the research methodology, the literary survey, and the author's research contributions to the scholastic community. The second, subsequent chapter presents the backgrounds of the political, philosophical, and religious situations in China and Jiaozhi (ancient Vietnam) starting from archaic times to the third century AD. The third chapter provides the arguments about Kang Senghui's contributions to Early Chinese Buddhism. The fourth chapter concludes with the primary theme of the research's focus---that Early Buddhism in Jiaozhi has had a vast, unequivocal influence on Early Chinese Buddhism due greatly to Keng Senghui's contributions to the matter. In addition, a brief translation of Kang Senghui's biography and several appendixes are provided for further elucidation.

The predominant motivation in writing this dissertation is to attest that Early Buddhism in Jiaozhi requisitely influenced Early Chinese Buddhism because of Kang Senghui's works. Kang Senghui, a Sogdian-Jiaozhi born Buddhist monk, impacted the genesis of Early Chinese Buddhism via his own Jiaozhi philosophies and ideologies. The presented hypothesis is that Kang Senghui was:

1. One of the early Buddhist monks, who created a new tradition of worshiping Buddha's relic in China;

2. One of the early Buddhist monks, who established the first state-sponsored Buddhist temple and Buddhist saṅgha in Jianye 建鄴 (Southern China) of the Wu Dynasty 吳 or Eastern Wu 東吳 (222-280) during the Three Kingdoms period (220-280 AD);

3. One of the early Buddhist apologetics in China in the light of the reappraisal of his role on Mouzi's *Li Huo Lun* 牟子理惑論;

4. One of the early Buddhist monks in China, who created the tradition of writing preface in Early Chinese Buddhism;

5. One of the early meditation masters in Southern China, and his explanations of meditation were recognized by the early Buddhist meditation tradition (even though there some variances existed);

6. one of the early Buddhist monks, who developed the "Wu scriptural idioms" through his implementation and modification of the Indian, Jiaozhi, and Chinese indigenous terminologies and principles into his Buddhist writings and translations;

7. one of the early Buddhist monks, who harmonized the three major religions in China: Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism;

8. One of the early Buddhist monks, who initiated the approach of utilizing the teachings of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna interchangeably and effectively in China;

9. and lastly, one of the early Buddhist monks, who advocated for Buddhist ethical principals as the ideal political model through his writings and translations.

Since the posed, main theme is concentrated on the influence that Early Buddhism in Jiaozhi has had on Early Chinese Buddhism through Kang Senghui's successes, the

aforementioned nine hypotheses firmly and convincingly provide sufficient and corroborative information to justify the prime premise.

Furthermore, the research methodology made use of the available literary references (i.e. books, articles, etc.) as the foremost resources to edify the fundamental theme of this dissertation.

Regarding the literary survey, currently only three authors lengthily discuss Kang Senghui's life and work, but they do not provide a vast amount of detailed information about him. The three leading, literary works are Tsukamoto's *The Northward Move of Buddhism through the South Seas: Kang Senghui*;[1] *Master Tang Hoi, the first Zen Teacher in Vietnam and China,* by Thich Nhat Hanh;[2] and Zurcher's scholastic work on Kang Senghui's life and work.[3]

The author's research contributes invaluable knowledge to the scholastic community concerning Early Buddhism in Jiaozhi's great influence on Early Chinese Buddhism through Kang Senghui's labors.

Some modern scholars inaccurately deliberate that the story of Early Buddhism in Jiaozhi (presently North Vietnam) initiated in the six century AD, when in 580 A.D Vinitaruci, an Indian monk who had studied in China, came to Jiaozhi and brought the Mahāyāna teaching with him.[4] Mostly, they think Vietnamese Buddhism as an imitative

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[1] Zenryu Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese Buddhism: From its Introduction to the Death of Hui-yuan*, vol 1, trans. by Leon Hurvitz (Tokyo, Japan: Kodansha International, Ltd., 1985), 151-162.
[2] Thich Nhat Hanh, *Master Tang Hoi: First Zen Teacher in Vietnam and China* (Berkeley, CA: Parallax Press, 2001).
[3] Erik Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, vol 1, (Leiden, Netherlands: E.j. Brill, 1959), 51-55.
[4] Anita Ganeri, *Buddhism* (North Mankato, MN: Arcturus Publishing Limited, 2008), 22. Alan Sponberg and Helen Hardacre, *Maitreya: The Future Buddha* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 157. However, Cuong Nguyen argues that Vinitaruci the translator came to Vietnam and later went to live at Phap Van Temple. Succeeding Vietnamese authors, purposely associate Vietnamese Buddhism to Chinese Zen, faultily considered him to the legendary Third Patriarch Sengcan (Cuong Nguyen, *Zen in*

or duplication of Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism.[5] As a result, there is, unfortunately, a lack of research pertaining to the development of Buddhism in Jiaozhi within the scholastic community. Also, the fact that Indian Buddhist monks were active in promulgating Buddhist doctrine throughout Jiaozhi as early as the first centuries AD, is neglected.[6]

Actually, Buddhism was established fairly early in Jiaozhi, and it successfully flourished during the reign of Shi Xie 士燮 (137-266). Shi Xie's entourage comprised many foreigners such as immigrants from Central Asia and India. Numerous scholars have highlighted that Jiaozhi was then very receptive to these interactions with the West as well as being a cluster for the dissemination of Buddhism into China.[7] Particularly, in the middle of the third century AD, a Sogdian-Jiaozhi born monk, Kang Senghui, had brought Buddhism from Jiaozhi to southern China, and his influences to Early Chinese Buddhism are irrefutably enormous. Before illuminating Kang Senghui's contributions to Early Chinese Buddhism however, the backgrounds of the political, philosophical, and religious situations in China and Jiaozhi (from archaic times to the third century AD, prior to and during Kang Senghui's contemporary time) need to be surveyed.

Medieval Vietnam: A Study and Translation of Thien Uyen Tap Anh (Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 41.

[5] Robert S. Elwood and Gregory D. Alles, *The Encyclopedia of World Religions* (New York, NY: DWJ Books LLC, 2007), 446. Actually, numerous religious, political, and economical exchanges occurred in bilateral relationships between Vietnam and China due to their localities throughout time. For example, Tue Tinh, a Vietnamese monk and physician, was sent to the Ming court as a diplomatic courtesy to the Chinese court in a tributary mission in 1385. Tue Tinh had written an imperative medical treatise, the *Nam Duoc Than Hieu (Miraculous Drugs of the South),* during his short stay at the Ming court. This treatise likely helped him the very successful medical monk in China that he eventually became (C. Michele Thompson, "Medical Exchanges between the Han and the Viet 300 BC-1389 AD," http://www.yale.edu/seas/CMThompson.htm.

[6] Haha Lung, *Lost Fight Arts of Vietnam* (New York, NY: Kensington Publishing Corp., 2003), 43.

[7] Shing Muller, Thomas O. Lollann, and Putao Gui, eds., *Guangdong: Archaeology and Early Texts*: (*Zhou-Tang*) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985), 200.

Chapter 02. Background of the political, philosophical, and religious situations in China and Jiaozhi from the early time to the third century AD.

2.1 Background of the political, philosophical, and religious situations in China from the early time to the third century AD.

2.1.1 People and Politics.

Legendarily, between 3000-2070 BC the mythical 'Time of Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors 三皇五帝' occurred in China.[8] Shen Nong 神農, known as the divine farmer, invented tea-drinking and began to use herbs as medicines.[9] The Yellow Emperor 皇帝 was believed to be a fairy-tale person who made boats, devised the wheel, and composed an internal medicine manuscript, "Yellow Emperor's Inner Classic" (Huangdi Neijing, 黃帝內經). Furthermore, there was a tale of the Goddess of Silk, the Yellow Emperor's wife. During the Xia Dynasty 夏 (2070-1600 BC), stone tools, pottery, and bronze vessels were still used. Afterwards, the Yin 殷 initiated the Shang Dynasty 商 (1600-1046/ 1675-1029 BC). During this era, settled farming (growing millet, wheat, rice, and hemp) was prevalent, Chinese words were engraved on oracle bones, and Cowrie shells were exchanged as currency. The house of Ji 姬代 alleged that natural disasters and rebellions in opposition to the Yins were evidence that the Yins had lost their Mandate of Heaven to the Jis, whose established the Western Zhou 西周 (1046-771 BC) and Eastern Zhou 東周 (770-256 BCE). The Jis founded the Western Zhou 西周

[8] Khoo Boo Eng, *A Simple Approach to Taoism: Of Gods and Deities* (Singapore: Khoo Boo Eng, 2012), 9.
[9] John Wm. Schiffeler, "Chinese Folk Medicine: A Study of the Shan-Hai Ching," *Asian Folklore Studies*, 39:2 (1980), 46. Trevor Homer, *The Book of Origins: Discover the Amazing Origins of the Clothes* (London, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 2007), 125.

(1046-771 BCE) at the capital of Haojing 鎬京 (present day Xian 西安 city). The Jis then sent their relatives and generals to occupy proximate territories and ruled them as lords over the conquered land. However, much fighting occurred among these lords. Consequently, in 771 BC, some of the lords defied against the Zhou. The Ji royal family escaped to the east and founded a new court as Eastern Zhou 東周 (770-256 BC), and they established a new capital in Luoyang 洛陽. Therefore, this period was divided into two sub-periods. The Zhou granted many lords the authority to govern separate, small kingdoms. These lords clashed with one another that initiated the *Spring and Autumn Period Chunqiu Shidai* 春秋时代 (722-481/ 770-476 BC). Several kingdoms continuously fought one another, resulting in the stronger kingdoms dominant the weaker ones and subsequently appropriating their territories. The Qin Dynasty 秦 (221-206 BC) overthrown the Zhou State in 256 BC. Consequently, only seven kingdoms remained, and thus this historical time was called as the *Warring States Periods Zhanguo Shidai* 戰國時代 (475-221 BC). Thirty-five years afterward, Qin dominated the other six kingdoms and unified China in 221 BC to create the Qin Dynasty 秦 (221-207 BC) with its capital near Xian city. The King of Qin claimed as the first Chinese Emperor. Afterwards, the House of Li conquered and abolished the Qin State to start the Han Dynasty 漢 (206 BC- 220 AD). At this time, trade arose along the Silk Road, and later Grand historian, Sima Qian 司馬遷 composed the *Grand Historian Shiji* 史記.[10] After the demise of the Han State, many short-lived dynasties and kingdoms competed one another that created the *Age of*

[10] His dates of birth and death are still uncertain. See *Zhongguo dabaike quanshu lish juan* 中國大百科全書歷史卷 (History Part, Chinese Encyclopedia), p.961.

Disunion, also known as the Three Kingdoms Period (220-280 AD). Nomads from the north occupied China and remained there. Due to political chaos, many Chinese people turned to religion and became either Buddhists or Daoists.[11]

The Han Dynasty formally crumbled in 220 AD after many years of prevalence natural disasters, famine, chaos, and peasant rebellions throughout the country. Three generals (Cao Cao, Liu Bei, and Sun Quan), who were chosen by the last Han emperor, sustained peace throughout China and shaped the land into three kingdoms 三国.[12] In the north, Cao Cao 曹操 (155-220 AD) founded the Wei State 魏 and developed it as an archaism state. Liu Bei 劉備 (161-223 AD) created the Shu State 蜀漢 in the Sichuan area. In the south, Sun Quan 孫權 (182-252 AD) formed the Wu 吳 or Eastern Wu 東吳 (222-280).[13] The mightiest of the three Sanguo Kingdoms 三国, the Wei kingdom, did not pose any tangible political power. On the other hand, the Wu dominated the southern region of the Yangzi River 長江 that was formerly inhabited by non-Chinese people and believed to be a frontier. Jianye city, on the lower Yangzi River, rose as a vital governmental and cultural center that laid a concrete foundation for the Sinizational process. This Sino cultural city grew into the most crucial center for many dynasties within 250 years, especially after the Northern invaders conquered it in 311 AD.[14]

2.1.2 China and its perspectives about the neighbor states.

The Qin Dynasty 秦 (221-207 BC) reinstated two essential Sino-perspectives: the

[11] Adeline Yen Mah, *China: Land of Dragons and Emperors* (New York, NY: Delacorte Press, 2000), 231-233.
[12] Mah, *Land of Dragons,* 47.
[13] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest,* 43.
[14] Kenneth Pletcher, *The History of China* (Chicago, IL: Britannica Educational Publishing, 2011), 84.

unification of political culture, and the supreme status of the emperor as the Son of Heaven.[15]

Principally, during the Han Dynasty 漢 (206 BC-220 AD) all of the numerous factors developing the Sino-perspective were effectively merged. The ideal conception was to shape the conformative order of Heaven, Human, and Earth. In this new establishment, the emperor functioned as a cosmic convergent figure for all human. Furthermore, in reference to his self-imposed title, he governed "all under Heaven" and included the "Middle Kingdom," where other kingdoms surround it in all four quarters.[16] Thus, the supremacy of the Son of Heaven was conceptualized.

The Chinese alleged that the "Son of Heaven" governed the Sino-civilized principal area. It comprised the barbarian or inferior peoples, whose lives were also under Heaven, and therefore fitted into the great "family" of Sino civilization. The position of these "barbarian, inferior, or non-Chinese" was at the lowest level of the Chinese social-cultural order, and all that belonged to this lowly sect of civilization were considered to be inferior. Thus, they should be assimilated culturally if they wanted to reclaim their social status equally to their companion Chinese peoples.[17]

To merge the power, the Qin emperor built the Great Wall 萬里長城 to protect the cultural area vital to the Sino, and consequentially compelled the sub-human, non-Chinese, "barbarian" indigenous people out of the north and northeast regions.[18]

Nevertheless, in southeast region, several classes of people from the lower social

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[15] Martin Stuart-Fox, *A Short History of China and Southeast Asia: Tribute, Trade, and Influence* (Crows Nest, NSW, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 2003), 17.
[16] Stuart-Fox, *A Short History of China*, 17-18.
[17] Ibid., 18.
[18] Non-Chinese people's status was far down below the Chinese socio-cultural hierarchy, and they were even likened to animals (Stuart-Fox, *A Short History of China,* 18).

status (i.e. military veterans, forced laborers, bonded servants, small traders, retailers, and even criminals and fugitives) established the new military or administrative commanderies. During the Han State, because of the continuing movement of internal migration of Yue people 越, who inhabited in the coastal regions from Fujian 福建 to Guangdong 廣東 and the Red River delta (northern Vietnam), the newly formed commanderies were subsequently either under Chinese political control or their cultural influences.[19]

The Han Emperors categorized some regions as "the pacified zone" as a stratagem to validly colonize them. This happened specifically after Han Wudi 漢武帝 (r. 140-87 BC) occupied the Yue 越 coastal region. Due to this political move, 'the dependent countries" or "controlled barbarians" were obliged to pay annual tribute to the authorities. Over the centuries, most non-Chinese people were assimilated into the new culture. However, some magnificently preserved their own cultures, mostly the southern Yue (Vietnamese), Miao (Hmong), and some other minorities and mountain tribes.[20]

Starting from the Later Han 後漢 (25-220 AD), an era when the Chinese had regular interaction with Southeast Asian people, the Chinese peoples foisted an egotistic worldview. This conceited imposition encompassed the amalgamation of Heaven, Earth, and humankind, the morality regulated by Heaven, Heaven's dictating social harmony, and the emperor's position as the Son of Heaven, who reigned a hierarchical social world, comprising the non-Chinese populations. Generally, the Sino worldview arrogantly and allegedly considered Chinese as highly civilized people, and the non-Chinese indigenous

[19] Stuart-Fox, *A Short History of China*, 18.
[20] Ibid., 20-21.

living surrounding the China's frontier regions were demanded to acknowledge their dominance, along with the emperor's cosmic status, by deferentially offering tribute. Moreover, they were mandated to keep social harmony with the Middle Kingdom and eventually accede the Chinese authority, i.e. "all under Heaven."[21]

China had indirect trading relationships with people in the southern coastal areas as early as Shang period. Chinese people deliberately differentiated themselves from the other "barbarian" races according to some Zhou period's manuscripts. Coupling with the greedy motivation to possess extravagance goods from Southeast Asia, Qin emperors dispatched their soldiers to invade the Yue kingdoms. This was a successful but brief venture. The Han emperors colonized Guangdong, the southern coastal regions, as well as occupying the Red River Delta in northern Vietnam in the early first century BC.

2.1.3 Chinese philosophical and religious situations

Starting from the Shang period, the unilateral supreme perspective had allegedly shaped the Chinese people's self-conception and their egotistic stance towards other races. They assumed that they were at the core of the universe. Resultantly, they believed China as the "Middle Kingdom 中國" surrounded by the deprived, lowly "barbarians" in four quarters. Also, their belief system comprised Shangdi, who was acknowledged supernaturally by oracles, and who ruled human and celestial realms, not as the world creator but as a protector.[22]

There were most typical ideas of an abnormally Chinese world-view regarding religion during the Shang period. Fisrt is a cult of ancestors, which caused highly

[21] Stuart-Fox, *A Short History of China*, 21-22.
[22] Ibid., 10.

systematized sacrificial and mortuary rituals. Second is the belief in a supreme being, who controls over a hierarchical edifice in the spiritual world (which was closely associated to man's life and fate). Third is the notion that only those chosen by superior authority were suitable to do religious performances (the people being considered mere spectators, which led to the close association between the religion and the state). Fourth is the serious concern for the proper and scrupulous observance of the ceremonial. Fifth is the belief that the focal purpose of religion was to uphold a harmonious connection among heaven, earth, and man.[23]

After defeating the last king of the Shang period, the Zhou period expounded and strengthened the above Sino worldview. Embracing much from Shang civilization, the Zhou kings carried with them their own ancestral deity, Tian 天, meaning Heaven, and identified it with Shangdi. The Zhou kings titled themselves "Sons of Heaven," *Tian Zi* 天子, thus asserting both moral authority and a divine decree to govern.[24]

From the early stage, the dominant tenet of Zhou government was that the imperial court was founded in religion. All state's important concerns such as its establishment were associated not only with the Shang that sanctified spirits of departed ancestors, but also to a supreme God they titled as *Tian* 天 or *Shang Ti* 上帝. This god, later becoming the supreme entity of veneration, was no longer an instinctive ancestor-spirit but an extraordinary god autonomously and highly, who tactfully related the ancestor spirits with himself in heaven.[25]

When modern literature examines the Zhou Dynasty's predecessors, the kings

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[23] D. Howard Smith, *Chinese Religions* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), 11.
[24] Stuart-Fox, *A Short History of China*, 9-10.
[25] Smith, *Chinese Religions,* 14.

Wen 周文王 and Wu 周武王, or the forefather of the Zhou kin, Hou Ji 后稷, and the fabled god of millet, it talks about them highly as 'related with' the absolute god. The literature depicts these leaders as having descended with the supreme, high god to participate in the sacrifices. Furthermore, they were thought as having powers assigned by him to confer serenity and affluence upon their devoted successors.[26]

Between the final stage of the Zhou Dynasty and the early establishments of the Qin and Former Han 前漢 (206 BC- 25 AD) empires, a moderate portrait of the Chinese spiritual traditions might have been acquired, evidently through the *Songs of Chu Ci* (楚辭), written by Qu Yuan 屈原 (340-278 BCE or 352-281 BCE), the *Book of Rites* (The *Li Ji* 禮記), as well as the allusion to stellar notions in the *Book of Divination* 易經.[27]

The essential Chinese historical consciousness had twofold developments. One of these corollaries was that history had a prototype. Each State was initiated on the epic achievements of its forefather, and it subsequently was ruined by its discordant emperor. The second expansion of Chinese consciousness attitude was that each newfound State must see its forefathers as a guide and paradigm for a more successful era.

Historically, in 771 BC the Zhou kings were ousted completely when their capital was flooded by 'barbarians,' and peasants jointly rebelled them. Influential feudal lords saved the State and founded a new capital in the east, and the Eastern Zhou kings were subsequently only puppets. The Sino cultural region was shattered into various self-governing states. By the fifth century BC, those states were mostly and constantly

[26] Smith, *Chinese Religions,* 17.
[27] Ibid., 79.

fighting among themselves.[28]

Confucius 孔子 (551-479 BC), being respected as a sage, emerged during social and political chaos. He provided guidance to his followers including the disciplines, rationalism, humanism, and social and political focuses. He proposed the imperative matter, the reestablishment of societal stability and ethical appropriateness during the period of political and social anarchy. This restoration would be accomplished by pursuing the previous prototypical of the Zhou Dynasty by King Wu 周武王 (r. 1087-1043 BC) and his truthful and righteous brother, the Duke of Zhou 周公旦. Confucius thought that societal and ethical regulation placed on common acknowledgement and acquiescence of social and political order. Importantly, everyone must discern their position on the earth, assent their obligations and accountabilities, and know their seniors and juniors. Furthermore, those at the top of the hierarchy should impart ethical models for those beneath them in society. He also attested that the inferior classes should emulate the model of moral conduct.[29] Furthermore, he proposed an orderly society based on three crucial components: proper and principled code, a distinct social order, and the virtuous model of ethics from the tops of the social hierarchy.[30] If spirituality is delineated in larger positions than it would usually be attributed to, Confucius was considered as a profoundly spiritual man. His moral instructions and altruism were firmly grounded on the genuine sacred discernments of his contemporary time. According to him, the rites of the indigenous worships had profound connotation. As a result, he asserted that all rites and observances were insignificant without earnestness. He asserted

[28] Stuart-Fox, *A Short History of China*, 11.
[29] Ibid., 11-12.
[30] Ibid., 13.

that a heavenly mandate functioned for benevolence and virtue. Thus, he suggested that people would achieve their state of highest virtuous via compliance to that mandate.[31]

Subsequently, the Confucian followers and scholars of the Han Dynasty articulated the following structures. People should trust in a celestial or a personal divinity, who observes the behavior of people and their regime. People should trust that human are the virtuous beings designed by the divine and earthly essence, and is therefore preferred by divinity. People should trust in remunerates and retribution for wholesome and unwholesome conducts. People should trust that a mutual connection between divinity and people's manner (that wholesome conducts produce auspicious auguries and unwholesome ones engender admonitions and consequences). Lastly, people should trust in divination as the ways of envisaging occurrences and inferring the implication of divine spectacles.[32]

Although Confucius's ethical instructions might have been ignored during his lifetime, his confidence in social hierarchy and stability and his adoration of the divinity of Sino cultural unification in early Zhou Dynasty influenced later emperors and their ministers greatly. Nonetheless, when Qin Shihuang 秦始皇 (r. 221-210 BC) unified the country in 221 BC, he disregarded Confucius' recommendation. Instead, he followed Legalism 法家, a totally dissimilar viewpoint of governance than that Confucius had ardently preached. Afterward, the Han Dynasty (206 BC-220 AD) amalgamated rudiments of Legalism into a principal Confucian structure. Both schemes pursued social stability, and both asserted a stringent social hierarchy with the emperor as a supreme

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[31] Smith, *Chinese Religions*, 44.
[32] Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), 22.

figure. Furthermore, both forms of governance also assumed that appropriate demeanors (court ceremonial and societal etiquette) were indispensable to strengthen this hierarchical order. However, their philosophical difference was over whether people could be instructed to understand the need and importance for having proper behavior, and so act properly out of principle; or, conversely, whether they should be compelled to do due to the terror of cruel reprimand.[33]

Confucius's model was used and particularized methodically by his apprentices such as Mencius 孟子 and Xunzi 荀子, who lived in the Warring States Period.[34]

Despite the emergent predisposition towards a humanistic and rationalistic elucidation of human's position in the cosmos, both Confucius and Mozi 墨子 (470-391 BC) acknowledged their inheritance of the Zhou's profound spiritual perceptions. Especially, both had a sincere confidence and veneration for *Tian* 天 or divinity, as the almighty and sagacious sovereign of the cosmos, as well as the creator of the ethical mandate.[35]

Mozi was acknowledged as someone who inferred the wisdoms of the primeval sages, but unfortunately without proper respect for the emotional neediness of human's temperament. According to the Chinese imperative philological principles in the time, human connections and their welfare and social bond were grounded on an indebtedness of the variances in occupation and position between individuals. Namely, Mozi's philanthropy assessment in the impartial and universal love doctrinally was sensed as a disparaging of the hierarchical edifice of personal and government on which Chinese

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[33] Stuart-Fox, *A Short History of China*, 16.
[34] Ibid., 15.
[35] Smith, *Chinese Religions,* 31.

nation was so carefully structured.[36]

Xunzi 荀子 (313-238 BC) embodies a resilient realistic, polemical, and pragmatic prominence on Confucian system, and as a result his impact was unquestionably immense. However, most Chinese people did not assent his effort to elucidate the cult of ancestors, and the sumptuous cult for the devotion of divinity and all spirits. After Xunzi period, most people believed in sublime values and looked for personal connotation further than the death despite the realistic propensities of Confucian tenet. Mencius was renowned as the best exegetist of Confucian ideologies, when the religious influences of Daoism and Buddhism became a tantalizing fascination to the public.[37] Chinese inherent philosophy was similar to the drastic limitations that related to both individuals and society, but it considered the status of a "perfect sage" as having an accomplished of "salvation." This state could be reachable for all men through a rational comprehension of 'the nature of things.' Based on that insight as well as a personal transformation, one could harmonize one's inherit nature with that of the cosmos. It is fathomable why this philosophical was fascinating to the elite and atheist scholars. However, it unsuccessfully fulfilled the profound spiritual longings of common people. Instead, they found passionately adequate solutions to those needs through Daoism and Buddhism.[38]

Alongside with Confucianism, Daoist philosophical and spiritual establishment emerged as one of the main streams in the last half of the Zhou Dynasty. The Daoist convictions and observances religiously might have the associations with the performances of the shaman-diviner, the magical-religious methods for the treatment of

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[36] Smith, *Chinese Religions,* 68.
[37] Ibid., 59.
[38] Ibid., 93.

illness, and an apprehension for longevity and an afterlife existence in early time. The *Dao De Jing* 道德經 attributed to Laozi 老子 and the *Book of Zhuangzi* 莊子 or *Nanhua Zhenjing* 南華眞經 (True Classic of Southern [Cultural] Florescence), which was written by Zhuangzi 莊子 (369-286 BC) himself are considered as the finest philosophical literatures. Daoism 道教 was initiated by people who sought desisting the temptation and danger of political endeavor, and distrusted the governmental system that pursued to regulate people for its own sake. Moreover, these Daoists wanted to elude the duties of mundane life in seeking for the nourishment of their personal inner life in harmony with nature and in compliance with universal law. Many of these deserters became solitaries or recluses to pursue this goal. These men searched for a meaningful life in accordance and in association with the Dao. They arduously believed that behind all the chaos of the complicated phenomena by the continual transformations of cosmic progression there was a *Great Unity* (Taiyi 太一), or an everlasting, static value called Dao.[39]

The Daoists specially believed in duality of proper and improper, and of wholesome and unwholesome. They were atheist regarding a peculiar deity and afterlife, and they therefore relied on natural form immensely. Nevertheless, while searching for impeccable synchronization with the Dao, naturally they approached to spiritual pursuit. As a result, they involved in self-disciplinary and ascetic performances that appeared bringing profound transcendent discernment. They often discussed the famous and beautiful passages of 'the fast of the mind,' 'sitting in forgetfulness,' and 'returning to the root' (Dao) in *Zhuangzi*. These writings also described a mind that comprises the

[39] Smith, *Chinese Religions*, 69-70.

tranquility and inner peace, awareness of the Eternal and the Absolute, and of the greatest realization of Dao.[40]

Daoism turned out to be a growing drive in elite circles during the first century AD. Wang Chong 王充 (27-100 AD) utilized Daoist naturalism to criticize the contemporary superstitions. Numerous scholars fascinated in a Neo-Daoism known as *xuanxue* 玄學 or 'Mysterious Learning,' during the Later Han. In the second century AD, Daoism was founded as an enormous, popular, and unique religious movement affecting and influencing the whole country and its people perpetually.

During the fourth century BC, Daoism was formed by the merge of four prominent philosophical schools such as the 'hygiene school' that used breathing exercises, physical exercise, and bodily control, and other schools that had passion seeking for immortal medicine. In fact, due to their belief, Daoists set up naval voyages in searching for a special plant that could rejuvenate their vivacity and make them immortal on an Isles of the Blessed.[41]

Between 220 and 420 AD, many intellectuals followed Neo-Daoism and the *School of Pure Conversations* (Qingtan, 清談) movement, a life diversion of men in searching for free and secure transcendental values instead of serving under unfixable corrupt court. This faction showed an anti-Confucianism attitude by advocating and promoting critical study, free inquiry, and independent thinking.

Moreover, this was an effort to elude from conventional value and to seek for the sense of ultimate reality for oneself. The *Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove* (*Zhu Lin Qi*

[40] Smith, *Chinese Religions,* 73.
[41] Ibid., 99.

Xian 竹林七賢 , c. 210-263 AD) represented this movement at its best.[42]

Wang Bi 王弼 (226-249 AD), He Yan 何晏 (d. 249 AD), and Guo Xiang 郭象 (d. 312 AD) interpreted freshly the archaic Daoist theories regarding nature, spontaneity, determinism, and relativity. They disagreed the notion of a 'sage' living as a hermit or recluse. In their minds, the genuine sage stays in the midst of society and corresponds to others actively with impeccable naturalness and artlessness. Their genuine sage ideally was neither Laozi nor Zhuangzi, but Confucius who realized and practiced the non-being acts.[43]

During the Han period, the government's official state doctrine was Confucianism with some Legalist elements, while other schools of thought were excluded.[44] When the Han centralized Empire started to crumble in the late second century AD, Confucianism was disposal. Subsequently, disillusioned members of the scholar-gentry sought for other venues to exert their philosophical views. As a result, many schools of thought were revised to replace or modify the failed doctrines. For instance, the Legalist revival in the guise of restoring order and peace proliferated "government by means of punishments and rewards" that provided a pathway for the dictatorship of Cao Cao (曹操, 155-220 AD).[45] Nevertheless, Cao Cao's legalist approach was failed in the middle of the third century. Consequently, based on the *Book of Changes*' *Yijing* 易經 philosophy blending with some early Daoist thought (Laozi and Zhuangzi), *xuanxue* 玄學 "Dark Learning"

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[42] Smith, *Chinese Religions,* 106.
[43] Ibid., 106-107.
[44] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 45.
[45] Also, the intellectual eventually rediscovered Daoist philosophy by emphasizing on the search for personal bliss through their own inclinations, and by mystical unifying with nature. The Mohism 墨家 and the old tradition of the Dialecticians resumed some of their power (Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 46).

filled the vacuum left by Confucianism's disapproval. The role of He Yan (?-249 AD) in the creation of *xuanxue* was unknown. Two out of three most orthodox texts of "Dark Learning" are the Wang Bi's (226-249 AD) commentaries on the *Book of Change* and the *Daode Jing* Guo Xiang (?-312 AD) utilized mostly Xiang Xiu's (223-300 AD) annotation to write commentary on Zhuangzi. *Xuanxue* considerably was the philosophy of distinguished and noble elites. They were interested in "the talk about emptiness and non-being" gnostically and ontologically instead of daily life business. These "emptiness and non-being" ideas crucially paved the way for the elites to accept early Buddhist notions of emptiness.[46]

Besides, the Han era was one of large imperial expansions. The borders of China were stretched westward and southward, and numerous aboriginal and non-Chinese regions were colonized by Chinese imperialism. Trading exchanges were growing with countries to the west. Consequently, Buddhism began entering China through the trading routes, i.e., 'Silk Road' positioned between China and Central Asia.[47] Originally, only foreign traders were Buddhists but gradually within few centuries most Chinese people considered Buddhism as the primary faith.[48]

2.1.4 Bilateral contact between India and China.

Scholars commonly recognize that the true, mutual bilateral traffic of cultural, economic, and trade relations between India and China truly began in the first century

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[46] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 46.
[47] Wu Tingqiu and Zheng Pengnian give seven logical disputations that Buddhism arrived to China via the maritime route (Rong Xinjiang, "Land Road or Sea Route?" *Sino-Platonic Papers*, 144 (July, 2004): 15).
[48] Smith, *Chinese Religions*, 97.

AD.[49] During the Han period (206 BC-220 AD), there were three major exchanged paths between India and China.[50]

First, the western path could possibly have been in existence prior to the enterprise of Zhang Qian 張騫 (?-114 BC). Later on, this path turned out to be the world famous "Silk Road." During the Eastern Han (25-220 AD), the Silk Road was divided into two distinct paths: Northern and Southern.[51] The "Records of Three Kingdoms," *San Guo Zhi* 三國志 , stated that China was extensively interconnected with the western kingdoms via more than fifty highways. Commonly, at the onset of the first century AD, the western path enjoyed a vital role in enhancing relations between China and the Southern Asian countries.[52]

The second of the three vital paths is the Burma Road, also known as the Southern Silk Route or the Assam-Burma route to China, which began from Pataliputra (Patna, the ancient capital of India during Maurya era), then went through Champa (Bhagalpur in Bihar), Kajangalā (present Rajmahal), and Pundravardhana in north Bengal. From there, the road continued up to Kāmarūpa (Gauhati) in Assam, where three more routes were diverted into Burma: first, from the Brahamaputra valley up to the Patkoi range; from the Patkoi range's passes up to Upper Burma; second, through Manipur up to the Chindwin valley; and third, through Akran up to the Irrawaddy valley. They all converged on the Burma frontier near Bhamo. Then, they continued over the mountainous paths and crossed the river valleys to Yunnanfu, or Yunnan capital- that is, Kunming. Commercial

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[49] Yukteshwar Kumar, *A History of Sino-Indian Relations: 1st Century AD to 7th Century AD* (New Delhi, India: S.B. Nangia A P H Publishing Corp., 2005), 4.
[50] Kumar, *History of Sino-Indian,* 5.
[51] Ibid., 6.
[52] Ibid., 10.

exchanges on this route might have started in the second century BC during the reign of Han Wudi. If this exchange was started at that time, it was without Han Wudi's official acknowledgment. Business and mercantile activities on these routes, with the support from the state, might have begun in the beginning of the first century AD, when Buddhist missionaries started dispensing into China. This route enjoyed a very significant and decisive role in heightening the economic, cultural, and political relationship between India and China, from the first millennium and afterwards. Actually, besides serving as the economic, trade, and commercial route, it dominated a crucial role in diffusing Buddhism in China. The Indian Buddhist missionaries on this route were the most dynamic instruments in edifying the cultural and religious connections between the two giant nations at this time.[53]

The third of the key routes is the Southern Maritime Route along Indian coastline towards the far eastern countries. From the onset of the fourth century BC, India and China have had commercial exchanges. Arthashastra and Manusmṛti or "Laws of Manu," ancient texts from the Maurya State (321-185 BC), mentioned the "Chinapatta," namely Chinese silk products. Furthermore, probably the South Yue Kingdom and central China produced and exported silk products by sea to India, Central Asia, and even Europe.[54] During the peak of prosperity of Han Wudi era, commercial exchanges between the Eastern region and the Western region of Asia could be taken place by land from the northwestern front and by sea from the southeastern front. The "Maritime Silk Road" started from the Chinese southwest coastal areas, principally from the ports of Jiaozhou (present day northern Vietnam) and Guangzhou. Then it stretched to the Indochina

[53] Kumar, *History of Sino-Indian,* 11-15.
[54] Qingxin Li, *Maritime Silk Road* (China: China Intercontinental Press, 2006), 22.

coastline, went through the Strait of Malacca, and entered the coastlines of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf area. Some scholars think that the South China Sea's vast maritime route could possibly have been existed prior to the land route in central Asia. In 111 BC, after the invasion of the South Yue Kingdom, Han Wudi dispatched emissaries engaging in commercial trade with some countries around the South China Sea region and reaching to Sri Lanka.[55] Prior and after the first millennium, foreign traders and emissaries sailing by the maritime route along Sri Lanka went to China. Indian envoys went to China twice in 159 AD and 161 AD. Roman Emperor Marc Anthony sent his emissary by maritime route to Rinan 日南 (present day central Vietnam), bringing tributes of ivory, rhino horns, hawksbill, etc., in 166 AD.[56]

Around the first century AD, Indian commercial and political adventurers formally had known using the advantage of sailing techniques. Between the first and second century AD, the Greek and Roman texts stated about Ptolemy's reference to the vital but unidentified Kattigara seaport. It probably located on the Vietnam coastline, and it was the transitional place for sailors before departing to China.[57] India also occupied few coastal East Asian countries, i.e., Funan, Champa, and Śrīvijaya, in the early first millennium. The maritime route beginning from Guangdong or Guangxi through Java, Sumatra, Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam, and other Southeast Asian ports, ended near the Huangzhi kingdom of India and then maneuvered up to the Persian Gulf and some African nations. Therefore, Buddhist missionaries from southern Indian region traveled to China by this route, and similarly the Chinese political and cultural emissaries followed

[55] Li, *Maritime Silk Road,* 24, 25.
[56] Ibid., 25.
[57] Kumar, *History of Sino-Indian*, 14, 15.

the reversed path to India and far western regions.[58]

2.1.5 Early Chinese Buddhism

The interactions between two great but total different civilizations, India and China, due to their mass geographical estrangement, produced Chinese Buddhism. Nevertheless, China had subtle association with, not only the Indian subcontinent which was instigated by a policy of "management of the Western Region" via the Han emperor (led by Han general, Zhang Qian [張騫, ?-114 BC] after 126 BC), but also the Roman and Persian Empires through the Silk Route. Accordingly, around the first century of millennium Buddhism in Indian and Central Asian regions spread to China through the silk and the maritime routes, as it also had been practicing in Southeast Asian mainland and islands. It was then forming a "Chinese Buddhism" and developing into an inextricable religious element of a "central and flowering" nation with an arrogant attitude of superiority.[59]

With its pride of having a primeval deep root and highly advanced civilization in the region, Chinese Buddhism evolved and transformed greatly by localizing and Sinicizing Indian Buddhism as its own indigenous religion. For instance, while the Indian Buddhist monks tried to translate accurately the Indian Buddhist scriptures into Chinese vernacular, the Chinese assimilated the Indian Buddha into their religious and traditional belief of the Sages and Sylphs through the antagonistic and conciliatory processes. Guiding by Buddhist clergy, Chinese Buddhists divided into two groups, the rulers and people that had dissimilar comprehensions about Buddhism. Various forms of Mahāyāna

[58] Kumar, *History of Sino-Indian,* 14-19.
[59] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese*, 4, 5.

and Theravāda Buddhism from India, Central Asia, and Southeast Asia spread sponstaneously to China. Moreover, the Chinese interpreted and received all Buddhist scriptures indifferently without recognizing the condition of Indian Buddhism. [60]

Astonishingly, based on the Sino worldview and its cultural environment, early Chinese Buddhism was developed independently from Indian Buddhism and followed the typical system of Sui 隋 (581-618).[61] Chinese Buddhism probably had not received Indian Buddhism, being foreign one, completely as a new path that could replace the indigenous faiths. Instead, it was overlaid and aligned with the Chinese mainstream of thoughts, i.e., Confucianism as well as *xuanxue* "Dark Learning," the metaphysical and critical suppositions, both of which were utilized by the erudite clergy and the upper-class laymen.[62]

Early introduction of Buddhist philosophy in China contained various legends. According to scholars' perspectives, some historiographers narrated their casual remarks about early Chinese Buddhist historical works that later became preferred subject of the Buddhist apocryphal literature. For instance, there are some mythical accounts regarding the Buddhist early existence and its arrival in China as well as the scholastic critiques about them.

First of these legends is story of sramana Shilifang (室利防, Sribandhu) who led a group of Buddhist monks and brought numerous sūtras to the capital of Qin Shihuangdi (r.221-210 BCE). Immediately, the emperor imprisoned them since he did not accept the doctrine. Nevertheless, a sixteen-foot-high Golden Man broke the prison and released

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[60] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese,* 6, 7.
[61] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 1,
[62] Ibid., 4.

them at night. As the result, having astonishment about this marvel, the emperor lowered his body and repented his karma. Interestingly, a few modern scholars accept this story such as Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929).[63]

Second, while digging a huge artificial lake of Kunming (昆明) in the southwest of Changan 長安, Shanxi Province (陕西長安西南郊) in 120 BC, people found a strange, black powders at great depth. The emperor asked a prominent peculiar scholar Dongfang Shuo (東方朔, 160-93 BC) about its source, and the latter related this powders to that of the "barbarians from the West, whose ashes were their remains after cremations." This anonymous story, *Sanfu Gushi* (三輔故事), existed in late third century AD. O. Franke considered this as an existing evidence of Buddhist monks at Changan 長安 in the second half of the second century BC.[64]

Among these fabled stories, there is an apocryphal one, the history of the *Tuoba Wei* 拓拔魏. It was compiled by Wei Shou 魏收 (506-572 AD), a writer of the *Weishu* 魏書. In one chapter related to Buddhism and Daoism, it mentioned the well-known explorer Zhang Qian, who was dispatched to Yuezhi 月氏 and "opened up the West." As the first Chinese knowing of Buddhism, he reported the existence of this Indian tradition after his homecoming in 138 BC. In 664 AD, Daoxuan 道宣 (596 – 667 AD) repeated this story in an authoritative form in his *Guang Hongming Ji* 廣弘明集.[65]

Fourth, a Buddhist image related to the famous golden statue that Han general Huo Qubing 霍去病 (140-117 BC) captured in the region of Kara-nor in 120 BC and a

[63] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest,* 19, 20.
[64] Ibid., 20.
[65] Ibid., 20, 21.

"golden man (used by) the king of the Xiutu in "sacrificing to Heaven" in earliest sources. In later accounts, this Buddhist sacred item was further elaborated as a ten-foot high statue, was carried to, and enshrined in the Guanquan 甘泉 palace, China. Emperor Han Wudi 漢武帝 (r. 140-87 BC) did not sacrifice animals to it, but merely prostrate himself and burn incense before it, and "this is how Buddhism gradually spread into China."[66]

Fifth, Liu Jun 劉峻 (d. 521 AD), in his annotation to the *Shishuo Xinyu* 世說新語 (New Account of Tales of The World), gave a Buddhist reference from the preface of the *Liexian Zhuan* 列仙傳 (Collected Biographies of Immortals), a compilation of Daoist hagiography ascribed to Liu Xiang 劉向 (79-8 BC).[67] In this account, the compiler stated that he composed totally 146 biographies of Immortals, "but seventy-four of these already appear in Buddhist scriptures, and then I have (only) compiled seventy (-two biographies)." Moreover, O. Franke does not trust Liu Xiang's composition of the present text, but he considers this early citation as a trustworthy and evident piece for the Buddhist presence in China in the first century BC. Maspero points out that this *Liexian Zhuan* was misleadingly credited to Liu Xiang.[68]

Sixth, a very well-known story relates to the "formal" beginning of Buddhism in

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[66] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 21.

[67] *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (A New Account of Tales of the World), recorded by Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫, collated by Zhou Zumo 周祖謨 and Yu Shuyi 余淑宜 (Feza Gunergun and Dhruv Raina, *Science Between Europe and Asia: Historical Studies on the Transmission, Adoption and Adaptation of knowledge* (London, New York: Springer, 2011), 71). This book was rendered into English by Richard Mather. It was recorded by Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (Yiqing Liu, Jun Liu and Richard B. Mather. *A New Account of Tales of the World (Shih-Shuo Hsin-Yü)* 世說新語箋疏/ - 余嘉錫, 劉孝標, 周祖謨, 余淑宜 (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies 2nd, 2002).

[68] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 21.

China during Emperor Ming 漢明帝 (58-75 AD) reign. He dispatched envoys in the year of 60 AD to *Yuezhi* 月氏 kingdom for obtaining the Buddhist sacred texts, after his dream of a golden man. After three or eleven years, depending on the versions, the envoys brought back the scripture (or rendition) of "Sūtra in Forty-two Sections 四十二章經." According to the later sources, i.e. from the fifth century onwards, Kasyapa, Matanga, and Dharmaratna accompanied those envoys. Then, the emperor erected for them the first Chinese monastery, *the Baimasi* 白馬寺 in Luoyang 洛陽. Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 (1893-1964) recognizes the probability of a historical and focal circumstance behind this tradition. Nevertheless, Maspero considers it totally as a fabricated, propagandistic, and archaic story that probably was derived from Buddhist communities during the third century AD. It was modified extensively in the fourth century and finalized its story at the end of the fifth century. Scholars agree that this instigated around the middle of the third century AD.[69]

Seventh, the fantastic and apocryphal story, *Han Faben Neizhuan* 漢法本內傳, described a magical competition between the foreign Buddhist monks and Daoist priests in the imperial court in 69 AD. Afterward, according to its account, the emperor was converted; several hundred Chinese monks were ordained; ten monasteries were built around Luoyang. Currently, this account has been lost, but its passages have been

[69] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 22. This story carries some historical truth regardless its legend. For instance, under the patronage of Liu Ying, the Prince of Chu and Mingdi's nephew, a Buddhist community including monks and laymen existed in Pengcheng during Mingdi reign. This story contains two important factors in relation to the translational work of Buddhist scriptures in China: the appearance of Central Asian Buddhist monks and the court patronage (John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski, *Early Chinese Religions: The Period of Division (220-589 AD),* part two, vol. 1 (Leiden, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV), 741, 742).

preserved in several Buddhist treaties.[70]

Generally, the exact period of Indian Buddhism appearance in China is undefined. According to some speculations, it slowly penetrated through the northwest, crossing two paths of the inland Silk Route, and came to Dunhuang 敦煌, China. Hypothetically, it went from Dunhuang through the passageway of Gansu to the "Region Within the Passes" and Luoyang, capital of the Later Han 後漢 (25-220 AD) during early first century BCE. At that time, Chinese power was strengthened in Central Asia. In fact, the early Chinese sources confirm earlier Buddhist existence in the middle of the first century AD.[71]

Probably, during those times, foreign merchants, refugees, envoys, and hostages brought Buddhism with them to China. The Chinese historical records do not write about the religious activities of foreign groups and individuals in China. Actually several acaryas, i.e., Buddhist masters, did not arrive from India or Central Asia. They were born into non-Chinese immigrant families, or they were ordained after their arrivals in China, not for preaching commitments. For example, An Xuan 安玄 (second century AD), a Parthian merchant, went to Luoyang in 181 AD, and subsequently he became a monk in a Buddhist community that guided by his well-known countryman An Shigao 安世高.[72] During the era of Emperor Ling 漢靈帝 (r.168-189 AD), together with several hundred fellow citizens, the grandfather of the Yuezhi Zhi Qian 支謙 lived in China. Hence, foreign Buddhist groups, families, and individuals had settled in China in early time. As a

[70] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 22.
[71] Ibid., 22-23.
[72] An Shigao's birth and death are uncertain.

result, definitely the Buddhist tradition might have been existed prior to the earliest Buddhist reference in Chinese sources.[73]

Some Chinese officials and civilians involving in military expenditure in Central Asian countries probably played important role in inspiration or enablement the Buddhist proliferation in China before or after Common Era. Most of them must have some recognitions of Buddhist activities in those countries. For instance, Yu Huan 魚豢 (c. 3rd century) in his *Xirong Zhuan* 西戎傳 of the *Weilue* 魏略 cited a Chinese emissary going to Yuezhi 月氏 kingdom, whose crown-prince instructed an imperial gentry, Jing Lu 景盧, the teachings of (a) Buddhist sūtra(s) in the year 2 BC. Ed. Chavannes reenacts and validates this story in the *Weilue* as: "The scene is the Yuezhi court, where a Kushana king orders his son to reveal the teachings of one or more Buddhist scriptures to Jing Lu, who was now an envoy sent by the Chinese court to the West."[74] Nevertheless, after a vigilant assessment of different versions of the story other than Chavannes's, Tang Yongtong concludes: the setting is China; Yicun 伊存 is a Yuezhi envoy; the story is probably relied on an existing Buddhist text diffused by Yicun during the time of the *Weilue* compilation.[75]

Ban Yong 班勇 (d. 128 AD, a youngest son of Ban Chao 班超 (32-102 CE)), whose father is the great conquer of the West, was in charge of a mission against the

[73] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 23.
[74] The Kushan Empire (c. 78-200 AD) controlled vast land of Central Asia some northern part of India and was run by a state of god kings (Charles Higham, *Encyclopedia of Ancient Asian Civilization* (New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2004), 189).
[75] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 24, 25.

Xiongnu 匈奴.[76] As a general governor of the Western Region in 123 AD, he engaged in military invasions in Central Asia, 124 AD. However, later he was demoted, imprisoned, and passed away shortly after his confinement in 127 AD. Ban Yong provided briefly some reports or memorials on Central Asian affairs the practice of veneration of the Buddha in those countries. In the meantime, the Chinese *Shiji* 史記 ("Historical Records," written from 109 to 91 BC) and *Hanshu* 漢書 did not mention anything about the existence of Buddhism in India and Central Asia.[77] In short, during Han period, this Chinese official description of Buddhist acknowledgment outside China probably is the only recognized incident.[78]

During the Mid First Century AD, Buddhism seemed to have emerged in northern area of Huai, Eastern Henan 河南, Southern Shandong 山東, and Northern Jiangsu 江蘇. Particularly, the commerce center Pengcheng 彭城 was on the throughway from Luoyang to the southeast region.[79] It linked with Langye of southern Shandong in northwest and with Wujun and Kuaji in southeast as well as all vital places of maritime trade. Through

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[76] The Xongnu comprised various tribes following a tradition of growing the crops and raising livestock (agro-pastoral economy). Its territory extended from Inner Mongolia to the steppes (Alice Yao, *Culture Contact and Social Change along China's Ancient Southwestern Frontier, 900 BC-100 AD* (MI: University of Michigan, 2008) 26).

[77] The bibliographical section of the *Hanshu* 漢書 (*Book of Han*, finished in 111 AD) is the first text mentioning the *Huangdi neijing* as well as the non-extant *Huangdi waijing* 黃帝外經 ("Yellow Emperor's Outer Canon"). Scholar Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 (215-282 AD) d early that the *Huangdi neijing* (in 18 juan 卷 or volumes) had been catalogized in *Hanshu* bibliography; it was similar to that of the *Suwen* as well as the *Zhenjing* 鍼經 "Needling Canon." Each of them was compiled in nine volumes. They emerged during that time (Sivin, Nathan (1993). "Huang ti nei ching 黃帝內經." In *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, ed. by Michael Loewe. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press: 196-215). Some scholars consider *Zhenjing* as an early title of the *Lingshu*. They assert the *Huangdi neijing* as a joint text of the *Suwen* and the *Lingshu* with similar contents.

[78] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 26. However, Hou Hanshu 後漢書 did mention about the existence of Buddhism in China (中國佛教藝術思想探原, p. 24).

[79] Pengcheng was a vital center for food transportation into the Louyang area and a place producing food commodities during the first and second century AD (Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese*, 117).

Guangzhou 廣州, they were linked with the seaports of Indochina and Malaya. Probably some Buddhist missionaries spread the religion along the coastal regions as well.[80] In fact, the Indian, Kirghiz, other foreign merchants, and their Buddhist monks usually visited and brought Buddhism with them to the Jiaozhou and Guangzhou regions. Vietnamese scholars designate early Jiaozhou Buddhism as "Luy Lau Buddhism," which infatuated robust indigenous essences, exhibiting the global perspectives and temperament of the agricultural natives on the Red River Delta. Evidently, when the art historians compare the Gandhara architectural style of northwestern India, favoring by people in northwest China, to the Jiaozhou Buddhist structures, most of them were similar to the Buddhist Borobudur style in Java. Moreover, these routes became important paths of broadened network Buddhist dissemination that also corresponded to maritime trading routes between China and India.[81] Since Jiaozhou, modern northern Vietnam, was on the maritime trading routes, Buddhism was established quite early in this region, and especially it prospered during Shi Xie's (137-266) rule. Evidently, Shi Xie's entourage comprised many "Hu" natives, referring to various non-Chinese citizens and immigrants from Central Asia and India. Many scholars acknowledged Jiaozhou as a highly responsive region to these interactions with the West. Simultaneously, it was also a core region for Buddhist dispersion into China. While Buddhist monks and maritime merchants were arriving from the south, people with Buddhist interests came from the north.[82]

According to the early Buddhist accounts, Liu Ying 劉英, king of Chu, 楚王 and

[80] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 26.
[81] Qingxin Li, 35.
[82] Shing Muller, *Archaeology and Early Texts,* 200.

a prince of emperor Guang Wudi 漢光武帝 (r.25-57 AD), resided at Pengcheng from 52 till 71 AD. According to his account in the *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書, Liu Ying was deeply involved in Daoism (Huanglao 黃老), and at the same time "observed fasting and performed sacrifices to the Buddha" as a devout Chinese Buddhist. Through the sincere devotions of Liu Ying (d.71 AD) and of Emperor Han Huandi 漢桓帝 (r. 147-167 AD), according to Tang Yongtong, Buddhism was considered as another element of Huanglao cult because of its connection with sacrifices. The unique assortment of Buddhist and Daoist components signified Han Buddhist characteristic generally.[83]

Besides Liu Ying's devotion to Buddhism, a passage from the *Sanguo Zhi* 三國志, documented by various sources, discloses the presence of a prosperous Buddhist community in Pengcheng at the end of the second century. This passage offers some significant accounts on the earliest description of a Chinese monastery, built by Zhai Rong 窄融, a governor of Xuzhou 徐州, Tao Qian 陶謙 in 193 AD. Other unique stories described the Buddhist popularity but impure practice of giving wine to the observers on festive occurrence and without considering the translation activities and the study of any distinct scripture.[84]

Historically, Buddhism existed in Luoyang around the middle of the first century AD. Certainl, it was not dissemilated from Pengcheng Buddhist centers into the capital at the end of the first century AD.[85] Evidently, various Buddhist missionary groups at Luoyang included: two Parthians (the monk An Shigao and the upasaka An Xuan), three

[83] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 26-27.
[84] Ibid., 27-28.
[85] Ibid., 29.

Yuezhi (Zhi Loujiqian (Lokakṣema 支婁迦讖), Zhi Yao 支曜, and Lokakṣema's disciple Zhi Liang 支亮), two Sogdians (Kang Mengxiang [at the end of the second century AD] and Kang ju 康居), and three Indians (Zhu Shuofo 竺朔佛, Zhu Dali 竺大力, and Tanguo 曇果).[86]

According to early Chinese Buddhist record, Parthian An Shigao is considered as a great contributor to Chinese Buddhism and the first and the foremost well-known among non-Chinese Buddhist monks. He possibly introduced the methodical translation and its translation team of Buddhist texts.[87] Regardless how primitive of his translations were, they generally signified ones of the most Chinese cultural accomplishments in early literary activity.[88] His translation genres mostly belong to Hīnayāna scriptures.[89] Although his "Dhyāna" genre appealed to the monastic community, it occupied an imperative role in early Chinese Buddhism.[90]

An Xuan 安玄, An Shigao's disciple, came to Luoyang in 181 AD and cooperated with Yan Fotiao, the first known Chinese monk, to translate a Mahāyāna genre, *Fajing Jing* 法鏡經 (T 322, *Ugraparipṛcchā-sūtra*).[91] Generally, in the second century AD these two Parthians and their Chinese partners translated the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna genres

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[86] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 32.
[87] An Shigao is a Parthian teacher of the Arsacid kingdom in Central Asia (Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 32).
[88] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 32.
[89] Martha p Y Cheung, *From Earliest Times to the Buddhist Project* (Manchester: St. Jerome Publ., 2006), 57.
[90] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 36.
[91] An Hsuan 安玄 arrived Luoyang, China, in 181 AD as a business man. He was given an official title "the chief officer of cavalry" due to his distinguished public service; he entered the monastic life in a Buddhist community, which was initiated by An Shegao, to dedicate his time for religious endeavor. He collaborated with Yan Fotiao 嚴佛調 to translate the *Fajing jing*, i.e., Ugraparipṛcchā-sūtra (T 322) (Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 34, 283).

reflecting the early Chinese Buddhist characteristic.[92]

Besides, the most prominent Mahāyāna translator, the Indoscythian Zhi Loujiqian "Lokakṣema of the Yuezhi," arrived in Luoyang twenty years after An Shigao's arrival in China during the period of 168-188 AD. His colleagues consist of an Indian monk, Zhu Shuofo 竺朔佛, and three Chinese laymen: Mengfu from Luoyang, Zhang Lian from Nanyang 南陽, and Zibi from Nanhai 南海. He was credited as a great transmitter of the Mahāyāna Buddhism from India to China, and his incomplete translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā sūtra* signified the new era of the Mahāyāna universal "Emptiness" principle. This principle eventually got popularity among the elites, primarily because of the unique similarity with the dominant *xuanxue* thought.[93]

At the end of the second, and the beginning of the third century AD, many foreign translators still came and resided in China. A contemporary with Lokakṣema was a Sogdian translator, Kang Ju 康居. Luckily, the Buddhist community endured a destruction wrought by Dong Zhuo's 董卓 burning Luoyang in 190 AD. Following Lokakṣema's works, Zhi Liang (Lokakṣema's disciple) and Zhi Qian (Zhi Liang's disciple) continued to translate the Mahāyāna scriptures. The Indian Tanguo 曇果 collaborated with Zhu Dali 竺大力, and the Sogdian Kang Mengxiang 康孟祥 as a translation team.[94]

The Luoyang Buddhist community was disintegrated prior to the final collapse of the Han and the new establishment of the Wei Dynasty 魏 (220 AD). Some Buddhist

[92] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 34.
[93] Ibid., 36.
[94] Ibid., 36.

leaders escaped to the South. Zhi Qian went to Jianye, the Wu kingdom's capital in 220 AD. Three laymen of An Shigao's coterie, Han Lin from Nanyang, Pi Ye from Yingchuan, and Chen Hui from Kuaiji, diffused An Shigao's commentary of the *Ānāpānasmṛti-sūtra* 佛說大安般守意經 to Kang Senghui 康僧會, a Sogdian origin and a native of Jiaozhi 交趾.[95] After Dong Zhuo's destruction, Luoyang Buddhist community could not revised to its former glory. In the third century AD, the hubs of Buddhist activities had been reallocated, first to Jianye at the lower Yangzi 長江, then to Changan 長安.[96]

Xiang Kai's 襄楷 memorial at the imperial sacrifice of 166 AD disclosed few Buddhist elements shaping the Daoist sacrament that had lasted few hundred years earlier at Liu Ying's court, inspire of lacking linked evidence between the Buddhist community and the Luoyang imperial court. Evidently, Xiang Kai's memorial referred a combined sacrifice to Huanglao and the Buddha implemented by Emperor Han Huandi 漢桓帝 (r. 147-167 AD). It comprised the first reference to the alleged *huahu* theory 化胡經, i.e., the Buddha's manifestation as Laozi 老子. It also included two citations from the "Sūtra in Forty-two Sections" 四十二章經.[97]

Although there was no solid evidence, possibly the foreign monastics were aided privately and unofficially by Chinese laypeople, comprising the members of lesser elite families and lower-status officials.[98]

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[95] I would like to state that I have discovered that Huijiao in *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳, Kang Seng Hui was born and grown up in Jiaozhi (T2059_.50.0325a13-14).
[96] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 36.
[97] Ibid., 37, 38.
[98] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 38.

Toward the middle of the second century AD, eventually the Han Empire had begun crumbling because of central government's impotence and the intense rivalry among factional elites. Actually, the bloody fighting between the eunuchs and intellect-elite as well as the independent defiance of the provincial governors created the ripen condition for those factional elites. In 184 AD, "the Yellow Turbans Rebellion "黃巾之亂," a sweeping militant movement under Daoist pretext, busted out around the country. In the north, Cao Cao (155-220 AD) created an anachronized state, the Wei Dynasty. Liu Bei 劉備 (161-223 AD) found the Shu 蜀漢 in the Sichuan area. In the south, Sun Quan 孫權 (182-252 AD) established the Wu Dynasty 吳 (222-280 AD). Imperatively, the position of Wu Dynasty in early medieval history is very significant because it denotes the new era of the serious "Sinicification" of Southern China. The Jianye imperial court collected products and employed laborers from the "regions beyond the mountain" (Guangdong, Guangxi, and Indo-China). This court regularly dispatched envoys as far as southern Cambodia. The merchants and emissaries from the Southern kingdoms of Funan and Linyi usually called on that imperial court.[99]

Sun Quan's capital was established at Wuchang 武昌 and Jianye 建鄴 in 221 AD and 229 AD, respectively. Three Buddhist translators, i.e., Vighna, Zhu Jiangyan, and Zhi Qian, did their translations at Wuchang around 225 AD. Shortly after 229 AD two of them, Vighna and Zhu Jiangyan, probably had relocated to the new capital. This demonstrates the most remarkable occurrent facet of Buddhism in southern China during the first half of the third century AD: its acclimatization towards the higher and highest

[99] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 43-45.

levels of society and the court.[100]

After their arrival at Wuchang in 224 AD, Vighna and Zhu Jiangyan together with their Chinese colleagues roughly translated the *Dharmapada Sūtra* (*Faju Jing*, 法句經).[101] Most of the Mahāyāna translations of a prominent layman, Zhi Qian, at the Wu Dynasty are imperative prior to the late fourth century.[102]

In addition, at the beginning of the third century AD, Kang Senghui, a Sogdian-Jiaozhi citizen, went from Jiaozhi, a maritime seaport in Indochina, to Southern China to promulgate Buddhism. By his great efforts, legendarily he converted the Wu emperors to Buddhism, established the *First Established Temple Jian Chu Si* 建初寺, and translated several Buddhist scriptures such as the Shatparamita Sangraha Sūtra or "Collection of Tales in Connection with the Six Perfect [Virtues], *Liudu jijing* 六度集經."[103]

In 265 AD Sima Yan 司馬炎 had overthrown the last ruler of the Wei and established the Jin Dynasty 晉 (265-420 AD). It also crushed the Wu Dynasty in 280 AD, while the state of Han had already fallen in 263 AD.[104]

2.1.6 Early Buddhist Monks in China

The original trustworthy evidence of monks ever existed in China is the first reference to Buddhism, especially the historical Chinese Buddhist monasticism: an imperial letter dated to 65 AD that referred to a foreign Buddhist monastic community

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[100] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 47.
[101] According to *Gao seng zhuan* 高僧傳, Vighna was born in a Brahmin family; he specialized in the Agamas after his conversion to Buddhism and subsequently his monkhood ordination. His companions are unknown (Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 47).
[102] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 50.
[103] Lagerwey, *Early Chinese Religions,* 744; *Collected Sūtras of the Six Paramitas.*
[104] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 44.

seemingly assisted by Liu Ying and his people. Probably Liu Ying dedicated seriously in the ritual ceremonial performances by these foreign monks. Particularly, early Chinese Buddhist monastics were not essentially expected to follow strict rules.[105]

The second monastic reference relates to the poetic Zhang Heng 張衡 (78-139 AD), who depicted beautifully and incomparably the Chang'an ladies that were even attractive to a sramana.[106]

The third reference, mostly in Buddhist translational colophon, recounts a small but thriving Luoyang monastic community that was established by several foreigners and Chinese people to support translational work of An Shigao after his arrival in the area in 148.[107] The Chinese expression for monastery, i.e, "office," arguably stemmed from the name "office of foreign affairs" (*Honglu Si* 鴻臚寺), and it depicted a foreign status of the monasticism. In fact, legitimately prior to the fourth century, early monastic members in China were all foreigners except Yan Fodiao 嚴 佛調, An Shigao's disciple, who composed a preface of his teacher's translation.[108]

The earliest Chinese monastic account was recorded in a short paraphrase of the *Sanguozhi* 三國志 connecting to the corruption of warlord Zhai Rong 笮融 in 193 AD. Its monastic reference is doubtful because that monastery permitted its followers drinking

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[105] Lagerwey, *Early Chinese Religions*, 550.
[106] Ibid., 550. The "Western Metropolis Rhapsody," a lengthy poem of Zhang Heng (78-139 AD) depicts Chang'an, the magnificence and flourishing capital, in the second century AD. Zhang finishes his stylistic narration about the beautiful girls with their "arched backs" and "darting glances," and "even Zhan Ji or a Śramaṇa could not help but fall under their spell" (John Kieschnick, *The eminent monk: Buddhist ideals in medieval Chinese hagiography* (Hawai'i: Kuroda Institute, 1997), 17-18). This disclosure points out Zhang Heng's expectation of his readers to acknowledge the monastic celibacy status, i.e., restraining sexual temptation (Lagerwey, *Early Chinese Religions*, 551).
[107] This small community did not abide by the monastic regulations due to its foreign natures as well as its translational dedication to non-Chinese people (Lagerwey, *Early Chinese Religions*, 551).
[108] Lagerwey, *Early Chinese Religions*, 552. No specific dates of birth and death of Yan Fodiao in Chinese sources.

alcohol during a special ceremonial reverence for the Buddha.[109]

Also, the *Biographies of Eminent Monks Gaosengzhuan* 高僧傳 recorded a chaos ordination in early Chinese Buddhist monasticism historically even this ordination, a transformation from a lay life to monkhood life, is considered as the most important Buddhist ceremonies.[110]

In brief, during the first two centuries of its existence in China, the loosely organized monastic clergies were mainly non-Chinese citizens residing in cities.

Besides, in 250 AD, Dharmakala translated the first monastic regulations, the Prātimokṣa of the Mahāsāṃghika School. Five years later, the Sogdian monk Kang Sengkai 康僧鎧 and the Parthian monk Tandi 曇諦 provided two separate translations of the Karmavācanā of the Dharmaguptaka School. According to a tenth century history of monasticism, the *Sengshi Lue* 僧史略, the amalgamation of Dharmakala's translations of clergy rules and Tandi's translations of regulations for communal procedures provided the grounds for monastic training in China.[111]

After a firm establishment of monasticism, Chinese Buddhist monks frequently traveled through vast monastic networks due to the encouragement of seeking teachings

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[109] The Pengcheng Buddhist records provided important evidences of early Buddhist monasticism such as the establishment of an institution by Zhai Rong, a violent and deceived official with a short-term service, at the end of the second century. Zurcher and Tsukamoto provide the scriptural evidences in showing Zhai Rong's institution as a monastery. However, Leon Hurvitz still doubts about the existence of several literate people reading of scriptures. Since Zhai Rong's institution focused on image, entertainments, and performances, it was considered as a popular cult center, instead of following Luoyang monastic style. Probably, the people followed Zhai Rong in fleeing Wei Cao Cao's invasion in 193 AD to study there with the assumption of being exempted from labor works (Stanley K. Abe, *Ordinary Image* (Chicago, USA: The university of Chicago Press, 2002), 14, 15).

[110] Lagerwey, *Early Chinese Religions*, 553.

[111] Ibid., 552-555.

from various masters.[112]

In early medieval periods, numerous Buddhist hagiographies provided monastic exemplars, which did not carry out ritual ceremonies for the sake of self-support but had skills in meditation and controlling the mind and body, commanded the spirits, and especially obtaining supernatural powers. In fact, monastic ideals, models, and developments had been successful regardless their styles in asceticism, scholarship, or exorcism because those exemplars had won the heart of the indigenous people.

In summary, resignation from secular world, searching for a spiritual perfection, and selfless concentration in compassionate and universal ideals are the main monastic characteristics in early medieval China.[113]

When Kang Senghui came to Jianye, the local people the Wu officials had suspicions on him due to his eccentric monastic appearance: shaved head, put on the red robes, etc. Before the arrival of Buddhism, celibacy was an unknown lifestyle in China. *Xiaojing* 孝經 "Classic of Filial Piety," a Confucian text, entirely narrates the virtue of filial piety; "lack of filial piety" is a capital offense and has no successors as the most serious offense. The body "which one has obtained from one's parents" should be protected completely as a living testament of filial piety. In second century AD, prevalent tradition did not consent recently released criminals to visit their ancestral graves due to the notion: "Those who have undergone punishment, have had their heads shaved and their beards cut off, while on their body they have suffered the bastinado."[114]

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[112] Lagerwey, *Early Chinese Religions,* 573. The Buddhist monastic structure was created in India, which originally named as "hermitage" (vihara). It was a garden solitary constructed for the Buddha by Anathapindada and Prince Jeta (Lagerwey*, Early Chinese Religions*, 575).
[113] Lagerwey, *Early Chinese Religions*, 573, 574.
[114] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 281.

Hence, the Buddhist monastic life to "withdraw from the household into the houseless state," to sever all social ties, to keep strict monastic rules throughout life, and to shave the heads contradict to the most essential values of Chinese ethics. Buddhist monastic life also embraces wearing the eccentric robe, eating vegetarian meals, and changing the original surname into the religious name.[115] Thus, Chinese critics exploited the ethical base to decry Buddhist monastic practice:

> The conduct of the Śramaṇa consists of forsaking those who have given birth to him; he rejects his kin and turns to strangers; he shaves his beard and hair and mutilates his natural appearance. When his parents are alive, he abstains from supporting them 'with joyful countenance', and when they are dead he discontinues the sacrifices to their manes. He puts his blood-relatives on a par with strangers passing on the road: there is no greater disregard of right principles and violation of human feeling that this![116]

To resolve with the Chinese ideal values of social behavior, Kang Senghui gave a eulogistic depiction of the monastic life in writing the preface to the *Fajing jingxu* **法鏡經序** (Ugraparipṛcchā*)*. In this text, after rebuking the secular life, especially the family's life as the main sources of all problems and impurities, Kang Senghui skillfully portrayed the monastic life in accordance with the traditional Chinese, specifically Daoist principles of tranquility, purity, and mystic unity with nature.[117] Here, Kang Senghui did not attempt to settle the irreconcilability of a monastic life with the Chinese filial piety ideals. As an alternative, he accentuated the real purpose of attaining liberation by detaching the secular life. Moreover, Kang Senghui emphases the "quietistic" feature of spiritual life that is appealable to Chinese people as a newly ideal of "dwelling in retirement." Later,

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[115] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 281. Before the last part of the fourth century, the newly ordained clergy was supposed to alter their original surname into that of their master. Later, all Chinese Buddhist monastics followed Dao An's proposal of using the Shi (for Śākya) as the standard for religious names (Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 281).
[116] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 283.
[117] Ibid., 283.

other Buddhist apologists used and elaborated this approach. For example, Huiyuan 慧遠 explained to the rulers the monastic ordination as an evidence of filial and loyal attitudes toward family and rulers, respectively. Another example, Sun Chuo 孫綽 and Mouzi employed the conversion story of the parents of the Buddha historically for a validation that ultimate purpose of monastic life, i.e., the achievement of Buddhahood, concurs with the highest requirement of Chinese social virtues.[118]

After the demise of the Han Dynasty in 220 AD, two distinct movements had already begun emerging within Chinese Buddhism. First, the *Dhyāna* School emphasized on control of the mind that found chiefly on the translations of An Shigao with Hīnayāna nature.[119] Conversely, second, the *Prajñā* School seemed in line with Mahāyāna spirit. It focused on examining the Buddha's nature and the fundamental reality behind the external things apparently. By the middle of the third century AD, this Buddhist feature was growing and developing until it became the leading predisposition within Buddhism in southern China. The appealing of the *Prajñā* School generated two outcomes: first, the dissemination of Mahāyāna sūtras in China; and second, the improvement of closer associations between the Indian and Chinese Buddhist clergies and literati, who previously adopted Laozi and Zhuangzi school of Daoism.[120]

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[118] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 284, 285.
[119] Originally, there was no distinction between Mahāyāna and Theravāda perceived by present scholars (Paul Harrison. "Who gets to ride in the Great Vehicle? Sel-image and identity among the followers of the early Mahāyāna." *JIABS* vol. 10, no. 1 (1987): 73.
[120] Kumar, *History of Sino-Indian,* 72.

2.1.7 Early Buddhist Temples in China

The acquiring of Aśoka's relics and the miraculous accounts confirmed the Buddhist existence in early Chinese records. They offered the Buddhist monastic community vital derivation and thus augmenting their respect. Simultaneously, they could be inferred as fortunate portents induced by the virtuous demeanor of the materialistic rulers. Actually, in the *Guang Hongming Ji* 廣弘明集, Daoxuan 道宣 recorded sixteen Aśoka-temples and the description of the sighting and the astonishing qualities of these structures. In *Fayuan Zhulin* 法苑珠林, Daoshi figured the remains nineteen Aśoka-temples.[121] For example, one of the earliest Chinese Buddhist centers during the first century AD is the Aśoka-monastery at Pengcheng, the capital of the Chu kingdom 楚.[122]

2.1.8 Early Chinese Buddhist rites

Chinese Buddhist rites were initiated around the first century AD. The first reference, in the "History of the Later Han" *Hou Han Shu*, asserts that King Ying of Chu (?-71 AD), son of Emperor Guangwu (r.25-57 AD) living in Pengcheng, had acknowledged of the Buddhist regulations of fasting and offerings. Probably, to accomplish immortality, he blended this practice with that of Daoism. He recited Huanglao writings and illustrious the "humane cult of the Buddha." He kept three months' fasting and made pledge to Chinese indigenous gods. In 65 AD, Emperor Mingdi 漢明帝 (r.57-75 AD) presented silky pieces to the monastic and lay communities

[121] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 280.
[122] Ibid., 277.

that were under King Ying's safeguard. In the next century, near Pengcheng, Zhai Rong built a stūpa inside a temple perimeter that could hold three thousand people. This temple retained a golden Buddha statue. During the ceremonies of "bathing the Buddha" (*yu fo* 浴佛) at this temple, more than ten thousand spectators and lay believers were served large amounts of food and drinks.[123] During the years 172-177 AD, a family living in this area constructed a funerary stūpa. Furthermore, Emperor Huandi 漢桓帝 (r.147-167 AD) worshipped Buddha and Laozi. The ceremonial forms comprised fasting, offering foods to the saṅgha, confession, and pledging to do good deeds in accordance with the early Buddhist tradition. In addition, Buddha's birthday celebration included the act of washing a baby Buddha's statue. These references specify that the Luoyang and Pengcheng Buddhist communities in the first and second centuries AD recognized and performed Buddhist rites differently from indigenous ones.[124]

2.1.9 Indian cultural influence on Chinese people

Chinese people believed deeply in the Indian Buddhist principles such as rebirth, causality, cause and effect, etc. Besides, Chinese poets and artists as well as their perspectives were influenced by the Buddhist notions of Buddha nature and universal impermanence.[125]

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[123] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese*, 117.
[124] Lagerwey, *Early Chinese Religions*, 1207-1208.
[125] Bangwei Wang and Tansen Sen, compilers*, India and China: Interactions through Buddhism and Diplomacy: A Collection of Essays by Professor Prabodh Chandra Bagchi* (New Delhi; London: Anthem Press, 2011), 41.

2.1.10 Conclusion

During and after the Han Dynasty, Buddhism, an advocating of free thinking and free religious choices, became more appealing to the elite and common people due to their dissatisfaction of Confucianism, a rigidly state religion, and Daoist revival. Buddhism actually was disseminated into China through two important routes, the inland and the maritime. The inland route, the Silk Road connecting Central Asia and Northeast China, categorized by the promulgation of An Shigao, An Xuan, Lokakṣema, and Zhi Qian. The maritime route, starting from Jiaozhi through Indochina coastal regions to India, characterized exclusively by Kang Senghui's transmission.

2.2. Background of the politic, philosophical, and religious situations in Jiaozhi from the early time to the third century AD.

2.2.1 The influences of Chinese and Indian cultures on the Southeast Asian politics, philosophy, and Religion.

2.2.1.1 Early relations between China and Southeast Asia, including Jiaozhi.

Han Wudi 漢武帝 (r. 140-87 BC) expanded the Central Asian caravan (Silk Route) and controlled Guangzhou 廣州, a coastal and commercial region, especially its maritime trade with the West around 111 BC. From 9 to 25 AD, due to a short political chaos in the north, southern China served as a haven for northern aristocrat refugees escaping from the turmoil in the north and being attracted by the development of Guangzhou as a commercial center. Between 190 and 225 AD, the decline and fall of the Han Dynasty and the tallying downfall of the Silk Road network amplified the Chinese gentry's need for exotic goods through a maritime link between East and West. The Wu

Dynasty (222-280 AD) in southern China incited the import of Indian textiles and other goods. The Wu prefectural governor in southern China, i.e., presently northern Vietnam region, successively advertised the regional trading interest. When emissaries from Funan 扶南 and Linyi (Champa), i.e., presently the lower Vietnam coastal provinces, visited the area officially in 226 and 231 AD, respectively, the emperor applauded the Wu governor for his "meritorious performance." In 240 AD the Wu Dynasty sent Kang Tai 康泰 as an envoy to Funan's ports to witness directly the trading nature with the West. Kang Tai's reports furnished the earliest detailed descriptions on Funan, Da Qin 大秦 (Roman State), and the networked hubs of maritime trading in Southeast Asia, northern India, and the Middle East.[126]

By the mid-fifth century AD, Funan was not a major international trading center. Because of its declination, its coastal people migrated to more prosperous areas such as Linyi state. At that time, Chinese emperor's motives were not political domination the Southeast Asian region, instead maintaining the flow of commercial shipping sailing into southern ports. He also aided the flow of Buddhist pilgrims, sacred texts, and relics to and from India. Actually the movement of sacred items and travelers through the maritime route was very important to China and its southern neighbor states.[127]

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[126] Kenneth R. Hall, *A History of Early Southeast Asia: Maritime Trade and Societal Development, 100-1500* (United Kingdom: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.), 43, 44. After the Wei controlled the Silk Route, the Wu Dynasty (220-280 AD) in southern China urgently adopt the maritime trade route to import the desired Western products such as horses and other commodities. As two way commercial exchanges, the Wu dispatched Kang Tai to Funan and then this envoy reported the richness of prodcts available in that country, comprising the trading horse business from Yuezhi (Arabian, Indo-Scythian) (Hall, *Early Southeast Asia*, 59).

[127] Hall, *Early Southeast Asia*, 64.

2.2.1.2 Early Indian influence on the Southeast Asia countries, including Jiaozhi.

The cultural influence of China on Southeast Asian countries has been insignificant, except in the deltas of Tonking and North Vietnam. China did not have much cultural influence on South East Asian states, except Jiaozhi area, i.e., currently North Vietnam. Actually, China and India set different methods and processes essentially in spreading their cultural influences on the Southeast Asian states. The Chinese approached with invasion and occupation; soldiers attacked other countries, and officials indoctrinated Chinese culture. On the other hand, Indian cultural influence appeared almost as a peaceful process. For example, instead of being obliterated by the conquerors, Southeast Asian people displaced, adjusted, developed, and integrated Indian lifestyle in their own society. The Farther India, i.e., Indian kingdoms in Southeast Asia, establishing during the first centuries AD, was not dominated by the India proper, except cultural connections with its dynasties. The interactions of envoys between the two shores of the Bay of Bengal were based on equality. Conversely, the Chinese always insisted that the "southern barbarians" acknowledged Chinese colonization by the regular sending of tribute.

Specially, the Chinese commanderies of Jiaozhi were controled by Chinese governors. On the other hand, self-governing monarchs of native origin or mixed marriage administered the Indian kingdoms of Farther India and advised by cultural Indian or Indianized counselors. China controlled on small states by forces, but its cultural influences did not go beyond the boundaries of those states for centuries. Oppositely, from onset the peaceful infiltration of Indians limited to their commercial and cultural navigations. The countries colonized militarily by China must accept or imitate

its institutions, customs, religions, language, and writing. Conversely, the Farther India kingdoms such as Khmer, Champa, or Java preserved and developed their indigenous features and essences according to their own genius in spite of their shared Indian root.[128]

[128] Coedes, *Indianized States of*, 34, 35. Historically, from Augustus to Vespasian (30 BC to 79 AD) the trading exchanges between the Roman Empire and India were very successful and significant. However, from the third and fourth centuries, due to the commercial declination with Rome and discontinuance of commodity supply from Central Asia, Indian commercial trading moved to the Malay Peninsula as a source of gold. Indian sailors obtained adequate experience and confidence to change previous tendency of sailing close to the shore. During the winter, from the Bengal port of Tamralipi at the western end of the Ganges delta, ships could sail southward. North-blowing monsoon winds could help Indian ships sail to Chinese ports from the lower end of Sumatra, on the west coast of Borneo, and possibly at the western end of Java. After founding of Rome's Pax Romana in the first century AD, the sailors of Greece, Persia, and Roman citizens utilized the navigational monsoon winds to sail to India for commercial and cultural exchanges. That route eventually was developed as the Indian Ocean maritime route (the "Maritime Silk Road"). When Westerners first reached they recognized a regular maritime networking between India and Southeast Asia's Straits of Malaka region (Hall, *Early Southeast Asia,* 37). From such ports, sailors easily sailed to the Malay coast past Patani, Singora, and Ligor thru the Siam gulf to Funan's port of Go Oc Eo near the gateway of the Mekong River. The voyage then sailed to the coast past Champa to Ziaozhi port in Vietnam or on to Canton (John F. Cady, *Southeast Asia: Its Historical Development* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964), 26-28). During the first BC and AD century, the maritime route between eastern and western Asia was successfully commercial trading path. For instance, in 166 BCE self-claim ambassadors of Marcus Aurelius (161-80 BCE) sailed to Ziaozhi on their way to the Han court (Keith Weller Taylor, *The Birth of Vietnam* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1983), 60. Oc Eo, an archeological site on the lower Mekong, located in southern Vietnam, has contained numerous evidences of interaction with the West (Taylor, *Birth of Vietnam,* 60). When Marcus Aurclius Antonius's envoys brought gifts to Tonkin area around 156 AD, it formed a direct commercial connection between Roman and China and eradicated the Parthian monopoly of eastern trade by the land route. During the first century AD, regardless the non-Chinese merchants' intentions, i.e., commercial, intellectual, or cultural exchanges, there were active interactions among Chinese, Indian, Persian, Indo-Chinese people (Bangwei Wang and Tansen Sen, compilers, *India and China: Interactions through Buddhism and Diplomacy, A Collection of Essays by Professor Prabodh Chandra Bagchi* (India: Anthem Press India, 2011), 92). During the last century of BCE, encompassing from the northern Malay Peninsula to Southern coast of Vietnam in Southeast Asia, maritime exchanges was initiated and facilitated in East-West trading route. In the second century AD, due to the internal conflicts, the preferable connections between East and West commercial networks, the central Asian caravan routes, were disrupted. As a result, international traders used maritime route through Southeast Asian. During the second and third centuries, commodity's transportation changed to the sea route. Shipping moved along a maritime route from China southeastern coast to the Bay of Bengal via a land portage across the upper Isthmus of Kra. Probably the second-and third-century sailors could not navigate a complete journey from the Middle East to China or vice versa, because of the seasonal disposition of the monsoon winds. From the southern Indian Ocean, westward winds begin in April and peak in July. In January the wind flows a reversed direction as the northeastern monsoons carry eastward winds. One merchant group would sail between Middle Eastern ports and India. Another would sail from the Bay of Bengal to the Isthmus of Kra, where their commodities were transported thru the isthmus and hauled from the western to the eastern coastline of the Gulf of Thailand, to Funan on the lower Vietnam coast. Then, some sailors would sail from Funan to south China. During the second-and third-century, in the Java Sea region emerged a second commercial route (Hall, *Early Southeast Asia*, 29, 31). According to the Chinese records, the lower Vietnam coast-based Funan ports controlled the commercial route from the first to the fifth century AD. From Funan, ships sailing to southern China might stop by Linyi ports, on the central Vietnam coastline or in northern Vietnam's Red River Delta region, which Chinese dynasties

While all Indian regions tended to expand eastward culturally, its southern part took the greatest role. For several centuries, this eastward expansion comprised some vast and diverse regions; it consisted of continuous waves of various geneses. The Malay Peninsula, a communicate station between India subcontinent and all Farther India kingdoms, served as a diffusive center of cultural transmission.[129]

The terrestrial part of "Farther India" includes Indonesia, Indochina Peninsula, Malay Peninsula, except Assam and northern Vietnam. During early first century AD, Indian sailors used to sail to Southeast Asia, the "land of gold."[130]

Southeast Asian countries, with religious and political diversities currently, probably followed a single prototype "Indianized kingdom' since the ancient time. Ideologically, they were directly connected with the disseminations of Hinduism and Buddhism as well as the great myths of Indian origin (the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the Buddhist *Jātaka*, etc.)[131]

Evidently, the present Farther India emblems ancient Indianization, including: the

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occupied from 111 BC to 938 AD (Hall, *Early Southeast Asia*, 38). After Han Wudi reign, overseas tradings were no longer supported officially. While Southeast Asian products were seldom recognized, the luxury and pricy items usually came from India and the farther west to China thru silk route. Since maritime trade was a risky business, and foreign ships transported commodities to the ports in northern Vietnam and southern China, Chinese merchants did not need to sail their own ships into the Southern Ocean.[128] Chinese setback in maritime trade opened venues for Indian influence to lead the formations of Southeast Asian states (Stuart-Fox, *A Short History of China*, 25).

[129] George Coedes, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia,* ed. Walter F. Vella and trans. Susan Brown Cowing (Hawai'i: University of Hawaii Press, 1968), 32. Historians consent that, under Indian guardianship, most of the Farther Indian kingdoms preserved their own essential culture. For instance, since Hinduism was particularly an elite religion, the general public in the Farther Indian kingdoms easily and quickly adopted Buddhism and Islam, especially during the Mongol conquest and Muslim invasion of India (Coedes, *Indianized States of,* 33).

[130] Coedes, *Indianized States of*, xv. In early centuries AD, Indians and Westerners named Southeast Asia as the Golden Khersonese or the "Land of Gold." (Hall, *Early Southeast Asia,* 3).

[131] Signfried, J de Laet, *International Commission for a History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind. History of Mankind* (New York: Unesco, 1994-2008), 416. The Buddhist *Jātaka* tales from contemporary prevalent Sanskrit fictions describe Indian business men going to Southeast Asia to search for treasures. The Egypt-based Roman geographer Ptolemy, writing in the mid-second century, uses Yavadvipa, "the Golden Peninsula," in illustrating the lands beyond India (Hall, *Early Southeast Asia*, 42).

Sanskrit essentials in vocabulary and verbal languages; the past and current linguistic style molded in Indian root; the influence of Indian law and organizational structures, certain Brahmanic imprintation in some Islam and Singhalese Buddhist states; and the Indian arts, Sanskrit inscriptions in architectural and sculptural ancient monuments.

The spread of Indian civilization "to those countries and island of the Orient where Chinese civilization, with strikingly similar aspirations, seemed to arrive ahead of it" is one of the unique occurrences in the world history.[132] Via the Indianizational process, many kingdoms were established initially as genuine Indian states: Cambodia, Champa, and the small states of the Malay Peninsula; the kingdom of Sumatra, Java, and Bali; and finally, the Burmese and Thai kingdoms that assimilated Indian culture thru Mons and Khmers.[133]

Vital maritime trade routes extended from the mouth of the Ganges River of India downing to the coast of Burma, and from south India thru the Bay of Bengal. They merged on the Kra Isthmus where light weight but high value luxury commodities from the eastern Mediterranean were shipped inland and being reshipped around the Gulf of Thailand. From there small ships sailed along the coastal region going to Canton. Another maritime trade route went through the Strait of Melaka to southern Sumatra and northern Java. Probably, there was no direct maritime trade route between Indonesia and China. As a result, Indian civilization stretched to Southeast Asia along these sea routes.

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[132] Coedes, *Indianized States of*, xvi.

[133] Ibid., xvii. The Buddha's statues of Amarāvatī (having the trademark of Gupta or Singhalese influence) provide proof of a southern domination at the beginning of Indianization (Coedes, *Indianized States of*, 31). The ancient monuments of Farther India are quite contrast from their Indian archetype that one scholar exclaims: "The relationship between the earliest of these edifices and those of India, present or past, is far from striking; without their images, their inscriptions, and various texts that have now disappeared, no one at first glance would dream of relating them to Indian temples. At most one senses among them a family likeness, by no means a direct kinship" (Coedes, *Indianized States of*, 31).

From Burma to central Vietnam and from Sumatra to Borneo, Southeast Asian natives appropriated components of Indian religion and ritual, statecraft, social organization, language, literature, and art. Most Indian maritime merchants were probably either southern Tamil or Sinhalese, but they did not sail alone. By the first century AD, Brahmin priests and Buddhist monks, who were literate and excelled in all aspects of Indian culture and religion, went with those merchants.[134] In the meantime Southeast Asian sailors sailed to India and brought back the accounts of Indian civilization. The adoption and adaptation of Indian civilization's components by Southeast Asian kingdoms to legitimize and enhance their authorities is considered as Indianization. Initially, it progressed along the coastal ports during the first and second centuries AD, but later on it infiltrated and impacted inland kingdoms in Burma, Java, Cambodia, and Thailand.[135] Eventually its influences spread from these Farther India to southern China and Yangzi valley. Consequently, these Indian cultural spreading contributed greatly the Buddhist transmission to China.[136]

2.2.1.3 Early Indian Buddhism's influence on Southeast Asian countries.

Generally, because the Buddhist monks used to accompany with Indian

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[134] Merchants usually requested Buddhist clergy to go together with them for assurance a safe voyage under the Buddha blessing. This custom still happens contemporarily. For example, "Boat people" from Vietnam in the 1970s and 1980s often invited monastic members to sail with them on the dangerous voyages. As a result, numerous Indiana Buddhist monks sailed along with merchants to Vietnam in spreading Buddhism. Besides, Mahāyāna Buddhists had a missionary temperament and liked to spread the Buddha's teachings to far-off regions (Nhat Hanh, *Master Tang Hoi*, 5).

[135] Stuart-Fox, *A Short History of China*, 26-27. For example, the Wu kingdom sent its first ambassador to Funan possibly around 228 AD. Around Late Han, going from China to Persia and India a vital trading route through Central Asia was still existed. Yet, only maritime route was feasible for the Wu Dynasty's commercial purpose, since the northern route had been cut off because of civil war. Being disorganized and mismanaged states, the Southeast Asian kingdoms utilized mostly the Indian governmental and political frameworks, not the Chinese ones. (Stuart-Fox, *A Short History of China*, 27-28).

[136] Jacque Gernet, *A History of Chinese civilization,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 196-197.

merchants, Indian Buddhism spread in to East Asia in two routes: the inland Silk Road to China and the maritime route to Southeast Asia.

Prior to 1500 A.D, the Southeast Asian kingdoms, including Dai Viet, corroborated Hindu and Indian Buddhist traditions. Evidently, Southeast Asian kings employed Sanskrit and Pāli vocabulary and used idioms of Hindu and Buddhist thought in literatures, and built architecture according to Hindu and Buddhist perspectives.[137]

Coedes explains in detail four components transmitted from India to Southeast Asia: Hindu or Buddhist royal customs; Sanskrit linguistic usage expressed in literature; the royal tradition and the traditional pedigrees of royal families of the Ganges region thru a mythology taken from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata,* the *Purāṇas* and other texts in Sanskrit; and the obedience of the *Dharmaśāstra*, the Hindu sacred laws.[138]

After the Third Buddhist Council, King Aśoka dispatched several missionary groups to eastern and western countries. For instance, he disseminated the missionaries Soṇā and Uttara to *S*uvarṇabhūmi**,** an undefined Southeast Asian country, identified today as Lower Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, or Vietnam, in the third century BC.[139]

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[137] Hall, *Early Southeast Asia*, 16.
[138] Ibid.*,* 18.
[139] Alexandra R. Kapur-Fic, *Thailand: Buddhism, Society and Women* (New Delhi, India: Abhinav Publ., 1998), 160. Rhys Davids has adjusted the border of *Suvarṇabhūm*i "The Golden Land" from the Mon or *Ramañ*ñ*adesa* country to Champa or Vietnam and from Burma to the Malay Peninsula (Promsak Jermsawatdi, *Thai Art with Indian Influence* (New Delhi, India: Abhinav Publ., 1979), 18). At least three missionaries, Gavampti, Sona, and Uttara, are identified in the text Sasanavamsappadipika (Vadime Elisseeff, *The Silk Roads: Highways of Culture and Commerce* (New York: Berghahn, 2000), 95). Ancient Ban Don Ta Phet in central Thailand has been determined back to the 4th century BC. The Pyu civilization of inland Burma adopted Buddhism. Eventually Buddhism dictated the religious spectrum of the Dvaravati civilization in Chao Praya Valley, central Thailand.[139] The Buddha statues demonstrate the religious acceptance in Funan state (150-550) of Cambodian region around Mekong Delta, (Charles Higham, *Encyclopedia of Ancient Asian Civilizations* (New York: Facts On File, 2004), 59). The Oc Eo archeological site provides documentary of Funan's broaden range of trading networks. These archeological sites contain numerous Indian continent's and its western coastal artifacts, jewels, ceramics and tin amulets with Viṣṇu and Śiva symbols, Roman materials including gold coins minted in Marcus Aurelius era (r. 161 to 180 AD) and gold medals of Antoninus Pius dating from 152 AD, and Chinese

Generally, Southeast Asian Buddhism in early stage was diverse and heterogeneous; it permeated with various components of Hindu Dharmaśāstras and Brahmanic deities, Mahāyāna Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, Tantric practices, Sanskrit Sarvāstivādin texts, and Pāli Theravāda literature.[140]

No Buddhist prototype ever existed prior to the appearance of the large ancient Southeast Asian states. These pre-ancient rulers considered themselves as Hindus or Buddhists, and they identified themselves with certain sects of schools. Probably they supported a wide range of priests, monks, and religious institutions and revered different gods and spirits ranging from local deities to Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Vairocana.[141]

Coedes even suggests that possibly Buddhism emerged in Southeast Asia before Brahmanism. Significant Indian influence was proven by numerous Buddha images of the Amarāvatī School in association with the earliest archaeological sites.[142] Historically, from 150 to 250 AD, a great and flourished Buddhist sculptural school located at Amarāvatī, on Kistna River and about eighty miles from Indian east coast.[143] Bosch narrates many Buddhist pilgrims and missionaries going eastwards to disseminate Buddha's teachings. They went to the royal courts, taught the law, converted the rulers

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imports of bronze mirror dating from the Later Han Dynasty (first to third centuries) (Hall, *Early Southeast Asia*, 57).

[140] Joseph Mitsuo Kitagawa, *The Religious Traditions of Asia: Religion, History, and Culture* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002), 119.

[141] Ibid.*,* 123.

[142] From second century BC to third century AD, due to the support of Satavahana at Amarāvatī an important school of art emerged. Major gorgeous Buddhist stūpas were built around 200 AD at Nagarjukonda and Amarāvatī. This art school significantly impacted on Southeast Asian art (John Stewart Bowman, *Columbia Chronologies of Asian History and Culture* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2000), 330).

[143] Before 1500 AD, medieval Reddi kings frequently fought for power at their capital, . Initially, Hīnayāna sect built a temple inside that capital, but later Nāgārjuna changed it into a Mahāyāna shrine where the Buddha was worshipped as an Amareswana. It was established around the third or second centuries BC, and later it was renovated larger between the first-fourth centuries AD (Robert W. Bradhock and Roma Bradnock, *India Handbook* (McGraw-Hill/Contemporary, 2000) 1046).

and their family, and established monastic orders. These Indian monastic and lay followers motivated fervently the Southeast Asian clergy going to spiritual pilgrimage to the Buddhist holy land or to study at well-known Indian monasteries such as the Nalanda near Rajagriha in an ancient kingdom of Magadha.[144]

2.2.2 People and Politics in Jiaozhi.

2.2.2.1 The (Yue 越) origin.

Gordon T. Bowles writes: "It is difficult to be precise about the people and history of Vietnam." Biologically, bonding to the Thai and the Muong, and linguistically linking to the Mon-Kmer, the Vietnamese phenotype can be delineated from the Sundaland (Malaya and Indonesia) and Chinese-Thai Mongoloids to Austroasian, but the interactions with Chinese and India cultures in early time affected them considerably. The early natives living in Langson and Ninh Binh (600,000 B.C) mountainous regions was intimately connected to the Lan Tian Sinanthropus. The existence of Melanesian and Indonesian reveals a northward movement during the Mesolithic period (c. 20,000-5,000 BC). During the Bac Son civilization, the Neolithic period (c. 5,000-3,000 BC), including the alliance group of Austroasian, Austroloids, and Mongoloids, arose and culturally dominated the whole southern region, i.e., from the Yangzi Kiang River valley to Laos, Thailand, Malaysia, Philippines, Borneo, Java, and the Celebes. Thousands of single-family housing groups doing rice cultivation settled in the wet constituencies of the Red River Delta during Phung Nguyen culture, i.e., 3000 and 2000 BC.[145] However, in central

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[144] Hall, *Early Southeast Asia*, 20.
[145] Oscar Chapuis, *A History of Vietnam: from Hong Bang to Tu Duc* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press Publishing Group, Inc., 1995), 4-8.

Bac Bo (North Vietnam) only few communities and loose social group emerged during this culture.[146] According to the Vietnamese historians, the first Vietnamese kingdoms of Van Lang and Au Lac 甌雒 appeared during the second millennium BC, the Bronze Age in Vietnam.[147]

Mythically, Di Ming 帝明, a great grandson of the legend Chinese emperor Shen Nong, allotted his youngest son, Loc Tuc, serving as the king of Xich Quy, a kingdom comprising the areas of Guangxi, Guangdong, and North Vietnam. Lac Long Quan, Loc Tuc's son, married the Princess Au Co, the daughter of King De Lai, whom was the son of De (Di) Nghi, the eldest brother of De (Di) Minh. After their marriage, the Princess conceived to a bag of one hundred eggs that incubated one hundred sons. Then, after their divorcement, each of them brought fifty sons, i.e., Lac Long Quan's group going to the South Sea (Nan Hai) and Au Co's group going to Mount Phong, nowadays the Bach Hac area of Son Tay Province. Lac Long Quan crowned his bravest son with the title of Hung Vuong (Brave King) reigning the Hong Bang State 鴻龐 or Van Lang kingdom at Phong Chau capital (Vinh Yen Province): to the East is the sea; to the North is Dong Dinh Lake; to the West is the Ba Thuc kingdom; and to the South is the Champa kingdom. Its eighteen kings of the same title, Hung Vuong, governed the kingdom spanning from 2879 to 258 BC with the average of 145 years for each king.[148] Through the amalgamation the Hung Vuong kings with the Dong Son culture, the Vietnamese scholars deliberately regard the Hong Bang State as a formative and authoritative establishment of national

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[146] Chapuis, *A History of Vietnam,* 11.
[147] Ibid., 8. 甌雒 or 甌駱 indicates two places. According to Shiji, "甌, 駱相攻, 南越動摇 (史記卷一百一十三　南越列傳第五十三).
[148] Chapuis, *History of Vietnam,* 11-12.

identity. As a result, they view Chinese domination in the later period as a temporary invasion into an already founded national state.[149]

Some scholars associate the origination of the Bai Yue 百越 (Hundred Yue 越) with Au Co's group. After the divorce, Au Co most likely crossed over the mountains of northern Vietnam, stayed in China's Guangxi 廣西 and Guangdong 廣東 provinces, and probably established Xi Ou 西甌 (Au Viet 甌越) kingdom, and built the capital in the Cao Bang province. As a part of the Bai Yue (百越) origin, the Xi Ou lay in the upper dasin of the Xi river 西江 in modern Guangxi 廣西.[150] After a lengthy period of a love-hate relationship, the Au-Viet king, Thuc Phan, subjugated the last Hung Vuong king in 257 BCE, amalgamated the two kingdoms under the title of Au-Lac, declared himself as King An Duong Vuong, and possibly constructed the Co Loa capital, near Ha Noi.[151] The Vietnamese scholars associate Dong Son period with the Lac society because of its regional dominant ruling class from the legendary Hung Vuong periods to the Eastern Han 東漢 era. Thus, according to the historical records, Vietnamese people had Lac as their archaic name.[152]

Furthermore, Lac society was fairly progressive and independent. Its developments were less influenced by the political hubs of northern China and northern India. It could handle the challenges from its neighbors successfully. Unfortunately, it

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[149] Taylor, *Birth of Vietnam*, 4. This view rationalizes Vietnamese independence in the tenth century AD as the reemergence of a preexisting state. It rejects the common view of Chinese and French scholars that the Vietnamese originally inherits the Chinese cultural tradition because of its problematic linking with several logical aspects of archeology, language, and history (Taylor, *Birth of Vietnam*, 4).
[150] Taylor, *Birth of Vietnam*, 15.
[151] Chapuis, *History of Vietnam*, 13-14.
[152] Taylor, *Birth of Vietnam*, 11-12.

could not resist the Chinese invasion later on.[153]

2.2.2.2 Chinese occupation

In 207 BC, the Chinese Qin general, Zhao Tuo 趙佗, invaded and colonized Au-Lac kingdom for the first time. Afterward, he declared himself as the "King of Nan Yue (南越)" with its territory including Nan Hai 南海, Guilin 桂林, and Xiang (Au Lac) until 111 BC. After a period of considerable independence, from 111 BC to 39 AD, Nan Yue (南越) was colonized and divided by Chinese colonizers into nine counties: Jiaozhi 交趾 (Tonking);[154] Jiu Zhen 九真 (Thanh Hoa), and RiNan 日南 (Nhat Nam). In 40 AD, the Trung sisters defeated the Chinese colonizers and regained the Jiaozhi (Lac Viet) independency until 43 AD, when Jiaozhi fell under the prey of the Chinese colonizers for almost a thousand years after enjoying their short period of independence, i.e., from 40 AD to 43 AD.[155]

During the period of Chinese invasion for almost a millennium, the Viet people had regained their independency for short periods several times. There are many short-

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[153] Taylor, *Birth of Vietnam*, 13.

[154] The general connotation of Ziao is "connection"; Zhi or Zhou implies "place." "Jiaozhou" reveals its land as a melting pot of the Indian and Chinese civilizations. At the beginning of the first millennium, India culture was influential to this coastal region, Jiaozhou. However, it was dominated by the Chinese culture due to the Han's colonization of its land. It was never Sinicized totally even it was colonized by the Chinese for almost a thousand years, from 111 BC to 939 AD. The Vietnamese culture uniquely stands on its own right even it carries the imprints of the Indian and Chinese influences (Nhat Hanh, *Master Tang Hoi,* 2, 3). Northern Vietnam, southern Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos are considered as parts of "Indochina," a political and geographical region (Shui Meng Ng, "The Population of Indochina: Some Preliminary Observations" *Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Singapore*, Field Report Series No. 7, (July 1974): 1). With the formation of the French colonial Union Indochinoise, in 1887 "Indochina" was officially named as it was a transitional region buffering between India and China without its own identical right (Manfed Beller and Joep Leerssen, ed., *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters: a Critical Survey* (Amsterdam; New York, NY: The Netherland Organization for Scientific Research, 1994), 183).

[155] Chapuis, *History of Vietnam*, 20-27.

lived independent dynasties holding power for brief periods as well as many upheavals against the Chinese domination between 43 AD and 939 AD such as the Trung sisters's State (40-43 AD), the Trieu Au's uprising (248 AD), the Ly Nam De State (548-549 AD), Trieu Viet Vuong's State (549-571 AD), the Hau Ly Nam De State (571-602 AD), the Ly Tu Tien uprising (687 AD), the Mai Hac De uprising (722 AD), Phung Hung's uprising (791 AD), and the Khuc Thua Du State (906-923 AD).[156]

Finally, Ngo Quyen regained Jiaozhi independent status after defeating the Southern Han army in the Battle of Bach Dang River in 939 AD.[157] Since then, the Viet (Yue 越) people have been protecting their sovereignty successfully against the Chinese invaders throughout many different dynasties to the present time. In short, the ethnical origin of the Viet (Yue 越) people is the Lac people.[158]

In addition, the Chinese military colonization went beyond its southern borders and Vietnam. For instance, due to political and commercial ambitions in the South Seas, The Wu Dynasty sent an emissary by sea to Funan, an ancient Cambodian kingdom in the Mekong Delta, in 228 AD. Chu Ying and Kang Tai, the Chinese commissionaire leaders to Funan, met an Indian envoy there from Kushan Empire.[159]

2.2.2.3 Early India Buddhism missionaries through maritime route to Jiaozhi.

Currently, to determine the historical state of Jiaozhi, scholars rely on the archaeological evidences that are coherent contemporarily with Buddhist development:

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[156] Chapuis, *History of Vietnam*, 27-35. French scholars differentiate four dynasties that controlled the power during Chinese domination period prior to 939 AD (D.G.E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, 3rd edition (New York: St. Martin's Press, (1968), 199.
[157] Chapuis, *History of Vietnam,* 20-28.
[158] One Chinese scholar acknowledges that Lac is another name for Yue 越 (Taylor, *Birth of Vietnam*, 42).
[159] Gernet, *History of Chinese civilization,* 197.

Buddhist wanderers traveled through various cultural regions and countries and carried with them Buddhist stories, images, texts, ideas, and practices.[160] Oversea Buddhists cooperated with indigenous people to preserve and spread Buddhist faiths and practices. The clergies involved in translation of the Buddhist sacred texts into the vernacular languages. Monastic and and lay cultivators practiced chanting and meditation. Buddhist shrines were erected and images created with faithful patronage supporting those projects. Regardless the social classes, people sought for supernatural blessing from Buddhist performance and ceremony.[161] Jiaozhou Buddhism mainly adopted Indian stylistic practices from the first to the fourth centuries. The capital Luy Lau of Jiaozhi saw the erections of pagodas, monasteries, and about twenty chatyas (assembly hall) to house "more than five hundred religious practitioners who recited fifteen Buddhist sūtras.[162]

Historically, Vietnam, a long and narrow "S" shape-like country, includes the regions formerly known to early history as parts of Jiaozhou 交州, Funan, and Champa laying on the Indochina Peninsula. Generally, the Vietnamese people are religious people and "religion dominates him since his birth, guides him to the tomb, and even after his death, keeps him under his influence." Most likely Buddhism was brought to Jiaozhi by

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[160] The maritime merchants usually brought their spiritual protection, a standing statue with the arms in protective gestures of the previous Buddha Dipankar "Calmer of the Water" to calm the stormy waves. In various parts of Southeast Asia, i.e., south Sumatra, East Java, west Sulawesi, and central Vietnam (Dong Duong), archaeologists had found these statues not far from the coast such as in the case of Sempaga on the beach, which indicates an evidence of a shipwreck. These Amarāvatī stylistic statues with controversial dates in Andhra Pradesh attested the earliest Buddhist spreading from India to Southeast Asia flourishing until the end of second century AD. (Ahmad Hasan Dani, Sigfried J. de Laet, *History of Humanity: From the Seventh Century BC to the Seventh Century AD* (Routledge, 1994), 59).

[161] Cuong Tu Nguyen, *Zen in Medieval Vietnam: A Study and Translation of the Thien Uyen Tap Anh* (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), 11.

[162] William M. Johnston, *Encyclopedia of Monasticism,* Vol 1 (Chicago, IL: Pitzrov Dearborn Publishers, 2000), 1326.

the Indian and Chinese monks through Silk Route and Maritime Route. From the Shi Xie's reign (137-226 AD) to seventh centuries AD, due to the affluence of Indian merchants' trading activities in the area, Jiaozhi served as an important meeting place and rest area for the Indian, Chinese, other foreign travelers, and Buddhist missionaries, who travelled through maritime route between India and China, and vise-versa. Also, the maritime merchants usually brought the monks to perform as spiritual advisers or physicians. Especially, Chinese Buddhist clergies came to Jiaozhi to learn the Buddhist sacred texts while Indian and Indo-Scythian monks came to this area to disseminate the Buddha teachings since second century AD. At the outset of fulfilling the religious activities and missionary endeavors, several monasteries were built during Shi Xie reign (137-226 AD). Phap Van, of Phuc Nguyen, and Phap Vu (in the present-day Thuong Tin prefectures, Ha Dong province) were among the earliest monasteries.[163] These Buddhist centers had carried the mixture imprints of Indian popular Buddhism and some Brahmin factions either from India or Champa kingdom.[164] Especially, between second and third century AD in Luy Lau, an ancient capital of Jiaozhi (Vietnam), Phap Van was one of the most famous centers established due to its status as a rest house for Indian Buddhist missionaries.[165]

Toward the end of Lingdi's reign 漢靈帝 (r. 168-189 AD), Mahājīvaka 摩羅耆域 and Kālacarya, Indian Buddhist monks, came to Luy Lau during the last part of the third

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[163] Upendra Thakur, *Indian Missionaries in the Land of Gold* (India: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, 1st ed., 1986), 168-169.
[164] K.W. Taylor and John K. Whitmore, editors. "Essay into Vietnamese pasts." Cornell University, *Studies on Southeast Asia* No. 19 (1995): 101.
[165] Thakur, *Indian Missionaries,* 89. From India and central Asia, these Buddhist monks went to China by ships and established Luy Lau Buddhist Center around the first century AD (Christopher S. Queen, *Engaged Buddhism in the West* (Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2000). K.W. Taylor and John K. Whitmore, editors. "Essay into Vietnamese pasts." Cornell University, *Studies on Southeast Asia* No. 19 (1995): 101.

century AD. As Tu Dinh, a layman from the Khmer kingdom, requested them to stay back, Mahājīvaka rejected this request, but Kālacarya agreed to reside at the layman's residence. Then Kālacarya purified his body and mind with the ascetic practices and fasting. According to the Chinese sources, Mahājīvaka came to Jiaozhi in 294 AD and returned to India around 303 AD. Nevertheless, Huijiao 慧皎 (497-554 AD) in his *Gao seng zhuan* noticed that this Indian monk went to Funan, traveled along the coastal region, and came to Jiaozhou and Guangzhou. Some sources mentioned that he came to Luoyang but returning and disappearing in India.[166]

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[166] Thakur, *Indian Missionaries*, 169. Regarding the story of Mahājīvaka, please read his biography in *Fo zu li dai tong zai* 佛祖歷代通載, T49n2036_0518b22-c09. The combination of the Chinese and Vietnamese sources could describe a full story of Mahājīvaka. The *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 of Huijiao 慧皎 (497-554) records his story as: "*Mahājīvaka* 摩羅耆域 was born in India and traveled to many places, both civilized and uncivilized, without ever stopping for long anywhere. To his disciples and attendants, his actions were unpredictable. He traveled from India to Funan 扶南, then along the coast to Giao Chau 交州 and Guangzhou by the end of Jin Emperor Huidi's Dynasty (290-306 AD). He came to Luoyang, then returned to India after unrest started there." The *Fozu Li Dai Tong Zai* 佛祖歷代通載 describes: "In the fourth year of the Yongping era (Huidi, 294 AD), an Indian monk named Mahājīvaka arrived in Luoyang".[166] *Thien Uyen Tap Anh 禅苑集英*, a Vietnamese Zen Records, quotes Dam Thien's the citation of Dam Thien, who mentioned about Thong Bien's explanation how Buddhism was spread to China. At the time, Kālacarya, Mahājīvaka, Kang Senghui, Zhi Gangliang, and Mouzi had already presented in Jiaozhou. Besides this Vietnamese reference of Mahājīvaka's teaching in Jiaozhou, Huijiao also recorded in *Gaoseng Zhuan* that Mahājīvaka, an extraordinary Indian monk, arrived at one of Funan's seaports, trekked along coastal areas of Jiaozhou and Guangzhou. There was a story that on one day, when he came to Tuong Duong 襄陽, Nghe An province, people did not allow him to board a ferry in crossing a river because of his ragged robe. Incredibly, he had appeared on the other side of the river before the ferry arrived. He gently patted two tigers waving their tails and ears, and let them went away. Seeing these miracles, people on two sides of the river started to follow him. Around 306 AD, when Mahājīvaka went to Luoyang 洛陽, local clergies conducted a welcome ritual ceremony for him. At that time, Mahājīvaka employ his supernatural power to heal many sick people, comprising Teng Yong Wen 滕永文 chief of the Heng Yang region 衡陽. Zhu Fa Xing 竺法行, a highly respected monk, requested Mahājīvaka giving spiritual advice since he had attained the sagehood. Mahājīvaka responded by asking this chief monk to gather his people and encouraged them to do wholesome deeds and restrain from creating unwholesome deeds. On hearing these words, the chief monk arrogantly said that he preferred to hear untold teachings, not the basic teachings as thus. He responded that it was useless to memorize those teachings without putting them in practice for attaining enlightenment. When he was invited to have lunch with the local people, he accepted all of their invitations. On the next day, he appeared at their house spontaneously. At first these people allegedly maintained that he had come to their residencies only, but later they recognized his supernatural power to multiply his body to attend the feasts at every of their houses, simultaneously. Huijiao, a great admirer, probably did not investigate this fictitious story before recording (Nguyen Tai Thu, chief ed., *The History of Buddhism in Vietnam* (Washington, D.C: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2008), 26). T50n2059_p0388a1-c06.

According to historians, in the contemporary Hai Phong city of Do Son, an ancient Ne Le town of Giao Chau (Jiaozhou or Jiaozhi) 12km east of Hanoi, the Jiaozhi Buddhist erected a gratitudinal pagoda of King Aśoka. In addition, the Hoang-Gia-My's genealogy register in this region also documented an Aśoka pagoda at Do Son.[167]

At least twenty temples and over five hundred monks in residence became an urban Buddhist centers on Red River bank near Ha Noi around the third century AD.[168] Also, as early as third century BC, Theravāda Buddhism probably had been spread to Champa, an Indianized kingdom in the second century and became part of Vietnam in fifteen century AD.[169]

According to legend, Indian Buddhism had spread to Jiaozhi during the first century AD. By second century AD, Indian monks collaborated with local people to build Luy Lau, an intercontinental Buddhist center, a rest area for Indian and central Asian monks to go to China, and a learning center for Chinese monks to study Buddhist Sanskrit texts. Many important texts were translated into Chinese language (e.g. the *Ānāpānasati,* the *Vessantara-Jātaka*, and the Milindapañha) first at Luy Lau before being delivered to China. In Vietnamese folktales, the word "Bụt" was originally transliterated from the word "Buddha" since Vietnamese Buddhism was influenced directly by Indian Buddhism.[170] Moreover, "Buddha" was prevalently considered as an indigenous deity who assisted wholesome people and reprimanded the unwholesome ones. By the fifth century AD, "Phật," a Chinese transliteration of "Buddha," had replaced "Bụt" because

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[167] Mae Chee Huynh Kim Lan, "A Study of Theravāda Buddhism in Vietnam," MA Thesis, Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University, Bangkok, Thailand (2010): 1.
[168] Hall, *Early Southeast Asia*, 66.
[169] Kim Lan, "A Study of Theravāda Buddhism in Vietnam," 1.
[170] In modern time, Thich Nhat Hanh is the one who initiated and promoted the usage of "Bụt." However, most Vietnamese Buddhists still prefer to use "Phật" because of its phonetical smoothie instead of"Bụt."

Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism had superseded Indian Buddhism in Luy Lau.[171]

2.2.2.4 Early Buddhists in Jiaozhi.

After Ma Yuan 馬援 (14 BCE – 49 CE) colonized Jiaozhi in 43 AD, some female generals of the Trung Sisters became Buddhist nuns.[172] Historically, a new elite, the Han-Viet era, appeared after Ma Yuan's invasion and his setting up of the Han colonization in Jiaozhi. A great thread of continuous authority from the Lac lords to the Han-Viet elite was evidently and comparatively reflected in the Dong Son's and the Han stylistic brick tombs. The Lac lords' symbols of ruling authority are "seals and ribbons" while the great Han-Viet elites' are the seals marked on the roofs of their houses. Culturally, the Lac lords' attitude was unfriendly to Chinese colonizers, but the Han-Viet elites officially acknowledged Han domination. In the second century AD, when Chinese imperial court started to crumble and lost its authoritative grip on the frontier states, it wrestled to rule Jiaozhi with iron-fist aggressively instead of a harmonious approach. As a result, the Han-Viet elites were inevitably stirred up with independent temperament.[173] Actually, the Chinese imperial court never had concocted a successful scheme of ruling Jiaozhi.[174] Due to the continuous defiant resistances from the Jiaozhi people, the Chinese rulers recognized that they could not enforce their iron-fist rules except making the regulatory adjustments to the local culture.[175] As a result, moderate Han-Viet rulers such as Shi Xie 士燮 had ruled Jiaozhi harmoniously and stably for nearly a century during the

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[171] Hall, *Early Southeast Asia*, 66.
[172] Minh T. Nguyen, "Buddhist Monastic Education and Regional Revival Movements in Early Twentieth Century Vietnam," PhD Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 177, 178.
[173] Taylor, *Birth of Vietnam*, 57.
[174] Ibid., 58.
[175] Ibid., 57-59.

Three Kingdoms period. Shi Xie 士燮, a model ruler and an astute leader, understood his time and place and had gained benefits to powerful political currents flowing from the indigenous society.[176] The Shi kinfolk served as a go-between Chinese imperial court and local Lac representatives legitimately because of its inherent and authoritative legitimacy with both groups. Since Shi Xie, being praised as a Jiaozhi hero, understood the indigenous sensibilities and rights, he had allowed local people following their ways of life instead of enforcing Han imperial court rules on them strictly.[177] As a result, Buddhism had flourished and wide spread in Jiaozhi tremendously during his reign.

According to the historical records, wherever Shi Xie went, a large entourage with several Hu people, i.e., various types of foreign people such as Indians or Central Asians, who lived in the area for doing business or for religious causes. At that time Jiaozhi, a sea-port state, had actively interacted with some western states such as the Kuṣāṇ Empire in northern Indian that had commercial and Buddhist ties to most Asian states.[178] In fact, the arrival of Kālacarya from south India to Jiaozhi at end of the third century AD and the building of four Buddhist centers in Luy Lau had marked a new era of Buddhist development in Jiaozhi during Shi Xie reign.[179] Tu Dinh and his daughter, Man Nuong, worshipped Kālacarya as a living Buddha because of his skill in psychic power. Eventually, they were initiated and became his disciples. Later, after Kālacarya's death, Shi Xie recognized Man Nuong's psychic power due to her psychic performance in ending drought, taking away a large banyan tree in front of Shi Xie's citadel, and carving it into four sacred Buddha statues, i.e. the Buddha of clouds, rain, thunder, and

[176] Taylor, *Birth of Vietnam*, 59, 73, 79.
[177] Ibid., 80.
[178] Ibid., 80.
[179] Kālacarya or Ksudra, a Buddhist monk coming to Jiaozhi from western India.

lightning.[180]

Also, the legend of *Nhat Da Trach* "One Night Marsh" included Buddhist features that inspired a Vietnamese scholar in nineteenth-century to write of "Buddhist priests from India during the Hung Vuong periods." Since Buddhist detailed descriptions of social and historical aspects during Shi Xie reign, probably Jiaozhi had absorbed the final form of Indian Buddhism.

Legendarily, Tien Dung, the Hung princess, and her husband, Chu Dong Tu, managed an over-crowed market with foreign merchants. On one commercial trip, they traveled by sea and stopped by a coastal mountain, where the husband climbed up, came across an Indian Buddhist monk, Phat Quang "Brilliant Buddha," and was instructed Buddhism and bestowed a staff and a straw hat, i.e., symbolically a royal insignia and crown, by that monk. After that incident, the couple gave up their worldly business and wandered around to seek for Buddhist teachers. Eventually they gained the miracles from the symbolic staff and straw hat. Since this story was recorded during Shi Xie reign, it showed the link between the maritime commerce and Buddhist arrival to the area.

Since Shi Xie fervently and favorably patronized Buddhist monks, he legitimated his authority on the Lac people, especially the famers who considered Buddhist temples and deities as agricultural and fertile guardians.[181] Local spirit beliefs greatly modified the influence of both Daoism and Buddhism. Although Jiaozhi (Vietnam) was controlled by Chinese empire during Shixie's reign, its essential cultural aspects still continuously flourished. As late as the Tang Dynasty 唐, the major Buddhist influence on Jiaozhi was by the maritime route from southeast India, instead of the overland-silk route from north

[180] Taylor, *Birth of Vietnam,* 81. Please see the appendix 7: "The story of Kālacarya and Man Nuong."
[181] Taylor, *Birth of Vietnam*, 82-83.

India. The marvelous affluence of Jiaozhi during Shi Xie reign coincidently occurred during the first wave of Indian civilization in Southeast Asia.[182] Being born during this great period and a great land, Kang Senghui immersed in the newly transmitted Indian Buddhism and used his Buddhist knowledge as a tool to promulgate the Indian-Jiaozhi Buddhist style to Southern China.

2.2.3 Conclusion.

Due to the geographical locality, Jiaozhi (North Vietnam) benefited from the commercial and missionary passages along the maritime route between China and India. Buddhist missionaries, sailing from India and other coastal Southeast Asian countries, would surely have stopped over Vietnam on the en route to China. Similarly, as a two ways effect, Chinese monks went to Jiaozhi (Vietnam) first before they embarked their journey to India, the originative land of Buddhism for further religious study. Jiaozhi (Vietnam) also absorbed Buddhist traditions from its neighbors such as the Champa kingdom, which was influenced by Indian civilization in the second century AD and became part of Vietnam in the fifteen century, and Khmer kingdom. Both kingdoms embraced an amalgamation of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Theravāda Buddhism. Historically, Theravāda tradition possibly had spread to Champa kingdom around the third century AD while it stretched to the Khmer kingdom around the twelve century AD.[183]

In conclusion, Jiaozhi was strongly influenced by the Indian culture, especially Buddhism, from the first to the third centuries AD even it was colonized by the Chinese

[182] Taylor, *Birth of Vietnam*, 84.
[183] Andrew Skitton, *A Concise History of Buddhism* (Bimingham: Windhorse Publications, 1994), 159-160.

during those periods. In fact, Buddhism remained the source of aspiration for the Lac (Viet) people to regain their independency from Chinese domination. It also managed to convert the arrogant Chinese emperors through the effort of Kang Senghui, a Sogdian-Jiaozhi born monk.

Chapter 03. Kang Senghui's life and activities in Jiaozhi and Southern China.

3.1 Kang Senghui's life and activities in Jiaozhi: Hypothesis about Kang Senghui's parents, teachers, Buddhist community, his works, and his preparation for going to Jianye 建鄴 of Wu country 吳.

In 207 BC, the Au-Lac kingdom was invaded and colonized in the first time by Chinese Qin general, Zhao Tuo 趙佗, a self-proclaimed King of Nan Yue (南越), including Nan Hai 南海, Guilin 桂林, and Xiang 象郡 (甌雒 Ou Luo) until 111 BC. From 111 BC to 39 AD, after a period of having relative independence under the Zhao Tuo 趙佗, Nan Yue (南越) was colonized and divided by the Han invaders into nine counties, three of which were in what was formerly Xiang (Au Lac): Jiaozhi 交趾 (Tonking), Jiuchen 九真 (Thanh Hoa), and Rinan 日南 (Nhat Nam). The Trung sisters defeated the Chinese colonizers and regained the Jiaozhi's (Lac Viet) independent state from 40 AD to 43 AD briefly.[184] Ma Yuan's invasion and occupation of Jiaozhi in 43 AD was one of the most serious miserable major events in Vietnamese history. Ma Yuan suppressed the remainders of the pre-Han or Lac Viet political heritage.[185] Specially, he annihilated the Dong-son culture and its flourished political structure, the Lac lords' traditional ruling class. As a result, while Vietnamese struggled for cultural survival, they had to deal with the basic problem of physical survival under an exploitative, alien Chinese imperialism.[186] Ma Yuan also set up the Han bureaucracy at prefectural and district administrative levels through the erections of the walled towns and surroundings

[184] Chapuis, *History of Vietnam*, 20-27.
[185] Taylor, *Birth of Vietnam*, 45.
[186] Ibid., 41.

and digging irrigation ditches to build army garrisons for protecting their governmental zone.[187] He forced local people to the new regime with personal covenants. It is documented that Ma Yuan "reported more than ten discrepancies between Viet statues and Han statutes." There is no verification that he had ever attempted to mend these discrepancies. This indicates that ancient Vietnam was not crushed or completely undermined by Ma Yuan's conquest, but it perpetually survived as a systematized society with its own blueprints of marriage, inheritance, and public order. During that period, even the Lac lords' voices were not heard of, this does not mean that they were all killed or deposed. Probably many Trung Trac's soldiers remained alive and lived in Jiaozhi (Vietnam) after Ma Yuan's invasion. Ma Yuan possibly employed them as local officials.[188] Ozaki Yasushi studied the Later Han administration in Jiaozhi and concluded that the Han never concocted a successful method of ruling this region.[189] In the year 100 AD, more than two thousand residents of Xiang Lin district (Lin Yi or Champa) destroyed and scorched the Han administrative centers.[190] However, they were suppressed brutally afterward by Chinese army. In 136 AD, several thousand people called Chu Lien came from "beyond the frontier" and attacked Xiang Lin; they burned down the Chinese administrative centers and killed Chinese officials. Zhang Qiao, a new governor of Jiaozhi, ordered representatives to Rinan 日南 with "soothing and enticing

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[187] Taylor, *Birth of Vietnam*, 45-46.
[188] Ibid., 46-47.
[189] Ibid., 58.
[190] Due to a local revolt against a greedy Chinese governor, a part of Jiaozhi region in what is now central Vietnam developed as an independent kingdom in 192 AD, named Linyi 林邑 (Lin District). This name was originated from a Han Dynasty town called Xiang Lin 象林; this was the administrative center of a region of the same name (Chengda Fan, James M Hargett, *Treatises of the Supervisor and Guardian of the Cinnamon Sea = Guihai yuheng zhi* (Seatle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2010), 187.

words" and appeased the Jiaozhi people. In 144 AD, starting at Rinan, the rebels seized Chinese administrative centers, stirring similar rebellions in Jiuzhen and Jiaozhi. The governor, Xia Fang, issued a pledge of leniency and convinced the rebels to return to Chinese loyalty. After this incident, the political situation was comparatively calm for more than a decade. Chinese authority was nevertheless waning, and the spirit of uprising only waited for the right moment.[191]

The Chinese presence in this remote frontier was more provoking than it was calming. Besides, being aggravated by the greedy Chinese officials, the Han-Viet commanders of these revolts mostly believed that they could protect themselves from the frontier chaos more effective if they were in control of their own affairs. Especially, as the Chinese court was busy with its imperial conspiracies and the righteous officials were rare, any empty official position was taken regardless of the background. Thus, local frontier people started to take the office of prefecture. Instead of being the agents of the Chinese imperial court, the officials, being supported by local people, gradually turned out to be representatives of local interests. In this circumstance, the affluences of the Shi family started to rise.[192] The Han-Viet class had established an independent politics during the uprisings of the second century AD. As the Chinese authority disappeared from the political scenarios, this Han-Viet class obviously controlled political affairs by its self. In fact, under the leadership of the Shi family's leadership, northern Vietnam region relatively became a stable regional power. Upper-class Chinese immigrants conserved a formal recognition of Chinese civilization, especially in using Chinese classics to teach their youth, but the Han-Viet society mostly followed Indian Buddhism.

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[191] Taylor, *Birth of Vietnam*, 60-63.
[192] Ibid., 66-67.

Thus, in the late second century AD, Indian civilization or Buddhism was an attractive substitution for the Chinese culture. The climax of this trend was the result and magnificence of Han-Viet society during Shi Xie reign. Namely for forty years these great Han-Viet elites were not controlled by the external forces.[193] In fact, Shi Xie ardently supported Buddhist monks and legitimated his power in accordance with the view of local people, especially the farmers who regarded Buddhist sanctuaries as the protector deities of agricultural fertility.[194] Wherever he went, the Hu people carried lighted incense to accompany him; many of his wives and concubines rode in shutter carts.[195] In this background, the *Li Huo Lun* 理惑論 of Mouzi 牟子 emerged, and the presence of Kang Senghui created a substantial influence on early Buddhism in Jiaozhi and southern China.[196]

According to the prevailing historical texts and the iconographic materials discovered by archeologists since the 1980's, especially those first-century Buddhist manuscripts recently discovered in Afghanistan, the most credible hypothesis is that Buddhism was originated from northwestern India, i.e. the Greater Yuezhi, and it spread through the inland silk route to get to China.[197] With the Buddhist arrival to the new land, Buddhism intermingled with archaic Daoism and Chinese indigenous mysterious arts. As a result, the Buddhist iconographies were worshipped blindly.

During the last years of the Eastern Han, when An Shigao went to Luoyang, start

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[193] Taylor, *Birth of Vietnam,* 70.
[194] Ibid., 82-83.
[195] Ibid., 74.
[196] Ratically *Li Huo Lun* 理惑論 is a Chinese exegesis on how to decipher Chinese ancient tradition and the authenticity of a Buddhist exegetic of its own tradition (John P. Keenan, Mouzi, *How master Mou removes our doubts: a Reader-Response study and translation of the Mou-tzu Li Huo Lun* (Albany, NY: State University University of New York, 1994), 9).
[197] Great Yuezhi is present-day Afghanistan and Pakistan.

to translate Buddhist scriptures, and taught students, probably Buddhism had been spread throughout China.[198] Actually, during the Three Kingdoms and the Western Jin 西晉 (265–317 AD), Buddhism was spread in China due to the religious endeavors and leadership of Kang Senghui, a Sogdian-Jiaozhi-born citizen.[199] In fact, Kang Senghui was one of the most prominent figures at the Wu Dynasty 吳 (220-280 AD).

He was a knowledgeable person in the six (Confucian) classics, capable to provide political advice, and exceptional in literature.[200] While Zhi Qian, a lay Buddhist from Luoyang, associated with the Wu Dynasty and the scholarly class, Kang Senghui's monastic status as a monastic and a Buddhist propagator was much closer with the spiritual life of the Jianye 建鄴 people.[201]

However, there are not many studies about the early Buddhist missionaries who had made great impacts on early medieval Chinese Buddhism, covering from the third to the fourth centuries AD.[202] Only three authors discuss Kang Senghui's life and work in

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[198] Rong Xinjiang, trans. *Xiuqin Zhou*, "Land Route or Sea Route? Commentary on the Study of the Paths of Transmission and Areas in which Buddhism Was Disseminated during the Han Period," Sino-Platonic Papers, Department of East Asian Languages and Civilization, University of Pennsylvania, 144 (July 2004): 27. Wu Zhuo rejects all the aforementioned opinions by asserting that Sichuan and India were linked not by the Sichuan-Yunnan-Burma-India route, but by the Zangke route or Sichuan-Jiaozhi route, which stretched to Guangzhou or Jiaozhi and then extended to the maritime route for getting to India (Xinjiang, 10).

[199] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese*, 144, 145.

[200] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 47. As an important kingdom in early medieval Chinese history, the Wu period marks the activation of the serious "Sinification" in Southern China. While the Wei kingdom was an inland state that still kept interaction with Central Asian states, Wu extended its diplomacy outreaches farther to the Southern and coastal regions. It often disseminated the envoys even to Southern Cambodia while many merchants and emissaries from the Southern kingdom of Fu-nan and Linyi used to visit this kingdom regularly (Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 44). The Confucian six books (六經) include: *Book of Odes* (詩經)、*Book of History* (尚書)、*Book of Rite* (儀禮)、*Book of Music* (樂經)、*Book of Change* (周易), and *Book of Spring and Autumn Annals* (春秋) (*Phrase Origin* 辭源, rev. ed.,. Taiwan: Commercial Press 商務印書, 1978), 307).

[201] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese*, 151.

[202] Erik Zürcher painstakingly recorded the first phase of Chinese Buddhism in his classical study, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*. This period signifies how Indian Buddhism was perceived by the Chinese

length, but not much in detail. The first is Tsukamoto's "The Northward Move of Buddhism through the South Seas: Kang Senghui,"[203] which essay provides a brief overview of a scholastic treatment on Kang Senghui's life and work. The second is Thich Nhat Hanh's *Master Tang Hoi, the First Zen Teacher in Vietnam and China*,[204] which is not considered as a scholastic masterpiece. It does contain some useful information, but mostly it lacks credential references. The third is Zurcher's scholastic work on Kang Senghui's life and work, which is a short academic work.[205] Other books and articles scarcely mention Kang Senghui. Hence, in complement to the insufficient sources about Kang Senghui, I use the multi-volume work by Dr Le Manh That, a Vietnamese Buddhist scholar, on the subject "History of Vietnamese Buddhism" (*Lich Su Phat Giao Viet Nam*) and "The General Vietnamese Buddhist Literatures" (*Tong Tap Van Hoc Phat Giao Viet Nam*).[206]

Two earliest survived records in the *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 of Sengyou 僧祐 (445-518) and the *Gaoseng Zhuan* 高僧傳 of Huijiao 慧皎 (497-554) documented the life and works of Kang Senghui.[207] Huijiao's record of Kang Senghui actually is a copy of that of Sengyou, except it has two additions: the life of Zhi Qian **支謙** at the beginning

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through the lens of indigenous culture and their intellectual reference such as the "Neo-Daoism (Xuanxue)" movement. Daoan (312-385 AD) and his disciple Huiyuan (344-416 AD) solely notified the Chinese public the bias view towards Buddhism culturally. Contemporarily, the Chinese eventually realized sufficient but diverse Buddhist texts that had been translated into their language at the end of the fourth century (Peter N. Gregory, *Zungmi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (Hawai'i: Kuroda Institute 2002), 111).

[203] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese*, 151-162.

[204] Thich Nhat Hanh, *Master Tang Hoi: First Zen Teacher in Vietnam and China* (Berkeley, CA: Parallax Press, 2001).

[205] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest,* 51-54.

[206] Le Manh That, *Tong Tap Van Hoc Phat Giao*, Quyen I (Hochiminh city, Vietnam: Nha Xuat Ban Tp Hochiminh, 2001). Le Manh That, *Lich Su Phat Giao Viet Nam*, Tap 1 (Hochiminh city, Vietnam: Nha Xuat Ban Tp Hochiminh, 2001).

[207] Sengyou **僧佑**. *Chu sanzang ji ji* **出三藏記集** (*Compilation of Notes on the Translation of the Tripiṭaka)*, T2145_.13.0096a29-97a17. Huijiao 慧皎, *Gaoseng Zhuan* 高僧傳 (*The Biographies of Eminent Monks)*, T2059_.01.0325a13-326b13.

and Kang Senghui's influences on Su Jun **蘇峻** and Sun Chuo **孫綽** as well as some commentaries about the mistakes of other records.[208] Kang Senghui's life was also recorded in the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 of Fei Changfang 費長房, *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 of Zhipan 志磐, *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 of Daoshi 道世, and other Chinese Buddhist data bases, but they generally employed and reiterated the above two records' information.[209] Therefore, the Huijiao's record of Kang Senghui is used as primary source for writing this work.

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[208] Since the *Biographies of Eminent Monks Gao seng zhuan* 高僧傳 recorded only the lives of the eminent monks, it could not compile the life of the prominent laymen in a separate section as the *Compilation of Notes on the Translation of the Tripiṭaka Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 has done. However, due to the demand for recording the contributions of laymen to Buddhism, Huijiao added a part of Zhi Qian's **支謙** life in Kang Seng Hui's section. Also, since Huijiao has researched various records, annals, and others, he added the details about Su Jun **蘇峻** and Sun Chuo **孫綽**.

[209] *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 of Fei Changfang 費長房, T 2034.49.22c-127c; 20 fasc. Abbreviated as 三寶紀. This records the historical developments of Buddhist literature from the Latter Han to the Sui dynasties. It comprises textural compilations and categorization, biographies of 197 translators, and a Buddhist historical transmission. http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=歷代三寶紀 (accessed, January 21, 2011). It was compiled around the eight century AD (Monica, "Summary of Wendi Adamek's "The Mystique of Transmission,'" https://dharmacowgirl.wordpress.com/2011/03/08/wendi-adameks-the-mystique-of-transmission/). *Complete Chronicle of the Buddha and Patriarchs Fozu Tongji* 佛祖統紀, 54 fascicles, completed in 1269 AD by Zhipan 志磐 (1220–1275); T 2035.49.129a-475c. This is a Tiantai historical record of Buddhism, including secular historical records as well as various doctrine, cosmology, geography, and other masterpieces. It mainly connects with the basic annals 本紀 that contains the first eight fascicles, including the history of one Buddha and twenty-nine patriarchs 一佛二十九祖 (T 2035.49.129c13). To expound the value of this work, Mingyu 明昱 put in his foreword: "If the Way is not unified 統 it is scattered, and if that which is unified is not ordered 紀 it is chaotic" 夫道無統則散統無紀則亂 (T 2035.49.129a14-15). Therefore, we conclude that this is a complete work (compiling the information from different works and combining them together) and a *chronicle* (a historical work categorized into chronological order). http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=佛祖統紀 (accessed, January 21, 2011). *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 100 fascicles with 68 units, completed by Daoshi 道世 in 668 AD. It is a compilation of material entries chosen from different sūtras and treatises and separated into many categories as same as a Buddhist encyclopedia. T 2122.53.265b-1030a; K 1406〔翻譯名義集 T 2131.54.1055a27〕. http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=法苑珠林 (accessed, January 21, 2011).

Kang Senghui 康僧會 (?-280 AD) was born to a Sogdian father.[210] Specifically, his ancestors were Sogdians, but some of them already settled in India for several generations as merchants. During his father's generation, the whole family (who one might refer to as "Indianized Sogdians") migrated to the coastal Jiaozhi region for the purposes of doing business.[211]

During the second century AD, travelers from India and the Roman Orient took the maritime route to Funan, Linyi, Rinan, and Jiaozhou.[212] As a result, probably from India Kang Seng Hui's father went to Jiaozhi to do business on those merchant ships. Since Jiaozhi was his birthplace, he logically was the native son of naturalized parents.[213]

Generally, Kang Senghui was born in a place: inhabited by Jiaozhi (Yue) people; settled by many Late Han intellectuals and officials who had fled from the Middle Plain and Northern provinces; influenced by Confucianism, Taoism, and Chinese indigenous beliefs of supernatural sylph and magic; and shaped by Indian civilization. Therefore, his spiritual and mental maturity was strongly influenced by both Chinese and Indian

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[210] Sogdiana or Tranxoxiana in Greek is the Iranian region (Carlos Ramirez-Faria, *Concise Encyclopaedia of World History* (New Delhi, India: Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, LTD., 2007), 741). Le, Manh That. *Tong Tap Van Hoc Phat Giao Viet Nam*, vol. I, p. 270.

[211] In early time, Sogdiana was generally related to the Zarafshan Region within the Transoxiana between the two rivers. In the eighth century, Sogdiana was mapped specifically as the area nucleus between two major cities: Samarqand and Bukhara as well as part of the Farghana Valley (Mariko Namba Walter, "Sogdians and Buddhism," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 174 (November, 2006): 3-4). Sogdiana history is a chronicle of enduring suppression by several waves of forceful neighboring empires, from the Achaeminid Persians to the Arab invasion. These dominations triggered the miserable disappearance of the linguistic and cultural Sogdian in the eighth century (Walter, "Sogdians and Buddhism," 4). According to the Chinese records, most Sogdian monks coming to China during and after the second century AD with the last name Kang probably were the citizens of Kang-chu, a nomadic people of Central Asia living in north of the Amu-Darya (in present-day Kirghizia) and controlling Sogdiana from the second century BC (Walter, "Sogdians and Buddhism," 5). Kang Seng Hui's Sogdian ancestors originally from Kang-chu had settled in Ziaozhi (Walter, "Sogdians and Buddhism," 23).

[212] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 51.

[213] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese,* 151.

civilizations. His parents passed away when he was in his teens.[214]

Later he became a Buddhist monk, joining a monastic order that must already have been existed in the area. However, shortly afterwards he mourned the deaths of his primary teachers (presumably non-Chinese monks).[215] There is no information about his primary teachers, whom he mentioned couple times with great affection and veneration in his writings; probably they died prior to his journey to the north.[216] Certainly those primary teachers were the three Acaryas, who had transmitted the monastic precepts to him.[217] Also, since there was no information on the whereabouts of the monastery, and since he learned Buddhist Sanskrit texts, Buddhist meditation, and Chinese literature in Jiaozhi, we assume that he lived in an unidentified Buddhist center in Luy Lau, Jiaozhi's then capital. Evidently, in the preface to the "Scripture of Ānāpāna Mindfulness"

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[214] Other nationalities seemed to have already lived in Jiaozhi besides the Chinese. During second century AD, travelers from India and the Roman Orient went to Funan (the region of the lower Mekong), Linyi (Champa), Rinan, and Jiaozhou through maritime route. For instance, Qinlun, a Roman Orient merchant, came to Jiaozhi in 226 AD. A Funan King appointed one of his relatives as an ambassador to India in 243 AD, and this king also sent a delegation to the Wu kingdom a few years earlier. Thus, the literati in Jiaozhi, a buffered region between the Chinese and Indian civilizations, must have been influenced both cultures. Since the onset of the first millennium, Ziaozhi governors and their administrations were effected greatly by their non-Sino culture. For instance, besides Shi Xie (137-266 AD), Zhang Jin, another Ziaozhi governor, probably approached even farther in his non-Sino activity: "He abandoned the norms and teachings of the former Sages and abolished the laws and statues of the Han, and he used to wear a purple turban, to play the lute and to burn incense, and to read heterodox and vulgar religious scriptures; this, he said, contributed to the transforming influence of his government." (Zurcher Erik, The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China (Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J.Brill, 1959), 51).

[215] Prior to the third century AD, an organized Buddhist community in Jiaozhi probably had been existed. Even there is a lack of authentic historical data on the precise date that Buddhism entered Vietnam, the Vietnamese Buddhist historian Le Manh That, in his *Lich Su Phat Giao Viet Nam* ("History of Vietnamese Buddhism"), postulates that Indian Buddhism could have spread to Jiaozhi (Vietnam) even during the third or second century BCE. Probably, Indian Buddhist missionaries arrived in Jiaozhi (modern-day Bac Ninh Province, North Vietnam) as a part of religious missions under King Aśoka's (270-232 BCE) orders to Africa, Central and West Asia, Southeast Asia (Donald L. Baker, *Asian Religions in British Columbia* (Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press, 2010), 142.

[216] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 51.

[217] Every Buddhist school used a similar but distinctive version of the monastic precepts. There is no authentic record about the Buddhist school he followed.

(*Ānāpānasmṛti Sūtra Anpan shouyi jing xu* 安般守意經序), he described:

> Born in a latter age, no sooner was I able to carry firewood than my father and mother passed on, then my Three Teachers withered away. I would look up to the clouds and the sun, sad that there was no one to whom to put questions or from whom to receive instruction. Whenever I thought of it, I shed copious tear."[218] "Since I have mourned my teachers for many years, I could not ask anyone else. I remember the ancient sages with sadness, weeping, melancholy halting the pen, and tears coming out profusely.[219]

Generally, the patriot factor had affected his thought and feeling greatly while he was living a board, southern China, to disseminate Buddhism. This patriot feeling was prolonged to the point that later on after translating and editing the scriptures of "Several previous example scriptures," J*iu za pi yu jing* **舊雜譬喻**經 he frequently wrote down his teachers' commentaries on thirteen out of sixty-five stories with the opening words: "My teachers said that." When he wrote a commentary on the *Breath Scripture*, *the Ānāpānasmṛti Sūtra,* he inquired the advice from Han Lin 韓林 of Nanyang 南陽, Pi Ye 皮業 of Ying Chuan 潁川, and Chen Hui 陳慧 of Kuai Ji 會稽.[220] He still did not forget to add the sentence: "If they are not my teachers' teaching, I would not dare to spread them freely."[221] In other words, Kang Senghui's commentary on the *Breath Sūtra, the Ānāpānasmṛti Sūtra,* actually is the recording of his teachers' explanation, which might have reflected their perspectives about the sūtra. Kang Senghui just followed their stylistic writing of commentary, not the Chinese "dark learning or dark discussion (*xuanxue* **玄學**)" that was prevalent during his day. As a result, the translated scriptures such as the extant *Liu du ji jing* **六度集**經 "Compendium on the Six Perfections" and the

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[218] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese*, 152.
[219] T2145_.55.0046c09-10.**喪師歷載莫由重質。**
[220] Especially, with the elucidation of Chen Hui's writing commentary on the meanings of the Breath Sūtra, Kang Senghui could clarify its meanings effortlessly.
[221] T0602_.15.0163c02-06. **非師所傳不敢自由也**.

Jiu za pi yu jing 舊雜譬喻經 might have not been translated directly from the Sanskrit or his own writing, but they might have included several of his teachers' oral dictations due to his faithfulness to them.

Generally, Kang Senghui had successfully accumulated and inherited the Jiaozhi stylistic learning from his teachers, the Jiaozhi education, and the early Jiaozhi Buddhism prior to his journey to China. Those knowledgeable inheritances assisted him to disseminate Buddhism in southern China, effectively.

Early Buddhist translators in China tended to render and write their commentaries according to the sources that exist within their vernacular language.[222] Later on we will see that in Kang Senghui's translations of the *Liu du ji jing* 六度集經 and the *Jiu za pi yu jing* 舊雜譬喻經, there were several elements of the Jiaozhi's tradition and linguistic influence on these works. Regarding the "Three kind friends Han Lin, Pi Ye, and Chen Hui" mentioned in *Gao Seng Zhuan*, there is no different source mentioning them, except that of Chen Hui. An Shigao's biography in *Gao seng zhuan* has a passage that mentions his prediction: "Respectfully upholding my teaching is the layman Chen Hui. Propagating my *Dhyāna* teaching is the Bhiskhu Kang Senghui."[223] Probably, the "three kind friends: Han Lin, Pi Ye, and Chen Hui" of Kang Senghui came from Nan Yang 南陽, Ying Chuan 潁川, and Kuai Ji 會稽, respectively, to Jiaozhi due to the politic chaos in mainland China. After their arrival in Jiaozhi, they worked with Kang Senghui to write an exegesis for the *Ānāpānasmṛti Sūtra* translated by An Shigao.[224] According some

[222] Mona Baker, *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (London: UK, Routledge, 1998), 473.
[223] T2059_.50.0324a17-18. 。尊吾道者居士陳慧。傳禪經者比丘僧會.
[224] Zurcher cited that these three laymen passed this sūtra to Kang Seng Hui in the middle of the third century (Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 36). However, in Kang Seng Hui's preface to this sūtra, he

scholars, An Shigao left Luoyang around 189 AD and traveled to other places in China such as Jiangnan (south of the Yangzi River), Lushan, Canton, and Kuaiji.[225] "Chen Hui annotated these doctrines and I (Kang Senghui) aided in consultation and revision."[226] In this way, we could explain the doubtful prediction: "Respectfully upholding my teaching is the layman Chen Hui. Propagating my *Dhyāna* teaching is the Bhikshu Kang Senghui."[227] An Shigao went to Luoyang in 148 AD to do the translation work and passed away around 170 AD.[228] Also, Kang Senghui mentions An Shigao in his preface to the *Ānāpānasmṛti Sūtra*:

> There is a bodhisattva who goes by the name of An Qing, whose title is Shigao. He was once heir to the throne of Parthia. After he abdicated in favor of his uncle, he came to this country. He traveled to many places and finally he came to the capital.[229]

The referred capital here is Luoyang, capital of the Han and Wei dynasties, where An Shigao went to live and translate the sūtras around 148 AD, not Jianye, the Wu's capital.

This indicates that Kang Senghui wrote the commentary on the *Ānāpānasmṛti Sūtra* before he went to Jianye in 247 AD, the capital of the Wu Dynasty.[230] It is quite contradictory to both Sengyou's and Huijiao's records: "At the *First Established Temple*,

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mentioned that Chen Hui wrote the commentary, and he edited and polished the text (T0602_.15.0163c05-**竭思譯傳斯經景摸**).

[225] Antonio Forte, *The Hostage An Shigao and his Offspring: an Iranian Family in China* (Kyoto: Istituto Itanliano du Cultura, Scuola di Studi sull' Asia Orientale*,* 1995), 86.

[226] T55n2145_p0043c01(03). 陳慧注義. 余助斟酌.

[227] T2059_.50.0324a17-18. **尊吾道者居士陳慧。傳禪經者比丘僧會**.

[228] Ann Heirman and Stephan Peter, *The Spread of Buddhism* (Leiden, Boston: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2007), 60.

[229] T0602_.15.0163b21-b23. **有菩薩名 安清字世高。安息王嫡后之子。讓國與叔馳避本土。翔而後集遂處京師**.

[230] 247 is the year when Kang Seng Hui went to Jianye (Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese,* 153).

Kang Senghui translated several sūtras."[231]

In summary, as Sengyou and Huijiao mentioned in their writings about Kang Senghui, this Jiaozhi monk had received and inherited a complete Jiaozhi systematic education, including the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, the Six (Confucian) Classics, the Four Books, and was well-versed in astronomy, diagram, divination, geomancy, eloquence, skillful in writing, etc. As a result, he was successful in propagating Buddhism in Southern China.

In addition, there is a record in several books that Kang Senghui was an eldest son of a Sogdianese Prime Minister.[232] There was no need for Kang Senghui to hide his background as a son of a merchant family doing business in Jiaozhi, instead of an eldest son of a Sogdiana Prime Minister, explicitly in his word of "no sooner was I able to carry the wood."[233] The information we have about Kang Senghui's background as a son of a Sogdiana Prime Minister came from the "Record Diagram of the scripture translation in ancient and modern times" *Gujin yi jing tu ji* 古今譯經圖記, which was composed by Jing Mai 靖邁.[234] How did Jing Mai make this claim differently from Sengyou's and Huijiao's record? Kang Senghui's position in Early Chinese Buddhist history is strikingly eminent. In the preface to the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集, Sengyou praised Kang

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[231] T2059_.50.0326a19-20. 會於建初寺譯出衆經.
[232] Tan Chung, *Across the Himalayan Gap: An Indian Quest for Understanding China* (India: Gyan Publishing House, 1st ed., 1998), 186. C.V. Ranganathan, *Panchsheel and the future: perspectives on India-China relations* (New Delhi, India: Institute of Chinese Studies, 2004), 191. Sin-wai Chan, *A chronology of translation in China and the West from the Legendary period to 2004* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2009), 579. Baij Nath Puri mentions incorrectly that Kang Seng Hui was the eldest son of the prime minister of the country of Khan-ku, i.e. Kambo or Ulterior Tibet or Kambojia (B.N. Puri, *Buddhism in Central Asia*, first ed. (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987), 99.
[233] Being a normal civilian, he mentioned the fact that his parents and teachers had passed away when he was in his teenage years that he could have enough strength to carry the wood as other teens do.
[234]古今譯經圖記, 靖邁撰. T2151_.55.0352a26-27. 沙門康僧會。是康居國大承相之長子。世居 印度…

Senghui as one of the two persons who had laid the foundation for Chinese Buddhism:

> In the era of Zhou Dynasty Buddhism began to rise [in India], but was prevented from spreading [to China] by big seas.[235] During the [Former] Han, the wonderful scripture of the Dharma Resemblance Age (saddharma-pratirūpaka) just arrived. The Dharma waited for chances to develop and then it came to be truly there. The Dharma became widespread when An Shigao lectured and translated more scriptures in the end of Han dynasty. At the beginning of the Wei Dynasty, Kang Senghui's commentaries gradually were spread out.[236]

In the *Doubtful Analogy Treatise* 喻疑論, Hui Rui 慧叡 praised Kang Senghui as the one who compiled the scriptures and proclaimed their profound meanings.[237] Huijiao put Kang Senghui equally to An Shigao, Lokakṣema 支婁迦讖, Dharmarakṣa **竺法護**.[238]

In the *Xu Gujin Yi Jing Tu Ji* **續古今譯經圖**紀 and in the *Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu* **開元釋教**録, Zhi Sheng **智昇** mentioned the record of Jing Mai **靖**邁, as well as wall inscriptions about the biographies of the Buddhist translators in China, starting from Kāśyapa Mātaṇga **迦葉摩**騰 to the Tripiṭaka masters of the Tang Dynasty, including Kang Senghui.[239] This could be attributed to the fact that Kang Senghui's status in Early Chinese Buddhism is so imperative that Jing Mai "transformed" Kang Senghui from a Jiaozhi citizen to the son of a prime minister of Sogdian country for the Chinese Buddhists to pay greater respect.

We can also analyze Kang Senghui's elegant and Confucian stylistic

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[235]T2034_.49.0097c2-27: 昔周代覺興而靈津致隔.

[236] T2145_.55.0001a17-19.**漢世像教而妙典方流。法待緣顯信有徵矣。至漢末 安高宣譯轉明。魏初康會注述漸暢**.

[237] T2145_.55.0041b13-14. **康會之徒。撰集諸經宣暢幽旨。**

[238] T2059_.50.0345c05-06. **爰至安清支讖康會竺護等。並異世一時繼踵弘贊。**

[239] T2154_.55.0623-a06-**吳天竺三藏康僧會**譯 拾遺編入單本 T2151_.55.0352a26-27: **沙門康僧會。是康居國大承相之長子。世居印度**."The śramaṇa Kang Senghui was the eldest son of the prime minister of the Sogdian kingdom's prime minister, whose ancestors lived in India for many generations."

autobiography, which mentions the time that he lost his parents and teachers. In the *Quli* 曲禮 *Summary of the Rules of Propriety 3*, page 100/133 of the *Liji Zhengyi* 禮記正義 *Book of Rites*:

> When [someone] asks for the age of an emperor, then [one should] reply: 'I hear that he just wears the cloths with several inches. When [someone] asks about the age of a vassal state's king, if [he] is an elder, then [one] can say that [he] could follow the works of the ancestral temple and a country (taking care of governmental business). When [someone] asks about the age of an official, if [he] is a younger, [one] says that [he] could hold the bridle (working). If he is a younger, [one] says that he could not hold the bridle. When [someone] asks about the age of a scholar's son, if [he] is an older, [one] says that [he] can keep the invitation matter. If he is younger, [one] says that he could not keep the invitation matter. When [someone] asks about the age of a commoner's son, if [he] is an older, [one] says that [he] could carry the wood. If [he] is younger, [one] says that he could not carry the wood.[240]

According to the *Summary of Rules of Propriety*, if the son of the commoner is considered as an older, he can carry the wood. Also, 孔穎達 Kung Ying Da explained that the elder [prince] may handle state affairs. If we hear that he can handle state affairs, we know that he s over fifteen. If we hear that he is not able to preside over state affairs, we know he is not fourteen yet.[241]Therefore, it could be assumed that the age of a commoner's son is at least fifteen or more, if he could carry the wood. Then, Kang Senghui wrote that when he could carry the wood, his parents passed away. Logically, we could conclude that Kang Senghui was at least fifteen years-old. This conclusion is also in accordance with that of Huijiao and Sengyou, but not that of Jing Mai. Namely, there is no need for Kang Senghui to hide his background if he were a son of a Sogdian prime

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[240] http://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=80189&page=101. 中國哲學書電子化計劃 (access, July 10, 2012). 曲禮下: 問天子之年，對曰：「聞之：始服衣若干尺矣。」問國君之年：長，曰能從宗廟社稷之事矣；幼，曰未能從宗廟社稷之事也。問大夫之子：長，曰能御矣；幼，曰未能御也。問士之子：長，曰能典謁矣；幼，曰未能典謁也。問庶人之子：長，曰能負薪矣；幼，曰未能負薪也。

[241] http://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=80189&page=103 (access, July 10, 2012). 長則能主國聞其能主國則知十五以上為長也若聞未能主國則知十四以下是為幼也.

minister, as he mentioned about his parents' passing away when he could carry the wood (as a son of a commoner or a scholar).

After his parents passed away, he went to the monastery to become a monk. The evidence proves that there was a system of monasteries in Jiaozhi during the third century AD. Especially, around the end of the second century in Jiaozhi, *Li Huo Lun* 理惑論 of Mouzi 牟子 complained that Buddhist monks do indeed practice sobriety and asceticism and are not at all profligate.[242] Also, Mouzi 牟子 mentioned that Buddhist monks were supposed to keep 250 precepts and fast every day.[243] In Kang Senghui's biography, when Sun Hao asked to see the "Buddhist monk's precepts," Kang Senghui took one hundred thirty-five vows in the *Sūtra on the Original Karma* 本業, and he divided them into two hundred and fifty matters to show to Sun Hao.[244] Hence, it is obvious that in Jiaozhi, Kang Senghui had received a full monastic ordination when he was at least twenty years old from his three masters, whom had passed away prior to his trip to Jianye, China.[245]

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[242] Mouzi, Keenan, 120. *Li Huo Lun* 理惑論 written by Mouzi 牟子 at the end of the second century AD in Ziaozhi, the highly Sinicized Buddhism or a mixture of Indian-Chinese Buddhist philosophy, was a famous apologetic treatise (Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 13, 51, 52). I hypothesize that *Li Hou Lun* was written probably after the third century AD, and it was influenced by Kang Seng Hui's thought. For further argument about this matter, please see part 3.2.5: "Was Kang Senghui one of the early Buddhist apologetics in China in the light of the reappraisal of his role on Mouzi's *Li Huo Lun*?"

[243] Keenan, *How master Mou,* 61. A Buddhist apologetic work existed at the end of second AD.

[244] T50n2059_p0326a14(09). *Sūtra of Primary Activities Ben ye jing* 本業, See *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 菩薩本業經(T 281-p0446b26), translated by Zhi Quan. Extensive information from the Pusa benye jing were added word by word into the apocryphal *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 菩薩瓔珞本業經 (T1485), and numerous plagiarized words have been identified in the Daoist *Lingbao* 靈 scriptures too (Jan Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations: Texts from the Eastern Han and Three Kingdoms Periods," Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophic Buddhica, edited by Hiroshi Kanno, International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University (2008): 138).

[245] In Theravāda tradition, one should be at least twenty years-old to be fully ordained as a monk (John E. Knodel, Aphichat Chamratrithirong, and Nibhon Debavalya, *Thailand's Reproductive Revolution: Rapid Fertility Decline in a Third-World Setting* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 100. In Mahāyāna tradition, to take the full ordination one also should be twenty years old (Thich Thien An, *Buddhism and Zen in Vietnam in relation to the development of Buddhism in Asia,* ed. Carol Smith (Los Angeles: College of Oriental School, 1975), 278.

There is no way for Kang Senghui to receive his full ordination in southern China, since: "At that time, [the people of] the Wu country just saw śramaṇa 沙門, they looked at the śramaṇas' appearance, but they had not understood the Way [Buddhism].[246] As a result, "they doubted that [the monks] acted out in the unusual manner."[247] This excerpt indicates that there was no appearance of Buddhist monks in the area prior to Kang Senghui's appearance in Jianye.

Hence, Kang Senghui must have received the full ordination in Jiaozhi. A formal Buddhist ordination requires three masters and seven monastic witnesses 三師**七**證 to transmit the monkhood precepts to the preceptees.[248] These evidences thoroughly support that the Buddhist monastic community had existed in Jiaozhi prior to Kang Senghui's journey to China.

Moreover, his three masters probably must have passed away shortly after his ordination: "I born in the period of the latter vestiges of the doctrine, had just begun to be able 'to carry the firewood' when I suffered bereavement through the loss of my parents and the death of my three masters." He lamented further: "When reverently, I gazed upward at a sun veiled in clouds, I grieved that I could not question and receive instruction from them. When, loving their words, I longingly looked back to them,

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[246] śramaṇa (Ch. 沙門, 桑門; 娑門; 喪門; 沙門那; 舍羅磨拏; **沙迦懣曇**; 室摩那拏, 舍囉摩拏; Skt. śrāmaṇaka, śrāmaṇya, śrāmaṇera, pravrajita; Pāli *samaṇa*; Tib. *dge sbyong*) is a title of a spiritual cultivator working for liberation. Initially, *śramaṇa* was a broad title in India for someone who had shaved the head, renounced secular position and possessions, and disciplined the body and mind to do wholesome deeds and restrain unwholesome deeds. It formerly described the non-Buddhist cultivators such as the Jains, who found their spiritual paths on the Vedas and Upanishads. http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=**沙門** (accessed, January 18, 2011). T50n2059_p0325b08(06)‖時吳國以初見沙門。睹形未及其道.

[247] T2059_.50.0325b07-08:。**疑爲矯異。**

[248] Huaiyu Chen, *The Revival of Buddhist Monasticism in Medieval China* (New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2007), 112.

involuntarily I felt my tears start."[249] So, then it bore down the question of who are his three masters that he respected so much in his writings? In his preface to the *Anpan shouyi jing*, Kang Senghui wrote:

> Kang Seng Hui meets with these three worthies, Han Lin of Nanyang, Pi Ye of Yingchuan, and Chen Hui of Kuaiji.[250]

Around 220 AD because of the chaos after the downfall of the Han, the historical documents about Luoyang Buddhist community of An Shigao were hard to acquire.[251] That explains why from 190 to 220 AD, the *Ānāpānasmṛti* Sūtra (安般守意**經** *Anban shouyi jing*) had been long forgotten until Kang Senghui's meeting of Han Lin, Wen Ye, and Chen Hui, who shared the sūtra's literal exegesis to him. According to Arthur's view, since Kang Senghui was a monastic, and those who passed on the *Anpan shouyi* exegesis to him were Chinese laymen, possibly he would not refer to any one of them as his "master." As the matter of fact, he just referred to them as "the three worthies." Hence, Arthur and Tang Yongtong articulate that "master" here designates only one person, An Shigao. This is of the greatest significance since it means that these notes mark the authority of the first Buddhist translator in China.[252]

Also, in the biography of An Shigao, Huijiao mentioned about An Shigao's

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[249] Arthur E. Link, "Evidence for doctrinal continuity of Han Buddhism from the second through the fourth centuries: The prefaces to An Shigao's Grand Sūtra on Mindfulness of The Respiration and Kang Seng Hui's Introduction to 'The Perfection of Dhyāna'" In *Papers in Honor of Professor Woodbridge Bingham: A Festschrift for his Seventy-fifth Birthday*, ed. James B. Parsons (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center (1976), 79.

[250] T0602_.15.0163c02-03: **會見南陽**韓林潁川皮業會稽陳慧。此三賢者.

[251] In 190 AD Dong Zhuo razed Luoyang (Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 64). The religious activities of An Shigao in Luoyang prior to 150 AD marked the establishment of "organized monastic Buddhism" (Jason Neelis, *Early Buddhist Transmission and Trade Networks: Mobility and Exchange within and beyond the Northewstern Borderlands of South Asia* (Brill Academic Publishers, Inc., 2010), 305).

[252] Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 64; Tang Yongtong, *Han Wei Liang Jin Nanbeichao Fojiao Shi* (1983) 1:136.

prediction: "Respectfully uphold my teaching is the layman Chen Hui 陳慧. The person who spreads my meditation teaching is the bhikṣu Kang Senghui."[253] This statement is the only direct one that connects An Shigao and Kang Senghui.[254]

Dr. Le Manh That postulates that Kang Senghui was either a direct or indirect student of Mouzi.[255] However, I strongly reject this hypothesis because of several reasons found in section 3.4, "Was he one of the first Buddhist apologetics in China in the light of the reappraisal of his role on Mouzi's *Li Huo Lun*?"

Kang Senghui certainly knew Sanskrit, and he is said to have excelled in his great knowledge of the Tripiṭaka. He was also "widely read in the Six (Confucian) Classics, and well-versed in astronomy, diagram, and apocryphal," which implies that he had obtained a Chinese literary education, and the truth of this statement is amply borne out by the nature of his stylistic writings.[256] Besides being an enthusiastic student and practitioner of Buddhism, Kang Senghui had a prophetic and magical skill and the stylistic education of the then-Chinese literati. Thus, he was eminently suitable as an evangelist in the Wu area, where the belief in magicians and soothsayers was popular.[257] Evidently, in the extreme Southern China, a hybrid Buddhist form strongly influenced by Chinese culture had already developed. Also, there existed some interactions between foreign clergy and the Chinese cultured minority in that region.[258] In short, we may not know Kang Senghui's direct teachers, but we recognize that Kang Senghui must have

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[253] T50n2059_p0324a17-18. 尊吾道者居士陳慧。傳禪經者比丘僧會.
[254] An Shigao was an active translator between 148-168 AD (Andrew Glass and Mark Allon, *Four Gandhari Samyuktagama sūtras: Senior Kharosthi fragment 5*, GBT, vol. 4 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 29).
[255] Le, *Tong Tap Van Hoc Phat Giao*, 303-308.
[256] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 51-52.
[257] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese*, 152.
[258] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 51-52.

learned directly from Indian Buddhism, imported via maritime route, in Jiaozhi prior to his journey to Jianye in 247.

In conclusion, regarding Kang Senghui's parent, his father was a Sogdian business man and did business in Jiaozhi. His teachers were presumably non-Chinese monks. Since there was no information on the whereabouts of the monastery in which he studied Sanskrit Buddhist sūtras, learned classical Chinese literature, and practiced meditation, we assume that he lived in a Buddhist center in Luy Lau 贏𨋍, Jiaozhou's capital at the time. Prior to his trip to China, Kang Senghui possibly wrote his commentary on the *Ānāpānasmṛti Sūtra* sometime between 220 and 230 AD. Perhaps he translated the *Liu du ji jing* 六度集經 and the *Jiu za pi yu jing* 舊雜譬喻經 in Jiaozhi, because several elements of the Jiaozhi's tradition and linguistic influence are incorporated into these works. Kang Senghui knew Sanskrit, had great knowledge of the Tripiṭaka and the Six (Confucian) Classics, was well-versed in astronomy, diagram, and apocryphal, and had a prophetic and magical skill, and the stylistic education of the then Chinese literati to suit as an evangelist in the Wu area.

3.2 Kang Senghui's life and activities in Southern China.

3.2.1 Religious background during the period of the Three Kingdoms (220-265/280 AD).

Toward the middle of the second century AD, the Han Empire had gradually collapsed with a fragile central government due to the bloody fighting among the factions and cliques, among court eunuchs and the literati, as well as the growing independence of provincial governors. In 184 AD under Daoist pretext, the Yellow Turban Rebellion 黃巾

之亂 almost destroyed the entire Han Empire. The brutal suppression of this uprising and the military involvement at court against the accomplice of the eunuchs and their puppet emperor signified the initiated time of rampant warlord and political anarchy.

In the North, Cao Cao (155-220 AD) gradually became a supreme warlord and "guardian of the State," but he deceased prior to his final accomplishment, the unification of the entire Northern China. His son, Cao Pi 曹丕, ousted the last Han emperor and proclaimed himself as the first emperor of the Wei Dynasty (220-265 AD). Cao Cao and Cao Pi struggled to build a centralized bureaucratic state to dominate all political powers. However, this dictatorial Wei rulers were overthrown by the great Sima 司馬 clan to establish the Jin Dynasty 晉 (265-420 AD).[259]

In Wuchang, behind the formidable Yangzi River, Sun Quan directly clashed with the Wei kingdom since 222 AD. He declared himself as an emperor of the Wu Dynasty, and relocated his capital to Jianye (Nanjing 南京). Thirty years later this new capital grew into the center of the Chinese exiled government and the principal nucleus of Chinese culture after the demise of the Wu and the occupation of the Xiongnu 匈奴 armies in the north, as well as the exodus of the imperial court members and elites to the south.[260]

Spiritually, the Cao clan had doubtful attitude toward immortals. They had soften policies toward the newly arisen Daoist religion and even had marital relations with the Heavenly Master Zhang (Zhang Tian Shi, 張 天 師). Yet, they applied oppressive policy toward the traditional shamanism. For example, seeing the devotion of King Jing of

[259] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 43-44.
[260] Ibid., 45.

Chengyang 城陽景王 (Liu Zhang 劉章) as the shamanic scheme that involved or even directed the Late Han rebellions, the Cao clan executed a decree to outlaw any form of King Jing worship or shamanistic movement and penalized participants. As a result, the Cao clan was described as "believers in Dao who opposed shamanism."[261]

In western China, Liu Bei 劉備 (161-223 AD), a Han descendant, had established his kingdom in Shu 蜀, the present-day Sichuan 四川, and declared as a Shu-Han 蜀漢 emperor in 220 AD. While there is no Buddhist record within the Shu kingdom, a popular Dao-Buddhist spiritual form might have flourished and reached to Gansu 甘肅 and Shu regions. For instance, the oldest extant Buddhist icons in old tombs in Leshan 樂山 and Pengshan County 彭山縣 of Sichuan were discovered and presumably made around the third century AD. They significantly prove that Buddhism was existed in Shu region at the end of the Latter Han 後漢 and the Three Kingdoms Periods. Buddhism might have been transmitted from Dunhuang 敦煌 to Sichuan 四川 since there was a route connecting these two locations. At the time, in Sichuan the Daoist celestial master (*tien shi* 天 師) assimilated Buddhism, a vigorous movement, in a moderate scale. The *Chu sanzang jiji* 2 mentioned about the Chinese version of "Śūraṅgama Scripture of Shu," accepted by the Chinese, and was disseminated by Chinese monks in an area in which Daoism was popular and well rooted.[262]

In the Jiangnan 江南 region, the Wu kings believed and supported shamanism. Sun Quan (r. 222-252) granted the title to the cult of Jiang Ziwen 蔣子文, a "vengeful

[261] Lagerwey, *Early Chinese Religions*, 279.
[262] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese,* 118, 119.

ghost" that revenged and prevented the catastrophes, and built a celestial sanctuary to "greatly aid the House of Sun." Furthermore, at the end of Sun Quan's life, he had a shaman come to examine the cause of his illness. Sun Liang 孫亮, second emperor of Wu (r. 252-258), seemingly intended to employ shamanistic techniques to assassinate his successor, Emperor Jing (Sun Xiu 孫休 (r.258-264 AD)). However, Sun Xiu did not inquire the matter deeply and simply expelled Sun Liang 孫亮 to a marquisate, where Sun Liang committed suicide en route. Sun Xiu 孫休, the third Wu emperor, got help from shamans when he was sick. The last emperor of the Wu, Sun Hao 孫皓 (r. 264-280), trusted fervently in shamans. He gave a title "Stone-seal third gentleman" to a shaman to reinforce his authority. In another case, Sun Hao did not dare to demote Empress Tang due to his shamanic belief and because the grand astrologer advised that the astrological calendar did not allow the change. Due to his belief in divination, Sun Hao almost relocated his capital from Jienyan back to Wuchang after he ordered a shaman examining his deceased father's activities and possession. In his personal affairs, Sun Hao regularly consulted with Shamans because of their power to "see." After the unification of China, the Sima kings 司馬 (365-420 AD) and their empresses and concubines still believed in shamanism.[263]

As a follower of Confucianism, an influential political ideal of the Later Han, the early Wei implemented the strict religious policy of completely outlawing all prevalent sacrificial rites excluded in the Confucian sacrificial canons.[264] Specifically, before Cao Cao became the prime minister (宰相 zaixiang) of Ji'nan 濟南 politically, he first won

[263] Lagerwey, *Early Chinese Religions*, 279-283.
[264] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese,* 119.

the credit of quelling the Yellow Turbans 黃巾之亂, a widespread and large rebelation that had emerged in 184 AD. In dealing with the corrupted officials in more than "Ten hsien" under his jurisdiction, he dismissed eight serious corrupted officials. With the intolerant policy toward the "lewd" (yinsi 淫祀) popular rituals, he destroyed those shrines and firmly prohibited all non-Confucian sacrifices, widely prevalence among the court officials and common people at the time. When Cao Cao proclaimed himself as the Wei emperor, he continuously prohibited the "lewd sacrifices" throughout the empire. Personally, Cao Cao had unpleasant experiences with the uprising of the magician Zhang Jue 張角 and the Yellow Turbans through his involvement in the suppression of Zhang Lu 張魯, lord of the Daoist kingdom that had controlled the Shu region. By perceiving and suppression of the political threat from the sylphical and magical Daoists, Cao Cao would prevent the Daoist followers' resistance and maintain his support on the "Confucian official learning."[265]

In fact, the "Confucian official learning" had dominated the former and later Han court over a prolonged duration of time as it was the only path to the mandarin success. As the thoughts and expression of the literati were dictated by the Confucian classics, there was no free will to examine and create independent patterns of thought. Further, young scholars were not motivated in scholastic exegesis because they had to memorize a fixed set of Confucian classics. As a result, the young scholars in the Wei region gradually moved away from the declined, withered, and stagnated "Confucian official learning."[266]

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[265] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese,* 120, 121.
[266] Ibid., 126.

Actually, since the traditional Confucian learning had lost its hope of revival, the young scholars advocated the freedom of thought and expression through the "new Confucianism" or *xuanxue* (dark learning), extracting from the Laozi and Zhuangzi philosophy. This new trend of liberal thought and learning intellectually had paved the way for the acceptance of Buddhism, a foreign religion.[267]

The new expressions of Wang Bi 王弼 (226-249 AD) and He Yan 何晏 (executed with his whole family in 249 AD) antagonized the Confucian classics; they emerged through the medium of the Daoist ideas of Laozi and Zhuangzi; they revealed "Wu 無" as the source of the myriad forms, the basis of the Way; they considered the Sage (聖 sheng) as an elucidation and embodiment "no-ado" Way of things, which are "naturally just as they are" (*wu wei zi ran shi dao* 無為自然是道). This concept was expounded afterward by the above two radical thinkers, who even died at early ages, had marked their legacy of a new trend that later was developed into a primary thinking in the intellectual world of the Wei 魏 and the Jin 晉 regions. Based on this movement, other intellectuals jointly known as the "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove" *zhulin qi xian* 竹林七賢 advocated the naturalist ideas while rejecting the Confucian political doctrines. These liberated intellectuals left the "Confucian official learning" and took an interest in the foreign Buddhist texts that philosophical approaches were similar to those of Laozi and Zhuangzi. In fact, through the channel of Lao-Zhuang philosophy, many Chinese intellectuals gradually had the inclination to understand Buddhist theory, especially the

[267] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese,* 119, 120.

new translation of *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa* of the *Prajñāpāramitā* scriptures.[268]

Also, the metaphysical thought and symposium that initiated during *Zhengshi* times 正始 (240-248 AD) quite unexpectedly reached popular zenith through the adding "Canon of Changes" to Laozi and Zhuangzi, which adopted greatly the "Wu 無" doctrine through "dark learning (*xuanxue* 玄學)" and "dark discussion (*xuanlun* 玄論)." This movement gradually grew into a learning approach among the literati, the governmental and social holders. The honor for "dark learning" and "dark discussion" put sufficient foundation for the Chinese to learn Buddhist doctrine, i.e. the Prajñāpāramitā philosophy, and the acceptance of Nāgārjuna's school of thought among the Chinese literati.[269]

According to the Chinese indigenous belief, the Yellow Emperor and Laozi are considered as the superhuman immortal sylphs, who could grant people the blessing and prevent catastrophes through praying and sacrificing.[270] Similarly, endowed with a mysterious power to confer blessings and avert misfortune due to his available psychic power to provide the blessing and to thwart the disaster, the Buddha was seen as a golden sylph like Laozi and the Yellow Emperor.[271]

Actually, during those time, Buddhist intellectuals reevaluated how the Buddha was considered as one of Chinese superhuman sylphs besides Yellow Emperor and Laozi, and in which the saṅgha were revered as adepts and pronouncers of incantations. Particularly, this became an occasion for the "new Confucianists," who, while being Confucianists, were interested in the doctrines of Laozi and Zhuangzi as a system of

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[268] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese,* 127, 128.
[269] Ibid., 132, 133.
[270] Ibid., 132.
[271] Kenneth W. Morgan, ed., *Path of the Buddha: Buddhism Interpreted by Buddhists* (New York, NY: The Ronald Press Company, 1956), 229.

thought, to separate the latter from the sylphic and magical elements that had become associated with them under the Later Han and to propagate a Daoist learning based on naturalism and rationalism as the philosophy, the political science, the ethic of Laozi and Zhuangzi. Thus, the time was feasible for the recognition of the radical position of the *Lunheng* 論衡, the famous work of Wang Chong 王充 (27-100 AD), which levels criticism against the Latter Han scholarship in particularly. Concurently, the popular "Daoistic Buddhism" occasionally merged with and vied with the Daoism of the *tian shi* (celestial master) variety that had thoroughly permeated Chinese society as a popular religion. It had golden icons and many non-Daoist tiered stūpas and had taken root among the populace with such religious ceremonies as the burning of incense, the chanting of scripture, and the pronouncement of charms.[272]

Evidently, the earliest indigenous Chinese form of Buddhism is a cultural mix from its very beginning through the joint worship of the Buddha, the Yellow Emperor, and Laozi of the Buddho-Daoist integration. Particularly, the Duke Ying of Chu, the younger brother of Emperor Ming (r. 58-75 AD), is believed to have chanted incantations to the Yellow Emperor and performed services for the Buddha. Emperor Huan in 65 AD had set up an altar in the palace, where he offered sacrifices to the Buddha and Laozi. Iconographically, Buddhist images in the earliest Buddhist stages were compatible with depictions of traditional Chinese deities, i.e., the Queen Mother of the West 西王母 *Xiwangmu*, the Lord King of the East 東王公 *Dongwang Gong*, the Yellow Emperor 皇

[272] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese*, 121, 122.

帝 *Huangdi*, and the God of Agriculture 神農 *Shen Nong*.[273]

The mutual integration and joining of the traditions gave rise to the particularities of Daoist sculpture, showing Laozi on par with the Buddha as the highest venerable of the Daoist religion. Worshiping the Yellow Emperor and the Buddha side-by-side since the Later Han Dynasty, Laozi and his ideas represented an important gateway for Buddhism into Chinese culture. Even central notions, such as Buddha, Bodhi, Nirvāṇa, were translated first with the help of terms from the *Dao De Jing* 道德經. Both the identification of the ideas of the *Dao De Jing* with Buddhist doctrines and that of Laozi contributed greatly to the specific Chinese understanding of Buddhism. The Buddha, accepted into Chinese culture, thus was divinized and popularized along the same lines as the deified Laozi, just as the mutual interchange between the beliefs produced the unique flavor of medieval Chinese religion.[274]

In addition, in the era of a large-scale disappearance of the classical texts of the "official learning" Confucianism, the Buddhist scriptures unofficially were translated into Chinese during the Later Han. Actually, they were respected by devout Buddhists as Holy Scriptures, and they were preserved by the Buddhists of Wei and Jin.[275]

The early Wei's policy of suppressing the magicians and shamans from the public function and the discontinuation of popular shrine worship had a ripple affect on the Buddhist community which saw the opportunity to adjust and develop its own path.[276]

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[273] Livia Kohn and Michael LaFargue, ed., *Laozi and the Dao Te Jing* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 78, 79.
[274] Kohn, *Dao Te Jing*, 79, 80.
[275] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese,* 133.
[276] According to the Chu grandee Guan Shefu (fl. 515-489 BC), shamans are the oldest type of religious specialist in China. But at the latest by the period of the *Warring States*, the political and social status of shamans went into a gradual decline. During the Han times, the shamans gradually lost the leading role in

Specifically, during the *Zhengshi* era 正始 (240-248 AD) the emergence of two young scholars, Wang Bi and He Yan, who stood against the monopolistic authority of the Confucianists, had triggered the appealing ideas of freedom of study and thought of such thinkers as Laozi and Zhuangzi that developed in the direction of a movement for the liberation of man, which swept the whole learning world of Wei and Jin before it. Thus, the new development of Buddhism arose from the favorable conditions to grow in and around the Wei capital, Luoyang, under the rule of the Cao clan, even in a period of social turmoil and decay.[277]

Also, under the stabilization of the early Wei and its extensive friendship with many Central Asian kingdoms such as Da Yue Zhi 大月氏, Kharashahr, Khotan, etc., Buddhist monasteries were established in Luoyang to host clergy and lay foreign translators from these countries. In Central Asia the Kaniska reign of the Kushan empire supported the Buddhist Hīnayāna, while in India Nāgārjuna and his student, Deva, systemized and propagated the Mahāyāna philosophy that was based on the early Mahāyāna scriptures such as the *Prajñāpāramitā* corpus, the *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa*, etc. Both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna teachings entered China easily due to the friendly relationship between the Wei and the Kushan Empire. As mentioned above, the trigger of the young scholars Wang Bi and He Yan against the rigid Confucianism had influenced the learned community of the Wei, which had prepared itself ideologically to receive

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state sacrifices due to the attack of Confucian officialdom from the time of Han Wudi (r. 140-87 BC) on. Officials constricted their popular activities, and intellectuals looked down on them. Legally, they ceased to be considered "good people." When Daoism arose and Buddhism entered China in the first century AD, shamans also gradually lost their privilege advantageous status in popular religion and had to compete with Daoism and Buddhism for adherents. After Han times, the strength of shamans in the Chinese religious market grew proportionately weaker as both Daoism and Buddhism grew daily stronger. However, shamanism and its belief, whatever its relationship to other religions, did not disappear from Chinese society (Lagerwey, *Early Chinese Religions*, 276, 277).

[277] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese,* 122, 123.

Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna doctrines.[278]

Generally, from the end of Han time to the third century AD, Buddhism in the Wei Dynasty during this time seems to have been a period of dormant. The earliest bibliographers, i.e. Dao An 道安 (312–385 AD) and Sengyou, did not list any names of translators or works translated during this period.[279] The *Gao seng zhuan* 高僧傳 and the later catalogues described about a few foreign masters: the Indian Dharmakala, the Sogdian Kang Sengkai 康僧鎧, the two Parthian monks Tandi 曇諦 and An Faxian 安法賢 (?Dharmabhadra).[280] All of them arrived in or shortly after 250 AD at Luoyang, which at that time still must have been the stronghold of Buddhism in the North. Only a few translations of minor importance are attributed to them. The only notable fact which probably has more than strictly philological significance is the sudden appearance of several treatises on monastic discipline that mark the beginning of the introduction of the Vinaya in a written form into China. At that time within the Buddhist community at Luoyang, there was a need for a stricter and more detailed formulation of the rules for the religious life. In 250 AD Dharmakala translated a version of the *Prātimokṣa Mahāsāṃghika*, *Sengqi Jieben* 僧祇戒本.Shortly afterwards, Kang Sengkai translated the *Karmavācana* of the *Dharmaguptaka* School, *Tanwude Lubu Zajiemo* 曇無德律部雜羯磨.[281]

In the north, there is no reliable evidence of any contact between the Buddhist

[278] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese,* 123-126.
[279] This is the only aspect of early Chinese Buddhism that has sufficient information (Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 55).
[280] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 55.
[281] Ibid., 56.

Church at Luoyang and the cultural upper classes. The existing translations of this period show no traces of the influence of the Chinese literary tradition. Not a single allusion to the existence of Buddhism has so far been found in the works of the great philosophers, poets and prose-writers of the Wei. Later Buddhist literature contains some allusions to the existence of contact between Buddhism and the imperial family of the Wei. However, none of them sound convincing: the letter of Cao Cao in which he is said to have spoken about the Buddhist faith; the creator of Buddhist hymns *(fanbai* 梵唄, or *zan* 贊), Cao Zhi 曹植(192-232 AD, the fourth son of Cao Cao);[282] and the erection of a large Buddhist temple at Luoyang by emperor Ming of Wei (227-240 AD).[283]

Two societies coexisted with one another in China, the elite-born and educated minority (*Shi* 仕) and the ignorant, impoverished or untitled majority. The Buddhist religion was also divided into two Buddhisms, the philosophic Buddhism of the intellectuals, the elite Buddhism of the chosen few, and the Daoistic Buddhism of the common people, a Buddhist-Daoist hodgepodge. These two groups continued to spread

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[282] One record cites a letter of Cao Cao, written in reply to the scholar Kong Rong in late second century); in this letter, he was believed to have discussed about Buddhism. The contents of this letter are unknown, because it did not appear in Buddhist corpus such as the *Hongming Ji*. Also, it was not cited in Buddhist apologetic literature even though it seemly existed around the fifth century, when it is mentioned for the first time. According to this perspective, Cao Cao's letter should possibly be considered as the forgeries, apocrypha and false products (Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 56). According to this record, Cao Zhi was an enthusiastic Buddhist and the creator of Buddhist hymns. In his later life, he went to Mount Yu in Shang Dong Province, where he was inspired by the singing of heavenly voices. He composed more than three hundred verses of Buddhist hymns, but only 42 have been extant (Kumar, *History of Sino-Indian,* 78). However, this record of Cao Zhi as the first creator of the Buddhist hymns *(fanbai*) is obviously apocryphal. Caozhi, who is known to have shared his father's skeptical attitude towards the practices of Daoist masters, was certainly not the man to be deeply interested in Buddhism during the period that it was still closely affiliated with Daoism. Ms. Whitaker wrote a recent article about the earliest form of the legend that was found in a fifth century collection of tales of marvels, the *Yiyuan* by Liu Jingshu; this is definitely the Daoist source. The earliest known Buddhist version (being discovered in Yiyuan) but in contradiction to the latter version, is solely a modification of a Daoist story for propagandistic purposes; namely, the name of the famous poet and the king of Chensi was utilized to boost Buddhist reputation (Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 56).

[283] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 57.

independently but overlapping of each other.[284]

The new Buddhist development during the Han-Wei was engendered social-political and intellectual-cultural crises. During Wei-Jin of the North-South dynasties (220-581 AD), Buddhism, considered as a foreign religion, first flooded into the interior of China. This was a period of rapid expansion of Buddhism. Not only did foreign monks come from India, Parthia, Tokharia, and Sogdiana, some even came from such faraway places as Sri Lanka and the ancient kingdoms of Southeast Asia.[285]

3.2.2 Prominent Buddhists prior to the appearance of Kang Senghui in southern China.

The Chinese rulers and the aristocracy were primarily the first individuals to embrace Buddhism in early time. This phenomenon indirectly indicates that Buddhism was introduced by the governmental officials but not diffused freely among the common people. In fact, the Eastern Han court showed its acceptance to Buddhism in the early time due to its consideration of Buddhism as if the Huang-Lao tradition. Therefore, Buddhism received an important greenlight for its existence in China. Toward the end of the Eastern Han, Buddhism had expanded its influences outside the imperial court.[286] According to the "Account of Western Regions" of the "History of the Later Han" *Hou Han Shu* 後 漢書, Emperor Huan (r. 147-167 AD), a believer in spirits, used to offer sacrifices to Buddha and Laozi. At first, common people seldom worshiped, but later they practiced it popularly. During the Eastern Han, the Huang-Lao tradition and prophetic-

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[284] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese*, 133.
[285] Jiyu Ren, Jiwen Du, and Dahua Cai, *Buddhist Studies in the People's Republic of China, 1990-1991*, ed. Michael Saso (Honolulu : Tendai Education Foundation: University of Hawaii Press, 1992), 36, 37.
[286] Lagerwey, *Early Chinese Religion*s, 204.

apocryphal mysticism were prevalent. The Prince Liu Ying of Chu Dynasty (d. 71 AD) was a typical follower of Huang-Lao: "He embraced it even more in his late years, and even learned how to fast and offer sacrifices to Buddha." Emperor Ming of the Han extolled Liu Ying for "recitation of the subtle words of Huang-Lao and promotion of the Buddhist cult of humanity." Emperor Huan, another typical Huang-Lao follower, not only sent palace attendant-in-ordinary (zhongchangshi) Guan Ba to Ku for offerring sacrifice to Laozi, but also started the Huang-Lao and Buddha cults in the imperial palace.[287]

During the Three Kingdoms Period (220-280 AD), imperial courts' attitudes to Buddhism were more sophisticated. Religious uprisings at the end of the Han showed an important example for the three imperial courts. Especially, the Wei and Wu recognized the important connection between religion and politics.

The Cao-Wei court acknowledged the seriousness of political challenges of religions. Regarding Buddhism, the Cao-Wei court utilized the Han approaches by not allowing its citizens to joins the Buddhist monastic order. Yet, foreign monks were not banned by that law. Thus, during this period, foreign and ethnic clergies were in charge of their spiritual activities, such as translating the scriptures and building Buddhist temples and stūpas in Luoyang region.[288] During the Three Kingdoms period, Buddhist clergies frequently performed miracles to win the trust of the rulers. Nevertheless, the Cao-Wei neither outlawed nor promoted Buddhism, and they sometimes even had a doubtful attitude. Consequently, Buddhism could not grow smoothly in that region at that time.

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[287] Lagerwey, *Early Chinese Religion*s, 205.
[288] Ibid., 206-208.

The Eastern Wu kings had different attitudes towards Daoism. Sun Ce (175-200 AD) even executed a great peace Daoist, Yu Ji from Langya, and justified his order and showed his determination not to allow Daoist armed upheavals.[289] Moreover, Sun Quan (r.222-252 AD) believed in immortality and detested court ministers who did not share his beliefs. In his late years, Sun Quan had more interest in immortality, and Daoism flourished during his reign.[290] According to a document, Sun Quan built a twin-stūpa monastery in the *Jianchang Lesi* monastery 建昌樂寺 in Wuchang 武昌 in the first year of Huangwu era 黃武 (222 AD) of Sun Quan era, but this record is doubtful.[291] Namely, prior to the appearances of Zhi Qian and Kang Senghui, no official record about Sun Quan having contact with the Buddhist missionary ever exists in this region.

During the Three Kingdoms period, Southern China region offered a fertile cultural ground for active foreign Buddhist monks to translate the Buddhist texts and propagate the new tradition. Also, the southern region was more peaceful than that of the northern parts where various kingdoms frequently battled against each other. Thus, in this southern peaceful region, Zhi Qian and Kang Senghui laid the foundation for the development of Buddhism in China.[292]

Prior to Kang Senghui's emergence in Jianye, a devout lay Buddhist, Zhi Qian, studied Buddhist doctrine by reorganzing An Shigao's translations of the scriptures. Zhi Qian involved in translation and of evangelist works. He came to southern China from Luoyang in early Wu reign, worked actively, and had direct connections with the Wu

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[289] Sun Ce killed Yu Ji or Gan Ji out of the concern about the influence of this Daoist master on his military officers (Fabrizio Pregadio, *The Encylopedia of Taoism* A-Z, vol. 1 & 2 (Routedge, 2008), 433).
[290] Lagerwey, *Early Chinese Religions*, 208-209.
[291] Ibid., 645. T2035_.49.0331b25: 黃初元年吳主孫權於武昌建昌樂寺.
[292] Walter, "Sogdians and Buddhism," 23.

Dynasty.[293] According to Huijiao's "Biography of the monks," the upāsikā Zhi Qian 支謙, aka. Gong Ming 恭明, was called as Yue 越. Originally, as a citizen the Yuezhi 月支, he went to China.[294]

During Emperor Huan 桓 (r.147-167 AD) period, Zhi Chen 支讖 translated various *sūtra*s.[295] Zhi Liang 支亮, aka. Ji Ming 紀明, received private teaching from Zhi Chen 支讖. Moreover, Zhi Qian 支謙 studied under Zhi Liang 支亮. Zhi Qian had broadened views on the Buddhist text 經籍 due to his vigilant scrutiny all of their rudiments. He mostly excelled in the worldly skill, art, and craft, including the deep study of various literatures, as well as being fluent in six countries' languages. Physically, he was a skinny, tall, and black person with yellow eyes. The contemporary people commented that inspire of having a weak physical appearance, the gentleman Zhi Qian had yellow pupils that represent the symbol of wisdom. Due to the revolt at the end of Han Xian Di 漢獻帝 (181-234 AD), he escaped from Luoyang to the Wu 吳 region. Knowing Zhi Qian's scholastic talent and wisdom, Sun Quan 孫權 summoned him to the

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[293] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese,* 153.

[294] As one of the greatest translators in early Chinese Buddhism, Zhi Qian was a Buddhist layman, a Yuezhi native, came to Luoyang at the end of the second century AD, and later emigrated to Southern China during the turmoil period of the Late Han. (Lagerwey, *Early Chinese Religions*, 744). Yuezhi or Indo-Scyth were ancient people who controlled Bactria and part of India from 128 BC to 450 AD. Chinese sources first referred to the Yuezhi in early second century BCE as nomadic people settling in Gansu Province. When Lao Shang (r.. 174–161 BC), warlord of the Xiongnu (powerful normadic people in Northern China), conquered Yuezhi and killed its warlord, the Yuezhi people migrated to Sogdiana and Bactria. They and their related tribes are the Asi (Asiani) and Tocharians (Tochari) in western regions. In 128 BCE, the Great Yuezhi built their kingdom in Bactria, north of the Oxus River (Any Darya). The Dayuan (Tocharians) conquered the Sogdiana. The Yuezhi people settled in Gansu were called Little Yuezhi. *Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Encyclopædia Britannica, 2011. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/654618/Yuezhi> (accessed, Jan. 18, 2011).

[295] Zhichen 支讖, or Zhi Loujiachen 支婁迦讖, or *Lokakṣema* (c.150 CE) was a Kushan native and an energetic translator in Luoyang at the end of the second century AD (Richard Foltz, *Religions of the Silk Road: Overland Trade and Cultural Exchange from Antiquity to the Fifteenth Century* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 50).

court and assigned him to serve as an assistant tutor of the crown prince. Together with Wei Yao 韋曜 and others, Zhi Qian enthusiastically supported Sun Quan's imperial court. Nonetheless, since Zhi Qian was a foreigner, the *Wu Annals* 吳志 did not record anything about him. Since Zhi Qian had exceptional skill in the Chinese language, he collected many Sanskrit scriptures and translated them into Chinese. From 222 AD to 252 AD he translated forty-nine *sūtra*s such as *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sūtra* (*We mo jing* 維摩經), *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* (*Da Bo Nie Pan Jing* 大般涅槃经), *Dhammapada Sutta* (*Fa Ju Jing* 法句經), the *Sūtra of the Original Arisen of the Felicitous Omen* (*Rui Ying Ben Qi Jing* 瑞應本起經), and others.[296] Coupling with his insightful comprehension the holy scriptures and his refined style in writing and expression, he used *The Infinite Life Sūtra* (*Wu Liang Shou Jing* 無量壽經) as a foundation to write the three Bodhi Sanskrit hymns *fanbai* 梵唄, the commentary of the *Sūtra of Understanding the Root of Birth and Death* (*Liao Ben Sheng Si Jing* 了本生死經), and others.[297] In short, as a lay practitioner and translator, Zhi Qian had assisted significantly the dissemination of Buddhism in southern China. Nonetheless, since his jobs were limited to the scriptural translation and tutoring the crown prince, these works did not have much impact on the imperial court and the local people. Nevertheless, he had paved the way for Kang Senghui to promulgate Buddhism in that region, especially the establishment of a Buddhist monastic community,

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[296] *Ruiying benqi jing* *瑞應本起*經, or in full title of the *Buddha Speaks the Sūtra of the Original Story of the Prince Felicitous Omen Taizi ruiying benqi jing* 太子瑞應本起經, 2 fasc., K 775, T 185, Zhi Qian, translated between the 2nd year of Huangwu 黃武 and the 2nd year of Jianxing 建興, Wu Dynasty 吳 (223-253 AD). Its translation has different title 過去現在因果經 "A biography of the Buddha beginning with his previous life in which he vowed to attain enlightenment." http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=%E5%A4%AA%E5%AD%90%E7%91%9E%E6%87%89%E6%9C%AC%E8%B5%B7%E7%B6%93 (accessed, January 18, 2011).

[297] T50n2059_p0325a18-p0325b04.

a solid foundation for future propagation of Buddhism. In fact, as a monk dedicated follow the monastic code and a person obliged to spread the tradition, Kang Senghui went from Jiaozhi to Jianye to propagate the new religion. In deed, he was resoluted to build a Buddhist monastery as a solid base to train the indigenous people, spiritually.

3.2.3 Was Kang Senghui one of the early monks who created a new tradition of worshiping Buddha's relic in China?

3.2.3.1 Worshiping Buddha's relic background in India.

In early time, Buddha was not worshipped in human form, but rather, only through symbols. The symbol of Wheel of Law signified the First Sermon of the Buddha at Deer Park in Banaras. In some cases, the symbol of stone-pedestal, or altar (*āsana*), was related with two deer bending before it. In other instances, the stone platform below the Bodhi Tree denoted the awakening of the Buddha in Bodh-Gaya of Bihar state, India. The symbol of the stūpa means the decease of the Buddha. These forms of Buddha-worship were prevailing up to the reign of Emperor Aśoka, who initiated the relic worship practice, in the third and second centuries BC.[298]

Early Indian Buddhist pilgrimage engaged in two types of relic worships that devoted to the personality of the Buddha. Early Buddhist relic worship primarily related to the physical remains of the Buddha's "bodily relic" (Śarīra, Dhātu) and the funereal tombstones (caitya or stūpa) that probably preserve these relics. The secondary type associated with sacred items and locations that had direct interaction with the Buddha during his lifetime, including his robes, alm bowl, footprints, the places where he

[298] Promsak Jermsawatdi, *Thai Art with Indian Influences* (New Delhi, India: Abhinav Publications, 1979), 22.

contemplated or dwelted in, etc.[299]

Regarding the construction of Buddhist stūpas or caityas, religious memorials, it carried some ancient link with Vedic funeral practices. *The Śatapatha- brāhmaṇa* 13.8.1-4 gives detailed instructions on how to construct a burial tomb, *Śmaśāna*. However, from the documentary evidence, it is still vague aout the person and the situations that tomb was built. Its validation from archeological sites still continue undecided.[300] According to the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang 玄奘 in seven century AD, the Buddha described the appropriate method for building a relic memorial to the lay followers, Tapassu and Bhallika. They constructed a stūpa containing the Buddha's hair and nail relics. *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta* also explains the method related with the entombment of a *cakkavattin*, a "Wheel-turning" universal monarch.[301]

André Bareau convincingly debates that relationship between the Buddha and a cakravartin king does not begin in earliest Buddhist sectarians, but it reveals the later belief to highlight the Buddha's excellence by honoring him as a universal monarch. He contends that it is centered on the rituals of a largely non-Aryan personality linked with the rulers of Magadha.[302]

The Mahāsāṃghika, an early Buddhist denominational community, plainly differentiated the stūpa and the caitya. A Bareau decodes and insists that the caitya was a monument without relics meant to recollect crucial occurrences in the Buddha's life, i.e.

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[299] Tom Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn: Pilgrimage and the Tibetan Reinvention of Buddhist India* (Chicago: Univeristy of Chicago Press, 2008), 20.
[300] Kevin Trainor, *Relics, Ritual, and Representation in Buddhism: Rematerializing the Sri Lankan Theravāda tradition* (Cambridge, UK; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 32.
[301] The common idea of a universal monarch has been existed in south Asia since the Vedic time. Especially, a ruler with a supreme power was called as *saraji*; the word "cakravartin" is first found in the Maitrayana Upanisad contains the word "cakravartin," existed since the fifth or fourth century BC (Trainor, *Relics, Ritual*, 33).
[302] Trainor, *Relics, Ritual*, 33, 34.

the birth, enlightenment, the first teaching, and final Nirvāṇa. On the other hand, the stūpa shelved the Buddha's physical remains, the relics.[303]

Paul Mus disputes the operational continuousness between the Brahmanic sacrifice centered on the agnicayana and the veneration of the Buddha focused on the stūpa and its relics.[304] Mus claims that the stūpa functions as an object of mediation, "Mesocosm," between human realm and nirvanic realm.[305] The stūpa characterizes the Buddha's physical body passing away in parinirvāṇa, a lived physique of the master's earthly relics existed for the believers' worshipping. Mus argues that the expression and real appearance of the Buddha's continuous extant on earth through the practice of relic veneration come from magical beliefs commonly widespread in Asia. He disputes that these practices were similar to the Brahmanic ritual sacrifice focused on the agnicayana.[306]

While current scholars cannot make any consistent historical conclusion on the position of the monastic community in the initial occurrence of the relic veneration, some confirmations can elucidate that relic reverence was a vital part spiritually of lay and monastic Buddhists by the Aśokan era.[307]

Gregory Schopen and Kevin Trainor have persuasively validated that donative inscriptions from Sanci and Bharhut in eastern India, and rock-cut monasteries from

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[303] Trainor, *Relics, Ritual*, 34, 35. Stūpa, a Sanskrit word, is rendered as a "*knot or tuft of hair*," i.e., the head crown, crest top, summit, etc. In *Rigveda,* Stūpa signifies tree's trunk *(*Diwas Dhakal, *Nepalese Culture, Society, and Tourism* (Kathmandu: M. Dhakal, 2000), 30).

[304] Agnicayana is "The piling of the fire {-altar}," (W.J. Johnson, *A Dictionary of Hinduism*, Oxford University Press. 2009).

[305] "Mesocosm," obviously talks about people and their sensory ailities (Wuketits, Franz M. Concepts and Approaches in Evolutionary Epistemology: Towards as … p.87).

[306] Trainor, *Relics, Ritual,* 38. Agnicayana is a Vedic fire ritual (Harco Willems, *The Coffins of Heqata: (Cairo JdE 36418): a Case Study of Egyptian Funerary* (Leuven: Utgevenji en Department Orientalistiek, 1996), 8.

[307] Trainor, *Relics, Ritual*, 65.

western India reveal that many monastic Buddhists venerated stūpas and relics probably since the end of the second century BC.[308]

Faure writes, “In theory, Buddhism recognizes only two levels: the absolute (characterized by the absence of individual nature), and the relative (the world of egocentric illusion).” Nonetheless, lineage attachment, memorial belief, sacred and magical relics, and various idolatrous literatures proliferate in Buddhism. Veneration for insignia, i.e., the “Dharma robe,” teeth, and hair clippings of the Buddha, and his “heavenly” tooth or finger echoed the prevalent conviction in the mythical powers of relics to safeguard the country, guarantee abounding harvests, and even amend karma, reassure one of Buddhahood, and assist one to be reborn in the Pure Land or Tuṣita Heaven. Faure writes, “The cult of relics is one of the basic components of Buddhism, in India as in the rest of Buddhist Asia.”[309]

Schopen continously claims that clearly a Buddhist conception of relics as "living entities," stūpas, were regularly viewed as "legal persons," that there was a "functional equivalence of the relic and the living Buddha," and that these evidences clarify why, as archaeological survey confirms, it was deemed imperitively to bury funerary relics adjacent to stūpas.[310]

According to the Buddhist records, the Buddha admonished monks to seek for mental liberation instead of concerning about how to honor his body (relics). However, Ananda askeed Buddha purposely how the Buddhists handle his relics

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[308] Tansen Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade: The Realignment of Sino-Indian Relations 600-1400* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2003), 59.
[309] Jerry S Piven, “Buddhism, Death, and the Feminine,” *Psychoanalytic Review,* 90, 4 (Aug 2003): 499-500.
[310] Gregory Schopen, “Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India,” reviewed by Arnold Dan, Philosophy East and West, vol. 50, no. 4 (October, 2000): 622.

properly after his death. Buddha responded that they should care for and respect his body as same as that of a *Cakkavattin.* When Ananda pressed the matters further, the Buddha laid out clearly how his body should be arranged. He affixed that a stūpa should be built for preserving his relics after cremation.[311] Afterward, the Buddha passed away because of an unknown illness after taking the last meal from Cunda's offering.[312]

The Pāli *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta* defines the imperative reasons for the consevartive Theravāda account of the geneses of relic veneration. This manuscript provides the detailed accounts the final weeks of the Buddha's life. It essentially offers a straight canonical guarantee for the performance of preserving and honoring the Buddha's relics as well as clearly support for Buddhist pilgrimage.[313]

The *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta* relates the story of the division of the Buddha's physical relics, his funereal vase, and remains from the funerary fire, into eight parts. After the relic distributions, ten stūpas were built to keep them and where people could come to pay homage.

Specifically, the Mallas of Kusinagar, Ajatasatru of Magadha, the Licchavis of Vaisali, the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, the Mallas of Pava, the Bulakas of Calakalpa, the Kraudyas of Ramagrama, and the Brahmins of Viṣṇudvīpa claimed their share of the

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[311] Jonathan A. *Silk, Body Language, Indic Śarīra and Sheli in the Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra and Saddharmapundarika* (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies of The International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies, 2006), 265.

[312] *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta* ("Discourse on the Great Deceased"). Thomas S N Chen and Peter S Y Chen offer a postulation that the Buddha died because of consuming contaminated pork, which had the pig-bel disease, a necrotizing enteritis caused by the toxins of Clostridium perfringens contagion (Thomas S N Chen and Peter S Y Chen, "The death of Buddha: a medical enquiry," *Journal of Medical Biography*, 13, 2 (May 2005): 100.

[313] Trainor, *Relics, Ritual*, 46. For further information about the date of this text, see "The canonical warrant: relic veneration in the Mahaparinibbana sutta" of the book "Relics, Ritual, and Representation in Buddhism: Rematerializing the Sri Lankan Theravāda Tradition."

Buddha's relics. To settle the conflicts, all groups accepted the Brahmin Droṇa as a mediator to divide the relics into eight equal portions. Each portion would then be brought back to the local king's country to be venerated in a stūpa. After completing the distribution, Droṇa was allowed to keep the vase (kumbha) that he scaled the relics. The Moriyā of Pipphalivaniyā appealed a share of the relics, but they came after the distribution. Thus, they received the remains of the funerary fire and enshrined them in a stūpa.[314] Among these stūpas, only that of Śākyas has been found. However, numerous Indian texts state that Aśoka opened seven out of the eight stūpas and acquired the relics.[315]

King of Udyana, Uttarasena, arrived late to Kusinagar to request an allotment of Buddha's relics due to the Buddha's promise, and he was then granted a share. Xuangzang noted that because of this act, other kings begrudged Uttarasena. In different story, after all eight kings consented Droṇa's act of relic division, the god Indra and three Nāga kings approaced and claimed the share of relics. Thus, Droṇa had to reconsider and settled the problems by convincing everyone to approve and divide the new relic divisions into three parts: one for the gods, one for the Nagas, and one for humans.[316]

The *Commentary on the Digha Nikāya* records the story that when Ajatasatru brought back in Magadha the portion of relics for enshrinement, he ordered to clean up

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[314] Toni Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn: Pilgrimage & the Tibetan Reinvention of Buddhist India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 20. Bryan Cuevas and Jacqueline Flyse*, The Buddhist Dead: Practices, Discourse, Representations* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 46, 47. Mallika, a consort of Bandhula and a princess of the Kusinara's Malla king, paid homage to the Buddha's relics with considerable amounts of fragances, garlands and valuable mahalata ornament named mahalata. As a result, after her death, Mallika was reborn with yellow ornaments in the Tavatimsa heaven (Bimala Churn Law, *Buddhist Women* (India: The Indian Antiquary, 1928), 87).

[315] T.W. Rhys Davids, "Aśoka and the Buddha-Relics," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1901): 397-399.

[316] Bryan Cuevas and Jacqueline I. Stone, *The Buddhist Dead: Practices, Discourses, Representations* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'I Press, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 20, 2007), 47.

the road, two hundred miles from Kusinagar to the capital Rajagrha. He commanded to set up altars all along the route for people to offer the flowers to the Buddha's relics carried in a golden casket. Because it was a very slow process, the relics had not reached Rajagrha after more than seven years. Due to the criticism of the non-believers, the monks persuaded Ajatasatru in bringing the relics directly to the city, where he quickly enshrined them in a stūpa. The manuscript infers the similar situations regarding the other relic portions, Droṇa's gauging vase, and the pyre's remains.[317]

In the Pāli texts' descriptions, the bodily relics of the Buddha were totally burnt by the fire. "Skin, under skin, flesh, sinew, joint-fluid," etc., were completely blazed up, causing not even a deposit of ashes remained, except the relics (Śarīrani). Buddhaghosa's description of them as similar as "jasmine buds, washed pearls, and nuggets of gold, and as coming in three sizes (as big as mustard seeds, broken grains of rice, and split green peas)," It implies that something less bony than skeleton or teeth may be remained there. Teeth and other identifiable bones of the Buddha became essential relics. For the bony relics, they have been transformed and looked like the shiny beads or gem-like relic-grains that are normally decorated in East Asian Buddhism. These transformations, stated by the Buddha, signify his final transcendental stage beyond death and rebirth.[318]

Literal and archeological confirmations disclose the relic veneration taking an imperative part in the dissemination and geographical expansion of Buddhism. These evidences imply that Aśoka reign in India during the third century BCE marked a significant pivot point in that expanded progression.[319]

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[317] Cuevas, *The Buddhist Dead,* 48, 49.
[318] Ibid., 45.
[319] Trainor, *Relics, Ritual,* 39.

The *Aśoka*vádana records Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism by Samudra, a youngful arhat, who told the king about the Buddha's prediction. Namely, the king would allocate the Buddha's relics widely, and build 84,000 stūpas to preserve them. As recorded by early tradition, Aśoka gathered the relics from seven of the eight primary stūpas, which were constructed to preserve the Buddha's relics and erected the 84,000 different stūpas in a single day.[320] Obviously, the earliest informative evidence of the Buddhist tradition having a direct connection with the worship of relic veneration suggests that this type of practice had existed prior to Aśoka reign.

The proximate association between the support for the Buddhist sasana and the construction of stūpas undoubtedly materializes from Aśoka legend.[321] The pilgrimage accounts and the existed evidences of Mauryan stūpa erection offer substantial validation for the long-lasting popular belief of Aśoka as stūpa creator. Even if the cumulative evidence may fail to reinforce the legend that Aśoka built thousands of stūpas, it nevertheless provides the credibility that he was a serious lay Buddhist, who showed his spiritual dedication through stūpa veneration.[322]

The Buddhist clergy and lay people have been worshipping the Buddha's relics as a significant aspect of dedicational observance since the death of the Buddha and his bodily cremation (probably around 483 B.C.). When Emperor Aśoka (269-232 B.C.) accepted Buddhism, he errected numerous stūpas throughout India and kept small portions of relics extracting from the original eight stūpas that contained the Buddha's

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[320] Trainor, *Relics, Ritual,* 40.
[321] Sasana means "instruction, admonition, message, or order" (Carter, John R. *On Understanding Buddhist Essays on Theravāda Tradition* (New York: State University of New York, 1993), 13).
[322] Trainor, *Relics, Ritual,* 45.

relics apparently after his cremation.[323]

Rhys Davids concluded his examination about Aśoka's dedication on the Buddha's relics that most early Buddhist writings do not refer to the unlocking of stūpas. Quite after Aśoka reign, this performance was first noticed in Buddhist texts.[324] There is not much useful evidences that Aśoka did really unlock seven of the eight early stūpas.[325] Essentially, the number of 84,000 stūpas supposed to be built by Aśoka is the Buddhist mythical number.[326]

3.2.3.2 Worshipping Buddha's relic background in China

The Chinese Buddhists strived to establish a direct connection to Śākyamuni Buddha through the worshipping of his statues and relics besides being supported by the foreign clergy in forming the monastic community and translating the Buddhist texts. The reverence of Buddhist relics in China constituted numerous purposes, including: forming merit-creating deeds, encouraging material transactions, proliferating the construction of memorial monuments, and promoting the formation of political relations between the court and the monastic community. Essentially, the Buddha's bodily remains or things personally related to him, i.e., his relics, his utensils, and objects constructed in honoring

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[323] Karel Werner, "The Place of Relic Worship in Buddhism: An Unresolved Controversy?" *International Journal of Buddhist Thought & Culture*, vol. 12 (February 2009): 8.
[324] This is a debatable issue and a confused passage (Davids, "Aśoka and the Buddha-Relics," 409).
[325] The original eighth stūpa at Ramagama actually was untouched. According to a Buddhist manuscript, this site can be recognized within a few miles from Rajagaha to Lumbini pillars (Davids, "Aśoka and the Buddha-Relics," 410).
[326] This implies a viable source of the legend. According to Buddhist phraseologyin Four Nikāya s, 84,000 represents a limitless number (Davids, "Aśoka and the Buddha-Relics," 410). The Chinese pilgrims provided us the early history of these stūpas. An inscription apparently was inscribed by Aśoka's decrees. It may provide or could offer the support to Aśoka legend (Davids, "Aśoka and the Buddha-Relics," 410). One should be cautioned with the Chinese note of Indian chronicle. It may not be the same even when a Chinese text has the same title as that of the Sanskrit or Pāli (Davids, "Aśoka and the Buddha-Relics," 410).

him, offered Chinese Buddhists the chance to have a direct physical contact with those sacred objects. They bond the temporal and spatial disparity between the adherents and the locations and periods of their religious forefather. Specifically, they could support the formation of Buddhist world in a foreign land.[327]

Initially, stūpas and relics are directly correlated, but in China that recognition of the two was comparatively late. The veneration of stūpas seemed much earlier than relic worship. Toward the end of Han Empire, the stūpa (*futu* 浮屠) had already emerged. Thus, most monastic communities regardless of the localitywere positioned around stūpas. Some followers concentrated their devotion on the stūpa or *futu*. However, it is challenging to pin point if the stūpa veneration related to the relic worship.[328]

The finding of Buddhist relics and sacred images in China going back to the Zhou Dynasty (1000-256 BCE) validate "the early existence of Buddhism on Chinese soil." China has plenty of sacred places that the believers could identity them at the right moments.[329]

Per discussion, after the Buddha's nirvāṇa, relics and stūpas turned out to be the essential emphasis of religious zeal. Relics possibly appeared in China during early time, but it was not a sacred oject of admiration until after the six century AD.[330]

Buddha's bodily relics are powerfully related with the imperial courts since their appearances in China. Since many Chinese emperors were charmed by them, their obsession with these relics induced them to devote the highest veneration to these

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[327] Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade,* 57.
[328] Lagerwey, *Early Chinese Religions*, 1108.
[329] Ibid., 1361.
[330] Ibid., 1107. According to Chinese sources, nineteen "monasteries of the King Aśoka" were constructed in the country (Chen, *Revival of Buddhist Monasticism,* 61).

magical entities. As a result, not many of them sensed the need to inquire the times and ways how these relics came to the country. Apparently, they accepted any available version about these mystic relics. Thus, these sacred relics remained to attract the Chinese imperial authorities.[331]

The biography of Kang Senghui contains one of the earliest accounts of the appearance of Buddha's relics in China.[332] *Chu Sanzang Ji Ji* puts that as early as during the Wu kingdom (222-280 AD), the Chinese started to know of Aśoka's story erecting 84,000 stūpas.[333]

The Famen monastery **法門寺**, in the western part of ancient capital Chang'an 長**安** (Xi' an 西**安**, in Shaanxi Province 陝**西省**), was well-known throughout medieval times as the hosting place of the Buddha's precious finger-bone relic. According to the legend, Emperor Aśoka (r.273-232 BCE) offered it as a gift, and he requested to build the Famen Si temple for enshrining this sacred treasure. Regardless the legend, not much of the orginal information of either the monastery or its relic is available.[334]

The first relic tooth listed in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* sūtra that went to Indra's heaven became the most sacred recognition in China, especially its connection to Daoxuan **道宣**(596-677 AD), the patriarch of the Chinese Vinaya School. He seemingly

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[331] Huang Chi-chiang, "Consecrating the Buddha: Legend, Lore, and History of the Imperial Relic-Veneration Ritual in the Tang State*," Zhonghua fo xue xue bao* 中華佛學學報第 11 (1998): 486.
[332] John Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 32.
[333] Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade,* 60.
[334] Robert Sharf, "The Buddha's Finger Bones at Famen-si and the Art of Chinese Esoteric Buddhism," *Art Bulletin* 93, no.1 (2011): 1, 2. Famen temple was built during the period of Emperor Huan (r.147-167) and Emperor Ling (168-189).

obtained this sacred tooth during a nightly visitation from an Indra divinity.[335]

The Chinese Buddhists intuitively viewed as followings. First, since China being a part of Jambudvipa, it had belonged to Aśoka's empire previously, and consequently it had followed Buddhism under this king. Second, if being carefully investigated the land of China, it might have some remnants of the Buddhist golden age, i.e., the remains of the stūpas or even the sacred relics. According to some records, there was an "Aśoka monastery" at Pengcheng 彭城, the capital of the kingdom of Chu 楚 and one of the earliest Chinese Buddhist centers during first century AD. This monastery might have been established by Liu Ying, king of Chu. Surely, this name infers that it was constructed at the stūpa's ancient site during Aśoka's time.[336]

The earliest account of the relic discovery dates from the fifth century. Also Chinese sources mention additional nineteen relics being uncovered in the fourth and fifth centuries. In southern China there were more discoveries of relics during the sixth century.[337] Wei Shou 魏收 (506-572 AD) composed the *Wei Shu* 魏書, the earliest chronological record regarding Aśoka legend and the Buddha's relics. Wei Shou mentions that Emperor Aśoka induced his deific supremacy to separate the Buddha's relics. By his command, invisible spirits constructed 84,000 stūpas everywhere around the world within a day. Wei Shou cited four 阿育王 A You Wang (Aśoka) temples housing Buddha's relics in different locations. His agreement to the legend shows his

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[335] John Strong, *Relics of the Buddha* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 187. According to the Pāli texts, Indra stole the Buddha's tooth relic from Droṇa's turban (Strong, *Relics of the Buddha,* 187).
[336] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 277.
[337] Mark Edward Lewis, *China's Cosmopolitan Empire: The Tang State* (Cambridge, MA: Bellknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 220. Archeological works have discovered nineteen sacred places including numerous stūpas' bases, ancient sculptures with or without inscriptions as well as the Buddha relics dated from the fourth century AD (Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 277).

recognition of the supernatural chararteristic of the relics.[338]

An account relates to Emperor Ming of the Wei 魏明帝 (r.227-239 AD) who attempted to demolish a temple in imperial palace. A foreign monk put *Śarīra* 佛舍利 into a golden alms bowl filled with water and positioned it in front of the palace. When the relics emitted magnificent five-color lights, the emperor exclaimed that since it was a divine object, it was so magnificent. Afterward, the emperor relocated the sanctuary to the eastern part of the court and enclosed it with several towers.[339] Several incidents in association with the auspicious function of the relics had been recorded by the later Buddhist literatures such as that of Huijiao 慧皎 (540-550 AD). Among these accounts, a well-known story related to Liu Sahe 劉薩訶, who was one of the first group of Chinese monks to find Buddha's relics in China.[340]

3.2.3.3. Kang Senghui's praying and obtaining Buddha's relics and won the support of the Wu emperor.

In principle both monastics and lay people could find relics However, according to Daoxuan's sources, in early Chinese Buddhism at first only enlightened monks found relics and reported their discoveries, and later the ordinary monks could find them too. Only monastic members having privilege to access and obtain the relics indicates a superior system instituted by monks over the lay followers.[341] Nonetheless, lay devotees

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[338] Huang, "Consecrating the Buddha," 487.
[339] Ibid., 488.
[340] The writers of the *Liang shu* 梁書 and Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667 AD) embraced the story about *Liu Sa-he* in their works with credential (Huijiao, *Gao seng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Beijing: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1992, punctuated edition), 477-479).
[341] Chen, *Revival of Buddhist Monasticism,* 63.

could acquire the relics through their sincere devotion and prayer. However, the authenticity of the relics was verified only by the monastic clergy. For instance, Emperor Sui Wendi 隋文帝 (r.581-604 AD) deliberately followed the model of the great Emperor Aśoka, a well-known monastic supporter in India. Thus, Emperor Sui Wendi provided financial support for the monastic constructions all over China and ordered continuous prayers at those Buddhist centers. About one hundred-twenty new Buddhist monasteries were built in his new Chang-an capital. When the emperor was sixty years old in 601 AD, he openly followed Aśoka's prototype and ordered to build stūpas for Buddhist relics throughout the empire.[342] Spiritually, due to the Sui emperor's merits of receiving the Bodhisattva precepts, distributing relics, and building stūpas and monasteries, he and his royal members found nineteen relics at the imperial court. This story of Emperor Sui Wen illustrated that relics manifested themselves in response to sincere prayer, meditation, recitation of sūtras, and so on.[343]

Moreover, from a Buddhist perspective, since relics symbolized the Buddha's transcendental present, they were superior to any physical form. Although Chinese Buddhists were able to reproduce or create Buddha's image in painting and sculpture, only relics were indestructible and could be passed down from generation to generation. Although images, sculptures, and scriptures have their sacred functions, comparatively relics were more powerful in preserving Buddha's teachings because of their indestructible nature. Buddhist relics were unique in comparison with other religions. For instance, Chinese could also produce images and sculptures of their great sages and sage-

[342] Valenrie Hansen and Kenneth Curtis, *Voyages in World History*, vol.1 (Boston, MA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning, 2010), 225.
[343] Chen, *Revival of Buddhist Monasticism,* 63, 64.

kings, but they could not make their sages' and sage-kings' relics. In early times, Chinese sages and sage-kings including three emperors, five kings, the kings of Xia 夏帝, Shang Dynasty and Zhou Dynasty, Confucius, Laozi, and Zhuangzi, were all respected and venerated. However, after their death, their bodies were buried underground and would be forgotten.[344] On the other hand, Buddha's relics and his shadows did not perish, and they were bestowed to later generations. Only Buddha's virtue can be passed down through his relics. Conversely, without the transmission of relics, the virtue of Chinese sage and sage-kings cannot be transmitted to the later generations.[345]

Presently supported by modern scholarship, the Chinese Buddhists view the relics as the Buddha himself, not merely symbolizing him. According to Daoxuan, the Buddha himself spiritualy involved in the creation of Chinese-style monasteries that possess his relics. The emergence and widespread of Buddha's relics in China implied that Chinese Buddhists could connect with the Buddha directly without going to visit the sacred sites in northwest India. Appearing in the form of relics, Buddha then became easily accessible to common monks, nuns, and lay people in China. Chinese Buddhists could receive immediate spiritual help and benefits from Buddha by going to visit his relics at the temples. The architectural design was then associated with Buddhist doctrine (i.e. the relationship between Buddha and Saṅgha, the Buddhist community). Thus, the center of a monastery always held the relics, either the stūpa or the Buddha Hall. Also, the Buddha in the form of his relics became the symbolic sacred object that connected most Chinese

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[344] Three Sovereigns 三皇 *Sānhuáng* Fuxi (伏羲), Nüwa (女媧), Shennong (神農), Suiren(燧人), or even the Yellow Emperor (黃帝): 五帝 Wudi: Yellow Emperor (黃帝), Zhuanxu (顓頊), Emperor Ku (嚳), Emperor Yao (堯), Shun (舜) (W. Scott Morton. Morton, William Scott. Lewis, Charlton M. *China: Its History and Culture* (McGraw-Hill, 2005), 14).

[345] Chen, *Revival of Buddhist Monasticism,* 76-77.

monasteries. Since there was no supreme church and leader governing all monastic communities, Chinese Buddhist society seemed as a network of monasteries linked together by possession and veneration of relics from the same historical Buddha, who remained an indispensable presence within the Chinese Buddhist monastic network.[346]

In the historical account of Chinese Buddhism, the first of the Buddha's relics to appear in the Wu Kingdom in the third century AD was not from the King Aśoka. The mythical appearance of the Buddha relics corresponded to the construction of the first monastery in southern China of the Wu kingdom. There are several accounts about earlier relics and monasteries in China, but they could not identify the origins of those relics or if the monasteries were built to house those relics.

Miraculously, Kang Senghui's Buddha relics emerged in southern China, rather than in Luoyang or other parts of north China, where usually were consided as the centers of Buddhism at that time. Furthermore, this relic was acquired by a Sogdian-Jiaozhi monk, Kang Senghui, rather than a Chinese monk, during the Three Kingdom period in Jianye 建鄴 of Jiang zuo 江左 in 247 AD with the mission of propagating Buddhism in the area.[347]

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[346] Chen, *Revival of Buddhist Monasticism,* 78-79.

[347] Ibid., 63. Jiang zuo 江左 or Jiangdong 江東, is an area on the south of Yangtze River, or the lower reaches of Yangtze River (Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 51). According to other source, Kang Seng Hui went to Jianye during the tenth year of the reign of Chi Wu 赤烏, 238 AD, of the Wu 吳 (Tan Chung, *Across the Himalayan Gap: An Indian Quest for Understanding China* (New Delhi: Gyan Pub. House: Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts, 1998), 186). Jianye 建鄴 is an ancient name for Nanking (*Liu's Chinese-English Dictionary*. Compiled by Liu Dah-Jen, 420). After Kang Seng Hui went to Jianye, in 248 AD Linyi 林邑 invaded parts of Nhat Nam Rinan (日南) and fighting a battle with the Chinese near the Cuu Chan (Jiu Zhen) 九真 border. The Cuu Chan people took the opportunity to revolt under the leadership of a strong dissident, Lady Trieu. Since Jiaozhi people followed the campaign, and they controlled several walled towns. Wu king sent Lu Yin to deal with them through bribery and threats. Following the order, Lu Yin won over three thousand rebel families in Cuu Chan and another fifty thousand families in the south,

According to *Gaosengzhuan*, while Kang Senghui was in Jianye, he encamped and erected a grass and thatch house, displayed the [Buddha] image, and propagated the Way [Buddhism]. At that time, [the people of] the Wu country just saw śramaṇa 沙門, they looked at the śramaṇas' appearance, but they had not understood the Way [Buddhism]. As a result, they were suspicious about the strange manners of [the monks]. The responsible authority 有司 dutifully reported to the emperor: "There were the Western people (*hu ren* 胡人), who entered the country and claimed themselves as śramaṇas. Their appearances and clothes were not usual.[348] These matters should be examined."[349]

Kang Senghui's spiritual practice drew the suspicion from the Wu Dynasty due to his unaccustomed appearance of shaved the head in monkish robes, burning incense, bowing to the Buddhist icons, reciting the scriptures, sitting in meditation, or probably going into the city with his alms-bowl, etc. His practice might have attracted the curiosity and gained the respect from the local people. Contemporary to Kang Senghui's appearance in the Wu area, the belief in spirits and magicians was widespread as recorded in the *Baopuzi* 抱樸子 "Book of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity," 抱朴子內篇 *Bao Pozi Neipan* composed by Ge Hong 葛洪 (283-343 AD).[350] This book records the "Way of Master Li":

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except the Lady Trieu's army. After several months of fighting, Lady Trieu was defeated and killed (Taylor, *Birth of Vietnam*, 89, 90).

[348] Boucher translates *hu ren* 胡人 as people in the west (of China). During the Tang period, *Hu ren* 胡人 could imply Indian, Central Asian such as Iranians, Arabs, and others from the Mediterranean world (Daniel Boucher, "On Hu and Fan Again: the Transmission of 'Barbarian' Manuscripts to China," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies,* vol. 23, no 1 (2000): 21.)

[349] T50n2059_p0325b09- p0325b10. 有胡人入境。自稱沙門。容服非恒。事應檢察.

[350] William Theodore De bary, Irene Bloom, and Wing-tsit Chan, *Sources of Chinese tradition*, vol. 1 (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1999), 399.

> At the time of the Great Emperor of the Wu (Sun Quan), there was in Shu an aged cave-dwelling practitioner named Li A 李阿, commonly called 'My Lord Eight Hundred Years,' who, for his ability to explain good and ill fortune to men, gained many adherents. Then there came to Wu a person named Li K'uan, who announced in the dialect of Shu that he could cure illness by pronouncing charms. The people of Wu, believing that Li K'uan was none other than Li A, place their faith in him, calling him 'Eight Hundred Li' 八百歲公. Such was his popularity that 'from princes on down there were none who did not gather like clouds at his gate,' and 'among clerks and common folk, shirking their obligations, those who submitted to him as disciples were always close to a thousand in number.[351]

Sun Quan was a believer of Chinese indigenous religion. In *Wu Record*, book eighteen, there were stories of Wu Fan 吳范 and Zhao Da 趙達. Wu Fan's nickname was Wan Ze 文則, and he was born in Kuaiji 會稽, Shangyu county 上虞 in Shaoxing **紹興**, Zhejiang **浙江**. Since he knew arithmetic and astrology, he was well-known in the area. His acts adherently followed proper principles. When he went to the Wu capital, it was chaos [in wartime]. When Sun Quan launched [his army] in the southeast, Wu Fan made a commitment to serve [the emperor]. Whenever there was any calamity or auspicious sign, he immediately made several predictions, which were mostly accurate. Thus, being trusted by Sun Quan, Wu Fan 吳范 was promoted as *Commandant of Cavalry* **騎都尉** and *Prefect Grand Astrologer* 太史令. Because Sun Quan attempted but failed to learn Wu Fan's secrecy technique in several occassions, Sun Quan kept the resentment toward Wu Fan. The *Wu Record* wrote: "Wu Fan personally calculated [the benefit] for himself. So, he valued his secret techniques pretty much. If he ever loses his secret power, then his body would be discarded too. As a result, he did not reveal to Sun Quan."[352]

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[351] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese*, 154.

[352] 吳書, 吳範劉惇趙達傳第十八:…吳范字文則， 會稽上虞人也。 以治歷數， 知風氣， 聞於郡中。 舉有道, 詣京都， 世亂不行。 會孫權起於東南， 範委身服事， 每有災祥， 輒推數言狀， 其

Also, Zhao Da 趙達, a native of Henan 河南 province, studied under the guidance of the Han Palace Attendant 漢侍中 Shan Fu 單甫 during his youth. He had thoughtful and profound views of life. He crossed the river to take refuge in the southern kingdom. His response and inquiry of life as fast as the spirit. Not only could he count the flying locusts, but he was also adept in shooting the hidden out [animal] effectively. Whenver Sun Quan was ready to bring his army for expedition, he asked Zhao Da to make the plan for the path. [Sun Quan was successful] in every expedition because he followed Zhao Da's advice. When Sun Quan made the inquiry about the method [of knowing the military expedition's path], Zhao Da eventually did not reveal. As a result, Zhao Da was ill-treated, and he could not be promoted to higher official rank.[353]

Hence, in the situation of a widespread belief in spirits and magicians, especially emperor Sun Quan, at first Kang Senghui's unaccustomed appearance in the Wu area drew more suspicion from the Wu Dynasty than the indigious belief. Later Sun Quan 孫權 told his officials:

> Previously Han Ming Di **漢明帝** (28-75 AD) dreamed of a supernatural being, who addressed himself as Buddha. Could it be that the worshiping of those people were the descendent custom of that religion?[354]

Afterward, Sun Quan 孫權 summoned Kang Senghui to question: "What kind of auspicious response does [your religion] have?"[355] Kang Senghui replied: "The Thus Come One has passed away which was promptly already thousand years. However, he

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術多效， 遂以顯名 …權以範為騎都尉， 領太史令， 數從訪問 欲知其決。 範祕惜其術， 不以至要語權。 權由是恨之。 吳錄曰： 範獨心計， 所以見重者術，術亡則身棄矣， 故終不言.

[353] 吳書, 吳範劉惇趙達傳第十八:..趙達， 河南人也。 少從漢侍中單甫受學，用思精密， 謂東 南有王者氣， 可以避難， 故脫身渡江… 是以能應機立成， 對問若神， 至計飛蝗， 射隱伏， 無不中效. 初孫權行師征伐， 每令達有所推步， 皆如其言。 權問其法， 達終不語， 由此見薄， 祿位不至.

[354] T2059_.50.0325b10-11: **權曰。昔漢明帝夢神號稱爲佛。彼之所事豈非其遺風耶**

[355] T2059_.50.0325b11-12: **即召會詰問。有何靈驗。**

left behind His bone relics (*śarīra*), which were glorious and supernatural without comparison.[356] Formerly, the king Aśoka erected eighty-four thousand pagodas, to build the pagoda and monasteries were considered as the representation of that religion."[357]

Since Sun Quan 孫權 took Kang Senghui's explanation as boasting and exaggeration, he told Kang Senghui: "If you can obtain the *śarīra*, then I will erect the pagoda. If it is a false claim, the country has the regulation of punishment." Then, Kang Senghui requested seven days [to obtain *śarīra*].[358]

The story of the Emperor Ming's quest for the Dharma, that was put into Sun Quan's mouth, is probably just a popular tale, which was circulated during the Jin or Sung times (i.e. sometime in the first half of the fifth century). If Sun Quan really did utter these words, the story of Emperor Ming's quest for the Dharma in response to a dream in Latter Han times was then current in Sun Quan's day.[359] When Sun Quan summoned Kang Senghui to the court, instead of inquiring about the new religion's

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[356] Bone relics (Ch. **舍利**, 舍利羅, 設利羅, 室利羅, 實利, 佛骨; Skt. *śarīra*, *dhātu-śarīra* or *dharma-śarīra*), the remains of the Buddha or a revered saint after his cremations. These relics were placed in stūpas for worshipping. The white relics represent the bones; the black was related to the hair; and the red was referred to the flesh. The whole physical body of the Buddhas was also called *dhātu-śarīra* or *dharma-śarīra*. The *Lotus Sūtra* and other sūtras are considered as relics. Buddha's relics were amounted to **八斛四斗** 84 pecks that Aśoka built 84,000 stūpas to preserve these relics in one day. http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=**舍利** (accessed, January 18, 2011).

[357] Aśoka (Ch. Chinese as 阿輸迦, 阿輸伽, 阿恕伽, **阿戍笥**, 阿舒迦, 阿叔迦, and 阿僬王), the third king of the Mauryan State 孔雀王朝, reigned from 269 to 232 BC. As the grandson of Candragupta 旃陀羅笈多, and the son of Bindusāra **賓頭沙羅王**, he unified and became one of the greatest India emperor. In early time, he was a fearful person with bad temper that killed his own brothers and relatives to ascend to the throne. After his conversion to Buddhism, he assumed the name Aśoka as "Free from care" and became a dedicated supporter of the tradition. According to the records, he organized the Third Buddhist Council at his capital, Pāṭaliputra, during the seventeenth year of his reign. He erected stūpas and stone pillars all over India and sent Buddhist missionaries abroad extensively from the borders of China to Macedonia, Epirus, Egypt, and Cyrene. During his reign, Buddhism spread strongly and widely throughout India and Southeast Asia, and even into some areas of western Asia. http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?96.xml+id('b963f-80b2-738b') (accessed, January 19, 2011). T2059_.50.0325b12-14: **會曰。如來遷迹忽逾千載。遺骨舍利神 曜無方。昔阿育王。起塔乃八萬四千。夫塔寺之興以表遺化也**

[358] T2059_.50.0325b14-16: **權以爲誇誕。乃謂會曰。若能得舍利當爲造塔。如其虛妄國有常刑。會請期七日**

[359] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese,* 155.

philosophy and practice, Sun Quan just had an interest in the auspicious response of it. This clearly indicates that even at the highest level of the Wu Dynasty, the belief in spirits and magicians gained more respect and interest. In replying to Sun Quan's inquiry, Kang Senghui stated the supernatural aspect of Buddhism was the Buddha's relics, which were distributed by the king Aśoka's missionaries all around India and other neighbor countries, and these relics represented the Buddhist religion. Doubtfully, Sun Quan put the conditions: "If your claim (is) true, I will build a temple for you; otherwise, you will be punished in accordance with the law." To prove his claim, Kang Senghui requested the emperor allowing him seven days to obtain the Buddha's relics through his prayer.

Afterward, Kang Senghui called in his followers and said, "Buddhism either flourishes or terminates with this event. Now, if we are not sincere, then later on it is too late to regret."[360] Subsequently, together with his followers, he purified quiescently the chamber and started to do the fasting. He used the copper jar, burned the incense, bowed, and requested [the *śarīra* to appear]. After seven days of praying, there was silent pledge without any auspicious response. He requested to extend another seven days, but there was the same. When Sun Quan thought it as a deceitful act, he almost ordered to punish the monks. Kang Senghui again asked for another seven-days extension, and this request was accepted by Sun Qian.[361] Kang Senghui reminded his followers about Confucius's dedication:

> The King Wen 文王帝 (248-210 BC) has passed away, but is there the literature not here anymore? The auspicious response of Dharma has descended down. But we have not received any response. Thus, how could we rely on the emperor to

[360] T55n2145_p0096b15-16. T2059_.50.0325b16-17:乃謂其屬曰。法之興廢在此一擧。今不至誠後將何及。
[361] T2059_.50.0325b19-20:權曰。此寔欺誑將欲加罪。會更請三七。權又特聽

establish the law [Buddhism]. We should vow to die within this week.[362]

Approaching to the evening of the twenty-one day, they again did not receive any auspicious sign, and it was frightened for them. At the beginning of the fifth watch of the night 五更, suddenly they heard the rattle sound inside the copper jar. Kang Senghui approached and inspected it personally, and he certainly recognized the authentic *śarīra*. In the next morning, Kang Senghui presented [the *śarīra*] to Sun Quan, who summoned all the court officials to observe. [They saw] the five bright flames of colors, which shined and sparkled on the top of the copper jar. Sun Quan 孫權 held the copper jar by himself and poured [the *śarīra*] on the copper tray. Wherever the *śarīra* rolled, the copper tray was broken. Sun Quan 孫權 was greatly frightened, stood up, and said: "It is an inconceivably felicitous omen." Kang Senghui stepped forward and said: "Is the powerful supernatural sign of *śarīra* limited only with the bright light appearance? Just use the fire to burn it. The fire cannot burn it. The diamond pestle cannot smash it." Thus, Sun Quan 孫權 ordered the test. At that time, Kang Senghui made the pledge: "The Dharma cloud just covers. Sentient beings look up to the grace. Please again let down the supernatural trace in order display greatly the auspicious and powerful signs." Then, he put the *śarīra* on the iron anvil rad, and ordered the strong man to strike. However, the iron anvil and rad both sank down, and the *śarīra* was not diminished. Sun Quan 孫權 greatly admired and respected this. Afterward, he ordered to build a temple for Kang Senghui. Because it was the first Buddhist temple, it was named as the *First Established Temple Jian Chu Si* 建初寺. That area was called the Buddhist village *Fotuo li* 佛陀里. Thereupon, the great

[362] T2059_.50.0325b20-23: 誑將欲加罪。會更請三七。權又特聽。會謂 法屬曰。宣尼有言曰。文王既沒文不在茲 乎。法靈應降而吾等無感。何假王憲。當以 誓死爲期耳。

dharma flourished in the area of the Jiang Zuo 江左.[363]

Generally, by recognizing the seriousness of the work (to pray for having the Buddha's relics), Kang Senghui sternly reminded his followers that it was a critical moment for them to spread Buddhism or to die for its cause after this occasion. Hence, all of them must have sincerity in praying for the appearance of the relics. However, after no response in the first week as well as that of the extended second week, Kang Senghui particularly encouraged his followers to remember the existence of the King Wen's literature, the auspicious response of Dharma, and the support of the emperor with the sincere mind of praying as it was a matter of life and death. After being allowed to have another week of praying, there was no response at all on the last day of the third week. As all of them were frightened, but with their sincere prayer, on the fifth watch of the twenty-first day, they got the diamond-like and five bright light relics, which melted down the copper tray and were not burned by the fire or smashed by the large hammer. Having the admiration and veneration of this supernatural response (through the praying), Sun Quan kept his promise to build the *First Established Temple* in Jianye for Kang Senghui and his followers. Thus, after that event Buddhism was allowed to practice and spread in Jianye and its vicinities. In short, being influenced by the widespread belief in spirits and magicians, Sun Quan supported Kang Senghui in erecting the first temple in the capital after witnessing the auspicious response of the Buddha's supernatural power

[363] T2059_.50.0325b23-c06: 誓死爲期耳。三七日暮猶無所見。莫不震懼。既入五更。忽聞瓶中鎗然有聲。會自往視果獲舍利。明旦呈權。舉朝集觀。五色光 炎照耀瓶上。權自手執瓶瀉于銅盤。舍利所衝盤即破碎。權大肅然驚起而曰。希有之 瑞也。會進而言曰。舍利威神豈直光相而已。乃劫燒之火不能焚。金剛之杵不能碎。權 命令試之。會更誓曰。法雲方被蒼生仰澤。 願更垂神迹以廣示威靈。乃置舍利於鐵 砧礎上。使力者擊之。於是砧礎俱陷舍利 無損。權大歎服。即爲建塔。以始有佛寺 故號建初寺。因名其地爲佛陀里。由是江左大法遂興. Jiang zuo 江左 or Jiang dong 江東, is southend of Yangtze River.

and the indestructible diamond-like and the five color light relics.

The miracle-story of obtaining relics stresses the early transmission of the stūpa or pagoda worship in China, and the fact that magical power was regarded as a quite important quality of the Buddhist monks.[364]

3.2.3.4 Conclusion.

Due to Kang Senghui's sincere prayer, the miracle of the appearance of the Buddha's relics helps Kang Senghui win the trust from Sun Quan, who built the first state-sponsored temple in Jianye for him. Actually, since there is no archaeological evidence about the Buddha relics that Kang Senghui had prayered for, we are still waiting for further discovery to determine their authenticity.

3.2.4 Was Kang Senghui one of the early Buddhist monks, who established the first state-sponsored Buddhist temple and Buddhist saṅgha in Jianye 建鄴 (Southern China) of the Wu Dynasty? Conclusion.

After witnessing the auspicious phenomenon of the relics, according to the legend, Sun Quan 孫權 greatly admired and respected Kang Senghui and Buddhism. Promptly, he ordered to erect a temple, the *First Established Temple Jian Chu Si* 建初寺, for Kang Senghui to worship the relic.[365] The area where this temple was built was called

[364] Walter, "Sogdians and Buddhism," 24, 25.

[365] It is doubtful about a record of a Song-era monk Zhipan 志磐 in *Fotu jongji* 35 佛祖統紀 that a twin-stūpa monastery in the *Jianchang Lesi* monastery 建昌樂寺 in Wuchang 武昌 was built by Sun Quan in the first year of Huangchu era (222) (Lagerwey, *Early Chinese Religions*, 645. T2035_.49.0331b25.黃初元年吳主孫權於武昌建昌樂寺). Further scholastic research about this matter is needed to determine the condition that Sun Quan ordered to build this twin stūpa in Wuchang in 220 AD.

the Buddhist precinct (*Fo Tuo Li* 佛陀里). Thereupon, Buddhism flourished in the area of the Jiangzuo 江左 from then on.[366] Previously, monasteries only contained Buddha's statues, paintings, and texts. The discovery of Buddha's relics and the construction of stūpas with relics paved the way for a new Chinese type of Buddhist monastery.[367] Following the establishment of the *First Established Temple,* which included a pagoda enshrined with Buddha's relics in Jianye area, wherever the relics were found or appeared miraculously, stūpas or temples would be built for the Buddhist communities. Besides, after the establishment of the *First Established Temple*, a Buddhist village was founded with the community of Buddhist clergy and lay people. Actually, according to Kang Senghui's biography, he went to Jianye with his Jiaozhi disciples, who would have assisted him to build a Buddhist village beside the *First Established Temple*.[368]

Although two Indian monks, Vighna and Zhu Jiangyan, came to Wuchang 武昌 to translate the Buddhist scriptures such as the Dharmapada, and Zhi Qian came to Jianye to translate Buddhist scriptures as well as be a tutor for the crown-prince, no temple was established in southern China until the appearance of Kang Senghui, whose charisma, dedication, sincerity, scholastic eloquence, and religious experience had won the heart of Sun Quan and his heirs.[369] As a result, within the capital they built for him a temple, at which residency he could teach, share knowledge, and train the younger generation to

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[366] Jiangzuo 江左 or Jiangdong 江東, is an area on the southend of Yangtze River.

[367] Chen, *The Revival of Buddhist Monasticism,* 77.

[368] T2145_.55.0096b29: 因名其地爲佛陀里。

[369] Wuchang 武昌 was the first capital of the Wu kingdom from 221 to 229 AD. Jianye 建鄴 was the second capital of the Wu kingdom from 229 AD. Crespigny, Rafe de (1990). "Chapter 8". *Generals of the south : the foundation and early history of the Three Kingdoms state of Wu*. Cambera: Australian National University, Faculty of Asian Studies. ISBN 0731509013. Retrieved 12 May 2012. "His headquarters were at Wuchang, and in the ninth month of 229 AD, when Sun Quan moved his capital from Wuchang back to Jianye, Lu Xun was left with administrative and military responsibility for Jing province and the region of Yuzhang, the whole western part of the empire of Wu."

take in charge of propagating Buddhism in southern China in the future. Kang Senghui's establishment of the first Buddhist Saṅgha in southern China during those times was significant, because it marked a remarkable period when a Buddhist saṅgha began to firmly establish its foundation of training young monks to lead the dissemination of Buddhism in the area. Without the clergy, Buddhism in south China would limit itself mostly in the translation works, and it would not have much impact on the spiritual life of the common people. Hence, the conversion of Sun Quan and his support for building a Buddhist temple in the capital was one of the greatest events in early Chinese Buddhism due to its domino effect on the imperial court and the common people. It is a similar situation to that of Sri Lanka. When the arhat Mahinda went to Sri Lanka to spread Buddhism, the king asked the arhat Mahinda when will Buddhism take deepen roots in Sri Lanka? Arhat Mahinda replied that whenever a Sri Lankan son takes the monastic vows, studies, and recites the 'Vinaya' in Sinhala language, then the Buddhist roots will be taken place.[370]

Also, when Kang Senghui first went to Jianye from Jiaozhi to promulgate Buddhism, he brought with him his disciples as well as the Buddha's images or pictures, which exemplified the artistic skills of the Jiaozhi Buddhist people during the third century.[371]

Moreover, the new establishment of Buddhism and the *First Established Temple* in Jianye was challenged right after Sun Quan's death. After Sun Quan died in 252 AD, Sun Liang 孫亮 (243-260 AD) became an emperor at the age of ten. In 258 AD, Sun

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[370] Udit Sharma, *Teachings and Philosophy of Buddha* (New Delhi, India: Diamond Pocket Books Ltd., 2002), 148.
[371] T2145_.55.0096b29: 因名其地爲佛陀里。

Chen 孫 綝 (231-258 AD) dethroned Sun Liang, banished Prince of Kuaiji **會稽王** and Xi Shang **徙尚** to Lingling **零陵** district, brought back Luban princess **魯班 公主** to Yu Zhang **豫章**, ordered his brother Sun En 孫**恩** to kill Liu Cheng **劉承**, and gave a decree for Sun Kai 孫**楷** to bring Sun Xiu **孫休** back to the court.[372] In 258 AD, Sun Xiu went back to Jianye and ascended to the throne as the third emperor of the Wu kingdom. In 258 AD, a serious persecution of Buddhism was instigated by Sun Chen 孫 綝 (231-258 AD), who ordered the burning of the Daoist Wuzixu 伍子胥廟 shrine at the front gate of the bridge Qiaotou 橋頭, destroyed the Buddhist temples, and killed Buddhist monks.[373]

After a thorough research, I found that there was no real persecution of Buddhism during reigns of Sun Quan, Sun Liang, and Sun Hao. It occurred only during the reign of Sun Xiu (r. 258-264 AD) under the order of Sun Chen. According to Sengyou's and Huijiao's records, after ascending to the throne, Sun Hao ordered the destruction of the Daoist and Buddhist temples.[374]

Fa Lin **法琳** wrote *Bian zheng lun* **辯正論** under the title of "Emperor besieged the temple and seized the monks. The relics floated and shined on the plate."[375] During Sun Hao's reign, Wang Zheng Bian 王正辯 argued that the court should abolish

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[372] Lingling **零陵** district of Yongzhou city **永州市**, Hunan. Luban princess **魯班 公主** is Sun Quan's daughter. Sun Chen's story of the Wushu,《三國誌》卷六十四《吳書・孫綝傳》1449）.

[373] Sun Chen's story is in the *Wushu*《三國誌》卷六十四《吳書・孫綝傳》1449). Once Sun Xiu was on the throne, Sun Chen declared himself as *Minister of Grass and Straw.* All the five lords of Sun Chen's clan commanded the imperial guards of the innermost palace, and their influences jeopardized the emperor's power. However, in 258 AD Sun Chen was executed. According to the "Records of Three Kingdoms" the popular shrines and "shrines of Budho" were demolished by Sun Chen, but this record does not mention whether these "shrines of Budho" related to Kang Seng Hui's temple or not. Besides, since Kang Seng Hui was not killed, probably some Buddhist clergies were presented in the area toward the end of the Wu reign (Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese*, 158).

[374] T2145_.55.0096c01: **至孫皓昏虐欲燔塔廟。**

[375] T2110_.52.0539c15-16.吳王圍寺執僧。舍利浮光於鉢上

Buddhism, because it does not bring any benefit. Then, by listening to Wang Zheng Bian, Sun Hao ordered the soldiers to besiege the temples and kill the monks.[376] In the meantime, he called in Kang Senghui and said: "If your Buddha is holy man, you can worship him. Otherwise, all of you will be killed within a day."[377] Hearing this statement, some monks vowed to die willingly for the cause of religion, but some slipped out and ran away. Kang Senghui vowed to fast for seven days to pray for the auspicious sign. He put a copper bowl full of water at the front courtyard. After having a lunch, they saw a ray of strange light. Suddenly, they heard clattering sounds inside the bowl. Within an instant, they saw a bright and shining relic floating on that bowl. Sun Hao and others were startled, frightened, and speechless at these auspicious signs. Sun Hao also ordered the guards to use a heavy axe to smash the relic, but they failed.[378] Perhaps the author of this episode imitated the similar pattern of that of Sun Quan's version of demanding to see the auspicious signs of Buddhism and Kang Senghui's praying for the relic.

The edict to persecute Buddhism existed only within a short period of time, since Sun Chen had many enemies. Hence, Sun Chen's order might not have been successfully executed. The obvious evidence was that the *First Established Temple* still survived and Kang Senghui enjoyed his old age until the year 280 AD, twenty years after Sun Chen was executed. There was no evidence to show why Sun Chen ordered the destruction of the Daoist and Buddhist temples as well as killing the monks. However, based on this decree, we may assume that Buddhism in Jianye had developed strongly ten years after

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[376] T2110_.52.0539c16-17--孫皓時有王正辯上事言。佛法宜滅中國不利胡神。皓便下詔集諸沙門。陳兵圍寺欲行誅廢之事。

[377] T2110_.52.0539c17-謂僧會法師曰。佛若神也。宜崇之。若其無靈。黑衣一日同命

[378] T2110_.52.0539c18-0540a1-僧或縊死。或逃于外。會乃清齋期七日現神變。以銅鉢盛水置庭中。中食畢而曦光暉耀。忽聞庭鉢鎗然有聲。忽見舍利。明照庭宇浮於鉢上。皓及大眾前看駭愕失措。難席改容而進

Kang Senghui's appearance in the area and its influence on the literati at the court. As a result, probably to prevent another religious rebellion, Sun Chen 孫綝 ordered the killing or banishment of some court literati and officials such as Xi Shang 徙尚 to 零陵, princess Luban 魯班 公主 to Yu Zhang 豫章, and Liu Cheng 劉承, who might have connection with Daoism and Buddhism. Perhaps Sun Chen's persecution against Daoism and Buddhism followed Cao-Wei's policy of confronting and persecuting the religious communities during that time.

Later, Sun Hao abolished the decree of crushing Daoist and Buddhism temples as well as killing their monks after listening to the advice of his mandarins.[379] Following is Kang Senghui's later activities at the *First Established Temple*.

Around the area where the *First Established Temple* was located, there was a shrine named "King Aśoka stūpa." Some nuns built a small temple nearby it, but Sun Chen demolished it later. According to the record, the *First Established Temple* was the religious community. Its shrine was built on the original site after the demise of Wu kingdom. At the time of Kang Senghui, located nearby the maket and rural area, it was prospered independenty due to the support of monastic members coming from the north.[380] The political relationships and situations of the Three Kingdoms nationally and regionally were not conductive for the Wu Dynasty to support Buddhist construction in Jianye, financially. However, Buddhist influence to the general pulic was in similar pace with that of popular belief in spirit shrines in the Wu capital rapidly.[381] Due to the

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[379] T2145_.55.0096c01-03:至孫皓昏虐欲燔塔廟。群臣僉諫。以爲佛之威力不同餘神。康會感瑞大皇創寺。今若輕毀恐貽後悔。
[380] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese*, 158.
[381] Ibid., 159.

military advance of the Jin army, the Wu Dynasty's finance and force were diminished gradually and depleted in 280 AD. This was not the period for Kang Senghui relying on the generosity of the Wu Dynasty to fund and run his temple. Nonetheless, common people in the Wu Dynasty embraced Buddhism as a transcendental source of hope in dealing with uncertain threats of war and conflict frequently. Thus, local people probably were the primary supporters for the existence of the *First Established Temple,* especially toward the end of the Wu reign. Possibly many monastic members supported Kang Senghui to do the missionary works at that popular temple.[382] In fact, Tsukamoto thinks that this popular temple was not necessarily built by the Wu Dynasty. Instead, it was possibly a common temple and supported by common people. Under the cruel ruler, Sun Chen or Sun Hao, it may have been destroyed. Nevertheless, after the demise of the Wu Dynasty, it reemerged and continued to function as usual with the supports of the local people. Eventually, it grew into a well-known Buddhist institution of having many pious popular miracle accounts. Later, when the Eastern Jin took Jianye as its capital, the *First Established Temple* resurfaced as one of the city's most influential Buddhist institution with several well-known residences including Śrīmitra 帛尸梨蜜. This Indian monk went to Jianye sometime during Yongjia 永嘉 (307-312 AD) period as a refugee from the Luoyang. He resided at the *First Established Temple* and was honored by high officials such as the Prime Minister Wang Dao 丞相王導 (276–339) and the senior military

[382] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese*, 160. The *Lives of Eminent Monks Gao seng zhuan* 高僧傳 recorded that Kang Senghui provided profound Buddhist doctrinal scholarship recognized by secular literati to Sun Quan and Sun Hao. Evidently, since Sun Hao 孫皓 had a cruel and rough temperament, he could not comprehend the Buddhist profound meanings. Therefore, Kang Senghui used simple narratation of the meanings of cause and effect, i.e., retribution and response of those immediate matters, to enlighten Sun Hao's 孫皓 mind as well as the general public (Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese*, 160).

commander Yuo Yuan Gui. Another resident of the *First Established Temple* was Si Kong He Chong 司空何充, a dedicated Buddhist aristocrat. He renovated Kang Senghui's stūpa, which was burnt down by the rebellion of Su Jun 蘇峻 in the early Eastern Jin times. The next resident of the temple was Zhao You 平西將軍趙誘 during Jin times. He originally did not believe Buddhism until he saw a five color glow emitting from the *First Established Temple* 's stūpa. He volunteerly constructed another small stūpa to the east of monastery. The other resident of this temple was Zhi Tan Yue 支曇籥, a Yue Zhi 月氏 citizen. He dwelted briefly in Jianye, entered the monastic order, and lived on Mount Tiger Hill (*hu qiu shan* 虎丘山). Invited into the capital by Emperor Xiaowudi of the Jin 晉孝武帝 (362–396 AD), he lived at the *First Established Temple*, where he was respected by the emperor as his five-precept preceptor, and where, as a skilled teacher of fanbai (Buddhist songs of an Indian type), he composed such songs in that monastery at the age of eighty-one.[383]

In conclusion, Kang Senghui was one of the early Buddhist monks to establish the first state-sponsored Buddhist temple (but later supported by local people) and Buddhist saṅgha in Jianye 建鄴 of the Wu Dynasty. Eventually, his temple became the most popular Buddhist center in south China.

Also, from Chinese Buddhist scholars' perspectives, what we perceive almost exclusive emphasis here is Kang Senghui's activities at Jianye that centered around the *First Established Temple* to the disgrace his earlier career in Jiaozhi. This process of glorification of Kang Senghui's life and especially of the *First Established Temple*

[383] Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese*, 161.

possibly relates to special ideological role that was manipulated by Chinese institutional Buddhism during the Liang period (梁代 in the foundational myth of Jiangnan 江南). Nevertheless, regardless of the reasons, at least there was a distinct point. If the earliest available sources are trustworthy, especially Dao An's introduction to the *Anban shouyi jing*, we can assume that Kang Senghui had been active as a commentator and perhaps also as a translator well before his coming to Jianye in 247 AD.[384]

However, Sengyou 僧祐 might have wanted to disregard Kang Senghui's early career as a commentator and translator in Jiaozhi, and he generalized all of Kang Senghui's work in Jianye, China.[385] On top of that approach, he "made" Kang Senghui, a Sogdian-Jiaozhi monk, to conform the translation patterns of other translators coming from the north, which might have Sinicized him to look more "Chinese."[386]

Furthermore, Kang Senghui also built three more temples. According to Song Lian 宋濂 (1310-1381), a historian during the early Ming Dynasty, after Kang Senghui had obtained the Buddha relics through his prayer, in addition to building the *First Established Temple* for Kang Senghui, Sun Quan also erected other three temples to worship those relics: the Jin Su temple 金粟寺 in Haiyan 浙江 county of Zhejiang 浙江 Province; Bao Ning temple 保寧寺 in Jinling 金陵; and Wan Shou 萬壽寺 in Taiping 太平.[387] The Jin Su temple still venerates Kang Senghui's statue.[388]

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[384] Zacchetti, "Some Remarks," 167-168.
[385] T55n2145_p0097a11. T2145_.55.0097a12-16: 會於建初寺 譯出經法。阿難念彌經。鏡面王察微王梵皇王經。道品及六度集。並妙得經體文義允正。又注安般守意法鏡道樹三經。并製經序.
[386] 古今譯經圖記, 靖邁撰. T2151_.55.0352a26-27. 沙門康僧會。是康居國大承相之長子。世居 印度…
[387] Chen Rongfu, *Zhejiang Fosi Shi Hua* 陈荣富 , 浙江佛寺史话 (The Oral history of the Buddhist temple in Zhejiang province) (宁波出版社, Ningbo Shi: Ningbo chu ban she, 1999), 17.

3.2.5 Was he one of the early Buddhist apologetics in China in the light of the reappraisal of his role on Mouzi's *Li Huo Lun*? Conclusion.

Toward the demise period of the Later Han, Luoyang was ransacked in 189 AD by Dong Zhuo 董卓. Etienne Balazs explains: "The Chinese world at that time was nothing but desolation. As a consequence, there was general panic and constant anguish, an immense state of disorder with brigands and soldiers, disasters and refugees. From such chaos emerged a few small islands of relative security where the more fortunate landowners came together. Mouzi himself is to be numbered among such refugees, seeking such an island of relative security. Many scholars fled to Jiaozhou and constituted an active community of literati in that area."[389]

In 189 AD, Mouzi 牟子, together with his mother and sevaral Chinese scholars and Daoists, emigrated from China to Jiaozhi, a considerale peaceful and safe country controlled by Shi Xie. Here, Mouzi learnt Buddhism from the Indian monk Kaudra.[390]

Dr. Le Manh That postulates that Kang Senghui was a direct or indirect student of Mouzi.[391] The Preface of the text of Mouzi's *Li Huo Lun* 牟子理惑論 depicts Mouzi as a Confucian literati, who was well versed in the classics and in the works of the contemporary philosophers: Menzi, Xunzi, and Laozi. After settling in Jiaozhou, he had the opportunities to inquire Buddhist doctrines through an assessment of the *Book of*

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[388] Hai Sun and Xinjian Lin, 孙海, 蘭新建, 中國考古集成: 华东卷. 江西省, 上海市, 浙江省/*Zhongguo kao gu ji cheng. Hua dong juan. Jiangxi Sheng, Shanghai Shi, Zhejiang Sheng - Volume 28*, Zhengzhou Shi: Zhongzhou gu ji chu ban she, 2007), 4891.
[389] Keenan, *How master Mou,* 143.
[390] Upendra Thakur, *Some Aspects of Asian History and Culture* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1986), 170.
[391] Le, *Tong Tap Van Hoc Phat Giao* I, 303-308.

Laozi.

By connecting the Buddhist ideas with Daoist notions in dark learning's (*xuanxue* 玄學) style, Mouzi wrote his Buddhist apologetic in defending himself from his literati colleagues' critics. Mouzi's strategy was to address the literate elite, introducing to and citing the Chinese classics to induce them of the Buddhist doctine. Mouzi's *Li Huo Lun* is a descriptive manuscript that described Mouzi's personal account and reports a conversation between this Buddhist-Daoist scholar and an unidentified criticizer or criticizers in thirty-seven articles. With a well-defined objective, the text starts with an assertion of Mouzi's intention and concludes with the submission of Mouzi's previous criticizers and their acceptance of Buddhist morality.[392]

Specifically, Mouzi's *Li Huo Lun* proposed: "Abandon the Confucian heroes (Shun 舜, Zhou Gong 周公, and Confucius 孔子), learn from the barbarians (Yi 夷 minorities)", "The Land of the Han (China) is not the center of the world", and "books need not only carry the sayings of Confucius." He further taught that, "The Junzi man 君子 of noble character should utilize all sorts of beneficial practices to perfect the physical body."[393]

The absence of early, independent attestation regarding the date and authorship of the Mouzi's *Li Huo Lun* has led scholars to ponder its historical authenticity. Henri Maspero argued that the *Li Huo Lun* is to be dated not from the Later Han, but from around the year 250 AD. Paul Pelliot takes issue with Maspero's dating of the *Li Huo Lun* at around 250 AD. Tokiwa Daijo, a Japanese Buddhologist, boldly argues that the *Li*

[392] Keenan, *How master Mou*, 1, 2.
[393] Ren, *Buddhist Studies,* 35.

Huo Lun was fabricated by the Buddhist monk Hui T'ung (426-478 AD). Erik Zurcher argues that "Mouzi" is an imaginary figure created by a later author who provided him with a historic contextual and connecting him with some occasions and temperaments acknowledged from various informations.[394] Dr. Le Manh That postulates that Mouzi was born around 160 AD, wrote the *Li Huo Lun* around 198 AD, and died around 230 AD.[395] Dr. Le Manh That postulates further that Mouzi was one of Kang Senghui's three masters.[396] Since scholars still question about Mouzi's historical record and his *Li Huo Lun*'s authenticity, it seems to us that we may not come to make a simple conclusion for a complicated matter that Mouzi was Kang Senghui's teacher. Hence, Kang Senghui's direct teachers still remain unknown to us. However, we can be certain that Kang Senghui must have learned directly from Indian Buddhism prior to his journey to Jianye in 247 AD in Jiaozhou, since this area's coastal regions were the maritime Silk Road at the beginning of Common Era.

Also, per discussion, the Preface of the text *Li Huo Lun* depicts Mouzi as a Confucian literato, who had tremendous knowledge in the classics and the works of Menzi, Xunzi, and Laozi. During the demise of Han Dynasty, he fled from the political chaos in China to a peaceful Jiaozhou. Eventually he renounced Confucianism and converted to Buddhism as his genuine spiritual path. Later, he fused Buddhist ideas with Daoist notions in a *xuanxue* "dark learning" style to write the Buddhist apologetic in defending himself from his literati colleagues' critics. His strategy was to use Confucian ideas and Chinese classics to explain Buddhism to the literate elite. The question about

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[394] Keenan, *How master Mou,* 3-6.
[395] Le, *Tong Tap Van Hoc Phat Giao*, 172.
[396] Ibid., 303-308.

Kang Senghui as Mouzi's follower or vice-versa still remains unknown. We ascertain that either the Buddhist apologetic Mouzi, or Kang Senghui, or both utilized their skill and knowledge of Chinese classics and Confucian principles to defend and promulgate the new religion, since they were trained and taught in Jiaozhi, the melting pot of Chinese indigenous religions and Indian Buddhism. Hence, either one of them had utilized indigenous ways to explain Buddhist principles by using Chinese classics and Confucian ideas to the Chinese people and the minority.

In the preface of the *Anpan shou yi jing* 安般守意經, Kang Senghui said that the essential meanings of the twelve divisions of Buddhist sūtras are laid within *thirty-seven qualities of sūtras* (三十七品 *bodhipakṣa dharma*) as if ten thousands of creeks and rivers in four directions flow into the ocean.[397] Mouzi also mentioned that when he examined the Buddhist sūtras, he recognized that their essences dwell within the thirty-seven qualities.[398] That is why he laid out his Buddhist apologetic book *Li Huo Lun* in thirty-seven chapters.[399]

Within Kang Senghui's introduction of *Dhyāna* Pāramitā in *Liudu ji jing*, a passage mentions a Bodhisattva who had attained the four stages of *Dhyāna*:

> When the mind of a Bodhisattva is pure, he achieves the four stages of *Dhyāna*. Thus, his mind is free [of attachment]. [His body] is light, and [it can] fly upwards swiftly. [He could]: walk on the water; transforms his body into ten thousands of transformation bodies; come out and go in incessantly; impalpable and incommensurable, such are they that their abiding or perishing is within their power; touch the sun and the moon; move the earth and heaven; hear [every sound] pervasively; can see and hear everywhere.[400]

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[397]十二部經都皆, 墮三十七品經中。譬如萬川四流皆歸大海 (T602_.15.0172c04-05).

[398]吾覽佛經之要。有三十 七品 (T2102_.52.0007a-1718).

[399]牟子理惑三十有七篇 (T2036_.49.0513c23).

[400]菩薩心淨得彼四禪。在意所由。輕舉騰飛。履水而行。分身散體。變化萬端。出入無間, 存亡自由。摸日月。動天地。洞視徹聽靡, 不聞見 (T152_.03.0039b16-20).

In *Li Huo Lun*, there are similar wordings with that of *Liudu ji jing* 六度集經 "Compendium on the Six Perfections":

> The definition of Buddha is an enlightened one. He can: transform [himself] within an instance; split his body and spirit; and impalpable and incommensurable, such are they that either their abiding or perishing is within their power… If one looks at it, it has no shape; if one listens for it, it has no sound…[401]

Kang Senghui wrote in the preface of the *Anpan shouyi jing*:

> There is not the least thing that the mind's overflowing agitation does not pervade. Impalpable and incommensurable, but a vague semblance, it comes out and goes in incessantly. If one looks at it, it has no shape; if one listens for it, it has no sound; if one would confront it, it has no front; if one would follow it, it has no rear. Deep, subtle, and marvelous of form, it has not a thread or hair...[402] Impalpable and incommensurable, such are they that their abiding or perishing is within their power. With their vastness, they can fill up space within the eight outlying regions of the universe. With their fineness, they are able to penetrate a dust mote. Governing heaven and earth, they live out their [seemingly eternal] lives. Such is the stalwartness of their supramundane powers that they can destroy the weapons of gods. Shaking the trichiliocosm, they move Buddha-fields. The eight inconceivable [attributes of Nirvāṇa] are something even Brahma cannot fathom.[403]

By a comparative analysis, we see that some similar sentences among the *Liudu ji jing*, Kang Senghui's preface of *Anpan shouyi jing*, and *Li Huo Lun*: "Impalpable and incommensurable, such are they that their abiding or perishing is within their power (**存亡自由** or **或存或亡**)." The *Liudu ji jing* and the *Li Huo Lun* have the same sentence:

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[401]佛之言覺也。恍惚變化分身散體。或存或亡。能小能大。能圓能方。能老能少。能隱能彰。.. 道之言 導也。導人致於無爲。牽之無前。引之無後。擧 之無上。抑之無下。視之無形。聽之無聲。四表
爲大蜿蜒其外。毫釐爲細間關其內。故謂之 道 (T2102_.52.0002a09-11).

[402]心之溢盪 無微不浹。悅惚髣髴出入無間。視之無形聽 之無聲。逆之無前尋之無後。深微細 7 妙形無 絲髮 (T602_.15.0163a10-13).

[403]無遐不見無聲不聞。怳惚髣髴存亡自由。大彌八極,細 貫毛釐. 。制天地住壽命。猛神德壞天兵。動三千移諸刹。八不思議非梵所測 (T0602_.15.0163b14-17).

"(Bodhisattva can) separate and disperse his body (分身散體)." Both *Li Huo Lun* and preface of *Anpan shouyi* use the sentence: "If one looks at it, it has no shape; if one listens for it, it has no sound; 視之無形 聽 之無聲." This sentence probably was taken from the *Summary of the Rules of Propriety Part 1 Qi Li I* 曲禮上: "… He should be (as if he were) hearing (his parents) when there is no voice from them, and as seeing them when they are not actually there 聽於無聲，視於無形. …[404]

The *Liudu ji jing* has a special sentence of "Keeping the five precepts and having vegetarian diet for six days in month." 持五戒, 月六齋.[405] Similarly, *Li Huo Lun* mentions: "Keeping the five precepts and having vegetarian diet for six days in a month." 持五戒者,一月六齋.[406]

In conclusion, since it is questionable regarding the historical accuracy and textual authenticity of Mouzi's date of existence and his "Li Huo Lun," it can be safely assumed that the work has held some similar stylistic literature and wordings from Kang Senghui's *Liudu ji jing* and his preface on the *Anpan shouyi jing*.[407]

3.2.6 Was he one of the early Buddhist monks in China, who created the tradition of writing preface in Early Chinese Buddhism? Conclusion.

There is an unique aspect of Kang Senghui's translation style. One that is even

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[404] Confucius; James Legge; Ch'u Chai; Winberg Chai. *Li Chi: Book of Rites. An Encyclopedia of Ancient Ceremonial Usages, Religious Creeds, and Social Institution,* (New Hyde Park, N.Y., University Books [1967] (originally published in 1885).
[405] T0152_.03.0012b21-22: 持五戒。月六齋。
[406] T2102_.52.0002a01:持五戒者。一月六齋。
[407] Please see the appendix 10: "Comparative chart: *Liudu jijing*, *li huo lun*, and Kang Seng Hui's preface on the *Foshou anpan shouyi jing*."

more noticeable in percentage terms in his work than in that of Zhi Qian, is the liberal use of ideas and terminology drawn from the indigenous Chinese religion. It relays from references to "entering Mt. Tai 泰山 after death" to discussing "the fate of the *hunling* 魂靈 spirit(s)," and to the use of expressions with explicit resonances in Confucian and Daoist texts. Obviously, Kang Senghui exclusively used the traditional Chinese terms in responding to the questions from the Wu ruler such as Sun Hao in his biography in the *Chu sanzang ji ji*.[408]

Whether the similarity between the translations of Zhi Qian and Kang Senghui is due specifically to borrowing by Kang Senghui from the works of Zhi Qian, or whether both men were participants in a broader rhetorical community for which no explicit evidence has survived, the confluence of style between the works of these two translators is so great that it seems appropriate to speak of "Wu scriptural idioms." These idioms specially drew on the vocabulary and style of earlier translations by An Xuan 安玄 (active in the end of Emperor Lingdi (r.168-189 AD)), Yan Fotiao 嚴佛調, and by Kang Mengxiang 康孟祥). In subsequent decades these idioms would be adopted by Dharmarakṣa (ca. 233 AD), whose translations carried resilient imprint of the vocabulary and style favored by these two southern translators, i.e., Zhi Qian and Kang Senghui. Even these idioms were produced far from the territory of Wu, but they were spread widely to Dunhuang and the northern Chinese capitals of Luoyang and Changan 長安.[409]

Moreover, among the early translators, Zhi Qian is a special person that most of his works are not the original translations, but rather revisions. They were produced with

[408] Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 152.
[409] Ibid., 152.

or without reference to other translators' works of actual Indic-language scriptures. His work is categorized by a tremendous variety in vocabulary. For instance, his corpus contains at least eight different translations and transcriptions of the word "arhat." Some of this diversity can be explained by his preservation in his revised translations of terms used in the earlier versions of these texts.

However, generally even within a single scripture, or a single section of a given scripture, we often find multiple Chinese translation of a single Indic term. Thus, it seems likely that this terminological multiplicity was not simply a side-effect of the revision process, but also reflects a preference for variety on the part of Zhi Qian himself. Also, some of the scriptures firmly accredited to Zhi Qian in early sources convey a striking resemblance to the style of his teacher's teacher, Lokakṣema. Presumably, if these acknowledgments are correct, it is possible that these terminologies were considered from an early period in his career. However, most of his translations show notable departures from 's work. One typical feature of what might be characterized as Zhi Qian's "mature style" is a strong inclination for four-character prosody, which could be considered as his default mode, and it is supplemented by the liberal use of verse. Even though his corpus might have contained several instances of unrhymed verses, in other cases undoubtedly Zhi Qian was not only employing the use of meter, but of patterns of rhyme as well. Besides, the majority of the verse passages in Zhi Qian's corpus are pentasyllabic, though he also made extensive usage of an unusual six-character style, which appeared for the first time (in translations which can be dated with confidence) in his work. Several excite references in later sources suggest a possible connection between these six-character verses and the genre of "Indian-style songs" *(fanbai* 梵唄), a form of verse with which

Zhi Qian is the first to be credited. Only two of his translations contain verses in the seven-character meter that was to become widely popular in subsequent centuries.[410] The vocabulary of Zhi Qian's corpus includes a significant number of transcriptions, especially in his most "Lokakṣema-like" works. However, virtually all of these terms appear to have been introduced by his predecessors. In general, at least in his "post-Lokakṣema period," Zhi Qian appears to have preferred to use Chinese translations for most names as well as for Buddhist technical terms. These translations were sometimes adopted from previous translators, of whom he seems to have drawn preferentially from the *Fajing jing* by An Xuan and Yan Fotiao, and the Buddha's biography by Kang Mengxiang, but in other cases they may have been coined by Zhi Qian himself.[411] However, a substantial number of these new translations appeared to be based on an inaccurate understanding of the underlying Indic name or term, which calls into question Sengyou's high estimate of Zhi Qian's linguistic abilities. Also, there is a considerable degree of overlap between the vocabulary and style employed in much of Zhi Quan's corpus and in that of Kang Senghui, a convergence so great that it appears correctly to express of a "Wu scriptural idioms."[412]

Given what we know about Zhi Quan's situation in the Wu kingdom, it seems reasonable to put forth the hypothesis that after his migration to the Wu kingdom he began to produce texts that were more literary and elegant in style, borrowing heavily from the *Fajing jing* and making increasing use of indigenous Chinese religious terms.[413]

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[410] *Foshuo Taizi ruiying benqi jing*, 佛説太子瑞應本起經 T185, and the *Weimojie jing* 維摩詰經, T474.
[411] *Fajing jing* 法鏡經, T322. The biography of the Buddha 中本起經 T196 and the antecedent of 修行本起經 T184.
[412] Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 121.
[413] Ibid.,148.

Judging Zhi Qian's variant translation style, we may postulate that at first he followed Lokakṣema's, then that of An Xuan and Yan Fotiao, and then sharing Kang Senghui's free style of using Chinese classics and Confucian terms, especially when he was in Wu territory. Since of all the Han and Wu-kingdom translators, Kang Senghui's translation style is among the most literary in form that Zhi Qian seems to conform.[414]

Obviously, the dates given in the Kang Senghui's biography are significantly different from those given in Sengyou's catalogue section, where his translation activity is assigned to the period from 226-240 AD, according to the chronology of the Wei, or from 222-258 AD according to Wu reign periods.[415] If either of these ranges is correct, Zhi Qian's translation career would have overlapped substantially with that of Kang Senghui; certainly, we might postulate that they could have met, with both of them living in the Wu capital and interacting with the court at the same time. Although there was no available record of their meeting, different kind of approach indicates their interaction.[416]

Zhi Qian's variant translation style, especially his later elegant works in Wu territory, indicates that Zhi Qian might have borrowed Kang Senghui's literary style since they are contemporary translators.[417] A work of his hand, entitled "Hymns consisting of correlated phrases sung in praise of the Bodhisattva," *Zanpusa lianju fanbai* 讚菩薩連句梵唄 is mentioned in his biography; it still extant at the beginning of the sixth century.

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[414] Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 151.
[415] Ibid., 151
[416] A large commondality in their translation vocabularies makes it essentially and certainly that Kang Seng Hui consulted translations produced or revised by Zhi Qian. For instance, the *Daoshu jing* 道 樹經 in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* is one of Zhi Qian's translated texts that Kang Seng Hui might have written a commentary about (Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 151).
[417] Jan Nattier has noticed the contradictions between the chronological data given in the catalogue and biography sections of the *Chu sanzang ji ji*. However, he still concludes that Kang Seng Hui is as a slightly later contemporary of Zhi Qian (Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 150).

Also, according to Sengyou, Zhi Quan had drawn the material for the songs (or hymns") from the *Wuliangshou jing* **無量壽經** (i.e. the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha*) and the *Zhong Benqi Jing* 中本起**經**. Unfortunately, these hymns appearantly were lost, but the Chinese canon contains one poem (in five-character verse) and devotes to the praise of Amitabha and his world, which reflects vocabulary otherwise found only in Zhi Qian's translation version of the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha*. Possibly, this anonymous text was composed by an author, who was familiar not just with Zhi Qian's translation of this scripture, but with his earlier *fanbai* as well.[418]

Another (certainly apocryphal) record, not confirmed before the middle of the fifth century, attributes the composition of the first Chinese Buddhist hymns to the great poet Cao Zhi **曹植**, king of Chensi 陳思王.[419] Since Cao Zhi **曹植** is not the first to compose Chinese Buddhist hymns, as Zurcher has stated above, and since Zhi Qian might have followed Kang Senghui in composing the Buddhist hymns, we can conclude that Kang Senghui is one of the early composers of the Buddhist hymns in Chinese Buddhist history. Since Kang Senghui and Zhi Qian are contemporary translators, they might have shared their translated texts, vocabulary, and stylistic writing in their works. Evidently, Kang Senghui's biography states that he wrote a commentary on one of Zhi Qian's translations, and he cited a passage from another in his own *Liudu ji jing*.[420] Obviously, Zhi Qian and Kang Senghui had shared a wide range of vocabularies; some of them were used rarely or not at all in other texts. Both translators evidently favored translation to transcription, and they regularly employed four-character prosody as well

[418] Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 118.
[419] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 50, 51.
[420] Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 149, 150.

as translating occasional passages into unrhymed verse. Like Zhi Qian, Kang Senghui generally used that standard five-character format. There is one passage in which he seemed to employ the rare six-character style, but this is in fact a quotation from Zhi Qian's *Yizu jing* 義 足經.[421] In short, we can conclude that Zhi Qian might have used Kang Senghui's Jiaozhi stylistic writing, and in turn Senghui might have used some of Zhi Qian's translation works, i.e. *Daoshu jing*, to write the commentary.

Furthermore, Yan Fodiao 嚴 佛調 was considered the first person to compose a Buddhist work, a preface to a translation carried out by his teacher, An Shigao.[422] Indeed, the earliest known preface, of which is now lost, was written by Yan Fotiao: *Shami shi hui zhangju xu* 沙彌十慧章 句序.[423] As written in the preface, the title is longer than the simple *Shi Hui* or *Shami shi hui* given in the *Chu sanzang jiji* catalogue. It suggests that Yan Fotiao's entire composition may have been in verse.[424] Since Yan Fotiao's activity was probably in the north at the end of second century AD, his preface might or might not have been known in the south. Especially, since Kang Senghui had written a preface to his own (lost) commentary on An Xuan and Yan Fotiao's *Fajing jing* 法鏡經 (T322), and since he had produced several prefaces in the south, we may conclude that Kang Senghui might have been the individual who initiated the tradition of writing the preface in the south.[425] Thus, Kang Senghui might have been one of the earlymonks to create the tradition of writing the preface in southern China. Kang Senghui is also known to have

[421] Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 152.
[422] Lagerwey, *Early Chinese Religions*, 552.
[423] T2145_.55.0069a06: 沙彌十慧章句序第二嚴佛調作.A native of Linhuai 臨淮, Yan Fotiao had been a sincere Buddhist from his early age. Some scholars consider Yan Fotiao as the first Chinese to become an ordained monk (Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 89).
[424] Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 93.
[425] Preface to An Shigao's *Anban shouyi jing*; preface to his own (lost) commentary on An Xuan and Yan Fotiao's *Fajing jing*.

produced at least two commentaries, one on the *Fajing jing* **法鏡經** (T322) translated by An Xuan and Yan Fotiao, to which his preface has been preserved, and another on Zhi Qian's *Daoshu jing* **道樹經**. Though all of these works are thought to be lost, a few exciting lines of Kang Senghui's *Fajing jing* commentary are quoted in a sixth-century anthology, the *Fayuan zhulin* **法苑珠林** by Daoshi 道世.[426] However, Huijiao described:

> Previously, the sūtras had been translated for a long period of time, but the archaic translations sometime had some errors to the point that the sūtras' profound meanings were hidden and not in clarity. Each time [when the monks] expounded the sūtras, [they] only explained the general meaning and turned around to recite [the sūtras]. Shi Daoan viewed all of the sūtras, searching deeply into their meanings and then made the commentaries for *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* **道行般若波羅蜜經**, *Anpan shouyi jing*. He rationalized and compared to fathom the clause sentence. Thereupon, he removed the doubts and evaluated the explanation in total about twenty texts. Their sequences conveyed the rich and variegated, having upmost wonderful and profound meanings. Their procedures had been clarified, and their principles were clear. Namely, the meanings of the sūtras had been elucidated that was initiated by Shi Dao An.[427]

Here, Huijiao had given the highest credit to Daoan 道安 (312-385 AD) as a pioneer to clarify the meanings of the sūtras. In conclusion, prior to his mission to Jianye, Kang Senghui had prepared everything, from writing the preface and commentary to translating the sūtras. Namely, he was one of the early Buddhist monks to write the sūtra's preface tradition.

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[426] Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 154.

[427] T2059_.50.0352a21-.50.0352a27. 既達襄陽復宣佛法。初經出已久。而舊譯時謬致使深藏隱沒未通。每至講說唯敘大意轉讀而已。安窮覽經典鉤深致遠。其所注般若道行密跡安般諸經。並尋文比句為起盡之義。乃析疑甄解。凡二十二卷。序致淵富妙盡深旨。條貫既敘文理會通。經義克明自安始也。

3.2.7 Was Kang Senghui one of the early meditation masters in Jiaozhi and Southern China, and was his explanation of meditation in accord to that of the Buddhist meditation tradition?

3.2.7.1 Was Kang Senghui one of the early meditation masters in Jiaozhi and Southern China? Conclusion.

According to opinion of Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 (1893-1964), Kang Senghui met Han Lin, Piye, and Chen Hui sometime prior to 229 AD at which time he composed his annotation on the *Anban shouyi jing*.[428] Evidently, Kang Senghui wrote in the introduction to the *Anban shouyi jing*: "There is a Bodhisattva who goes by the name An Qing, whose title is Shigao. He was once heir to the throne of Parthia. After he abdicated in favor of his uncle, he came to this country. He traveled to many places and finally he came to the capital."[429] The capital here is the Luoyang capital of the Han and Wei dynasties, where An Shigao went to live and translate the sūtras around 148 AD, not the Wu's capital of Jianye. So, those words suggest that Kang Senghui wrote the commentary on the *Ānāpānasmṛti Sūtra* prior to his missionary journey to Jianye in 247 AD.[430] In short, probably working together with Chen Hui, who might have brought the *Ānāpānasmṛti Sūtra* translated by An Shigao from Luoyang, Kang Senghui might have written his commentary on this sūtra in Jiaozhi between 220 AD and 230 AD,.

Astonishingly, northern and southern Chinese Buddhists continued to be enchanted by one of the earliest Chinese Buddhist translations [of *Anban shouyi jing*], a work of *Dhyāna* "Buddhist yoga," instead of the contemporary popular genre of *Prajñā*

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[428] Tang Yongtong, *Han Wei Liang Jin NanbeichaoFojiao Shi, book I* (Taipei, 1965), 136.
[429] T0602_.15.0163b22-23: 安清字世高。安息王嫡后之子。讓國與叔馳避本土。翔而後集遂處京師。
[430] 247 is the year when Kang Seng Hui went to Jianye (Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese*, 153).

that related to the Prajñāpāramitā *corpus*.[431]

Actually, since early time meditation was very vital to religious life of Chinese monks. Meditative treatises are among the first Buddhist manuscripts translated into Chinese. Early monastic descriptions in China usually depict themselves engaging in meditation. The *Biographies of Eminent Monks* dedicates one of its ten chapters to monks, who were well-known for their meditative skills. These descriptions might have varied radically, depending both on personal inclination and on their monastic residence.[432]

After An Shigao and his followers created "*Dhyāna*" movement, it still spread continuously and imperatively throughout the early Chinese Buddhist history. Nevertheless, its sphere of influence was considerably limited within the monastic boundary. Only few lay Buddhists, those resided and practiced temporarily at the monasteries, might found interested in practicing Buddhist yoga meditation instead of the *Pure Conversations* 清談 *Qingtan* followers at the mansions of the highest gentry.[433]

Meditation has always occupied a prominent place in every Buddhist denomination. Some of the earliest Buddhist monks coming to China from India or Central Asia not only carried with them sacred images and manuscripts, but also their practice of Buddhist meditation. Possibly, An Shigao's arrival to China in 148 AD marked the unique emphasis on the practice of meditation in Chinese Buddhism. This "first important known Buddhist translator in China," imparted the familiar methods of meditation found in the Pāli Canon. Consequently, these methods were soon blended with

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[431] Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 66.
[432] Lagerwey, *Early Chinese Religions*, 571-572.
[433] Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 36.

Daoist meditational techniques. In fact, various translations credited to An Shigao mostly associate with meditation and concentration. His translation of *Sūtra on Concentration by Practicing Respiratory Exercises* or the *Sūtra on the Breath Exercise Ānāpānasmṛti Sūtra Anpan shouyi jing* 安般守意經 elucidates ancient yogic and early Buddhist practice of regulating of the breath by counting the inhalations and exhalations. This technique is basic to Zen practice. Even today Zen novices are generally directed, usually with the support of a master, to begin their Zen training by learning to sit and count their respirations.[434]

The *Dhyāna* tradition is considered to represent an unbroken line of transmission in China. The Buddhist texts translated during the Later Han period (25-220 AD) mostly emphasize on meditation and concentration. Kang Senghui, a Sogdian-Jiaozhi citizen and one of the best known Buddhist monks in China in the third century, mastered the *Dhyāna* teachings and composed a commentary to the sūtra on meditation that An Shigao had translated.[435] We may postulate that Kang Senghui wrote a preface for the *Anban shouyi jing* and aided in consultation and revision, while Chen Hui 陳慧 annotated the sūtra sometime prior to the year 229 AD. Probably, Kang Senghui had based on this sūtra, his preface, and commentary as well as his native teacher's instructions to teach meditation in Jiaozhi for many years prior to his missionary work in Jianye.[436] Since Kang Senghui did not disclose the name(s) of his teacher(s) and about their specific

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[434] Heinrich Dumolin, James W. Heisig, and Paul F, Knitter G., *Zen Buddhism: A History: India and China* (New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan; New York; London: Prentice Hall Macmillan, 1994), 65.
[435] Dumolin, *Zen Buddhism,* 65.
[436] In the introduction to the *Anban shouyi jing*, Kang Seng Hui mentioned: "If it was not from the master, it was not transmitted [by me since] I dared not [add anything] on my own initiative" (Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 80). It is doubtful that a monastic Kang Senghui would refer to the lay Buddhists Han Lin, Pi Ye, or Chen Hui as "master" even they had transmitted the *Anpan shouyi jing* exegesis to him (Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 64).

teachings, we can assume that he was one of the early meditation masters in Jiaozhi. Also, since Kang Senghui went to Jianye, China, he should be considered as one of the early meditation masters in China. This is a significant discovery, because according to the Chinese accounts of *Dhyāna* tradition, Bodhidharma, who went from India to China during the sixth century, is considered as the first patriarch of the *Dhyāna* (Zen) school. Evidently, it is very unlikely that there was any monk or lay people practicing meditation before Kang Senghui's time, but obviously there were many monks who practiced meditation quite after Kang Senghui's time and before Bodhidharma's. For instance, in the hagiobiography of *Gao seng zhuan*, the bibliographer Huijiao mentioned several monks who practiced *Dhyāna* quite after Kang Senghui's period. Namely, in that manuscript, the earliest recorded monk ever practicing meditation was Zhu Seng Hsien 竺僧顯, a northern native. During the year of 319 AD, he lived in the south of Jangzou 江左, and later went to some famous mountains to cultivate.[437] The second recorded monk who practices meditation in *Gao seng zhuan* is Bo Seng Gang 帛僧光. This monk had practiced meditation since his youth. In 345 AD, he lived in the mountain Shicheng 石城山 in Jiangdong 江東 to practice meditation.[438] In *Xichan Pien* 習禪篇 Daoxuan described meditative practice in China during the sixth and seventh centuries. Namely, six meditation groups were led and represented by six meditation masters. They lived in the following locations: some areas in the Northeast centered around Yexia 鄴下 and

[437] T2059_.50.0395b24-28: 竺僧顯。本姓傅氏。北地人。貞苦善戒節。蔬食誦經業禪爲務。常獨處山林頭陀人 外。或時數日入禪亦無飢色。時劉曜寇蕩 西京朝野崩亂。顯以晉大興之末, 南逗江 左。復歷名山修己恒業

[438] T2059_.50.0395c06-07: 帛僧光。或云曇光。未詳何許人。少習禪業. 晉永和初遊于江東投剡之石城山.

Luoyang 洛陽: Sengchou 僧稠 (480-560 AD); some areas around the Yangtze and Luo 洛 Rivers: Bodhidharma 菩提達磨 (fl. 5th AD); the area of Jingling 金陵 (Nanjing 南京): Zhicui 智璀 (d. after 577 AD); Nanyue 南獄(Hunan 胡南) Jingzhou 荊州(Hubei 湖北) and Tiantai 天台: Huisi 慧思(515-577 AD) (followed by Zhi Yi 智顗 (538-597 AD); and some areas in present-day Shanxi, centered around Jinyang 晉陽 (Taiyuan 太原): Huizan 慧瓚(536-607 AD).[439]

In conclusion, as discussed above, none of them appeared to study and practice meditation before Kang Senghui. As the result, he could be considered as one of the early meditation masters in Jiaozhi and Southern China.

3.2.7.2 Was his explanation of meditation in accordance with that of the early Buddhist meditation tradition? Conclusion.

In his preface of *Anpan shouyi jing*, Kang Senghui put forth a standard for attaining the first *Dhyāna*, which is qi, "abandoning" the one thousand three hundred million unclean thoughts: "In Śamatha there are no extraneous thoughts. One is passive and aimless as if dead."[440] Here, Kang Senghui defined the first *Dhyāna* as abandoning limitless unclean thoughts and as an absence of extraneous thoughts. He used the Daoist sense of being passive and aimless, as if dead, to describe this *Dhyāna*. However, in the

[439] Chen Jin Hua, "An Alternative View of Meditation in China: Meditation in the Life and Work of Daoxuan (596-677)" *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, vol.88, Fasc. 4/5 (2002): 345, 346.
[440] Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 72. Link notes that the interpretation on *Dhyāna* as *chi* "abandoning" probably is related with the meaning that the practitioner must abandon sensitivity to the sense (Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 73, note 43). Śamatha signifies that one should focus firmly on the breathing (Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 72). Kang Seng Hui also states about developing minor concentration of attaining focused thought after three days and major concentrations of attaining focused thought after seven days (Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 72).

writing of the "*Perfect Dhyāna*," he defined the first *Dhyāna*: "One eliminates five bewitching and erroneous things which are coveted by [the mind]. In this state, while good and evil struggle with one another, the good one gradually reduces the evils, and with the withdrawal of evil, good comes to the fore."[441] Here, Kang Senghui described the first *Dhyāna*'s state as eliminating the five bewitching and erroneous things, and the good thought surpassing the evil thoughts.[442] However, as Kang Senghui defined, the cultivator still tries to keep himself afar from the sense desires in order to purify within, calm the mind, and attain the first *Dhyāna*.[443] Fundamentally, by this elaboration Kang Senghui's writing about this first *Dhyāna* is similar to that of the *Anupada Sutta*, the *Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, the *Bhayabherava Sutta*, and others. The sole differences are Kang Senghui's descriptions of no extraneous thoughts and the good thoughts gradual overcoming the evils; with the withdrawal of evil, good comes to fore.[444]

Also, in early Buddhist meditation tradition, the first *Jhāna* is characterized by having "applied thought, sustained thought, rapture, and happiness born of the seclusion." Here, "the applied thought" means to guide the mind and its related components onto the focus, or it carries another meaning of absorption.[445] Since "applied thought" in this *Jhāna* is connected with good bases, it will manifest itself as righteous thought of "renunciation, of benevolence, and of harmlessness." Its manifestation in these

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[441] Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 103-104. Please see note 177 about the definition of *Dhyāna* (Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 103). Please see note 181 for the explanation of the five bewitching and erroneous things (Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 104).
[442] Five bewitching things are: When the eyes observe lustrous and seductive material objects, the heart turns into licentious and possessed. One [must, therefore] eradicate [subjection to] the sound of the ear, the scent of the nose, taste of the tongue, and enjoyable [tangile sensations] of the body (Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 104).
[443] Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 105.
[444] Please see the appendix 11: "Comparative Chart of 4 *Jhāna*s."
[445] Henepola Gunaratana, *The Jhānas in Theravāda Buddhist Meditation* (Kandy, Sri Lanka: Buddhist Publication Society, 1968), 55.

approaches originates from the relinquishment of the obstructions of bodily craving and ill will; the tainting accountable for the three improper thoughts are the craving, hatred, and harming.[446] Also, the first *Jhāna* is characterized by the "sustained thought," namely the mind's continuous focus on the target, implementation of the work of mind's focusing and its concentration on the target, and functional role of mind's examination.[447] When a meditator recognizes and detaches the five obstructions, he will experience joyfulness and delightfulness. When he is delightful, his mind is more peaceful. Happiness occurs when the mind is more focus and peaceful. Thus, one could be absorded in the first *Jhāna*.[448]

In comparison, while Kang Senghui's first *Dhyāna* is characterized by eliminating the five bewitching and erroneous things and the domination of good thoughts over evil ones, the early Buddhist meditation tradition's first *Jhāna* is characterized as the mind detaching from all desires of senses to give rise to the "applied thought" of focusing the mind on the object, the "sustained thought" of continuing focusing of the mind on the object to gain rapturous and happy experiences. In deed, Kang Senghui' description of the elimination of the five bewitching and erroneous things is similar to the early Buddhist meditation tradition's description of detachment from all desires of sense. Their difference is that while Kang Senghui's description of good thoughts gaining dominion over evil thoughts, the early Buddhist tradition's description of focusing and continued concentration onto the object and having rapturous and happy experiences.

In the second *Dhyāna*, Kang Senghui described how the cultivator does not need

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[446] Gunaratana, *The Jhānas in Theravāda Buddhist Meditation*, 57.
[447] Ibid., 58.
[448] Ibid., 60.

to dwell in the good thoughts and eliminate the bad thoughts, and his heart delights in concentration. The Pāli *Jhāna* describes this state relating to the absence of "applied and sustained thoughts," and it is filled with delightfulness and happiness coming from attentiveness. We can see that there is not much descriptive differences in the second *Dhyāna* or *Jhāna* between Kang Senghui's and the early Buddhist tradition's, respectively.

In the description of Kang Senghui's third *Dhyāna*, neither good nor evil enters the mind, and one experiences calmness. In the description of the early Buddhist tradition's third *Jhāna*, one dwells in equanimity, mindfulness, and discerning without any rapture. Thus, there is not much descriptive different between Kang Senghui's third *Dhyāna* and that of the early Buddhist meditation tradition, except the latter's description about equanimity and mindfulness.

Regarding the fourth *Dhyāna*, Kang Senghui described it as having complete faith in the Buddha's three treasures. His preface of the *Anpan shou yi jing* also clarified the mass of obscurities. In his writing about this last stage of *Dhyāna*, he described the discarding of good and evil and the retaining of the pure mind as a gem. On the other hand, early Buddhist meditation description about this state views differently: having neither anguish nor desire and having purity of awareness because of equanimity.

In short, regarding the first *Dhyāna*, Kang Senghui's description of eliminating the five bewitching and erroneous things and the early Buddhist meditation tradition's description of detachment from all desires of sense are similar. There are not much descriptive differences in the second *Dhyāna* between Kang Senghui's and the early tradition of Buddhist meditation. The description of Kang Senghui's third Dhyāna and

that of the early Buddhist meditation tradition are similar, except the latter's description about equanimity and mindfulness. Kang Senghui's fourth *Dhyāna* described the discarding of good and evil, and the retaining of the pure mind, as gem. However, the early Buddhist meditation description about this fourth state views it in different perspective: having neither anguish nor desire and having purity of awareness because of equanimity.

In conclusion, there are not much variances between Kang Senghui's explanation of the four *Dhyāna* and that of the early Buddhist meditation tradition.

3.2.8 Was Kang Senghui one of the early monks, who developed the "Wu scriptural idioms"?

3.2.8.1 Did he implement or modify the Indian indigenous principles into the Buddhist principles in his translation and writing?

With the augmentation and diffusion of Indianized civilizations in Southeast Asia, as well as the expansion of Buddhist ideas and its literature from India to East Asia, numerous traditional 'Indian' stories began to spread to these lands. For example, although the *Rāmāyaṇa* is not well known, it reached China through the Chinese translation of the *Nidana* of *Daśaratha Jātaka* (251 AD) from a lost Sanskrit text by Kang Senghui.[449] In fact, Kang Senghui had rendered the *Jātaka* form of the *Rāmāyaṇa*

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[449] Lokesh Chandra, "*Rāmāyaṇa*, The Epic of Asia," in *Epic Imprints: Impact of the Characters of the Epics and the Puranas on the Life of India,* vol. 31-32 (Vivekananda Kendra, 2003), 8. When a man neglected all of his responsibilities due to the grief of his death father, the Buddha recalled the following story. Rāmapandita, Lakkhana and Sītā were children of Daśaratha, a king of Benares. After the first queen passed away, the king married different queen and produced one prince, Bharata. With the agreement of the king, the second queen claimed the kingdom for her son when he was seven. Due to the concern about his elder children's safety, he banished them to the forest and allowed them to return to the palace only after he

into Chinese in 251 AD. In Chinese version, the theme of Hanumat in quest of Sītā is very strong, and it has enriched Chinese popular culture and folklore.[450]

As a teacher of Sino-Indian literature and as a Buddhist missionary in South China, Kang Senghui had translated in a systematic manner a short *Rāmāyaṇa* into Chinese and transformed it as a Buddhist story (i.e. story number forty-six in the *Liudu jijing)*.[451] In the Hindu *Rāmāyaṇa* episode, Rama, a crowned prince, and his wife, Sītā, were exiled by the King Daśaratha into a forest. Rāvaṇa, a demon king, abducted Sītā to Lanka. Hanumān, a monkey leader, assisted Ramā to rescue Sītā. Ramā was crowned as an ideal king.[452] Similarly, in the episode of the story number forty-six of the *Liudu jijing*, a benevolent king yielded the throne to his greedy uncle to live in a forest with his queen, who was abducted by a deviant dragon. The king helped a monkey king recapturing his kingdom from his own uncle. In return, the monkey king and his subjects assisted the king to rescue the queen. After the king's uncle died, his people sought for and crowned him as their king again. Here, in conclusion, we see that Kang Senghui translated, modified, and simplified the *Rāmāyaṇa* into a Buddhist story that has similar characters,

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died. In the forest, Lakkhana and Sītā fed Rama while he did ascetic practice. Seven year afterward, king Daśaratha passed away, but the ministers did not accept prince Bharata as the crown king. Then, Bharata set out to search for Rama in the forest, but Rama did not return to the palace until three years later. Because Bharata did not like to ascend to the throne, Rama offered him a pair of straw slippers and instructed him to put on the throne as his representative. If there was a right judgment, the slippers would remain quietly. Otherwise, if it was wrong judgment, the slippers would beat upon each other. Three years afterward, Rama went back and run his kingdom at Sucandaka palace with Sītā as queen consort for sixteen thousand years. The Buddha related the individuals in this story with Daśaratha as Suddhodana, Bharata as Ānānda, Lakkhana as Sāriputta, Sītā as Rāhulamātā, and Rāma as him, the Bodhisatta. J.iv.123-30 (*Daśaratha Jātaka* (No.461).

[450] Indra Nath Choudhuri, "How Does The World View The *Rāmāyaṇa*?" The Online Journal of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies, vol 19-20 (1993-1994): 63.

[451] Chung, *Across the Himalayan,* 185. T03n0152_p0026c06-b13. Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 178-182.

[452] Michael D. Coogan, *Eastern Religions: Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, Shinto* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 42-43. T03n0152_p0026c06- T03n0152_p0027b14

episodes, and themes.[453]

3.2.8.2 Did he include the elements of the indigenous Jiaozhi's Buddhist thoughts in his writings and translation?

Dropping the gold coins into the deceased person's mouth, the legend of the fox transforming into human, and the legend of the hundred eggs, as well as elevating the status of women actually are the Jiaozhi's indigenous legends and tradition.[454] In story number sixty-eight of the *Liudu jijing*, an unvirtous king was greedy for wealth, attached to sexual desire, and despised the noble ones and his people.[455] While contemplating about his death, he ordered the collection of all of the gold in his country for three years to bribe the king of Hell. Afterward, he pretended to give out a reward for whoever still kept the gold. A young boy took a gold coin from his deceased father's mouth and gave it to the king. After the boy lectured the king about the impermanent principle and how to live virtuously, the king repented and returned all of the gold to his people, and he became a virtuous king.[456] This story demonstrates the culture of putting a gold coin into deceased people in Vietnam. It is a quite different tradition from that of India and China. In India, mostly corpses were cremated, and their ashes were poured into the river, not buried. In the *Record of Hou Han Shu* 後 漢書, book ninety-six, the "Etiquette Part Three," the "Archaic Ceremonial Han" mentioned that after an emperor passed away, his

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[453] Please see appendix 6 "Summary of *Rāmāyaṇa* story" and appendix 8: "Comparative stories between Rāmāyaṇa and number 46 in *liudu jijing*."
[454] Ann Caddell Crawford, *Customs and Culture of Vietnam* (Rutland, Vt., C.E. Tuttle, 1966), 124. Uy Ban Khao Hoc Xa Hoi Viet Nam, Vietnam Social Sciences, issues 4-6, p. 108. Karen O'Connor, *Vietnam* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Co., 2009), 39. Taylor*, Birth of Vietnam*, 77.
[455] T03n0152_p0036b28-c27. Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois*, 253-254.
[456] T152_p0036b28-_p0036c27. Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 253-254.

mouth should hold a pearl.[457] In the *Etiquette of the Exploring the Proof of the Mandate*, when an emperor was dead, the (offering) food should be the pearl, and his mouth should hold a piece of jade. The (offering) food for the kings of the feudal vassals should be the pearl, and their mouths should hold the pearl annulus. The (offering) food for the ministers and gentlemen should be the pearl, and their mouths should hold the cowrie.[458] Evidently, a unique Burial 9 from the site of Sokkam-ni, 25 kilometers (15 mi.) south of the Taedong River, was examined after its discovery in 1916. The nature of the ornaments in a black lacquer coffin specifies that the burial chamber owner was buried with his eyes, ears, and mouth filled with jade stoppers, and a jade rod had been placed in his anus. The Han funerary practice was recognized in the burial of Liu Sheng at Mancheng.[459] In short, there was no custom of putting the gold into the deceased mouth in China before and contemporarily to the *Liudu ji jing* time. The custom of dropping the gold coins into the deceased person's mouth probably might have been practiced in Vietnam for a long period of time.[460]

Story number twenty-one of the *Liudu ji jing* recalled the account of a fox transforming itself into a person.[461] Evidently, the fox legend of transforming into a human was popular during the compilation of *Liudu ji jing* in Vietnam. For instance, Son Vuong, a legendary King of Tan Vien Mountain, brought civilization to the local people

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[457] 後漢書志第六, 禮儀下, 漢舊儀. 注[一]漢舊儀曰：「帝崩，唅以珠;
[458]後漢書志第六禮儀下, 禮稽命徵. 注[二]禮稽命征曰：「天子飯以珠，唅以玉。諸侯飯以珠，唅以*(珠)**[璧]*。卿大夫、士飯以珠，唅以貝。
[459] Higham, *Encyclopedia of Ancient Asian,* 197.
[460] Crawford, *Customs and Culture,* 124.
[461] T03n0152_p0013c01-c23. Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 93-96.

and enlisted the Dragon Emperor's assistance to kill a fox spirit that ate human flesh.[462]

In addition, the modifications of the story number twenty-three of the *Liudu ji jing* from the story "The Causal Conditions of One Hundred Sons Who were Born at the Same Time" *Bai zi tong chan yuan* 百子同産緣 in the "Sūtra of Selected One Hundred Causal Conditions" *Zhuan ji bai yuan jing* 撰集百緣經, and the story Putrah, number sixty-eight, in the *Avadānaśataka*, especially take an imperative position and meaning for the legend of the origin of the Vietnamese people.[463] *Bai zi tong chan yuan*talks about a pregnant wife of a wealthy man. After the due date, she delivered a flesh bag that caused her husband to be frustrated. He went to see the Buddha and inquired about the auspicious or inauspicious sign of the flesh bag. The Buddha told the wealthy man to protect and nourish it for seven days to see a sign. On the seventh day, the flesh bag was broken, and one hundred handsome sons came out of that bag. When they grew up, they became monks and achieved Arhatship. When the monks had doubts about these one-hundred arhats, the Buddha said that in one of their past life these one-hundred brothers were neighbors; they used flowers and fragrance to offer to the pagoda of the Buddha

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[462] A thousand-year-old fox spirit dwelled in a cave at the foot of Tien Thach Mounatin. It usually altered its shape, sometimes as a monkey or sometimes as a human being (Thich Nhat Hanh, *The Dragon Prince: Stories and Legends from Vietnam:* Easy Read Comfort Edition (Berkeley, CA: Parallax Press, 2007), 144. The Great King of Mount Tan-Vien or the Spirit of Moun Tan-Vien was one of the most powerful persons in Vietnamese mythology. According to the legendary record, as a son of Lac Long Quan and Au Co, he went after his father to the sea, but later he returned to reside on Mount Tan-Vien, the "Olympus" of Vietnamese mythology (Taylor, *Birth of Vietnam*, 5). Regarding the legend of Lac Long Quan and Au Co, please read Appendix A in the book "The Birth of Vietnam" (Taylor, *Birth of Vietnam*, 303).

[463] T03n0152_p0014a26-c18; Édouard Chavannes, *Cinq Cents, Extraits, Du Tripiṭaka Chinois, Et Traduits En Francais* (Paris: Publies Sous Les Auspices De La Societe Asiatique, 1910), 97-99. Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 80-84. T0200_.04.0237a20: (六八)百子同産緣. T0200_.04.0203a04-0257a02: 撰集百緣經. Léon Feer. *Avadâna-Çataka* / *Cent légendes (bouddhiques*) (Paris : E. Leroux, Annales du Musée Guimet,1891), 251-253. Also, Sima Qian mentioned about hundred tribes of Yue (Burton Watson, trans., *Records of The Grand Historian* by Sima Qian (New York: Columbia University Press, revised version, 1993)' 11-12). Besides, according to Meng Wentong 蒙文通, Baiyue 白越 may be divided into four groups such as Wu-Yue 吳越 (including East Ou 東甌 and Min-yue 閩越), Nanyue 南越, Xi'ou 西甌, and Luoyue 駱越 (蒙文通, 越史叢考, page 17).

Vipaśyin and made a vow to become brothers. That is why they were altogether born in a flesh bag.

Story twenty-three of the *Liudu ji jing* modifies the story of Putrah in the *Avadānaśataka*.[464] It records that an old maiden offered her own lunch box and a lotus flower to a pratyekabuddha with the wish that she would have one-hundred sons as same as that Buddha. In her next life, she was a king's concubine, who gave birth to one hundred eggs. Due to jealousy, other concubines hid these eggs in a sealed vase and let it floating down a river. A king living downstream picked up that vase, opened, and saw one hundred eggs. These eggs were given to a lady to incubate. When the due time came, the eggs shell were broken, and one hundred young men stepped out. They had superior wisdom of knowing without learning, unsurpassed in handsomeness and unequaled strength. When they grew up, the king let them leading the army expeditions in four directions, and they were successful. When they invaded their mother country, its king and officials were frightened. Their mother consoled her king and poured her breast-milk into her one-hundred sons's mouths, and thus all of them recognized her as their mother. Afterward, the two countries were in harmony as brotherhood. Ninety-nine brothers left the palace to become monks and enlightened as Pratyeka-buddhas. When the last king passed away, the remaining one was a crowned king, who utilized ten wholesome deeds as the national laws.

By the detailed examination of the story number twenty-three of the *Liudu ji jing*, we recognize that it contains a powerful theme on the original legend of the Vietnamese

[464] T03n0152_p0014a26-b18. Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 97-99.

people.[465] In the fifteen century, Ngô Sĩ Liên, a historian of the Lê State, modified the story of Hồng Bàng family to establish the Hồng Bàng State according to the story of the *Lĩnh Nam Chích Quái* "The Wonderful Stories in Linh Nam" of Trần Thế Pháp. Actually, Ngô Sĩ Liên included this story in his comprehensive historical document *Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư* "Completed Historical Record of Great Viet."[466] The legend recorded the marriage of Lạc Long Quân "Dragon Lord of Lac" with fairy Âu Cơ 嫗姬 to conceive one hundred eggs that broke out as one hundred sons. These sons in turn created one hundred Viet (Bai Yue 百越 ethnic group).[467] Within the Bai Yue, there was Luoyue 洛越 ethnic group, which was the origin of the Vietnamese people.[468] In the "Outline by imperial decree of the mirror of the history of the Great" it mentions the legend of the one hundred eggs coming from some Tang Dynasty's fictional stories. [469] Actually, this legend existed in Jiaozhi (North Vietnam) since the beginning of the first millennium through the modification in this *Liudu ji jing*. When we compare the *Bai zi tong chan yuan* 百子同産緣 in the *Zhuan ji bai yuan jing* and the story of Putrah in the *Avadānaśataka* with story number twenty-three of the *Liudu ji jing*, we could recognize

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[465] T03n0152_p0014a26-c18; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 97-99.
[466] Phillip Taylor, *Modernity and Re-Enchantment: Religion and Post-Revolutionary Vietnam* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2007), 68, 464.
[467] Anh Thu Ha and Hong Duc Tran, *A Brief Chronology of Vietnam's History* (Hanoi: The Gioi Publishers, 2000), 3. Also, Sima Qian mentioned about hundred tribes of Yue in his writing "Records of The Grand Historian," page 11-12.
[468] Most authorative traditional and contemporary scholars assert that the forebear people of the Zhuang/Nung were the "Bai Yue" citizens in China. *Bai Yue* or "the One Hundred Yue," is an ancient Chinese title of many diverse groups probably and loosely related to one ethnic, the Yue. Luo Yue and Xi Ou were considered as ones of the earliest Yue ethnic. The Luo Yue or Lac Viet resided mainly in southwest Guangxi and northern Vietnam (Jeffrey G. Barlow, "Culture, Ethnic Identity, and Early Weapons System: The Sino-Vietnamese Frontier," in *East Asian Cultural and Historical Perspectives: Histories and Society*, ed. Steven Totosy de Zepetnek and Jenifer V. Jay, 1-16 (Alberta, Canada: University of Alberta. Research Institute for Comparative Literature and Cross-Cultural Studies, June, 1996), 2).
[469] Phan Thanh Giản 潘清简, *Khâm Định Việt Sử Thông Giám Cương Mục* 钦定越史通鉴纲目[Outline by imperial decree of the mirror of the history of the Great Viet]. Tiền Biên Vol. 2. Rare books in Chinese library. National University of Singapore.

the effort of the documentary compilers to assimilate the Indian accounts into that of Vietnamese.[470] The compilers' purposes are to modify these accounts to become more Vietnamese. Thus, these compilers could integrate Indian Buddhism into Vietnamese tradition, literature, and thinking, and transform Indian Buddhist elements as the inseparable parts of Vietnamese Buddhism.

The story number fourteen of the *Liudu ji jing* preposterously proposed the question why girls were more valuale than boys.[471] Actually, ancient Vietnamese society might not have been a matriarchy, but undoubtedly its women enjoyed hereditary rights that allowed them to assume roles of political leadership. The imperial laws of the later Vietnamese reigns revealed considerably privileges for women that show the local defiance toward the influence of Chinese patriarchal system.[472] In fact, in a Confucian society, women have no privilege right because they are inferiors in a family. Namely, they are controlled by their father as daughters, by their husband as wives, and by their sons as the widow. A woman could not divorce her husband, and she may not even remarry after his death. Oppositely, a man could divorce his wife if she is guilty to any of seven faults.[473]

In conclusion, Kang Senghui's writing and translation contain the Jiaozhi (Vietnamese) customary elements of: dropping the gold coins into the deceased person's mouth, the legend of the fox transforming into human, the legend of the hundred eggs, and the high status for women.

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[470] T03n0152_p0014a26-c18; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 97-99.
[471] T03n0152_p007c27-11b05. Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 64-67.
[472] Taylor*, Birth of Vietnam*, 77.
[473] William Theodore De Bary, *Neo-Confucian Education: The Formative Stage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 231.

3.2.8.3 Did he modify the Chinese indigenous principles and terminologies to expound Buddhist principles?

Kang Senghui probably was one of the early monks who emphasized the similarities between Buddhism and Confucianism. Since Buddhism in southern China was still in its early stage during the Three Kingdoms Periods, Emperor Sun Hao was skeptical of Buddhist truthfulness but sought a Buddhist solution to the question of ethical justice: "The explanation [teaching] of Buddhism is about the retribution of wholesome and unwholesome deeds. Why is that?" Kang Senghui denoted and drew to the value of a belief at the time, i.e., considerate reverberation (*ganying*, 感應); namely, human conducts and actions resonate directly with natural phenomena.[474] He used elegant analogies and Confucian principles to elucidate his position. For example, he described that an old man could see a red crow flying to a wise lord, who employed filial piety and benevolence to teach his subjects. If one applied virtue in raising animals, the sweet spring would surge up and auspicious sprouts would grow up. To strengthen his argument about the Buddhist principle of cause and effect, he utilized a paraphrase in The *Book of Changes Yijing* 易經: "Accumulation of unwholesome deeds will bring a residual of calamity," arguing that Confucianism and Buddhism were compatible with one and

[474] Kan Ying "considerate reverberation or sympathetic resonance" is a mode of seemingly spontaneous natural response in a universe conceived holistically in terms of pattern and interdependent order. By the Han time, the notion of resonance was explicitly used to explain or rationalize the mechanism behind the elaborate system of correlated categories generally known as five-phase thought. According to the biography of Fan Ying found in the *Hou-han shu* (*Book of the Later Han Dynasty*, 112a. 14b-17a), during Han Shun-ti (r.126-144) time, a bell below the emperor's hall sounded of itself. Fan Ying explained: "Min Mountain in Shu (Szechwan) has collapsed. Mountains are mothers in relation to copper. When the mother collapses, the child cries." Afterward, officials in Shu area reported that a mountain had crumbled, and the time of the collapse correspondent precisely the time the bell had sounded (Robert Sharf, *Coming to Terms With Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the Treasure Store Treasure* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 81, 82.

another.[475] He also provided a second paraphrase in the *Book of Odes Shi Jing* **詩經**: "Seeking for happiness by no crooked ways" to advice people not using the illegal shortcut to achieve happiness.[476]

3.2.8.4 Conclusion.

Since Kang Senghui utilized the indigenous usages from India, Jiaozhi (Vietnam), and China, he was considered as one of the early monks, who developed the "Wu scriptural idioms" in translation, commentary, and writing of prefaces as described above.

3.2.9 Was he one of the early Buddhist monks, who harmonized the three religions in China: Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism? Conclusion.

Generally, Kang Senghui had used numerous Chinese indigenous usages in his translation, commentary, writing of preface, etc., so that the Chinese elite and intellectuals could understand Buddhism through the lens of their aboriginal traditions and familiar practices. Of course, as a Buddhist apologetic and cultivator, he presented Buddhism as a better choice than that of Chinese indigenous tradition, especially in the

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[475] T2145_.55.0096c15-16: **易稱。積惡餘殃。詩詠。求福不回。雖儒典之格言。即佛教之明訓也。** James Ledge, trans., "Book of Change, The Divinatory Trigram," *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 16 (1899) 易經, 第二卦: **積善之家，必有餘慶**；積不善之家，必有餘殃. "If one accumulates the wholesome deeds, one would reap ample happiness. If one accumulates the unwholesome deeds, one definitely would reap various calamities."

[476] T2145_.55.0096c15-16: **易稱。積惡餘殃。詩詠。求福不回。雖儒典之格言。即佛教之明訓也。** James Ledge, trans. *Shi Jing* [Book of Odes] **詩經**, 早麓 : 莫莫葛藟、施于條枚。豈弟君子、求福不回。 Zao Lu: "Luxuriant are the dolichos and other creepers. Clinging to the branches and stems. Easy and self-possessed was our prince. Seeking for happiness by no crooked ways." Also, by 'doing wholesome deed brings good fortune, and doing unwholesome deed brings calamity" represents the constancy in heaven's laws (Mary Evelyn Tucker, *Moral and Spiritual Cultivation in Japanese Neo-Confucianism: The Life and a Thought of Kaibara Ekken* (1630-1714) (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 219).

fields of ethics and politics. Obviously, Chinese people are proud of their Confucian heritage.

Theoretically, Confucius established an important moral guideline to direct people in studying and cultivating the virtues, i.e., the principle of "to love humanity" *ren* 仁, by not imposing upon others what one does not desire for oneself, seeking to establish oneself and others, and improving oneself and others.[477] Similarly, in the *Liudu jijing*, story thirty-one, Kang Senghui used the similar connotation of *ren* serveral times to explain the virtue of Buddhas and how they love humanity.[478] Kang Senghui expounded that the Buddhas used the virtue of loving humanity as the upmost jewel within the three realms of existence. Therefore, a Buddhist would terminate his life rather than renouncing the humane virtuous path.[479]

Based on personal feelings, Confucius describes "authoritative co-humanity (*ren*)" as affectionate feelings that expand to others; "ritual" *li* 禮 as the common compromise of social feeling; and "appropriateness" *yi* 義 as the justification of various feelings in a community. Specifically, Confucius mentioned that our personal feelings should not be blind (i.e. influenced by personal interest and desires).[480] Actually, regarding *yi,* it is generally the concern for right conduct that is in opposition to self-

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[477] Ruiping Fan, *Reconstructionist Confucianism: Rethinking Morality After the West* (Dordrecht; London: Springer, 2010), 50. Prior to the Confucian ancient classics, *ren* implies only a particular virtue for a particular type of person, i.e., the kindness of a ruler to his people. Later, Confucius transformed it into a universal virtue and made it relevant to all people. Here, *ren* is a whole virtue and a basic ethic code in guiding people's life and actions. (Ruing Fan, 50).

[478] T03n0152_p0018c14(01)‖今來歸仁. T03n0152_p0018c18(05)‖『諸佛以仁為三界上寶，吾寧殞軀命，不去仁道也。』

[479] T0152_.03.0018c17-18:諸佛以仁爲三界上寶。吾寧殞躯命。不去仁道也。

[480] Haiming Wen, *Confucian Pragmatism as the Art of Contextualizing Personal Experience and World* (New York: Lexington Books, 2009), 108.

serving benefit.[481] Thus, by Confucian definition, from the above explanation of the words *ren* and *yi*, we would have their combined meaning of "love of humanity" and "righteousness of non self-benefit."

Similarly, in story forty-six of the *Liudu jijing*, Kang Senghui used the combination of the words "benevolence and righteousness" *renyi* 仁義, which states that greedy mind people are like the crazy people, and they do not have the benevolent and righteous mind.[482]

In the *Gaozi II*, Mengzi said: "Respect the old, and be kind to the young."[483] In *Weizheng* 為政 text of the *Confucian Analects*, Ji Kang inquired how to make people to respect and be loyal to their leader and to remain as virtuous people. Confucius mentioned that if one were a filial king, and if one would govern his country with sincerity and kindness, then his people would venerate and be loyal to him.[484] Similarly, Kang Senghui utilized the Confucian word "kindness" *ci* 慈 in his explanation about the first precept for lay people: "First is the kindness that one does not kill others, and his kindness spread over all sentient beings."[485]

Confucius used the word "*zhong* 忠" quite frequently in his teachings on sincerity as one of the first principles, faithfulness, loyalty, devotion of soul, and undeviating consistency.[486] For example, in the *Ba Yi* text, when the Duke Ding inquired how

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[481] Qingsong Shen and Kwong-Loi Shun, *Confucian Ethics in Retrospect and Prospect* (Washington, D.C: Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2008), 21.
[482] T0152_.03.0027c13: 貪欲爲狂夫 靡有仁義心
[483] 告子下, 孟子曰: …敬老慈幼…
[484]論語, 為政, 季康子問：「使民敬、忠以勸，如之何？」子曰：「臨之以莊則敬，孝慈則忠.
[485] T0152_.03.0052a17-18 一者慈, 仁不殺恩及群生。
[486] James Legg, trans. *Confucian Analects* (1893), 1, 3, 5, 7, 12. According to some scholars, the character *zhong* as "political loyalty," appearantly was not existed in the earlier documents such as the *Book of*

ministers should attend their prince, Confucius responded that ministers must serve their prince with faithfulness.[487] In *Nan Huai Zi* 淮南子, it defined a *zhongchen* **忠臣** as a person who always serves and respects his king faithfully.[488] Similarly, in the translation of *Liudu jijing*, Kang Senghui used the Chinese classic usage such as "a loyal official" *zhongchen* **忠臣** several times.[489]

In the section *Wei Ling Gong* **衛靈公** of the *Confucian Analects*, Confucius said, "The superior man is correctly firm, and not firm merely" when he referred to the word "*Zhen* 貞."[490] Similarly, in *Liudu jijing*, story forty-six, Kang Senghui used the combination of *zhong* and *zhen* **忠貞** usage to describe the cruelness of a king, who even killed loyal and resoluted people.[491]

In the *Liudu jijing*, story fifty-four, Kang Senghui used the combination of the two words *Zhen* **貞真**, "firmness and highest reality" that derive from the *Daode jing* **道德經**, *Nanhua Jing* of *Zhuangzi* **莊子**[南華經], and *Yijing* **易經** in explaining an apparent

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Documents, the *Book of Poetry* and the *Book of Changes*. Initiated by Confucius and Mengzi, *zhong* began to denote the individual inner virtue in dealing with other people. In the Confucian context, the word *zhong* means "sincerity," and he often connected *zhong* with trust (*xin* **信**). Similarly, in the *Book of Mengzi*, both *zhong* and xin are used simultaneously and associated with other virtues, such as 'benevolence, dutifulness, sincerity, and truthfulness, or kindness (Yanxia Zhao, *Father and Son in Confucianism and Christianity: A Comparative Study of Xunzi and Paul* (Brighton [England]; Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press, 2007), 82, 83).

[487] James Legge, trans. *Confucian Analects* (1893), 3.

[488] The *Huainanzi* (The Master of Huainan) is a compilation of knowledge in early Han (206 BC-220 AD) (An Liu and John S. Major, *The Essential Huainanzi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 1). **西漢．劉安　等原著、許匡一譯注**, 淮南子(二) (**台灣書房** 2006), 83.

[489] T0152_.03.0044a27: **忠臣誠且清讓**;　T0152_.03.0004a13:**子孝臣忠**; T0152_.03.0017a28: **至即陳治國之政義合忠臣**

[490] James Legge, trans. *Confucian Analects*, (1893), 16.

[491] T0152_.03.0026c15-18: **王與 元后俱委國亡。舅入處國。以貪殘爲 政。戮忠貞。進佞蠱。政苛民困。怨泣相屬。**

distinction between wholesome and unwholesome conduct.[492]

In his autobiography, Kang Senghui skillfully utilized Chinese classics for describing history. For example, to describe how he missed his three monastic masters, he used the verses and words in the "Book of Odes or The Classic of Poetry" (**詩經** *Shījīng*): "When, reverently, I gazed upward at the sun veiled in clouds, I grieved that I could not question and receive instruction from them (three masters). When, loving their words, I longingly looked back to them, involuntarily I felt my tears start.[493] Actually, Kang Senghui's verse "involuntarily I felt my tears start" (**潸然出涕**) is the usage of the verses "Great East," 大東 *Da Dong* of the "Book of Odes."[494]

In the explanation of how to control the sense organs and to recognize the light of wisdom, Kang Senghui utilized the usage from *Confucian Analects*: "First, he unstopped their ears; next he opened their eyes, desiring that they would see and hearken

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[492] T0152_.03.0030c07-8:…**貞眞照現。天人歎善。**While the word *zhen* **真** does not seem to emerge in the five Confucian classics, it is found in both *Daode jing* and the *Zhuangzi*. *Daode jing* 21 says, "Within [the Dao] is an essence (*jing*); this essence is the highest reality (*zhen* **真**)," and *Zhuangzi* 31 defines the term saying: "Reality (*zhen* **真**) is what is received from Heaven." (Pregadio, *Encylopedia of Taoism,* 1265). Actually, the term *zhen* **貞** is described in *Yijing* as the last process of development: originating growth (*yuan* **原**), prosperous development (heng), advantage (*li* **利**), and correct firmness (*zhen*, **貞**) (John Makeham, "Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy," *Jounrnal of Song-Yuan Studies,* vol. 1, XLII (2010): 55). In the prophetic procedure, four words have been chosen to portray the process of divinity: *yuan* (**原** origination); *heng* (prosperity), *li* (**利** benefiting); and *zhen* (**貞** sustaining). The stages of dialectical transformation include five different process of becoming: origination, integration, achievement, differentiation, and completion by sustaining toward a larger integration after a new origination (Bo Mou, *History of Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1952-53), 85).

[493] Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 79. 仰瞻雲日悲無質受。眷言顧之**潸**然出涕, T0602_.15.0163c01-02;

[494]有饛簋飧、有捄棘匕。周道如砥、其直如矢。君子所履、小人所視。睠言顧之、潸焉出涕. "Well loaded with millet were the dishes, and long and curved were spoons of thorn-wood. The way to Zhou was like a whetstone, and straight as an arrow. [So] the officers trod it, and the common people looked on it. When I look back and think of it. My tears run down in streams" (James Legge, *Sacred Books of the East,* vol. 3, *Odes 9*, *Da Dong* (1879), 362).

to the light.[495] This usage is similar to that of the *Confucian Analects*. Confucius said, "The superior man has nine things which are subjects with him of thoughtful consideration. In regard to the use of his eyes, he is anxious to see clearly. In regard to the use of his ears, he is anxious to hear distinctly."[496]

One of Kang Senghui's most significant works is the shared work with Chen Hui on the translation of *Anpan shouyi jing*, which has long been considered to be one of the benchmarks of An Shigao's language and style, as well as his own preface on this text. In fact, *Anpan shouyi jing* clearly carries a carbon imprint of Daoist influence explicitly through its archaic Chinese partial translation and transliteration as well as the translated Indic term being expressed in Daoist terminology.[497] In fact, after a careful analysis of the *Anpan shouyi jing* and its similar version, the *Knogoji* manuscript, Zacchetti has concluded that it is not a translation at all, but it is simply a commentary on another text. A similar version of the *Anpan shouyi jing* exists in the *Kongoji* manuscript. Nattier suggests that a detailed investigation should be done to determine the authorship of this text, i.e., whether it should be viewed as the work of An Shigao, or one of his immediate disciples, or of someone from a later generation.[498] While we are waiting for future scholars to shine a light and determine its authorship, we probably have the evidence of its producers (i.e. An Shigao, Kang Senghui, and Chen Hui, as being

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[495] Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 79. 先挑其耳却啟其目。欲之視明聽聰也, T0602_.15.0163b26-27.
[496]學而第一, 【第十章】孔子曰、君子有九思、視思明、聽思聰. (James Legge, trans. *Confucian Analect*, "Book 1, chapter 10"), 16).
[497] Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 59.
[498] Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 60.

recorded in Kang Senghui's work on its preface).[499] Regarding the *Yin chi ru jing zhu* 陰持入經註 (*Skandhadhatvayatana*, YCRJZ), Kang Senghui probably is the chief proofreader and editor of them.[500] Actually, Kang Senghui skillfully and frequently used the archaic Chinese indigenous and Daoist terminologies and usages in this text. For example, the word *anpan* 安般 denotes "in-and-out breathing" according to the Indic interpretation, or the "out-and-in breathing" according to the usual Chinese understanding; it is considered as another expression of the Daoist practice and interpreted according to the *yin* and *yang* conceptual pattern.[501] Also, the word *shouyi* 守意 "guarding the mind," in the title as a translation of the word *smrti* "mindfulness" in this text, is similar to that of *shouyi* 守一 in the Daoist sense of "keeping to the One, guarding Unity" as an original designation to some sort of Daoist concentration.[502]

In conclusion, by its own title, the *Anpan shouyi jing* is at least outwardly and strongly influenced by Daoist notions through skillful editing and proofreading of Kang Senghui. He had put forth the effort to utilize Daoist terminologies and notions to create the "Wu scriptural idioms" into this work, and to harmonize the Buddhist and Chinese indigenous concepts so that they could be acceptable and accessible by the Chinese people.[503]

In addition, it is undeniable fact that Buddhism and Confucianism are quite

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[499] "Chen Hui annotated these doctrines and I aided in consultation and revision" (Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 65, 80).
[500] Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 80. *Yin chi ru jing zhu* (*Skandhadhatvayatana*) T 1694 (YCRJZ) is conventionally believed as An Shigao's translation work; it is an early commentary version (Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 61).
[501] Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 59, 60. Yin represents in-breathing, and yan represents out-breathing (Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 60).
[502] Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 60.
[503] Ibid., 61.

different since each of them has its own unique principles and approaches.

When someone asked how to use virtue to recompense the injury, Confucius replied in the pattern of "an eye for an eye"; namely, one should counterpoise injury with justice and virtue with virtue.[504] In Confucius's view, one should bring the enemy to justice while treating the virtuous people with goodness in a worldly approach. Conversely, the Buddha teaches people to return the harm with compassion and forgiveness. According to the story number ten in the *Liudu ji jing*, before being executed by his neighbor king, a virtuous king reminded his son not to take revenge after his death because he rather sacrificed his life for the sake of others.[505]

Also, in story number forty-nine of the *Liudu ji jing*, Kang Senghui criticized Confucian approaches and showed the Buddhist wholesomeness through the character of a hunter: "I lived the secular life for several years. Though, I have seen the Confucians accumulating virtues and do good deeds. However, is there someone among them, who, as do the disciples of the Buddha, sacrifice their lives for others and live in the seclusion without advertising their names?"[506]

Here Kang Senghui, as a compiler of *Liudu ji jing*, challenged Confucian scholars and Daoist adherents, who advocated the accumulation of virtue and good merits. He also challenged that if any one of them could be better than the Buddhist followers, who willingly sacrifice their lives for others and living in seclusion without advertising their names.

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[504]憲問, 或曰：「以德報怨，何如？」子曰：「…以直報怨，以德報德…。」

[505] T03n0152_p0005c04-09. T0152_.03.0005c04-6: …父覩之仰天曰。違父遺誨。含兇懷毒。蘊於重怨。連禍萬載 非孝子矣。

[506] T0152_.03.0028a22-24. 獵者曰。處世有年。雖覩儒士積德爲善。豈有若佛弟子恕己濟衆。隱處而不揚名者乎。

Also, in the "The sūtra about the Buddha gives definite prediction to a Confucian man" *Rutong shou jue jing* 儒童受決經, a man supposed to receive five hundred dollars and a beautiful girl after his winning of a debate with five hundred Confucian men. However, the five hundred Confucians discriminated him and denied his right to take the young girl: "Although he is a gentleman and intelligent, he is still a foreigner. As a result, he cannot marry with our woman."[507] This is a discriminative attitude, according to Confucian perspective, toward others based on nationality. It is totally different from the Buddhist perspective of equality in race, nationality, gender, etc. Probably, that is why Kang Senghui compiled and translated this story to criticize the narrow-viewed Confucianism in comparison to Buddhism.

Besides, when Sun Hao questioned about the Buddhist valuableness as well as the availability of Confucianism, Kang Senghui positively stressed that the Confucian and Duke of Zhou's philosophies were simply near-sighted views. On the other hand, the Buddhist principle of ethical justice such as the heaven and hell concepts in the third century AD, could describe the deepest facets of sentient beings. As a result, Kang Senghui's stylistic arguments procured imperial recognition of Buddhism as well as confirming its domination over Confucian doctrine on ethical theme. Generally, Kang Senghui utilized the techniques of persuasion and collaboration.[508]

However, Kang Senghui made effort to harmonize the differences between Buddhism and Confucianism. In story number forty-nine of the *Liudu ji jing*, a religious king rescuing a crow, a snake, and a hunter illustrated the principle of patience as well as

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[507] T0152_.03.0048a05-06: 諸儒俱曰。斯雖高智然異國之士。不應納吾國之女也.
[508] Yuet Keung Lo, "Chang beyond syncretism: Ouyi Zhixu's Buddhist hermeneutics of the Yijing," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 35.2 (June, 2008): 273, 274.

solving the relationship between Buddhism and Confucianism.[509]

In addition, according to the Confucian perspective, people should: be filial toward their parents and follow their parents' examples at home, be loyal to their leader, protect their body physically, praise their parents, and glorify their name in the future.[510] Indeed, the starting of Confucian filial piety is not to injure or wound any part of our body because we receive it from our parents' kindness. The ending of Confucian filial piety is to establish the character by glorifying our fame in the future and extolling our parents.

Actually, Confucian idealology guides people to follow a stable and harmonious society, orderly in a monarchy regime, but not a democracy government. It does not specify how people interact, support, and care for others equally and fraternally in a family, community, and nation.

To suit the Chinese Confucian culture, Kang Senghui, a scholar of Sino-Indian literature, translated and modified some Buddhist stories in the *Liudu ji jing* according to this indigenous tradition. For instance, story number nine, thirty-three, and thirty-nine of

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[509] T0152_.03.0028a01-c14. Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 187-190.

[510] In the first chapter of the "Scope and Meaning of the Treatise in the Classic of Filial Piety" text, Confucius said, "(It was filial piety). Now filial piety is the root of (all) virtue, and (the stem) out of which grows (all moral) teaching. Sit down again, and I will explain the subject to you. Our bodies--to every hair and bit of skin--are received by us from our parents, and we must not presume to injure or wound them:--this is the beginning of filial piety. When we have established our character by the practice of the (filial) course, so as to make our name famous in future ages, and thereby glorify our parents--this is the end of filial piety. It commences with the service of parents; it proceeds to the service of the ruler; it is completed by the establishment of the character." 孝經, 開宗明義章第一, 子曰．夫孝．德之本也．教之所由生也．復坐．吾語汝．身體髮膚．受之父母．不敢毀敢毀傷孝之始也．立身行道．揚名於後世．以顯父母．孝之終也．夫孝．始於事親．中於事君．終於立身 (James Legge, trans., "The Xiao Jing," *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 3 (1879), 466-467). In the *Confucian Analects*, "Xue Er," Confucius said, "A youth, when at home, should be filial, and, abroad, respectful to his elders." 論語, 學而, **子曰：弟子入則孝，出則弟**. James Legge, trans. *Confucian Analects*, 1. In the *Confucian Analects*, "Xue Er," Confucius said, "While a man's father is alive, look at the bent of his will; when his father is dead, look at his conduct. If for three years he does not alter from the way of his father, he may be called filial." 論語, **學而, 子曰：「父在，觀其志；父沒，觀其行；三年無改於父之道，可謂孝矣。**(James Legge, trans. *Confucian Analects,* 1).

Liudu ji jing partially illustrate the principle of filial piety toward parents and teachers as same as that of the Confucianism.[511] Otherwise, according to Kang Senghui, one would create unwholesome karma if one goes against this principle. Actually, in order to make Buddhism more appealing to the Chinese people, Kang Senghui provided some similar principles to that of the Confucian ones. Especially, story number thirty-nine of *Liudu ji jing* explains Buddhist principles in accordance with the Confucian approaches, especially the principle of filial piety toward one's parents and teachers. Namely, if someone hurts his parents and does not listen to his teachers, then he has created a serious unwholesome karma."[512]

Besides, in Kang Senghui's translation works of the *Liudu ji jing*, Buddhist filial piety emphasizes on keeping basic moral conduct. Also, the most serious unfilial offense is to cut off the path of liberation through greed. For instance, story number ninety-one defines that having virtuous conduct means keeping filial piety.[513] Therefore, if one maintains virtuous conduct such as not killing, not stealing, etc., one fulfills the filial piety. Controlling one from drinking alcohol is a preventive measure to protect oneself from committing other offenses such as killing, stealing, etc. Similarly, story number eighty-three reminds the Buddhists that drinking alcohol is drinking poison, creating confusion, and violating filial conduct.[514]

Also, in story number eighty-six of the *Liudu ji jing*, Kang Senghui described a Bodhisattva who defined his true religion as a generous tradition. He gave an advice that

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[511] T03n0152_p0004a17-5a19; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 45-47. T03n0152_p0019a11-a24; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 120-124; T03n0152_p0021a09-c07**;** Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 149-151.

[512] T03n0152_p0021c04. 凡人之行，不孝於親，不尊奉師，吾睹其後自招重罪

[513] T03n0152_p0052a20. 奉孝不醉行無沾污.

[514] T03n0152_p0045b17-b18. 酒為亂毒, 孝道枯朽.

it is better to transmit this generous doctrine to the spirit and virtuous people. They in turn may transmit this doctrine to the sage. The spirit and the sage transmit these teachings to one another and vastly spread them out without corruption. Whoever obstructs the flow of this generous tradition and cuts the root of virtue, it could be considered that he is unfilial and an un-rearable individual.[515]

While Kang Senghui used the similar word "filial piety" 孝順 as that of Confucianism, he elaborated it more in Buddhistic notion. According to him, besides that one should be filial toward his/her parents, one should control one's behavior, not intoxicating oneself, as explained in story number seventeen.[516] Specifically, when Kang Senghui matched the Buddhist's five precepts with that of Confucian principles, he also coupled Confucian filial piety with the Buddhist fifth precept (i.e. not drinking alcohol) in story number ninety-one of the *Liudu ji jing*.[517] He mentioned that for those who practice filial piety, they could not indulge themselves with intoxicant substances, and their conduct should not be defiled and impure.[518] According to story number sixty-five of the *Liudu ji jing*, if one is drunken and confused because of overdrinking alcohol, one is unfilial.[519]

In addition, Kang Senghui mentioned that even one may be filial to his or her parents for one hundred kalpas, this virtue and blessing could not be compared to giving

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[515] T03n0152_p0048a07- a10. 菩薩答曰：『道高者厥德淵，吾欲無欲之道，厥欲珍矣。以道傳神，以德授聖，神聖相傳，影化不朽，可謂良嗣者乎！汝欲，填道之原、伐德之根，可謂無後者乎！

[516] T03n0152_p0012b21. 孝順不醉.

[517] Five lay Buddhist precepts correspond with five Confucian virtues. Buddhist precept not to kill is paired with the Confucian virtue of humanity (*jen*); not to steal, with righteousness (*i*); not to involve in sexual misconduct, with propriety *(li*); not to drink intoxicating beverages, with wisdom (*chih*); and not to lie, with trustworthiness (*hsin*) (Peter N. Gregory, *Tsung Mi & The Sinification* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 282. T03n0152_p0052a20. **五者奉孝不醉**

[518] T03n0152_p0052a20. **奉孝不醉行無沾污.**

[519] T03n0152_p0035b18. 酒亂不孝.

an offering to a Praytikabuddha in story number seventeen.[520] Also, if one relies upon the wholesome virtue of the Buddha, one could transform his or her mind from unfilial to filial, as described in story number forty-one.[521] In story number forty-three of the *Liudu ji jing*, when one has the virtue and conduct of respecting and serving a Buddha from time to time and from life to life, it is considered as the foremost filial piety.[522] Namely, besides being filial toward one's parents, one should pay the respect to the sagely ones, according to story number thirty of the *Liudu ji jing*.[523] Here, in the *Liudu ji jing* Kang Senghui modified the Confucian filial piety's idea from being filial to one's worldly parents to the sagely ones and even to the Praytikabuddha or Buddha. In deed, by comparison and intensify the blessing and virtues, Kang Senghui broadened people's perspective of life and led them to attain the ultimate liberation or Buddhahood.

In short, to explain Buddhist principles to the Chinese people, Kang Senghui successfully and effectively employed Confucian and Chinese indigenous terminologies. They are "sympathetic resonance" *ganying*, 感應, "sincerity in thought" *zheng xin* 正心, usage "withdraw the darkness and preserve the brightness" *mingtui mingcun* 冥退明, "virtue" *ren* 仁, "benevolence and righteousness" *renyi* 仁義, "kindness" *ci*, "Confucian youth" *Rutong* 儒童, "Mount Tai" *Tai Shan* 泰山, or the "spirits" *hunling* 魂靈, "Filial piety" *xiaoshun* 孝順, etc. He also utilized some usages from the Confucian, Chinese Classics, etc., to make the Buddhist texts more readable and understandable to the Chinese audience. These are the unique stylistic writings of Kang Senghui in Jiaozhi and

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[520] T03n0152_p0012b17-18. **不如孝事其親。孝者盡其心無外私。百世孝親，不如飯一辟支佛.**
[521] T03n0152_p0024a05. **阿群始意亦惡，睹沙門更慈故，見佛即孝.**
[522] T03n0152_p0025a07. **奉佛至孝之德，** T03n0152_p0025a11. **奉諸佛至孝之行.**
[523] T03n0152_p0017c24. **尊聖孝親.**

southern China, or commonly known as Kang Senghui's "Wu scriptural idioms," which were adapted positively and contemporarily by Zhi Qian. Indeed, these "Wu scriptural idioms" are different mostly from the other early translators and commentators as Jan Nattier has indicated in her book.[524]

In conclusion, Kang Senghui is one of the creators of the "Wu scriptural idioms" to expound Buddhism by utilizing Chinese indigenous terminologies. He was also one of the first Buddhist monks, who harmonized Buddhism and Chinese indigenous traditions such as Confucianism.

3.2.10 Was he one of the early Buddhist monks, who initiated the approach of utilizing the teachings of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna interchangeably and effectively in China? Conclusion.

Even though Kang Senghui explicated Mahāyāna assumptions, his works also included non-Mahāyāna-oriented texts. For instance, his translation of the *Liudu ji jing* contains Buddha's previous lives arranged in the Mahāyāna perspective of six perfections. In addition to his translation work, Kang Senghui was also actively involved in the production of scriptural commentary. We can sum up Kang Senghui's writing and translation of the Mahāyāna genre, including: the *Fajing jing*, and the *Daoshu jing*, *Liudu ji jing* "Compendium on the Six Perfections".[525] An unnamed "master" in the interlinear annotation to the first chapter of Zhi Qian's *Da ming tu jing* 大明度經 refered to Kang

[524] Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 152.
[525] Ibid., 150. Kang Seng Hui also translated a lost text: the *Wu Pin* "Wu version" (Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 152).

Senghui as well.[526]

Kang Senghui also wrote and translated Hīnayāna genre, including: *Anpan shouyi jing* 安般守意經.[527] An explication of An Shigao's *Yin chi ru jing zhu* 陰持入經註 (*Skandhadhatvayatana*, or *Scripture on the Skandhas, Dhatus, and Ayatanas*) (YCRJZ) may also be incorporated by Kang Senghui's commentary.[528]

We do not have sufficient information about Kang Senghui's lost texts, such as the *Wu pin* 吳品, *Fajing jing* 法鏡經, *Daoshu jing* 道樹經, as well as the certainty of his commentaries on the *Da mingdu jing* 大明度經 and the *Yin chi ru jing* 陰持入經. As a result, let us analyze the extant texts that represent the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna genres (i.e. the *Liudu ji jing* and the *Anpan shouyi jing* respectively) to recognize how much he did use the terminologies, wordings, and concepts of the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna traditions interchangeably and effectively.

Anpan shouyi jing is systematically a Hīnayāna doctrine and commentary. It is organized around various lists of doctrinal categories (i.e., the four *samyak-prahāṇa*, the four *Smṛtyupasthāna,* etc.*)*.[529] In the preface to the *Ānāpānasmṛti -sūtra* 佛說大安般守意經, Kang Senghui put: "Now *Ānāpāna* is the great vehicle of the Buddhas which serves to convey being across the aimless drifting [of the sea of birth and death]."[530] He used the Mahāyāna terminologies "great heroes" or "superior men" in the six pairs or of the twelve classes to indicate the categories of the arhats, Bodhisattvas, and Buddha.[531] He

[526] Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 154. Zacchetti, "Some remarks," 163.
[527] Ibid., 153.
[528] Ibid., 153.
[529] Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 62.
[530] Ibid., 67.
[531] Ibid., 78.

called An Shigao, the presumed translator of this text, a Bodhisattva.[532]

Actually, the *Liudu ji jing* explicitly describes the six perfections according to the Mahāyāna teaching.[533] However, several of its short stories are similar to that of the Pāli texts that mostly carry the Hīnayāna themes.[534] His translation of the *Liudu ji jing* contains many similar elements of the Pāli and Hīnayāna tradition.[535]

To describe the principle of diligence, story number twenty-two of the *Liudu ji jing* is similar in principal to that of the story *Cullakassetthi* in the Pāli source, except the former deletes some complicated details (i.e. selling the mouse as cat food and buying the merchandised carts in order to be millionaires).[536] It simplifies the episode such as picking up the mouse, asking for seasoning, frying the mouse, selling it, and then buying and selling more so that eventually he became a millionaire. Also, this story adds a detail about the wealthy man giving one thousand ounces of gold to his friend as capital and teaching him how get rich. However, since his friend was lazy, wasteful, and careless, he spent all of the money.[537]

To describe the principles of keeping the precepts and being diligent, stories twenty-nine and sixty-three were a modification of the story *Vaṭṭaka* that describes these principles through the acts of a parrot or pigeon king.[538]

To demonstrate the principle of maintaining the righteousness and the precepts,

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[532] Link, "Evidence for doctrinal continuity,"78.
[533] Six perfections 六波羅蜜 includes giving 布施, observance of precepts 持戒, forbearance 忍辱, effort 精進, meditation 禪定, and wisdom 智慧. http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=**六度集經**. (accessed, January 18, 2011).
[534] Please see the appendix 5: "Sanskrit stories in *Liudu jijing*."
[535] Please see the appendix 9: "Comparative stories between the *Liudu jijing* and the Pāli *Jātaka* sources."
[536] T03n0152_p0014c24-a25. Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois*, 96-97.
[537] T03n0152_p0014c24-a25. Chavannes, Du *Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 96-97.
[538] T03n0152_p0017c01-c22; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 108-109. T03n0152_p0034a27-b11; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 241-244. *The Jātaka, Volume I*, tr. by Robert Chalmers, [1895], no. 118, *Vaṭṭaka Jātaka*.

story number thirty in the *Liudu ji jing* has similar approaches as that of the story *Mahapaduma* in the Pāli source at the beginning and the end, but there are many variations between these two texts.[539]

Regarding the principle of meditation, the *Liudu jijing* contains many stories that mention the Bodhisattva, i.e., former life of the present Shakyamuni Buddha, who had fervidness to practice meditation, as described in story eighty-five.[540] This story is a modification of the story Bandhanāgāra.[541]

When we compare stories number nine, thirty-three, and thirty-nine of the *Liudu ji jing* with the story *Losaka Jātaka*, we recognize that the formers are modified from the latter to illustrate the principles of generosity, filial piety, observance of the precepts, etc.[542]

To illustrate the principles of being diligent and keeping the precepts, story number twenty-eight is similar to that of the *Chaddanta* (*Jātaka* 514), except that there are some partial additions and subtractions.[543] Regarding the partial addition of this story, the queen showed the way for the hunter to go to the south. Regarding the partial subtractions from this story, the elephant king unintentionally dropped the flower on the hat of his first wife, and the second wife offered the fruits to a Pratyeka-buddha.

To address the principle of observing the precepts, story twelve and thirty-one of

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539 T03n0152_p0017c23-18b19. *Chavannes*, Du Tripiṭaka Chinois, 110-111. Mahā-Paduma-Jātaka *(no. 472)*.
540 T03n0152_p0047b15-c19. Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 322-326.
541 *Bandhanagara* Jātaka (no. 201).
542 T03n0152_p0004a17-5a19; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 45-47. T03n0152_p0019a11-a24; Chavannes, Du Tripiṭaka Chinois, 120-124 ; T03n0152_p0021a09-c07**;** Chavannes, Du Tripiṭaka Chinois, 149-151. *Losaka Jātaka* (No. 41).
543 T03n0152_p0017a-19-17b29; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 107-108.

the *Liudu ji jing* are similar to that of the story *Cullapaduma*.[544] Story number twelve, like the story *Cullapaduma*, talks about the punishment of an adulterous wife and her lover.[545] Story thirty-one has a similar setting as story twelve, except both the wife and her lover were kicked out of the country.[546]

Story number thirty-nine has only a similar portion to that of the *Losaka Jātaka* in the Pāli tradition.[547] According to the *Losaka Jātaka*, during the time of Kassapa Buddha, a monk fell into the hell because of his jealous attitude toward a holy monk. After repaying his unwholesome karma through a series of rebirths in the lower realms, he was born into the human realm as a poor *Mittavindaka*. Becoming a homeless person and sailing off to sea after losing his own wife and children, he came across and stayed briefly in the crystal, silver, jewels, and gold palaces, but he was brought back as a servant of the Bodhisattva.[548]

Story thirty-seven is a combination of the stories *Valâhassa* and *Telapatta*.[549] It describes a beautiful girl, a former demonic woman who ate people's flesh, being offered to the Buddha, but he denied. When a monk asked the Buddha to give the girl to him, the Buddha admonished this monk and retold him how this girl in a previous life had eaten his people's flesh.

To compare the stories number eighteen and number thirty-five in the *Liudu ji*

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[544] T03n0152_p0006c10-7a22 ; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 57-60. T03n0152_p0018b20-c21**;** Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 114-117. *Cullapaduma (Jātaka, no.193).*
[545] T03n0152_p0006c10-7a22 ; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois*, 57-60.
[546] T03n0152_p0006c10-7a22 ; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois*, 57-60. T03n0152_p0018b20-c21**;** Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 114-117.
[547] T03n0152_p0021a09-c07**;** Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 149-151. Losaka Jātaka (No. 41).
[548] E.B. Cowell and Robert Chalmer, translated, "*Losaka-Jātaka*, no.41," *The Jātaka*, vol. 1 (London Luzac & Company, 1957), 105-112.
[549] T03n0152_p0019c18-20b05; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois*, 139-142. *Valāhassa Jātaka* (no. 196). *Telapatta Jātaka* (Nr.96).

jing with the Nigrodha and Serivanya *Jātaka*, we recognize the efforts of these compilers.[550] They created a wonderful literature that surpassed other literal traditions of *Avadānaśataka* in Sanskrit and *Jātaka* in Pāli literatures in accordance with Buddhist principle as well as the need to modify the stories suitably to local people.[551]

Story number thirty-nine was about a past life of the Buddha as a poor man, who worked for the sea-travel merchants.[552] When their ship rowed into the sea, it got stuck. The sea-god caused the ship's owner to sleep and threw the servant down into the sea. When the people on the ship built rafts and jumped down to the water, a big fish capsized the ship, killing all people on board. The servant fortunately relied on the raft in swimming to the shore and went home. The content of this story includes a combination of the story *Losaka Jātaka* and *Catudvara Jātaka*.[553]

Even stories number twelve and thirty-one in the *Liudu ji jing* have the same characteristics, as they were modified from the story *Cullapaduma,* to demonstrate the principles of generosity and discipline.[554]

In conclusion, Kang Senghui's works of *Anpan shouyi jing* and *Liudu ji jing* demonstrate all elemental principals of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna traditions. Kang Senghui had harmonized the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna teachings in his works.

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[550] T03n0152_p0012b29-13a04; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois*, 79-82. T03n0152_p0019b06-b24; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois*, 128-131. *Nigrodha Jātaka* (No. 445). *Serivanija Jātaka (*No. 3).
[551] Lê, *Tổng Tập Văn Học Phật Giáo Việt Nam*, vol 1, 482.
[552] T03n0152_p0021a09-c07; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois*, 149-151.
[553] T03n0152_p0021a09-c07; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois*, 149-151.
[554] T03n0152_p0006c10-7a22 ; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois*, 57-60. T03n0152_p0018b20-c21; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois*, 114-117.

3.2.11 Was he one of the early Buddhist monks, who advocated Buddhist ethical principals as the ideal political model through his writings and translations?

From mid-second century to the end of the third century AD, several hundred Chinese Buddhist texts had been rended from Indian sources. During this period, while some translators cautiously avoided the use of indigenous Chinese religious terminology to express Buddhist ideas, Kang Senghui and Zhi Qian comfortably employed them in their writings and translations as discussed above.[555]

Prior to Kang Senghui's time, An Shigao's extant translations include the basic Buddhist teachings, meditation practice, and various numerical lists. His other works are not sūtras but treatises, even though some of his translations are in the form of *agama*-style narrative texts. At least one of them appears to be not a translation at all, but a record of oral explanations delivered by him and his students.[556] Generally, An Shigao's works contain mainly the Hīnayāna teachings, and they do not relate much the Bodhisattva path ideally, as well as the ideal ruler. [557]

Conversely, all Lokakṣema's works are Mahāyāna sūtras with lengthy texts, and obviously he was considered as a pioneer in the transmission of Mahāyāna Buddhism to China.[558] Although Lokakṣema's works include the Bodhisattva philosophy and practice, there is no evidence to show that Lokakṣema's works contain the model for an ideal ruler.

In addition, even though both An Xuan and Yan Fotiao are credited to translate a Mahāyāna sūtra, the *Fa Jing Jing* "Dharma-Mirror Sūtra," and a non-extant text, *Shami*

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[555] Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 3-4. 3.7 "Did Kang Seng Hui Initiate the 'Wu Idioms' ?"
[556] Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 41-42.
[557] Even he was considered as a primary Hīnayāna translator, one of his Mahāyāna-related texts is attributed to him, the *Wushi jiaoji jing* "Scripture on the Fourteen Thoughts of the Bodhisattva" (Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 42). However, its contents show no evidence of providing a model for the ideal leader.
[558] Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 75, 88, 89.

shi hui 沙彌十慧 "Ten Wisdoms of the Novice Monk" dealing with the practice of the novice monk, there is no evidence that their works contain any model for an ideal ruler.[559]

Though the sole text currently accepted by most scholars as an authentic translation by Zhi Yao 支曜 is classified as a Mahāyāna sūtra, no other Chinese, Tibetan, or Sanskrit version has been identified.[560] Hence, there is no evidence that Zhi Yao had provided a model for an ideal leader in his writing.

Kang Mengxiang's works contain limited biographies of the Buddha, including the references to the ten bhumis and six paramitas, but they were evidently modified by later generation.[561]

Though Weiqinan 維祇難 performed the vital role of bringing the manuscript to Wuchang, there is no basis for crediting him with the translation itself.[562]

Zhi Qian's corpus includes both Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna genres, as well as didactic verses, *Jātaka* and *avadana*-style texts, and a biography of the Buddha.[563] Many of his works are not original translations, but rather revisions, which were produced with or without reference to the actual Indic-language texts of the work of others. Due to personal preference and revision process of translation works, Zhi Qian utilized various Buddhist terminologies. Nattier assumes that Zhi Qian's early writings resembled the style of his grand master, Lokakṣema. However, most of his translations reveal remarkable deviations from Lokakṣema's work. Apparently, Zhi Qian favored in using

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[559] Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 90-91.
[560] Ibid., 95. 成具光明經 *Chéngjù guāngmíng jīng* "The Sūtra on the Completion of Brightness."
[561] Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 103.
[562] Ibid., 105.
[563] Ibid., 118.

Chinese indigenous terms for most names as well as for Buddhist technical terms. Many Zhi Qian's new translation texts seemly grounded on inaccurate comprehending of the original Indic names or terms. As a result, Sengyou's high estimate of Zhi Qian's linguistic abilities is probably controversial.[564] Perhaps Zhi Qian and Kang Seng Hui might have had followed each other's pattern in utilizing the Chinese indigenous terminologies into his works. For example, Zhi Qian's stylistic translation is less liberal use of ideas and terminology drawing from indigenous Chinese religion, such as the usage expressions with explicit resonances in Confucian and Daoist texts.[565] Again, we see that Zhi Qian's translations contain various styles depending on his "maturity," and his corpus is mainly the revision of others' works as stated above, such as Kang Senghui's *Liudu ji jing*; a manuscript contains several *Jātaka* tales and the previous biography of the Buddha. We may postulate that perhaps Zhi Qian and Kang Sengh Hui might have had utilized changeably and mutually each one another's writings stylistically, textually, and terminologically.

Individually, Zhi Qian's corpus may have carried Mahāyāna elements, especially the inspiration and description of the ideal leader; his works are still considered as the modifications of the works of his predecessors. For example, some texts reliably attributed to him are similar to Lokakṣema's translation work, abundant in transcriptions and long sentences.

Generally, the translation works of other early translators are much difference from that of An Xuan and Yan Fotiao, but they embraced some of their typical vocabulary and fervent favoring translation to transcription. Some of those translators

[564] Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 119, 120.
[565] Ibid., 151.

seemly utilized vernacular speech, while others applied a more elegant and literary style similar to that of Kang Senghui's.[566]

Furthermore, Zhi Qian did not collaborate with others in doing translation work, but rather he edited and completed already existing works of others. As a result, Zhi Qian's translation works apparently had wild linguistic and stylistic inconsistences.[567] For example, Zhi Qian's work of *Foshou taizi ruiying benqi jing* 佛說太子瑞應本起**經** (T185) "Sūtra of the Origin and Deeds of the Prince in Accordance with All Good Omens Cultivation and Practice" has a very close relationship to the *Xiuxing benqi jing* 修行本起**經** (T184) "Sūtra of the [Buddha's] Origin and Deeds Cultivation and Practice," as well as to the first part of the *Zhong benqi jing* 中本起**經** (T196) "Middle Sūtra of the [Buddha's] Origin and Deeds." All of these biographies were updated more than once.[568] Nattier put a hypothesis that after Zhi Qian's migration to the Wu kingdom, he began to produce texts that were more literary and elegant in style, borrowing heavily from the *Fajing jing* and making increased use of indigenous Chinese religious terms.[569] However, Nattier does not emphasize that Zhi Qian followed Kang Senghui's elegant style of writing and his frequent use of Chinese indigenous language. In short, Zhi Qian's corpus includes many Mahāyāna elements and Bodhisattva approaches, but his works are mainly edited and polished works of others. There is no evidence to show that he had ever examined the ideal leader issue in his work.

In brief, from the time of the Eastern Han to the time of the Three Kingdom, no

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[566] Nattier, "A Guide to the Earliest Chinese," 115.
[567] Ibid., 115.
[568] Ibid., 135.
[569] Ibid., 148.

translator or commentator produced creditable works that offered the ideal leader as a political model for archaic and contemporary society.

In Kang Senghui's corpus, especially the *Liudu ji jing*, there are many discussions and guidelines for an ideal Buddhist leader serving as the contemporary political model. For instance, a ruler must employ Buddhist philosophy and his sincere mind to govern a country;[570] it encourages the ruler to use Buddhist five precepts and ten wholesome deeds as the national codes and release the prisoners.[571] A ruler should use the five precepts as the national codes, not harming his own subjects.[572] Since people appreciate the Buddhist compassionate teachings, a ruler should follow and revere the Triple Jewels and practice the ten good deeds; a ruler should also ground himself in these teachings to run the country so that his subjects can enjoy everlasting happiness.[573] If a ruler discards the Buddha's teachings, then sooner or later he would lose his kingdom.[574]

A ruler should remember that greed and stupidity cause illness and death, lose his own country, relinquish the Triple Jewels, and revolve in the three realms. More wealth leads to more calamities. More possessions lead to more revenge.[575]

Also, an ideal ruler should: be benevolent and impartial, be compassionate and

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[570] T03n0152_p0049b16. 以佛明法正心治國. The notion of the "sincerity in the thought" *zhengxin* 正心 has been a Confucian usage in the Great Learning *Da Xue* 大學 (please see the note: T55n2145_p0096c15. 易稱。積惡餘殃。詩詠。求福不回). James Ledge, trans., "The Divinatory Trigram," *Book of Change*, 易經, 第二卦: 積善之家，必有餘慶；積不善之家，必有餘殃. "If one accumulates the wholesome deeds, one would reap ample happiness. If one accumulates the unwholesome deeds, one definitely would reap various calamities.").

[571] T03n0152_p0005a12-a13. 處處諸國無不改操五戒十 善以爲國政。開獄大赦。

[572] T03n0152_p0052a17. 王爾時以五教治政。不枉人民. "First, being benevolent and spreading it to all sentient beings, not killing; second, having purity compromised, not stealing, and forgetting oneself to rescue others; third, having pure conduct by not engaging in sexual misconduct; fourth, being trustful, not lying, and not having alluring words; fifth, keeping filial piety and not having dirty conduct."

[573] T03n0152_p0022b07-09. 四天下民, 尊其仁化。奉三尊行十善。以爲治法。遂致永福.

[574] T03n0152_p0017a10-11. T0152_.03.0017a10: 夫捨佛, 法之行。而爲鬼妖之僞者。國喪必矣。

[575] T03n0152_p0022b02-b06. 夫貪殘命之刃。亡 國之基也。去三尊處三塗。靡不由之。戒 後來嗣。以貪癡火燒身之本也。愼無貪 矣。

love his people as his own children, use Buddhist guidelines to govern the country, be a wise leader to guide his people who might bring their own downfall because of their stupidity and craziness, preserve the virtuous traditions, share his happiness with others, maintain a mind free of ten unwholesome deeds,[576] be filial to the parents, love and respect his relatives, seek and follow virtuous people, respect the sages, believe in the Buddha and his teaching, respect the teaching of the clergy, believe in the law of cause and effect,[577] use ten good deeds as the proper basis for law, and require all of his queens and imperial concubines to respect and do wholesome deeds frequently.[578] In the meantime, a ruler may require that his people (regardless the age, gender, etc.) should follow the scripture of the five precepts and the ten wholesome deeds, which are the national laws.[579]

Generally, a ruler should be virtuous and follow the benevolent laws.[580] People expect him or her to live virtuously as: a benevolent ruler, a faithful official, a propriety father or mother, a filial son or daughter, an honest husband or a trustful wife.[581] Namely, a ruler should do benevolent things, abstain from killing others, restrain him/herself from wild craving, abstain to cause suffering onto other people, be respectful toward the elder as his or her parents, love citizens as his or her children, be careful to uphold the

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[576] Ten bad deeds are killing, stealing, sexual misconduct, double tongue, harsh speech, lying, jealousy, and anger.

[577] Doing good deeds would receive good retribution, and doing bad deeds should receive calamity

[578] T03n0152_p0011b07-20. 王 行仁平。愛民若子。正法治國。…王常慈心愍念衆生. 悲其愚惑 狂悖自墜。尋存道原喜無不 加…殺盜淫泆兩 舌惡口妄言 綺語嫉 妒恚癡。 如此之凶無餘在心。孝順父母敬愛九親。尋追賢者 尊戴 聖人。 信佛信法 信沙門言。 信善有福 爲惡 有殃。以斯忠政十善明法自身執行。重勅后妃下逮賤妾皆令尊奉相率爲善。

[579] T03n0152_p0044a25-26. (**王還國有詔曰**)。**人無尊卑帶五戒十善經。以爲國政**.

[580] T03n0152_p0022c01. **王者爲德仁法**.

[581] T03n0152_p0037a24-25. **君仁臣忠。父義子孝。夫信婦貞。**

Buddha's precepts, and be faithful to the religion until death.[582]

Specifically, a ruler should be responsible for the welfare of his subjects. If they are hungry, he would need to give them food. If they were cold, he would need to provide cloths for them. If his people are suffering or happy, it soly depends on him.[583] Losing a kingdom happens because of the ruler's unwholesome deeds: greedy and brutal acts, non-benevolence, sexual depravity, and despising virtuous people and citizens.[584]

Even an ideal Bodhisattva may not like to engage in politics, but he should involve himself in it to help sentient beings to escape brutality and suffering.[585]

With a firm determination, a ruler willingly sacrifices his life for the great cause to bring peace and happiness to people.[586] A ruler rather loses his country than having unvirtous conduct.[587]

A ruler should employ virtuous and wholesome people as court mandarins, not the aristocrats.[588] Namely, there is no merit preference except the ability and knowledge to serve people as court officials.

If a ruler wants to win the hearts of people in different countries, he should respect their indigenous culture and traditions.[589] A larger country must not use force to

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[582] T03n0152_p0018a06-08. 則天行仁。無殘民命。無苟貪困黎 庶。尊老若親。愛民若子。愼修佛戒守道以死。

[583] T03n0152_p0011b26-27. 民之飢者即吾餓之。民之寒者即吾裸之…民之苦樂在我而已。

[584] T03n0152_p0036c02-03. 猶餓夢食。所處之國。其王無道。貪財重色。薄賢賤民。

[585] T03n0152_p0036c23-c24. 菩薩覩民哀號。爲之揮淚。投身命乎厲政。濟民難於塗炭。

[586] T03n0152_p0006b9-b11. 吾寧去一世, 之命不去大志。恕己安群生。蓋天之仁也.

[587] T03n0152_p0006a05. 亡國不亡行。

[588] T03n0152_p0049a12. 輔臣以賢不以貴族.

[589] T03n0152_p0029c16. 入國隨俗。進退尋儀 . Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145-86 BC) is an author of the "Chinese Historical Record" *Shiji* 史記. Sima Qian mentioned in the *Shiji* 113, page 3a3 about the *Luo Guo*: "To the west of the Ou Luo, Luo Guo, there also was a self-claimed kingdom."其西甌駱裸國亦稱王. This Xi Ou Luo of Luo Guo is the ancient name of Vietnam. So, this story, *Luo guo jing* 裸國經, warns

colonize the smaller states; they should use peaceful means to win the hearts of people in different countries.

If a ruler recognizes his vicious conduct and actions, he should repent them;[590] a ruler should feel remorse if he kills animals for food.[591] A sage ruler cannot protect his life while bringing harm to his subjects.[592]

If a ruler is cruel as the dangerous animals that cannot be changed, he is not qualified to be a king. As a result, his officials and people could dethrone him.[593] People have the right to overthrow a brutal and vicious king.[594]

Chaos frequently occurred after the Eastern Han, and people mostly followed the Confucian political model during the Three Kingdom period. Kang Senghui was one of the early Buddhist monks, who provided alternative models of the Buddhist ideal leader to the medieval and contemporary periods in solving political problems that neither the Confucianism nor Taoism could resolve, as discussed in the section "2.1.2 China and its perspectives about the neighbor states."

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rulers who want to spread their customs and culture to another state that they should respect the local traditions.

[590] T03n0152_p0006a04-05. 惡意不生。王悔過曰。吾爲暴虐不別臧否。

[591] T03n0152_p0012c26-c27. 吾爲人君。日殺衆生 之命。肥澤己體。吾好兇虐。尚豺狼之行乎。

[592] T03n0152_p0005b05. 重身惜命。誰不然哉。全己害民。賢者不爲也。

[593] T03n0152_p0022c11-12. 豺狼不可育。無道不可君。臣民齊 心同聲逐焉。

[594] T03n0152_p0022c11-c12. 臣民齊 心同聲逐焉

Chapter 04. Conclusion.

In this dissertation, I have provided evidences of the great contributions to Early Chinese Buddhism of a Jiaozhi (Vietnamese) born Buddhist monk, Kang Senghui. He was one of the early Buddhist monks, who: created a new tradition of worshiping Buddha's relic in China; established the first state-sponsored Buddhist temple and Buddhist saṅgha in Jianye 建鄴 (Southern China) during the Wu Dynasty of the Three Kingdoms period; provided the apologetics in China in the light of the reappraisal of his role on Mouzi's *Li Huo Lun*; created the tradition of writing prefaces in Early Chinese Buddhism; were meditation masters in Southern China, as his explanations of meditation were recognized by the early Buddhist meditation tradition with some exceptional variances; created the "Wu scriptural idioms" through his implementation and modification of the Indian, Jiaozhi, and Chinese indigenous terminologies and principles into his Buddhist writings and translations; harmonized the three major religions in China: Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism; initiated the approach of utilizing the teachings of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna interchangeably and effectively in China; and who advocated for Buddhist ethical principals as the ideal political models through his writings and translations. As a result, he laid out a solid foundation for the development of Chinese Buddhism throughout its two thousand years of its existence to the present. Without his enormous contributions, Chinese Buddhism might have developed in different directions from that of its historical existence. As a result, most Buddhist scholars from ancient to modern times universally recognize him as one of the founders of Chinese Buddhism.

In conclusion, as elaborated above, Kang Senghui was a Sogdian-Jiaozhi-born

Buddhist monk and a representative of the early Jiaozhi (Vietnamese) Buddhist tradition. As a result, we can safely conclude that Jiaozhi (Vietnamese) Buddhism in Red Delta River basin has had a great influence on Early Chinese Buddhism as well as providing a solid foundation for Early Chinese Buddhism through the groundwork of Kang Senghui. Namely, he is one of the early Buddhist monks, who created: the worshiping Buddha's relic; the building the state-sponsored Buddhist temple and Buddhist saṅgha in Southern China; the developing the Buddhist apologetic models; the writing preface; the developing meditation models in Southern China; the formation of the Chinese Buddhist scriptural idioms through the implementation and modification of the Indian, Vietnamese, and Chinese indigenous terminologies and principles; the approaches of harmonizing the three major religions: Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism; the developing of methodology of utilizing the teachings of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna interchangeably and effectively; and the advocations for Buddhist ethical principals as the ideal political model.

Before I come to the conclusion of this dissertation, I would like to emphasize one important point that most Buddhist scholars from ancient to modern times generally refer to Kang Senghui as a Sogdian monk; not a Jiaozhi (Vietnamese) born monk. It is arguable that at least some of these scholars had predisposition about Kang Senghui. In modern perspective, regardless of the parents' nationality, if someone was born in any country legally, he or she is automatically entitled as a citizen of that country. Therefore, while we can't alter the perspectives of ancient scholars regarding certain events, we may append our modern views to them. As a result, I would like to put an amendment that Kang Senghui could be considered as a Sogdian-Jiaozhi monk in accordance with

modern perspective.

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Appendix 1: Translation of Kang Senghui's Biography.

The life and works of Kang Senghui **康僧會** were recorded in the two earliest records in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 of Sengyou 僧祐 (445-518 AD) and the *Gaoseng Zhuan* 高僧傳 of Huijiao 慧皎 (497-554 AD).[595] The Kang Senghui's record of Huijiao actually is a copy of that of Sengyou with two additions: the life of Zhi Qian **支謙** at the beginning and Kang Senghui's influences on Su Jun **蘇峻** and Sun Chuo **孫綽**, as well as some commentaries about the mistakes of other records.[596] The *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 of Fei Changfang 費長房, *Fozu Tongji* 佛祖統紀 of Zhipan 志磐, *Fayuan Zhulin* 法苑珠林 of Daoshi 道世, and others also recorded Kang Senghui's life, but they mainly used and summarized the above two records' information.[597] As a result, they

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[595] *Compilation of Notes on the Translation of the Tripiṭaka Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集, T2145_.13.0096a29-97a17. The *Biographies of Eminent Monks Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳, T2059_.01.0325a13-326b13.

[596] Because the *Biographies of Eminent Monks Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 records only the life of the eminent monks, it does not have the life of prominent laymen in a separate section as the *Compilation of Notes on the Translation of the Tripiṭaka Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 has done. However, due to the demand for recording the contributions of laymen to Buddhism, Huijiao added a part of Zhi Qian **支謙**'s life in Kang Seng Hui's section. Also, since Huijiao has researched various records, annals, and others, he added the details about Su Jun **蘇峻** and Sun Chuo **孫綽**.

[597] *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 of Fei Changfang 費長房, T 2034.49.22c-127c; 20 fasc. Abbreviated as 三寶紀. It is a historical account of Buddhist scriptures from the Latter Han to the Sui dynasties. It includes manuscriptual catalogues and classifications, and biographies of 197 translators as well as a historical transmission of Buddhism. http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=歷代三寶紀. (accessed, January 21, 2011). *Complete Chronicle of the Buddha and Patriarchs Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀, 54 Fascicles by Zhipan 志磐 (1220–1275); it was compiled completely in 1269. T 2035.49.129a-475c. It is a Tientai perspective on Buddhist historical record. It followed secular stylistic historical record to describe various chronologies, doctrine, cosmology, other annotation. As a comprehensive compostion, it comprises distinct manuscripts including cosmology, geography, and history. The title seems to refer primarily to the basic annals 本紀. It contains the first eight fascicles, including the history of one Buddha and twenty-nine patriarchs 一佛二十九祖 (T 2035.49.129c13). To explain the value of this work, in the foreword Mingyu 明昱 writes: "If the Way is not unified 統 it is scattered, and if that which is unified is not ordered 紀 it is chaotic" 夫道無統則散統無紀則亂 (T 2035.49.129a14-15). This is a complete chronicle, i.e., collective information from disparate works (a historical work organized into chronological order).

may not be used as reliable research resources. Hence, I use the Huijiao's record of Kang Senghui to translate and analyze, and I will highlight Huijiao's additional parts, in which Sengyou's record does not have. Below is Kang Senghui's biography.

Kang Senghui's ancestors were Sogdian, whose had dwelled in India for many generations.[598] Because of doing business, his father moved to Jiaozhi (交趾).[599] When he was more than ten years old, both of his parents passed away. When he finished wearing his filial mourning apparel 孝服, he joined the monastic community with great diligent and stern.[600] As a sincere and excellent person, he was a liberal, elegant, and knowledgeable learner. He brightly explained Buddhist canon "Tripiṭaka" and wisely distinguished six books (六經).[601] He comprehended all of the astronomy, diagram 圖 and apocryphal 緯 as well as an excellent debater and a skillful literal writer.

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http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=佛祖統紀. (accessed, January 21, 2011). *Fayuan Zhulin* 法苑珠林 100 fascicles, T 2122.53.265b-1030a; K 1406. This large manuscript, collective and informative entries selected from various sūtras and treatises as a Buddhist encyclopedia, was written by Daoshi 道世 in 668 AD. Even though it was divided into one hundred sections, there are actually 68 units within it.〔翻譯名義集 T 2131.54.1055a27. http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=法苑珠林. (accessed, January 21, 2011).

[598] Sogdiana is the Iranian region often referred to by its Greek name of Tranxoxiana (Carlos Ramirez-Faria, *Concise Encyclopaedia of World History* (New Delhi, India: Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, LTD., 2007), 741).

[599] Jiaozhi (交趾) or Tonking was one of the nine counties of Jiaozhou during the occupation of Early Han (Oscar Chapuis, *A History of Vietnam: from Hong Bang to Tu Duc* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995), 26.

[600] Xiaofu 孝服 is mourning dress that one wears at the death of one's parents. http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=%E5%AD%9D%E6%9C%8D. (accessed January 19, 2011).

[601] Three Baskets (Pāli. *Tipiṭaka*; Skt. *Tripiṭaka*; Ch. 三藏) include Basket of Discipline (Skt. And Pāli. *Vinaya Piṭaka;* Ch.律*),* Basket of Discourse (Pāli. *Sutta Piṭaka*; Skt. *Sūtra Piṭaka;* Ch. 經), and Basket of Special Doctrine (Pāli. *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*; Sanskrit: *Abhidharma Piṭaka;* Ch. 論). "Tipiṭaka." *Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Encyclopædia Britannica, 2011. Web. 17 Jan. 2011. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/596714/Tipitaka>. Six books (六經) include: "Book of Odes" (詩經), "Book of History" (尚書), "Book of Rite" (儀禮), "Book of Music" (樂經), "Book of Change" (周易), and "Book of Spring and Autumn Annals" (春秋) Commercial House and Typewriting 商務印書館, *Phrase Origin* 辭源, rev. ed., (Taiwan: Commercial House and Typewriting 商務印書, 1978), 307).

At that time, the emperor Wu Sunquan (吳孫權, 229-252 AD) controlled the land in the left bank of the Jiang River 江左.[602] However, there was not any Buddhist activity in that area.

Previously, the upāsikā Zhi Qian 支謙, aka. Gong Ming 恭明, once was called Yue 越.[603] He was originally Yuezhi 月支 people.[604] He travelled to the land of the Chinese 漢 people.[605] Formerly, during the era of Han Huan Ling 漢桓靈(132-167 AD), Zhi Chen 支讖 translated various sūtras.[606] There was Zhi Liang 支亮, aka. Ji Ming 紀明, who received private teaching from Zhi Chen 支讖; Zhi Qian 支謙 also studied under Zhi Liang 支亮. He had extensive perspectives on the scriptural text 經籍 (3-2437). He mostly penetrated and practiced the secular's skill, art, and craft. He studied extensively various books and writings. Moreover, he was fluent in six countries' languages. Physically, he was a small, tall, black, and thin person. His eyes were mostly white, but his eyes' pupils were yellow. Thus, the contemporary people said that although the

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[602] Jiang zuo 江左 or Jiang dong 江東, is an area on the south of Yangtze River, or the lower reaches of Yangtze River: Wu Guang Hua 吳光華, *The 21st Chinese-English Dictionary*, vol 2 (Taibei, Taiwan: Jianhong 建宏 Publisher, 1999), 1284.

[603] As a layman, he was one of the greatest translators during the third century AD. As a Yuezhi native, he emigrated to Luoyang at the end of the second century AD and later moved to southern China during the demise of Han time (Lagerwey, *Early Chinese Religions*, 744).

[604] Yuezhi or Indo-Scyth people were ancient people who controlled Bactria and part of India from 128 BC to 450 AD. Chinese sources first referred to the Yuezhi in early second century BCE as nomadic people settling in Gansu Province. When Lao Shang (r.. 174–161 BC), warlord of the Xiongnu (powerful normadic people in Northern China), conquered Yuezhi and killed its warlord, the Yuezhi people migrated to Sogdiana and Bactria. They and their related tribes are the Asi (Asiani) and Tocharians (Tochari) in western regions. In 128 BCE, the Great Yuezhi built their kingdom in Bactria, north of the Oxus River (Any Darya). The Dayuan (Tocharians) conquered the Sogdiana. The Yuezhi people settled in Gansu were called Little Yuezhi. *Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Encyclopædia Britannica, 2011. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/654618/Yuezhi> (accessed, Jan. 18, 2011).

[605] Or Han 漢 people.

[606] Zhichen 支讖, or Zhi Loujiachen 支婁迦讖, or *Lokakṣema* (c.150 CE) was a Kushan native and an energetic translator in Luoyang at the end of the second century AD (Richard Foltz, *Religions of the Silk Road: Overland Trade and Cultural Exchange from Antiquity to the Fifteenth Century* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 50).

physical appearance of the gentleman Zhi Qian was small, his eyes' pupils were yellow, which is the bag of wisdom. Due to the revolt at the end of Han Xian Di 漢獻帝 (181-234 AD), he escaped to the land of Wu 吳. After Sun Quan 孫權 heard the talents and wisdom of Zhi Qian 支謙, Sun Quan 孫權 summoned Zhi Qian 支謙 [to the court]. After the meeting, Sun Quan 孫權 was delightful and respected Zhi Qian 支謙 as a scholar. Sun Quan 孫權 ordered Zhi Qian 支謙 to serve as an assistant tutor of the crown prince. Together with Wei Yao 韋曜 and others, Zhi Qian 支謙 exhaustedly supported Sun Quan 孫權 beneficially. However, since Zhi Qian 支謙 was born in the foreign land, the *Wu Annals* 吳志 did not write [about him]. Zhi Qian 支謙 thought that although the great teaching [of the Buddha] has been spread [in the land of Wu], the Buddhist sūtras mostly were in Sanskrit, and they have not been translated exhaustedly (into Chinese) yet. Since he was wonderfully fluent in Chinese, he collected together many original (Sanskrit) texts and translated them into Chinese. From the first year of Huang Wu's 黃武 reign (222 AD) to Jian Xing's 建興 reign (252 AD) of the Wu 吳 Dynasty, he translated forty-nine sūtras such as *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa* Sūtra (*維摩經*), *Mahāparinirvāṇa* Sūtra *(*大般涅槃经), *Dhammapada Sutta* (法句), the *Sūtra of the Original Arisen of the Felicitous Omen 瑞應本起經*, and others.[607] He could gather the holy meanings; his expression and purpose were literate and elegant. He also relied on the original arisen within *The Infinite Life*

[607] *Ruiying benqi jing* 瑞應本起經, or the "Buddha Speaks the Sūtra of the Original Story of the Prince Felicitous Omen" *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* 太子瑞應本起經, 2 fasc., K 775, T 185. Zhi Qian translated this scripture between the 2nd year of Huangwu 黃武 and the 2nd year of Jianxing 建興, Wu Dynasty 吳 (223-253 AD). It also has different title of 過去現在因果經. It is a Buddha's biography, describing his previous life as well as his vows to attain enlightenment. http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=%E5%A4%AA%E5%AD%90%E7%91%9E%E6%87%89%E6%9C%AC%E8%B5%B7%E7%B6%93 (accessed, January 18, 2011).

Sūtra *(*無量壽) to write the continuous sentences of three Bodhi Sanskrit hymns 梵唄 and the commentary of the *Sūtra of Understanding the Root of Birth and Death* (了本生死) and others.[608] Those sūtras and commentaries were published in the world. Contemporarily, the Wu land absorbed the great Dharma [Buddhism], but the transformation of the customs (風化) had not been completed yet. Because Kang Senghui wished the Dharma [Buddhism] to arise in the area of the Jiang Zuo 江左 and the establishment of the charting monastery 圖寺, he travelled to the eastern land with his staff 杖錫.[609] Until the tenth year of the reign of Chi Wu (赤烏, 238 AD) of the Wu Dynasty (吳), he came to the capital Jianye 建鄴.[610] He encamped and erected a grass and thatch house, displayed the [Buddha] image, and propagated the Way [Buddhism].[611]

At that time, the people of the Wu country just saw śramaṇa 沙門, they looked at the śramaṇas' appearance, but they had not understood the Way [Buddhism]. As a result, they doubted that [the monks] acted in usual manners. The responsible authority 有司 respectfully reported to the emperor: "There were the Western people (*hu ren* 胡人), who entered the country and claimed themselves as śramaṇas. Their appearances and clothes were not usual.[612] These matters should be examined." Sun Quan 孫權 said: "Previously

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[608] *Fanbai* 梵唄 is the song or verse in praise of Buddha's virtues. Buddhist hymns, cf. 唄, the praise of Buddha or the Buddhist chanting prayers, are sung to quell external stimuli and calm the mind (Skt. *bhāṣā*). http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=梵唄 (accessed, January 18, 2011).

[609] Jiang Zuo 江左 or Jiang Dong 江東, is an area on the south of Yangtze River, or the lower reaches of Yangtze River.

[610] Jian Ye capital 建鄴 is an archaic name for Nanking (Liu Dah-Jen, Liu's Chinese-English Dictionary), 420.

[611] T50n2059_p0325b07(03)╟初達建鄴營立茅茨設像行道。

[612] Boucher translates *hu ren* 胡人 as people in the west (of China). During the Tang period, *Hu ren* 胡人 could imply Indian, Central Asian such as Iranians, Arabs, and others from the Mediterranean world (Daniel Boucher, "On Hu and Fan Again: the Transmission of 'Barbarian' Manuscripts to China," *Journal*

Han Ming Di 漢明帝 (28-75 AD) dreamed of a supernatural being, who addressed himself as Buddha. Could it be that the worshiping of those people were the descendent custom of that religion?" Right afterward, Sun Quan 孫權 summoned Kang Senghui to question him: "What kind of auspicious response does (your religion) have?" Kang Senghui replied: "The Thus Come One has passed away which was promptly already thousand years. However, He left behind His bone relics (śarīra), which were glorious and supernatural without comparison.[613] Formerly, the king Aśoka erected eighty-four thousand pagodas, to build the pagoda and monasteries were considered as the representation of that religion." Since Sun Quan 孫權 took Kang Senghui's explanation as boasting and exaggerated, he told Kang Senghui that: "If you can obtain the śarīra, then I will erect the pagoda. If it is false claim, the country has regulation(s) of punishment." Then, Kang Senghui requested seven days [to obtain śarīra]. Afterward, Kang Senghui called in his followers and said, "Buddhism either flourishes or terminates with this event. Now, if we are not sincere, then later on it is too late to regret." Afterward, together with his followers, he purified the chamber with his fasting. He used a copper jar, burned ordinary incense, bowed, and requested [the śarīra to appear]. After seven days, there was a silent pledge without any auspicious response. He requested to extend his efforts another seven days, but there was the same result. Sun Quan 孫權 said

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of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, vol. 23, no 1 (2000): 21). T50n2059_p0325b09(00)╟有胡人入境。自稱沙門。容服非恒。T50n2059_p0325b10(02)╟事應檢察。

[613] Bone relics (Ch. **舍利**, 舍利羅, 設利羅, 室利羅, 實利, 佛骨; Skt. *śarīra*, *dhātu-śarīra* or *dharma-śarīra*), the remains of the Buddha or a revered saint after his cremations. These relics were placed in stūpas for worshipping. The white relics represent the bones; the black was related to the hair; and the red was referred to the flesh. The whole physical body of the Buddhas was also called *dhātu-śarīra* or *dharma-śarīra*. The *Lotus Sūtra* and other sūtras are considered as relics. Buddha's relics were amounted to **八斛四斗** 84 pecks that Aśoka built 84,000 stūpas to preserve these relics in one day. http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=**舍利** (accessed, January 18, 2011).

that: “It is really deceitful.” When Sun Quan 孫權 prepared to punish him, Kang Senghui again requested an extension for another seven days. Sun Quan 孫權 accepted the request. Kang Senghui told his followers that Confucius had said that: “The King Wen 文王帝 (248-210 BC) has passed away, then is the literature not here anymore? The auspicious response of Dharma has descended down. But we have not received any response. Thus, how could we rely on the emperor to establish the law [Buddhism]. We should vow to die within this week.” To the evening of the seventh day, they again did not see anything, and they were all exceedingly frightened. When it was just the fifth watch of the night 五更, they suddenly heard the rattle within the copper jar. Kang Senghui came up to inspect by himself, and certainly he obtained the śarīra. In the next morning, Kang Senghui presented [the śarīra] to Sun Quan 孫權, who summoned all the court officials to observe. [They saw] the five bright flames of colors, which shined and sparkled on the top of the copper jar. Sun Quan 孫權 held the copper jar by himself and poured [the śarīra] on a copper tray. Wherever the śarīra rolled to, the copper tray was broken. Sun Quan 孫權 was greatly frightened, stood up, and exclaimed, “It is an inconceivably felicitous omen.” Kang Senghui stepped forward and called out, “Is the powerful supernatural sign of śarīra limited only with the bright light appearance? Use the fire to burn it. The fire cannot burn it. The diamond pestle cannot smash it.”

Thus, Sun Quan 孫權 ordered to test. At that time, Kang Senghui pledged, “The Dharma cloud just covers. Sentient beings look up to the grace. Please, again let down the supernatural trace in order display greatly the auspicious and powerful signs.” Then he put the śarīra on the iron anvil and rad, and he thusly ordered the strong man to strike.

However, the iron anvil and rad both sunk down, and the śarīra was not diminished. Sun Quan 孫權 greatly admired and respected this. Promptly, he erected a pagoda. Since it so happened that it was the first Buddhist temple, it was named as the *First Established Temple Jian Chu Si* 建初寺; that area was called the Buddhist village *Fotuo li* 佛陀里. Thereupon, the great dharma was flourished in the area of the Jiang Zuo 江左.[614]

When Sun Hao 孫皓 took over the throne [governmental affairs], his governmental rulings were oppressive and cruel. He abrogated and destroyed the obscene worship places. When he was about to destroy the Buddhist temple, he said that: "Where was this temple arisen? If its teachings were genuine and proper, which were accorded with the holy scriptures, then we will maintain and serve respectfully this religion. If it is not a genuine one, then just burn them all."

Several officials unanimously asserted, "The Buddha's powerful strength was different to that of other spirits. Kang Senghui received the felicitous omen. The great emperor established the temple. We are afraid of giving in to regret later on."

Then, Sun Hao 孫皓 sent Zhang Yu 張昱 to head towards the temple to question Kang Senghui. Zhang Yu 張昱 had the eloquent talent to inquire difficult questions laterally and vertically (in various ways). Kang Senghui replied accordingly with his hastened expressions, logic literature, and a sharp response from morning to night, and Zhang Yu could not bend [defeat] Kang Senghui. When Kang Senghui sent Zhang Yu off at the temple's gate, he saw that next to the temple was an obscene worship place. Zhang

[614] Jiang zuo 江左 or Jiang Dong 江東, is an area on the south of Yangtze River, or the lower reaches of Yangtze River.

Yu asked of Senghui, "The profound transformation has been poised. Why do you allow it dwelling nearby and not close down it?"

Kang Senghui replied: "Thunder light may smash the mountain, but the deaf could not hear [the sound of thunder light]. It is not the thunder light's sound is little. If they have penetrated the logic, then [whether] they stay at ten thousand miles, they will respond accordingly. If it is impeded and obstructed, then even the liver or gall bladder is still far away like the countries of Chu 楚 and Yue 越."[615] When Zhang Yu 張昱 returned to report to Sun Hao 孫皓, he attested, "I admired Kang Senghui's bright talent of which I could not [make any] evaluation. Your majesty, please examine him yourself."

Sun Hao 孫皓 gathered a great court of virtuous officials. Then Sun Hao 孫皓 ordered the officials to use a horse cart to receive Kang Senghui. When Kang Senghui came to the court and sat down, Sun Hao 孫皓 asked: "The explanation (teachings) of Buddhism is about the retributions of the wholesome and unwholesome deeds. Why is that?"

Kang Senghui replied, "When a bright lord uses filial piety and benevolence to teach worldly people, then the red crow flying [to him] that the old man can see [it]. If one uses virtuous humaneness to raise animals, then the sweet spring surges up and auspicious sprouts grow up. If the wholesome deeds have the felicitous omen, then

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[615] Chu Guo 楚國. Beginning from a small area in the west, the Chu Dynasty gradually enlarged its territory around southern China (John S. Major, Defining Chu: Image and Reality in Ancient China (USA: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 1. As a historical mark with an ambiguous entity, the Chu Dynasty was defined as collective states (Major, 5). During the Zhou Dynasty, the historical Chu Dynasty occupied important role in China (Major, 9). Around the end of the *Spring and Autumn* period and extending to the late stage of *Warring States* period, the Yue kings initiated the Yue Guo 越國 era (Eric Henry, "The Submerged History of Yue," *Sino-Platonic Papers*, 176 (May, 2007): 8). Archeologically, Yue Guo 越國, extending from Tiantai Shan area in Zhejiang Province to northward, was uncovered with massive human remains and artefacts in the entombments, southeast China (Henry, "The Submerged History of Yue," 4).

unwholesome deeds would have an un-auspicious omen in a similar way. If someone creates unwholesome deeds in secret, then the devil will punish him. If someone creates unwholesome deeds evidently, he will be punished by other people. The *Book of Changes* 易經 said that 'Accumulation of wholesome deeds will bring surplus of happiness.'[616] The *Book of Poetry* 詩詠 praised 'Seeking blessing without retreat.' Although they are the standard speech and scriptures of the Confucianism, they are also the bright teaching of Buddhism."

Sun Hao 孫皓 further asked: "If that is the case, the teachings of Zhougong 周公 and Kongzi 孔子 have been clearly explained.[617] Why do we need Buddhism?"

Kang Senghui replied: "The words [teachings] of Zhougong 周公 and Kongzi 孔子 are brief explanation and close track. Regarding the teaching of Śākyamuni Buddha, it is the utmost perfect(ion) and deeply profound. Hence, creating unwholesome deeds will be prolonged with suffering in hell. Cultivation of wholesome deeds would bring

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[616] "Book of Changes" *Yijing* 易經 is one of the five essential Cunfucian classics 五經. Based on the logical arrangement of the two primal forces of *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽 and the augmentation of the eight trigrams 卦 and sixty-four hexagrams, this text depicts the physical and metaphysical phenomena of existence. It is unverifiable account about the legendary Fuxi 伏羲 that King Wen 文王 and the Duke of Zhou 周公 designed and made commentaries about the trigrams and hexagrams while Confucius composed the "Ten Wings" 十翼 as a part of the text. The *Yijing* has served popularly as divine guidance in China for thousand years. http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?54.xml+id('b5468-6613') (accessed, January 18, 2011).

[617] Zhougong 周公, the Duke of Zhou, is a son of Wen-wang, first king of the Zhou Dynasty (1122-479 BC). Confucius or Kongzi 孔子 or Qiu Zhongni 丘仲尼 (551-479 BC), a native of Lu 魯 state and living during the *Spring and Autumn* 春秋時代 period, is considered as the most famous ancient Chinese sage. As the founder of the ethico-religious scheme known as Confucianism 儒教, his thoughts have been impacting deeply and perpetually in all East Asian culture regions till today. The *Lunyu* (Analects of Confucius), his recorded teachings, described his extensive journey throughout the warring kingdoms. This text also reminds people to cultivate the inherent humaneness 仁 that could be practiced and developed together with moral attitudes such as "a sense of justice" 義, "propriety" 禮, "trust" 信, "wisdom" 智, and "filial piety" 孝. In addition, he depended significantly on the contemporary classical texts such as the *Book of Odes* 詩經 and *Book of History* 書經. http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=孔子 (accessed, January 18, 2011).

everlasting happiness in the heavenly court. Now if we use them to reason the encouragement [of doing good deeds] and prevention [of doing bad deeds], is it also great?"

At that time, Sun Hao 孫皓 did not have any way to break off or refute Kang Senghui's explanation. Although Sun Hao 孫皓 had heard proper dharma, his negative tyrannical nature and cruelty could not be transcended. Later on, when he ordered his guards to enter the rear palace to fix the garden, they dug out a standing golden statute which was several feet tall, and subsequently presented it to Sun Hao 孫皓, who ordered to put the statute in an impure place and use unclean liquids to pour over it. Together with the court officials, Sun Hao 孫皓 laughed and considered it as fun. Suddenly and in consequence, Sun Hao 孫皓's body was swollen largely within an instance; his genitals were especially painful. In agony, he cried and shouted up to the sky. Grand Astrologer *Tai Shi* 太史 examined the divine words and said that: "The emperor has violated a great supernatural being."

As a result, Sun Hao 孫皓 went to pray and worship at several shrines, but his pain was not reduced. Among the imperial maids, there was a lady who formerly respected the Dharma. Due to her concerns of the emperor's suffering, she asked him: "Has your majesty come to the temple to pray for the Buddha yet?"

Sun Hao 孫皓 raised his head and asked that: "The Buddha, is that a great supernatural being?" The imperial maid replied that: "The Buddha is a great supernatural being." Thereupon, Sun Hao 孫皓 's mind was apprehended with both expression and thought [of his problem]. Then, the imperial maid brought the golden statute, put it on the

high hall, and used the warm, fragrant water purify it several times. She burned incense for Sun Hao 孫皓 to repent, and so Sun Hao 孫皓 bowed his head down on the pillow and repented his offenses. Within a moment, his pain was reduced. Sun Hao 孫皓 then ordered his officials going to the temple to inquire with the monks and request Kang Senghui to the court to speak dharma for Sun Hao 孫皓. Immediately, Kang Senghui followed them and entered the palace. Sun Hao 孫皓 inquired as to the causes of both offense and blessing. Then, for the sake of Sun Hao 孫皓, Kang Senghui presented them in detail with his great and essential eloquences. Since Sun Hao 孫皓 had the talent of apprehension, he was greatly delighted and joyful. In his joyfulness, Sun Hao 孫皓 wanted to look at the precepts of śramaṇa. Since Kang Senghui knew that one could not lightly expound the secret and prohibited literature of precepts, he took three hundred and fifteen vows in the *Sūtra on the Original Karma* 本業, and he divided them into two hundred and fifty matters.[618] While one is walking, standing, sitting, and lying down, one makes the vows to rescue sentient beings. Sun Hao 孫皓 saw the compassionate vows that are so broad and universal. Sun Hao 孫皓 also increased his wholesome thoughts beneficially. Right afterward, Sun Hao 孫皓 received the five precepts from Kang Senghui. Within ten days, Sun Hao 孫皓's illness was wholly healed. At Kang Senghui's home, Sun Hao 孫皓 ordered more renovation and decoration. He also ordered and announced that all of his imperial relatives respected Kang Senghui. During the Wu Dynasty 吳, Kang Senghui especially spoke proper dharma. However, since Sun Hao 孫

[618] *Sūtra of Primary Activities Ben ye jing* 本業, See *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 菩薩瓔珞本業經 (T 1485). http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=本業經 (accessed, January 21, 2011).

皓 had a brutal and rough nature, he could not apprehend the wonderful meanings. Hence, Kang Senghui just narrated the retribution and response of those immediate matters to open Sun Hao 孫皓's mind. At the *First Established Temple*, Kang Senghui translated several sūtras. They are *Anan nian mi* 阿難念彌, *Jing mian wang* 鏡面王, *Cha wei wang* 察微王, *Fan huang jing* 梵皇經, and others. He also translated the *shorter version of the Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra Xiu pin pan ruo jing* (*小品般若經), Sūtra on the Collection of the Six Perfections Liu tu chi jing (六度集經), Sūtra on Various Metaphors Za pi yu jing (*雜譬喻*經*), and others.[619] [His translation of those sūtras] also obtained wonderfully the essence of sūtra. His writing and meanings are precise and proper. He also transmitted the musical melody of Nirvāṇa, which was peaceful, disperse, pitiful, and light. It was a stylistic model for a generation. In addition, he wrote commentaries about three sūtras such as *Expiration and Inspiration An ban shou yi* 安那般那, *Sūtra of the Dharma Mirror Fajing jing* 法鏡經, and *Sūtra of the Bodhi-Tree*

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[619] *Shorter version of the Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* 小品*般若*經. Kumārajīva's abbreviated version, in ten fascicles, of the *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra*. (*Aṣṭa-sāhasrikāprajñā-pāramitā*). http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=%E5%B0%8F%E5%93%81%E8%88%AC%E8%8B%A5%E6%B3%A2%E7%BE%85%E8%9C%9C%E7%B6%93. (accessed, January 18, 2011). *Sūtra on the Collection of the Six Perfections (六度集經)*. The *Liuduji jing*. 8 fasc. T 152, K 206 (*Ṣaṭ-pāramitā-saṃgraha**). Also known by the names 六度無極經, 六度無極集, 六度集, and 雜無極經. It was translated completely in 251 AD by Kang Senghui 康僧會. This is a text related with one of Śākyamuni's previous lives (*jātaka*) that aims on the Bodhisattva teachings of the six perfections 六波羅蜜 of giving 布施, observance of precepts 持戒, forbearance 忍辱, effort 精進, meditation 禪定, and wisdom 智慧. http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=六度集經. (accessed, January 18, 2011). The *Zapiyu jing* 雜譬喻*經*; K 1007, T 204; . (1 fascicle) Lokakṣema translated 支婁迦讖 between the 1st year of Jianhe 建和 and the 3rd year of Zhongping 中平, Later Han 後漢 (147-186 AD) in Luoyang 洛陽. The doctrine of the wholesome and unwholesome retribution and activity is explained through 39 metaphors 三十九喻。http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=%E9%9B%9C%E8%AD%AC%E5%96%A9%E7%B6%93 (accessed, January 18, 2011).

Daoshu jing 道樹經.[620] He also wrote the introduction for those sūtras. His expressions were attractive, elegant, and expedient. His meanings were aimed to provide insightful and secret connotations, which also were seen in the secular life.

In 280 AD, Wu Sun Hao 吳孫皓 was submitted to the Jin emperor 晉.[621] In the ninth month, Kang Senghui became ill and died; his death occured during the first year of Taikang 太康 (280 AD) of the emperor Jin Wu Di 晉武帝. During the reign of Xian Huo 咸和 (326 AD) of the emperor Jin Cheng Di (晉成帝), Su Jun 蘇峻 revolted and burned the pagoda that was erected by Kang Senghui. Minister of Works He Chong 司空何充 rebuilt and renovated it.

Many generations of the *General Conquest of the West Zhao You* (平西將軍趙誘) did not respect the Dharma, and they (this general) proudly and arrogantly looked down upon the Triple Jewels 三寶.[622] This general went inside this temple and told the monks that: "I have heard for a long time that this pagoda frequently emits brilliant light. This is

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[620] *An ban shou yi*, 安般守意, Skt. Ānâpāna. *Fajing jing* 法鏡經. 1 fasc., K 32, T 322; Skt. *Ugra(datta)paripṛcchā(sūtra)*, Tib. *Khyim-bdag-drag-śul-can-gyis shus-pa*. Translation by Anxuan 安玄: 4th year of Guangho 光和, Later Han 後漢 in Luoyang 洛陽 (181 AD). Nanjio 33; Ono. 10:12c; Tōhoku 63; Ōtani 760(19): Mvy 1396. The Buddha teaches on the lay practices and renunciant bodhisattvas at the inquiry of Ugra 甚理家, an elder of Śrāvastī. This is a different translation of the *Yuqie changzhe hui* 郁伽長者會 (contained in the *Ratnakūṭa-sūtra* 大寶積經) and the *Yuqie luoyue wen pusaxing jing* 郁伽羅越問菩薩行經. http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=法鏡經 (accessed, January 18, 2011).

[621] Possibly this is the Western Jin Xijin 西晉 (265-316 AD), because the author referred to Taikang 太康 (280 AD) reign of the emperor Jin Wu Di 晉武帝 in the text.

[622] Three precious things are the three objects of veneration (Ch. 三尊 佛法僧寶. Cf. 別相三寶, 一體三寶, and 住持三寶; Skt. *ratna-traya*, *trīṇiratnāni*, *buddha-dharma-saṃgha*, *ratna*, *ratnāni*, *śaraṇa-traya*, *śubha-ratna-traya*; Pāli *ratana-ttaya*, *ti-ratana*; Tib. *dkon mchog gsum*). The numerous scriptures and commentaries in the Buddhist canon include wide range of explanations regarding their detailed meaning, individually and collectively of the three: (1) the Buddha 佛; (2) the Dharma (Buddhist teachings) 法, and (3) the Saṃgha (community of monks and nuns) 僧. http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=三寶 (accessed, January 18, 2011).

false and fabricated that he has not seen. Thus, it might not be believed in. If I can see it by myself, then there is nothing to argue about."

Right after he just finished his words, the pagoda immediately emitted five colors of bright lights, which shined gloriously in the hall of the temple. Zhao You (趙誘) was reverently astonished with his pores raising up. As a result, he believed and respected Buddhism. Afterward, he erected a small pagoda in the eastern side of the temple. These auspicious omens occurred due to the response of the great holy supernatural being in the afar. In the near sight, it was the strength of Kang Senghui. Thus, the general Zhao You 趙 drew and sketched a picture of Kang Senghui, which was transmitted (kept) to today.

Later on Sun Chuo 孫綽 composed a verse to praise the image of Kang Senghui. "The gentleman Kang Senghui was a dignified person. He was real honest person with magistrate substance. His mind is not intimate and implicated. His feelings to sentient beings are excessive. In the dark night, he raised (rescued) those demoted classes of people. He surpassed other common people and accomplished profound stages. His brilliant and completed actions are produced loftily." There was a record which mentioned that Sun Hao 孫皓 experimentally smashed the śarīra. It was not during the time of Sun Quan 孫權. I examined the evidence and know that when Sun Hao 孫皓 was going to destroy the temple, all of the imperial officials together said that: "Kang Senghui received the felicitous omen, and the great emperor Sun Quan 孫權 established the temple." Then, we know that the response of the śarīra's felicitous omen occurred during the time of Sun Quan 孫權. Hence, in many stories and records of several historians, all of them saying: "Sun Quan 孫權 received the śarīra inside the Wu palace. Afterward, he

tested out the supernatural power of śarīra.” However, some historians falsely claimed that it was Sun Hao 孫皓.

Appendix 2: Hell Concept

Naraka (Sanskrit), Niraya (Pāli), or *diyu* 地獄 (Chinese), translated as hell, hell realm, purgatory, or the "Earth Prison," is the most prolonged, for a finite period, place of suffering due to the karmic offenses of sentient beings. The Buddha explains in details about the hells in the *Devadūta Sutta of Majhima Nikāya* .[623] The *Abhidharma-kosa* (Treasure House of Higher Knowledge) describes the Eight Cold and Eight Hot hells.[624]

An Shigao translated "The Buddha speaks about eighteen hells." *Fo shuo shiba nili jing* 佛說十八泥犁 and *Fo shou zui ye ying bao jiao hua diyu jing* "The Buddha speaks the sūtra of the retribution of the unwholesome karma through teaching about the hell" 佛說罪業應 報教化地獄經.[625] Lokakṣema (*Zhi Loujiachen*) translated the sūtra *Daoxing banrou jing, nili pin di wu* **摩訶般若波羅蜜道行經泥犁品第五**.[626] Zhiqian translated *Da mingdu jing, diyu pin*, **大明度經卷第**三, **地獄品第**六.[627]

In Mahāyāna literature, the "Sūtra of the Bodhisattva Ksitigarbha" especially informs the Buddhists about various stages and suffering levels in the hells, and provides advice for common people about how to transfer their merits to relieve the suffering of their deceased relatives.[628]

As the most revered among the Five-Peak Mountains, Mount Tai, or the Eastern Peak 泰山東**嶽**, is one of the centers of Chinese sacred geography. Mount Tai was

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[623] AN 8.7.
[624] William Montgomery McGovern, *A Manual of Buddhist philosophy*, vol. 1 (London, K. Paul, Trench, Trubner; new York, E.P.Dutton, 1923), 61.
[625] T17n0731_p0528b14; T17n0724_p0450c10.
[626] *T08n0224_p0440b14*
[627] T08n0225_p0487b19-22.
[628] Siksananda, translated into Chinese, Upasaka Tao-tsi Shih translated into English, Edited by Dr. Frank G. French, *The Sūtra of Bodhisattva Ksitigarbha's Fundamental Vows.*

mentioned in earliest Chinese written records and has ever since been included in countless classical and vernacular proverbs and locutions. Together with the Yellow River, it is a crucial anchor of Chinese cultural identity. Prior to or during Han time, it was believed that the souls of the dead would rest under Mount Tai, and sick people would come to the mountain to beg for a longer life span.[629]

In an essay titled "Mount Tai Regulates Ghosts" *Taishan Zhigui* 泰山支癸 written by Gu Yanwu 顾炎武(1613-1682), it is suggested that the concept of ghosts was introduced around the downfall of Han time. The idea of "Hell" (*diyu*) was initiated in the literary masterpiece "Summons of the Soul" ("*Zhaohun"* 招魂) by Song Yu 宋玉. Afterward, it was developed and attached to Buddhist texts during Wei and Jin times. Hu Shi 胡適 (1891-1962) asserted that Buddhism brought the concept of heavens and hells to China, although he modified his views later in his life.[630]

Toward the end *of Warring States* period 戦国時代, Mount Tai 泰山 in Shandong 山東 ruled over by the Lord of Mount Tai 泰山府君. It gradually became the popular destination for the dead. Increasingly common from the Han period onward, grave-securing writs *zhenmuwen* a long with tomb contracts *madiquan* and talisman *fu*, are the demonstrations of how governmental techniques retained the borderline of life and death. Discussion of the deceased in ancient China often refer to a distinction between the different types of "souls" that constituted the individual, the earthly yin soul, *po*, and the celestial yang soul, *hun*. Both types of souls were required to descend into the earth and

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[629] Fabrizio Pregadio, *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*: 2-volume set (London: Routledge, 2008), 947.
[630] Amy Olberding and P.J Ivanhoe, *Mortality in Traditional Chinese Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2011), 85.

remain in the grave, which increasingly came to represent a variety of afterlife possibilities. For example, research on the Mawangdui banner and multiple coffins has elaborated a variety of afterlife scenarios contained within one tomb. Thus, the descendants allowed for a variety of possible worlds for the deceased, except that of living. However, on arrival in the underworld all the newly deads were held in "earth prison (**地獄**) for an assessment of their previous human lives.[631]

Reading the "cultural relic" of *Mawangdui* **馬王堆** painting that preserves the **符籙 Fulu** (talisman) ritual in a vivid form, it reinforces the beliefs of Yu Ying-Shih 余英時 concerning death and the afterlife behind this practice during Han time. Yu points out that the practice was based on the belief surrounding "summoning the *hun* to reunite with the *po* (*zhaohun fupo* 招魂復**魄**)." This ritual implication about the belief that there was a separation between the *hun* and *po* at the moment of death; while the *po* stays with the physical body, the *hun* goes wandering. However, this separation was also believed to have been temporary, and the fu ritual was meant to call back the *hun* to revive the newly dead.

Once the *fu* ritual was believed to have failed to call back the *hun*, the newly dead were considered to have begun his or her afterlife journey. Yu suggests that prior to the arrival of Buddhism, which associated ethical behavior with journeys to heaven and hell, there were dual value-neutral adobes for the dead that matched the dualistic conception of the *hun* and *po*: a heavenly world above and an underworld below. At death, the *hun* and *po* go their separate ways and travel to their different destinations. Yu also discussed a

[631] Neil Schmid, "Concepts of the Netherworld and Modifications in the Chinese Articulation of Karma," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Hennrik Hjort Sorensen, and Richard Karl Payne (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 246-247.

crucial transformation in Han views about the afterlife that took place around Emperor Wu (140-87 BC) reign. The cult of immortality known as *xian* 仙 provided another perspective of a life after death. This cult of immortals changed the balance between the dual abodes of dead. According to Daoist "Scripture of Great Peace" 太平經, the upper heaven became exclusively a land for immortals, and so the *hun* needed to find a new place to reside. During early first century BC, this new abode was thought to be located on Mount Tai. Accordingly, the *po*, instead of going to the general underworld, was relocated specifically to a place called Haoli 蒿里山 at the foot of Mt. Tai. Although they share similar features, their belief system of heaven and the underworld did not. Evidently, it is a distinctively bureaucratic attribute.[632]

Several scholars have examined how Buddhism reshaping Chinese cult of the dead, especially regarding the belief in karmic retribution for one's own misdeeds. Their tendency is to deemphasize the continuous indigenous Chinese belief that all the deaths should be judged and punished spiritually according to their mischief in the underworld. Buddhism has utilized some features of these beliefs in early Buddhist translations such as the term "Mount Tai Earthly Prison" (*Taishan Diyu* 泰山地獄) as its term *niraya* (hell).[633]

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[632] Amy Olberding, P.J. Ivanhoe, *Mortality in Traditional Chinese Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2011), 90-91.
[633] Paul R. Katz, *Divine Justice: Judicial Rituals and Legitimation Processes in Chinese Legal Culture* (London: Routledge, 2008), 40.

Appendix 3: General Chinese political philosophy

According to the archaeological and documentary evidences, the period between the late *Spring and Autumn* 春秋時代 (772-481 BC) to the end of the *Warring States* (480-221 BC) is considered as the *Hundred Contending Schools*, the prosperous activation of scholastic converse and politic speculation. The "social" and "international" environment of the late Zhou period offered a conductive condition for the development of Chinese philosophical scholarship. This freedom of intellectual expression during the chao period prior to the Qin unification was one of the rare periods in Chinese history.[634] It concurred with the blossoming of the *Hundred Contending Schools*, when Chinese philosophy advanced its full potential and reached its peak that occurred only once for more than two thousand years. Most great Chinese scholars emerged during this time such as Confucius, Mencius, Mo Di, Laozi, Zhuangzhou, Xunzi, Sun Wu, and Han Fei. The spirit of these philosophical, intellectual, and political freedoms was forfeited after Qin emperor unified China. Afterward, for more than twenty-one centuries, China mostly felt into the period of intellectual inactivity and scholastic unproductiveness because of the rigid governmental empires. During this most critical and determinative period of the Chinese empire formation, among the pre-Qin political phisological schools, the Legalist school wielded determinedly influence on political advance and imparted direction to the imperial building process.

In spite of the emerging of hundred competing philosophical schools around the *Warring States* period, most Chinese intellectual scholars recognized only four

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[634] Zhengyuan Fu, *Autocratic Tradition and Chinese politics* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 28.

imperative schools of pre-Qin political philosophy: Confucianism, Daoism, Mohism, and Legalism.[635]

Particularly, Chinese conservative imperial autocracy preferred to use some Confucian doctrines as imperial tenets. First, the Confucians' political order legitimated the authoritarian governmental empire. Second, according to Confucian perspective on the Sage-King, man's regulation supersedes secular law. The sovereign authority mostly had unlimited power except social and moral obligations. Third, Confucianism endorsed and vindicated the social standards of the rulers controlling over their subjects, of the state domination over the people, of the old over the young, and of men over women. Fourth, in the Confucian social order, people work for collective interests that were embodied by the ruler and the state. Fifth, all Chinese emperors utilized Confucianism to control and indoctrinate their submissive people, but only few of them practiced Confucian benevolent principle. Sixth, Chinese emperors dominated the gentility through imperial nomination, even though the Confucianism favoring of meritocracy, instead of the hereditary principle. Obviously, the integrated imperial court adopted most of the Confucian political philosophy. As a result, without disruption for more than two thousand years, Confucianism has served as the authoritative orthodoxy of Chinese imperial courts.[636]

Daoist theory is found on the notion of a comprehensive principle, "the Way" (*Dao*), which controls every animate and inanimate entity. As the transcendental mystic Ultimate, Dao is the derivation and termination of everything including the cosmos. In Laozi's expressions, the Sage is indistinguishable with the ruler. If a Sage harmonizes

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[635] Fu, *Autocratic Tradition,* 29.
[636] Ibid., 35.

completely with the Dao, he would treat people in similar way as nature treating all beings.

The Daoist Sage-Ruler has no compassion for humankind. According to Laozi, the best way of domination is one that governs least. Laozi's way of governance is that the ruler must maintain an illiterate and compliant population. Laozi described how to handle the enemy, "If you want to weaken someone, first strengthen him; if you want to be rid of someone, first promote him; if you want to take away from someone, first give him." The Huang-Lao school, a branch of Daoism, modified these principles, and they later foretold the Legalists.[637] *Huangdi sijing* "Four Canons of the Yellow Emperor," a lost archaic documents of the Huang-Lao School and a Daoist basic tenets, are in coherent with the Legalist spirit: the ruler as a supreme leader and a lawgiver, and the obligation of complete compliance from his officials and subjects to his arbitrary authority.[638] Specifically, this Huang-Lao tenet was utilized by the emperors, empress dowagers, and high ministers in early Han period.[639]

The Moist also has similar idea as that of the Confucians in promoting people into office in accordance with their merit. Nonetheless, they criticized Confucians for not having faith with ghost and spirits, for performing lengthy periods of mourning, for having too many meaningless and wasteful rites, and for the Confucian calling to go back to the archaic ways of life. In spite of his moderate and peaceful style, Mo Zi promoted

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[637] Fu, *Autocratic Tradition,* 35-36.
[638] Huang Lao is an offshoot of Daoism (Fu, *Autocratic Tradition* 44).
[639] Fu, *Autocratic Tradition,* 37. Specifically, Daoism provides the guidelines: "Dao gives rise to the law… he who grasps the Dao is the source of the law … the benevolence of Heaven is great, but without penal punishment it cannot be realized. The ruler stands facing south. His ministers are somber and reverential, none dare to hide [any secret] from hm. The inferiors are obedient and dare not hide [any secret] from their superior. The many people … are eager to serve their ruler. Possessing a large territory, a teeming population, and a strong army, the ruler is matchless in the world" (Fu, *Autocratic Tradition* 37).

radical absolutism and the divine right of the ruler. According to Mo Zi, Heaven legitimated and mandated the ruler that selects the worthiest one and install him as the Son of Heaven. Except for the Son of Heaven, everyone must have a superior to follow. Since the commoners occupied the lowest hierarchy, they were supposed to benefit from this system. Mo Zi also thought that if the worthy people were promoted to higher official position and everyone has a virtuous superior, social harmony would be ensured. Moist dictatorship is acceptable by rule of a virtuous man. Mo Zi was possibly the first Chinese philosopher to advocate state control of the mind. According to him, the Son of Heaven would unify the world by creating standardized political and ideological principles, as the ruler's will became the heaven's will. According to the principle of "identification with the superior" (*shangtong*), since the Son of Heaven controlled the ultimate authority, he should prescribe what and how his people think. The Moists were the earliest Chinese political philosophers who advocated the institution of mutual surveillance and an informer network.[640]

The Legalist imperative doctrine is the superiority of the ruler, which is the crucial goal of the state, since authority and power are closely entangled. To uphold the authority and power, two foremost instruments of the ruler are the regulation and governance. According to the Legalists' terminology, the regulation is merely a penal code that is dictated by the ruler, and governance is the art "hidden in the heart (of the ruler) for dealing with contingencies and covertly manipulating the ministers." For Legalists, the ruler is the creator of the law, but he is beyond law. The ruler could create, modify, and revoke any time. The Legalists advocated the reward and punishment system

[640] Fu, *Autocratic Tradition,* 38.

by creating reciprocal conflicts of interest both within and among social groups to control and suppress the mass inflexibly.

The Legalists presented subtantial intuitive advice to the ruler on the principles of governance. For example, power and authority should never be compromised with others; no one could be reliable (comprising the ruler's wife and offsprings); the government should be frequently scrutinized; subjugation of officials should be strengthened; all liberated social groups should be curbed; mutual surveillance and informing among people should be activated; and free thinking should be eradicated. For the Legalists, common people do not have any of their inherent right, but they are valuable source for the ruler to strengthen his authority and power. The ruler controlled his people as his own materials.[641]

Because the Confucian and Legalist political philosophy were so entangled, modern scholars cannot reach the compromise on the original sources coming from their official tenet. For example, after Han time, since the Legalists intermingle with the Confucians at the imperial court, it was rarely to have any Legalist standing by himself.[642]

In imperial China, Confucianism functioned in the service of Legalistic essence. During the twenty-one centuries of Chinese imperial history, the official orthodoxy was an amalgam of legalistic principles and Confucian rhetoric. This was the main cause of the discrepancies between the overt pronouncements and the covert operational norms of Chinese imperial politics, and between proclaimed moral principles and actual political practice during the course of Chinese imperial history. Legalistic totalitarian absolutism

[641] Fu, *Autocratic Tradition,* 42-43.
[642] Ibid., 45.

and Confucian patriarchal authoritarianism are similar as the left and right palms of the hand of Chinese despotism.[643]

In short, for more than twenty-one centuries of existence, Chinese imperial history has been running by a system of legalistic tyranny and Confucian paternalistic absolutism to control the populace.

[643] Fu, *Autocratic Tradition,* 48.

Appendix 4: Sanskrit story of *Liudu ji jing*

Obviously, as the title explicitly elucidates the meanings, the contents of the *Liudu ji jing* mostly uphold Mahāyāna principles such as the six paramitas, and other related subjects. As a result, it contains many stories that convey these Mahāyāna themes as the same as that of the Sanskrit literature. For instance, stories number twenty-five and forty-nine in the *Liudu ji jing* are similar to that of the story *Saccankira* from the Sanskrit source.[644] It is probable that these two stories come from the same source, the *Saccankira*, or a similar Sanskrit root story. They were most likely modified into two stories in order to demonstrate the two principles of generosity and patience. In the story *Saccankira*, four characters (a vicious prince, a mouse, a snake, and a parrot) were swept away by river water. A cultivator, the Buddha's former life, lived nearby that river. At midnight, hearing their cries for help, he rushed to the riverbank to pull them up. The snake, the mouse, and the parrot later repaid the cultivator's kindness. On the other hand, after ascending to the throne, the prince ordered an execution to his rescuer, the cultivator. After hearing the whole story of the cultivator at the executed place, people in that country angrily overthrown their ungrateful king and gracefully installed the cultivator as their king.

Comparatively, the story number twenty-five adds on some elements at the beginning and the end to express the principles of suffering, emptiness, impermanence, and selflessness.[645] The story began with a wealthy man, who went to the market to buy a tortoise coincidently and released it out of his house. To indemnify the wealthy man's

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[644] T03n0152_p0015a16-16a27; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 103-107. T03n0152_p0028a01-28c04; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 187-190.
[645] T03n0152_p0015a16-16a27; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 103-107.

kindness, the tortoise came to warn his rescuer the forthcoming of a great flood, and advised him to construct a boat before the disaster occurred. A great flood actually happened, and the wealthy man was safe on his boat. When the wealthy man saw a snake and a fox being swept away by the water, he rescued them. Then when he saw a man being pulled away by the water, he also rescued him, even though the snake and the fox opposed. Later, when the fox dug a hole and saw about one hundred ounces of gold, he offered it to the wealthy man. However, when the man, who was rescued by the wealthy man, witnessed this offering, he demanded the wealthy man to share half of the gold. Because the wealthy man rejected the demand, that man sued the wealthy man as "digging up the grave to steal the gold." As a result, the wealthy man was put in jail. The snake and fox concocted a scheme to rescue the wealthy man. The snake crawled into the palace to bite the prince, and it also gave the antidote to the wealthy man, who used that medicine to save the prince's life. Afterward, the wealthy man was promoted to general, and he preached the four foremost Buddhist principles: suffering, emptiness, impermanence, and selflessness.[646]

The story number twenty-one of the *Liudu ji jing* has similar focus points to that of story number thirty-seven in *Avadānaśataka* and story number thirty-eight, "a causal condition of the story."[647] A Rabbit burnt his body as an offering to an immortal, '*tu shao shen gung yang xianren yuan*' 兔燒身供養仙人緣" in *Zhuan ji bai yuan jing* 撰集百緣

[646] T03n0152_p0015a16-16a27; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 103-107.
[647] T03n0152_p0013c01-c23. Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois*, 93-96. T03n0152_p0019c18-20b05; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 139-142 . T03n0152_p0020b06-21a08; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 142-149.

經.[648] In story twenty-one of the *Liudu ji jing*, besides the rabbit, there were also a monkey, fox, and otter.[649] All were afraid that the immortal would leave. As a result, the monkey went to seek for fruits to offer to the immortal; the fox searched for a bag of dry rice, and the otter caught a big fish. The rabbit, however, burned his body as an offering since he did not have any food to offer to the immortal.

The episode of the story number ninety in the *Liudu ji jing* is similar to that of the story "The causal condition of the story of a wealthy man who was crowned as a king for seven days, *Zhangzhe qi ri zuo wang yuan* 長者七日作王緣" in the *Avadānaśataka*.[650] Even they are different episodes, the story *Zhangzhe qi ri zuo wang yuan* mentions a wealthy man who helped King Pasenadi to win a battle and captured King Ajātaśatru, and he was allowed to be crowned as a king for seven days. This episode is similar to that of story number ninety of the *Liudu ji jing*. This story mentions a poor shoe patcher who was crowned as a king so that he could have the royal experience to see if this feudal lifestyle bringing happiness or suffering.

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[648] Leìon Feer, *Avadâna-Çataka / Cent leìgendes (bouddhiques*) (Paris : E. Leroux, Annales du Museìe Guimet, 1891), 138-142; T200_.04.0221b14- 04.0221c20.
[649] T03n0152_p0013c01-c23; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 93-96.
[650] T03n0152_p0051b07-c28; Chavannes, *Du Tripiṭaka Chinois,* 355-363.

Appendix 5: Summary of *Rāmāyaṇa* story

Together with the *Mahabharata,* the *Rāmāyaṇa* is considered as one of the most famous Indian epics. Poet Vālmīki composed the *Rāmāyaṇa* with 24,000 verses in Sanskrit. This epic describes life in India around 1000 BC and offers a life model interm of hero Ramā, whose life was in accordance with dharma. As a young boy, he was a faultless son. As a husband, he was a best spouse toward his truthful wife, Sītā. As a king, he was a reliable ruler of Ayodhyā. "Be as Ramā" or "Be as Sītā" is the prototype for young Indians through 2,000 years.

Ramā's story has been passing around orrally for hundred years, and it was possibly written down around the first century AD. It has been reciting, translating, and transcribing as the "Rāmāyaṇa" in dance, dhrama, puppets shows, songs, and movies throughout Asia.

Rāmāyaṇa's characters and events describing the idealogy and wisdom of ordinary life are taught to Indian children since birth.

The epics were a uniting entity of India multiethnicities and go beyond caste, geography, and multilinguals. Two important Rāmāyaṇa festivals relatively are celebrated: the capture of Lanka and Ramā's trump over Rāvaṇa, Lanka demonic king, as the Dussehra celebration, being held in October for fourteen day; and Dīpāvalī, the festival of light in October and December, celebrating the homecoming of Ramā and Sītā to their Ayodhyā kingdom.

According to the story, Ramā was the eldest and crowned prince. Howver, his stepmother sought to dethrone Ramā and enthrone her son Bharata, Ramā's younger brother. To take advantage of the king's promise in granting the wishes, the queen

appealed for expelling Ramā out of the country and crowning Bharata to the throne. Since the king kept his promise and ordered Ramā leaving the country, Ramā accepted his fate unquestionably.

After hearing this shocking news, Sītā, Ramā's wife, she pleaded for going to the forest with him as her responsibility to follow and support him unconditionally. After obtaining Ramā's permission, Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa, Ramā's brother, departed for the forest with him.

As soon as Bharata, Ramā's younger brother, knew the matter, he rushed to the forest to search for Ramā. After Bharata found Ramā and others, he convinced Ramā going back and ruling the kingdom because of Ramā's status as the eldest brother. However, Ramā did not like to go against the king's order. As a result, Bharata asked for Ramā's shoes and exclaimed that he will act as his brother's regent and put his brother's shoes on the throne to symbolize the authority. After fourteen years of banishment, he will give back the kingdom to his brother, Ramā. Moved by Bharata's lofty intention, Ramā told Bharata prior to his departure Ramā praised Bharata about his lofty conduct of following the Hindu dharma properly.

Later, Rāvaṇa, Lanka demonic king kidnapped Sītā. With the assistance from the monkey army to construct a bridge between India and Lanka, Ramā rescued his wife safely back to Ayodhyā. However, Ramā demanded Sītā to show her pureness by walking on fire.

This story illustrates Hindu dharma through the characters Ramā, Sītā, and Bharata that Indian people are supposed to follow faithfully this epic's righteous

examples. Mahatma Gandhi envisaged that in the future contemporary India would be turned into a righteous kingdom, Ramrajya.[651]

[651] William Buck, *Rāmāyaṇa* (California: University of California, 1976), 1-400.

Appendix 6: The story of Kālacarya and Man Nuong

There are many verions regarding the legendary story of Kālacarya and Man Nuong. Historians have done some researches about the hidden historical values of this legend. The *Bao Cuc Truyen* records the arrival in Luy Lau of Kālacarya and Mahājīvaka. When Tu Dinh, a local monk, invited them to stay at his residence Kālacarya accepted the invitation and practiced monastic asceticism, but Mahājīvaka declined the offer and continued his journey. Tu Dinh respectfully arranged for his daughter, Man Nuong, to assist Kālacarya. A month later, when Kālacarya was ready to leave, Tu Dinh asked this monk to teach Buddhism and prophesy his future. Kālacarya responded with a short teaching and predict the future life of his daughter, A Man: meeting with a "savior," and becoming an important figure in Buddhism.[652] Afterward, Kālacarya decided to extend his lodging. Occasionally, he stood on one foot while doing the prayers throughout a week continuously. Once, he recited the prayers and then vanished, but people still heard of his voice from a western mountain summit. People could not find him except some stanzas inscribed on a large sapling and the mountaintop. Some speculated that he might have passed away, or he had gone to different areas.

Another story in *Linh Nam Trich Quai* carried different version, but having similar character to that of Bao Cuc Truyen, i.e., Man Nuong and Kālacarya with its Vietnamese transliteration as "Gia La Do Le," or "a black sage." The name "Kālacarya indicates that the monk probably was a Dravidian origin in southern India. In *Linh Nam*

[652] The expression "vessel of the Law" ("*Phap khi*") is considered as the Buddhist sacred items. Probably, Kālacarya referred to the four vessels: "*Phap Van* (Dharmmegha, Buddhism as a fertilizing cloud), "*Phap Vu*" (The rain of Buddha-truth which fertilizes all beings), "*Phap Loi*" (The thunder of dharma, awakening man from stupor and stimulating the growth of virtue, the awful voice of Buddha-truth), and "*Phap Dien*" (The lightning of the truth). When Tran Van Giap referred the story of Man Nuong and the four vessels in *Linh Nam Chich Quai* in his work "Vietnamese Buddhism, from its beginning to the 13th century," he accepted this explanation.

Chich Quai, Man Nuong was not Tu Dinh's biological daughter, but a miserable orphan with accent. However, she was a dedicate person, preparing and serving food for monks, including Kālacarya. In *Kien Van Tieu Luc*, Le Quy Don described the relationship between Kālacarya and Man Nuong as following. In one night during a fifth lunar month, Man Nuong quickly cleaned up her kitchen after serving food to the monks. Afterward, they did their prayers and went back to their rooms. Since the hall was crowded, Kālacarya stepped over Man Nuong's body incidently. Unexpectedly, Man Nuong felt her heart aching and had conception. Man Nuong left that place four month later because of embarrassment. Kālacarya also left the place to live in a pagoda nearby a river bank. After Man Nuong delivered a baby girl, she carried and gave the baby to Kālacarya.

He put and entrusted the baby to banyan tree's trunk neary a river. Prior to his departure, he gave Man Nuong a magic stick and mentioned that the stick will help people during the drought.

At the age of eighty, Man Nuong witnessed a banyan tree incidently falling down to the river and floating to a ferryboat nearby the temple. Villagers rushed down to chop off the trunk. However, all of their heavy tools such as axes and blades were broken. Around three hundred men tried to pull the trunk out of the river, but they failed. Nevertheless, Man Nuong just walked down to the ferryboat for washing the hands and effortlessly pulled the trunk that magically floated to the river bank. Everyone was stunned and requested her to drag the trunk up on the ground so that carpenters could carve it into Buddha statues. Nevertheless, when the trunk was lifted up to the ground, the carpenters tried to cut off the trunk, but they failed because the trunk had become slab stone. They threw this slab stone back to the river, but coincidently all them were killed.

Thus, local people begged Man Nuong for help, and they asked a diver to dive down into the river for bringing up the slab stone. Afterward, they carved the slab stone into four Buddha's statues, i.e., Phap Van, Phap Vu, Phap Loi, and Phap Dien, and they enshrined them at the Dau temple for pulic worshipping.

Co Chau Phap Van Phat Ban Hanh, a religious chronological legend composed in stanzas in 1752, described detail information about Kālacarya, Man Nuong, and the four Buddha statues: "In Shi Xie's period, Kālacarya, an Indian Buddhist monk, built a solidary cabin to teach Buddhism at Linh Quang temple of Phat Tich town, on the Northern Duong River bank."

Afterward, Kālacarya moved to Tien Son hamlet, Tien Du district, and went into seclusion in a log cabin under a banyan tree. Man Nuong was a beautiful daughter ofTu Dinh, a lay Buddhist living nearby Kālacarya's hut in Man Xa hamlet (Ha Man village).

Once time, Man Nuong went to sleep in front of Kālacarya's hut. When Kālacarya just got back from his missionary work in town, he unintentionally stepped over Man Nuong's body and she was conceived. Fourteen month later, she delivered a baby girl and brought her to the monk, who put the baby into an old banyan tree with his prayer. Afterward, he gave Man Nuong a stick and instructed her to plant it on the ground to get water whenever drought occurred. In deed, when there was a great drought, Man Nuong followed her master's instruction and received the miracles.

During the Year of the Mouse, the banyan tree was flooded and was drifted down to the Dau River. All strong men in the village tried to pull the tree out of the water, but they failed. When Man Nuong cleaned her hands in the river, the tree was floating on the water. Then, she threw down the strap to pull the tree out of water. During that particular

night, the governor Shixie felt asleep in the office, and he saw in his dream a deity telling him to sculpt this tree into four Buddha statues. Afterward, Shixie ordered the craftmen to chop the tree into four sections and carved them into four statues. A naming ceremony for the first statue was organized, and miracularly five-colored cluod emerged in the sky on that special day. Thus, the first statue was named as*"Phap Van,*" and it was taken to Thien Dinh (or Dau) Pagoda for worship. The second statue was named as “Phap Vu” after the second rite, and it was enshrined at Thanh Dao pagoda (Dau pagoda) for reverence. Similar ceremonies were conducted, with the marvelous appearances of thunder and lighting, for the third and the fourth statues, which had the names of "*Phap Loi*"and "*Phap Dien,*"respectively. Later these statues were taken to Phi Tuong Temple (or Tuong Temple) and Phuong Quan Temple (or Dau Temple) correspondingly for veneration.

Since these statues were very famous even in China, Jin Mingdi 晉明帝 (323-325 AD) ordered his general Tao Kan 陶侃 (259-334 AD) to invade Vietnam to procure the statues, but failed. In fact, the *Co Chau Phap Van Phat Ban Hanh* records its description of Phap Van Buddha statue; its emblematic sign determined clearly to stay back in Vietnam, not China, to protect the coutry, and it served as an inspirational sources of fighting songs for anti-Chinese propaganda during the Ly State. At once time, Phap Van Buddha was brought to Thai Nguyen to join a victorious ceremony for Vietnamese army. Beside the *Phap Van* Buddha served as an inspirational source for waging national

resistance against foreign aggressors, it also blessed Vietnamese farmers to have favorable weather and abundant crops.[653]

[653] Nguyen, *Buddhism in Vietnam,* 27-31.

Appendix 7: Comparative stories between *Rāmāyaṇa* and number 46 of the *Liudu ji jing*

Rāmāyaṇa	**Story number forty-six**
Main Characters:	
Daśaratha -- King of Ayodhyā (capital of Kośala) had three wives and four sons, Ramā (oldest), Bharata, (and the twins) Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna.	
Ramā: -- Daśaratha's oldest son and the defender of Dharma (proper demeanor and responsibility).	A great benevolent king
Sītā -- Ramā's wife, the adopted daughter of King Janak.	The Queen
Bharata -- Ramā's half-brother, and the son of the Queen Kaikeyi. Bharata kept Ramā's shoes on the throne as an authoritative symbol of Ayodhyā kingdom when he knew of his mother's conspiracy to depose Ramā and enthrone him.	The king's uncle, a cruel and greedy nearby king
Hanumān – As a monkey king, he teamed up with Ramā to defeat Rāvaṇa. Since his father was the wind-god, Hanumān has so much magical powers. Since Hanumān supported Ramā truly, he used his supernatural skills to retake Sītā. This victory helped him becoming one of the most popular charismas in the *Rāmāyaṇ*.	The monkey king
Rāvaṇa -- The 10-headed king of Lanka who kidnapped Sītā.	The deviant dragon, which abducted the queen.
Kausalyā -- Daśaratha's first queen, and Ramā' mother.	
Lakṣmaṇa -- Ramā's younger half-brother, and a son of Sumitrā, Daśaratha's third wife. Lakṣmaṇa followed and served Ramā	

and Sītā in exile. Episode: Ramā, a crowned prince, and his wife Sītā were exiled by the King Daśaratha into a forest. Rāvaṇa, a demon king, abducted Sītā to Lanka. Hanumān, a monkey leader, assisted Ramā to rescue Sītā. Ramā was crowned as an ideal king. Theme: Ramā: An incarnation of the god Viṣṇu. Sītā: A virtue queen who upholds her virginity without being chastised by the Rāvaṇa, Lanka demon.	Episode: A benevolent king abdicated his throne to his greedy uncle to live in a forest with his queen who was abducted by a deviant dragon. The king helped a monkey king to regain his kingdom from his own uncle. In the return, the monkey king and his subjects assisted the king to rescue the queen. After the king's uncle died, his people sought for and crowned him as their king again. Theme: The benevolent king: An incarnation of a great Bodhisattva. The king's wife: A virtue queen, who upholds her virginity without being chastised by the deviant dragon.

Appendix 8: Comparative stories between *Liudu ji jing* and Pāli *Jātaka* sources

Story number in *Liudu jijing*	Story in Pāli *Jātaka*
9, 33, and 39	*Losaka (Jātaka* 234)
10	*Dighitikosala (Jātaka* 371)
12 and 31	Cullapaduma (*Jātaka* 2115)
14	*Vessantara (Jātaka* 547)
18	*Nigrodha (Jātaka* 145)
21	*Sasa (Jātaka* 316)
22	*Cullakasetthi (Jātaka* 114)
25 and 49	*Saccankira (Jātaka* 322)
28 and 58	*Sīlavanāga (Jātaka* 72) and Chaddanta (*Jātaka* 514)
29 and 63	*Vaṭṭaka (Jātaka* 432)
30	*Mahapaduma* (Jātaka 472)
35	*Serivanya (Jātaka* 110)
36	*Suṁsumāra (Jātaka* 2. 158) and *Vanarinda (Jātaka* 278)
37 and 59	*Valahassa (Jātaka* 2. 127) and *Telapatta (Jātaka* 293)
38	*Mūgapakkha (Jātaka* 538)
39	*Catudvāra (Jātaka* 439), *Losaka (Jātaka* 420, and *Mittavinda (Jātaka* 82, 104, and 369)
41	*Mahasutasoma (Jātaka* 537) and *Jayaddisa (Jātaka* 513)
43	*Sāma (Jātaka* 540)
44	*Khantivada (Jātaka* 313)
47	*Mahākapi (Jātaka* 516)
50	*Bhūridatta (Jātaka* 543) and *Campayya*

	(Jātaka 506)
54	*Bhadda-sāla (Jātaka* 465)
56	*Mahākapi (Jātaka* 407)
58	*Ruru (Jātaka* 482)
69	*Dhamma (Jātaka* 531)
83	*Khaṇḍahāla (Jātaka* 542)
84	*Kusa (Jātaka* 531)
85	*Bandhanāgāra (Jātaka* 2139)
87	*Makhādeva (Jātaka* 137), *Sādhīna (Jātaka* 440, and *Nimi (Jātaka* 541).

Appendix 9: Comparative chart

Liudu ji jing 六度集經, Mouzi's *Li Huo Lun In Hong Ming Ji* 弘明集-牟子 理惑論, and Kang Senghui's preface on the *Fo Shou Anpan shouyi jing* 佛説大安般守意經.

六度集經	弘明集-牟子 理惑論	佛説大安般守意經-康僧會序
菩薩心淨得彼四禪。在意所由。輕舉騰飛。履水而行。分身散體。變化萬端。出入無間, 存亡自由。摸日月。動天地。洞視徹聽靡, 不聞見 (T152_.03.0039b16-20.)	佛之言覺也。恍惚變化分身散體。或存或亡。能小能大。能圓能方。能老能少。能隱能彰。.. 道之言 導也。導人致於無爲。牽之無前。引之無後。舉 之無上。抑之無下。視之無形。聽之無聲。 (T2102_.52.0002a09-11).	心之溢盪 無微不浹。悦惚髣髴出入無間。視之無形 聽 之無聲。逆之無前尋之無後。深微細 7 妙形無 絲髮 (T602_.15.0163a10-13)… 無遐不見無聲不聞。怳惚髣髴存亡自由。大彌八極,細 貫毛釐. 。制天地住壽命。猛神德壞天兵。動三千移諸刹。八不思議非梵所測 (T0602_.15.0163b14-17).
持五戒, 月六齋 (T3n0152_p0012b21-22).	*持五戒*者,*一月六齋* (T2102_.52.0002a01).	

Appendix 10: The Comparative Chart of Four *Jhāna*s

Anpan Shouyi	Kang Senghui's Perfect of *Dhyāna*	4 *Jhāna*s in early Buddhist meditation tradition	Anupada Sutta: One After Another	Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta, Bhayabherava Sutta
1st *Dhyāna*: In Śamatha, no redundant thoughts occur. One is submissive and purposeless as if dead.[654]	1st *Dhyāna*: One eradicates five enchanting and flawed things, which the mind craves for. In this state, while proper and improper thoughts battle with one another, the proper one slowly dominates the improper ones. As the improper ones retreat, the proper ones advance.[658]	1st *Jhāna*: Quite separated from sensual enjoyments and isolated from unwholesome thoughts, the cultivators go into and abide in the first *Jhāna*. It is followed by "applied thought" and "sustained thought" that produce delightful and happiness emerging from solitude.[662]	1st *Jhāna*: Rapture & pleasure born of seclusion, accompanied by directed thought & evaluation.	1st *Jhāna*: Cultivators are separated from all sensual cravings and unwholesome thoughts. It is developed by "applied and discursive thinking," disengagement, delightfulness, and joyfulness.[666]
2nd *Dhyāna*: When immoral and muddy thoughts have been dissolute and rescinde, the mind is clear and pure.[655]	2nd *Dhyāna*: The sensual desires have been slowly controled and they will not be stained anymore. The mind is delightful in Śamatha, and it is not necessity use good thought to suppress bad thoughts.	2nd *Jhāna*: With the sagging of "applied thought and sustained thought" the coultivators go through and abides in the second *Jhāna*; they gain	2nd *Jhāna*: delightfulness and happiness come from tranquility and merger of mindfulness.	2nd *Dhyāna*: Normal rambling and attached thoughts have ended, and they have been superseded by focus mind. The cultivators would feel peaceful and enrichedas well as delightfulness and

[654] Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 72.
[655] Ibid., 73.

	Whenever the delightful and good thoughts are slowly disminished, the ten malicious karma disappear as foggy dew.[659]	internal assurance and union of mind, is without "applied thought and sustained thought," and is full with delightfulness and joyfulness springing from absorption.[663]		jubilation with great faith indescribably.[667]
3rd *Dhyāna*: In Śamatha, calmness abiding, one focuses the mind [as it were] fixed on the tip of the nose.[656]	3rd *Dhyāna*: One is mindful of the thoughts. Whenever there is neither proper nor improper thought arise, the mind is as steadfastly stable as [Mount] Sumeru. When wholesomeness is not manifested externally, good and bad thoughts are dissolved in calmness without any disturbance.[660]	3rd *Jhāna*: When rapture gradually diminishes, one abides in equanimity, mindfulness, and discriminating; he experiences personally the happiness that the virtueous ones say: 'Happily lives he who is equanimous and mindful.' Thus, he reaches and resides in the third *Jhāna*.[664]	3rd *Jhāna*: The virtuous ones say, 'Equanimous & mindful, he has a pleasant abiding.'	3rd *Dhyāna*: One detaches from the second Dhyāna because of one's aversion of it. Within this third stage, equanimity and mindfulness diffused with calmness and happiness.

[658] Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 103-104.
[662] Gunaratana, *The Jhānas in Theravāda Buddhist Meditation*, 28.
[666] Kevin Trainor, *Buddhism: The Ilustrated Guide* (Cambridge, UK; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 30.
[656] Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 76.
[659] Ibid., 107.
[660] Gunaratana, *The Jhānas in Theravāda Buddhist Meditation*,107-108.
[663] Ibid., 79.
[664] Ibid., 87.
[667] Kevin Trainor, The Ilustrated Guide, 30.

4th *Dhyāna*: When one has strong belief in the Three Treasures, the mental obstruction would be cleansed.[657]	4th *Dhyāna*: Fallacy and impurity cannot obstruct the mind anymore. When there is neither wholesomeness nor unwholesomeness, the mind is neither aware of good thought nor does it hold on evil. The mind internally is as bright and pure as a gem of beryl.[661]	4th *Jhāna*: One arrives at the fourth Jhāna by detaching from pleasure and suffering as well as the fading of joy and grief. In this stage, one experiences neither-pain-nor-pleasure, and one could purify the due to his equanimity.[665]	4th *Jhāna*: One could regain the purity, equanimity, mindfulness, and experiences neither-pleasure-nor-pain.	4th *Dhyāna*: One detaches from every emotional thought. It abides in an untainted thought with a perfect equanimity and having neither joyfulness nor sadness.[668]

[657] Link, "Evidence for Doctrinal Continuity," 76.
[661] Ibid., 109.
[665] Gunaratana, *The Jhānas in Theravāda Buddhist Meditation,* 95.
[668] Trainor, *The Ilustrated Guide*, 30.

Appendix 11: Kang Senghui's biography in Chinese.

高僧傳卷第一

T50n2059_p0322c04-326b13: 梁會稽嘉祥寺沙門釋慧皎撰譯經上

康僧會。其先康居人。世居天竺。其父因商賈。移于交趾。會年十餘歲。二親並終。至孝服畢出家。勵行甚峻。為人弘雅有識量。篤至好學。明解三藏。博覽六經。天文圖緯多所綜涉。辯於樞機頗屬文翰。時孫權已制江左。而佛教未行。先有優婆塞支謙。字恭明。一名越。本月支人。來遊漢境。初漢桓靈之世有支讖。譯出眾經。有支亮字紀明。資學於讖。謙又受業於亮。博覽經籍莫不精究。世間伎藝多所綜習。遍學異書通六國語。其為人細長黑瘦。眼多白而睛黃。時人為之語曰。支郎眼中黃。形軀雖細是智囊。漢獻末亂避地于吳。孫權聞其才慧。召見悅之。拜為博士。使輔導東宮。與韋曜諸人共盡匡益。但生自外域。故吳志不載。謙以大教雖行。而經多梵文未盡翻譯。已妙善方言。乃收集眾本譯為漢語。從吳黃武元年至建興中。所出維摩大般泥洹法句瑞應本起等四十九經。曲得聖義。辭旨文雅又依無量壽中本起。製菩提連句梵唄三契。并注了本生死經等。皆行於世。時吳地初染大法。風化未全。僧會欲使道振江左興立圖寺。乃杖錫東遊。以吳赤烏十年。初達建鄴營立茅茨設像行道。時吳國以初見沙門。睹形未及其道。疑為矯異。有司奏曰。有胡人入境。自稱沙門。容服非恒。事應檢察。權曰。昔漢明帝夢神號稱為佛。彼之所事豈非其遺風耶。即召會詰問。有何靈驗。會曰。如來遷跡忽逾千載。遺骨舍利神曜無方。昔阿育王。起塔乃八萬四千。夫塔寺之興以表遺化也。權以為誇誕。乃謂會曰。若能得舍利當為造塔。如其虛妄國有常刑。會請期七日。乃謂其屬曰。法之興廢在此一舉。今不至誠後將何及。乃共潔齋靜室。以銅瓶加凡燒香禮請。七日期畢寂然無應。求申二七亦復如之。權曰。此寔欺誑將欲加罪。會更請三七。權又特聽。會謂法屬曰。宣尼有言曰。文王既沒文不在茲乎。法靈應降而吾等無感。何假王憲。當以誓死為期耳。三七日暮猶無所見。莫不震懼。既入五更。忽聞瓶中鎗然有聲。會自往視果獲舍利。明旦呈權。舉朝集觀。五色光炎照耀瓶上。權自手執瓶瀉于銅盤。舍利所衝盤即破碎。權大肅然驚起而曰。希有之瑞也。會進而言曰。舍利威神豈直光相而已。乃劫燒之火不能焚。金剛之杵不能碎。權命令試之。會更誓曰。法雲方被蒼生仰澤。願更垂神跡以廣示威靈。乃置舍利於鐵砧[石*追]上。使力者擊之。於是砧[石*追]俱陷舍利無損。權大歎服。即為建塔。以始有佛寺故號建初寺。因名其地為佛陀里。由是江左大法遂興。至孫皓即政。法令苛虐廢棄淫祀。乃及佛寺並欲毀壞。皓曰。此由何而興。若其教真正。與聖典相應者。當存奉其道。如其無實皆悉焚之。諸臣僉曰。佛之威力不同餘神。康會感瑞大皇創寺。今若輕毀恐貽後悔。皓遣張昱詣寺詰會。昱雅有才辯。難問縱橫。會應機騁詞。文理鋒出。自旦之夕。

昱不能屈。既退會送于門。時寺側有淫祀者。昱曰。玄化既孚此輩何故近而不革。會曰。雷霆破山聾者不聞。非音之細。苟在理通。則萬里懸應。如其阻塞則肝膽楚越。昱還歎會才明非臣所測。願天鑒察之。皓大集朝賢。以馬車迎會。會既坐。皓問曰。佛教所明。善惡報應。何者是耶。會對曰。夫明主以孝慈訓世。則赤烏翔而老人見。仁德育物。則醴泉涌而嘉苗出。善既有瑞惡亦如之。故為惡於隱鬼得而誅之。為惡於顯人得而誅之。易稱積善餘慶。詩詠求福不回。雖儒典之格言。即佛教之明訓。皓曰。若然。則周孔已明。何用佛教。會曰。周孔所言略示近跡。至於釋教則備極幽微。故行惡則有地獄長苦。修善則有天宮永樂。舉茲以明勸沮。不亦大哉。皓當時無以折其言皓雖聞正法。而昏暴之性不勝其虐。後使宿衛兵入後宮治園。於地得一金像高數尺呈皓。皓使著不淨處以穢汁灌之。共諸群臣笑以為樂。俄爾之間。舉身大腫。陰處尤痛。叫呼徹天。太史占言。犯大神所為。即祈祀諸廟永不差愈。婇女先有奉法者。因問訊云。陛下就佛寺中求福不。皓舉頭問曰。佛神大耶。婇女云。佛為大神。皓心遂悟具語意故。婇女即迎像置殿上。香湯洗數十過。燒香懺悔。皓叩頭于枕自陳罪狀。有頃痛間。遣使至寺。問訊道人。請會說法。會即隨入。皓具問罪福之由。會為敷析辭甚精要。皓先有才解欣然大悅。因求看沙門戒。會以戒文禁祕不可輕宣。乃取本業百三十五願。分作二百五十事。行住坐臥皆願眾生。皓見慈願廣普。益增善意。即就會受五戒。旬日疾瘳。乃於會所住更加修飾。宣示宗室莫不必奉。會在吳朝亟說正法。以皓性兇麤不及妙義。唯敘報應近事以開其心。會於建初寺譯出眾經。所謂阿難念彌鏡面王察微王梵皇經等。又出小品及六度集雜譬喻等。並妙得經體。文義允正。又傳泥洹唄聲。清靡哀亮一代模式。又注安般守意法鏡道樹等三經。并製經序。辭趣雅便義旨微密。並見於世。至吳天紀四年四月。皓降晉。九月會遘疾而終。是歲晉武太康元年也。至晉成咸和中。蘇峻作亂。焚會所建塔。司空何充復更修造。平西將軍趙誘。世不奉法傲慢三寶。入此寺。謂諸道人曰。久聞此塔屢放光明虛誕不經所未能信。若必自睹所不論耳。言竟塔即出五色光。照曜堂剎。誘肅然毛豎。由此信敬。於寺東更立小塔遠由大聖神感。近亦康會之力。故圖寫厥像傳之于今。孫綽為之贊曰。會公簫瑟　　寔惟令質　　心無近累情有餘逸　　屬此幽夜　　振彼尤黜超然遠詣　　卓矣高出有記云。孫皓打試舍利。謂非其權時。余案皓將壞寺。諸臣咸答。康會感瑞大皇創寺。是知初感舍利必也權時。故數家傳記。咸言。孫權感舍利於吳宮。其後更試神驗。或將皓也。

Ancient Maps

Unknown. *Portrait of Budddhist monk Kang Senghui (康僧会*). Digital image. May 13, 2014. Internet. Accessed May 11, 2016. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:KangSenghui.jpg.

Fig. 3.1 The monk Kang Senghui produces luminous relics to convert the King o Wu. North wall of Cave 323 at Dunhuang (source: *Zhongguo bihua quanji Dunhuang*, vol. 5, pl. 132).

Wang, Eugene Y. *Fig. 3.1 The monk Kang Senghui pro- duces luminous relics to convert the King of Wu. North wall of Cave 323 at Dunhuang*. Zhongguo bihua quanji Dunhuang, vol.5, pl.132. "Of the True Body: The Famen Monastery Relics and Corporeal Transformation in Tang Imperial Culture." In Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture. Ed. Wu Hung and Katherine R. Tsiang. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

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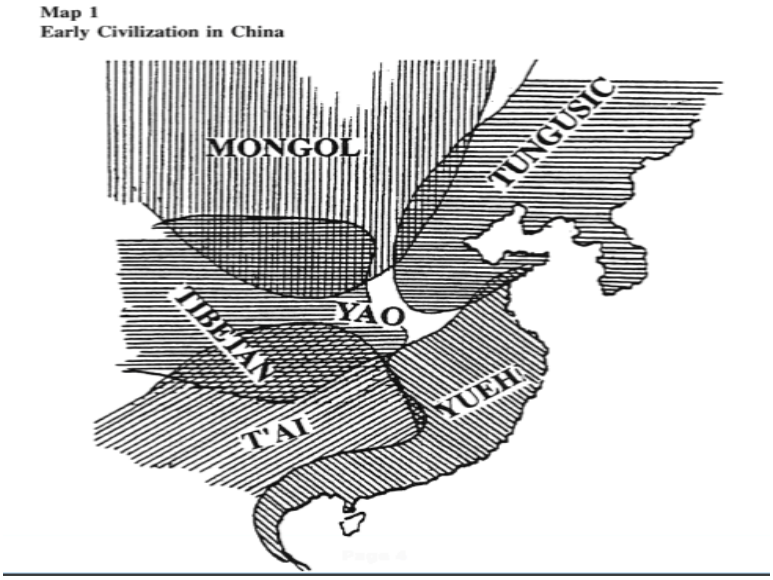

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