

## Guangzhou and Its Role In Elite Buddhism During the Maritime Routes of the Six Dynasties

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Historically Guangzhou has been a trade center in Southern China. Because of its excellent locale on the trade route of South China Sea, Guangzhou has long attracted merchants as well as missionaries across South and Southeast Asia. As early as in 281AD there were records of Buddhist missionary activities in Guangzhou. While the missionaries, the majority of whom were monks, did preach and even had some important Buddhist texts translated during their stay, almost none of them took up residence in Guangzhou at least according to the Chinese Buddhist hagiological records, or turned it into a center of Buddhist learning. Why did they choose not to, despite the financial conditions supported by the trade route? The reasons are twofold. History-wise, the monks were en route to the imperial capital of the time and Guangzhou was but the entry port and one of the stops on the journey. Mission-wise, on the other hand, Guangzhou arguably lacked an intellectual class that could be deployed to translate and communicate Buddhist thought. Unlike Christian missions, which were backed by the Church and the states, there was no equivalent support organized by the foreign Buddhist monks neither was the Saṃgha an important factor of overseas missionary activity. Without the Saṃgha, the Buddhist missions could hardly ever be materialized in foreign land.

### I. Canonization and Mission

Although after the Buddha's decease, during the first council the teachings were passed down orally with the agreement of the most qualified Arahāt Saṃgha members, the practical texts later formed the written texts especially during the prosecution of the Buddhism in India. The emergence of the practical texts for everyday religions or practical purposes reflect both the content of oral traditions and also the spirit of writing itself. This kind of literature termed 'stream of tradition' by Leo Oppenheim in his research were destined for further use.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, this 'stream of tradition' is a living (running) river: it shifts its bed and its water contains ebbs and flows. Texts can fall into oblivion, others are added; they are expanded, shortened, rewritten, and even anthologized in a constant flux. Due to certain reasons, periphery texts becomes identifiable structures if not the center texts. Whenever the periphery texts regarded as important ones, they are copied and cited more frequently than others. They are cited to be the classics with the embodying normative and formative values. Hence the development of the school of written texts plays a central role.

One must understand that it is not writing, but the damming up of the 'stream of tradition' by the act of canonization that produces the decisive shift from practice to

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<sup>1</sup> Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: portrait of a Dead Civilization*. Chicago and London. 1964.

textual coherence. As in the case of the catalogue or the process of canonization in China can be viewed in the same manner. From late Han to the beginning of Yuan Dynasty, totally about 1200 years of history, there were about 194 translators who translated works for about 1,335 texts of 5396 fascicles (*Juan*). Without the catalogue to decipher whether the texts were reliable canon or apocrypha, the transmission of a ‘stream of tradition’ was hard to obtain. Hence over 20 catalogues were compiled starting from ‘The Catalogue of Whole Text’ (*zōng lǐ zhōng jīng mù lù*; 綜理衆經目錄) by Dao-an during 374 AD. And the canonization is widely recognized by the Chinese Buddhism as in the Crystallization of the Teachings (*PanJiao*; 判教) of the Tendai and Huayeng School.

The Chinese Buddhist hagiological record documents Buddhist monks who share emotions, ambitions, and weaknesses; and the tendency to select events that characterize monks as uniquely religious as spiritual eminent were selected from such records. Its sequel, the Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks (*Ju Gaoseng Zhuan* (JGSZh) chronicle the favorable monks who are recognized to have exemplified the religious ideals of the Chinese Buddhist monastic community.

As we know, the Buddhism assimilates and adapts itself according to indigenous beliefs even in India after the Decease of the Buddha. It has never lost its character as Buddhism, because it has the institutionalized agent which is the Saṃgha. The Saṃgha needs the patronage both from the masses and the nobles. It does not divorce itself from the common people and simultaneously can influence the political world. In other words, Buddhism changes and at the same time maintains its character as a religion. It was the members of the community of monks who implanted the established religion far and wide. As missionary spirit even in India, during the Buddha’s time, Buddhism had spread far beyond its cradle in Magedha as far as Avanti and Sunāparantapa.<sup>2</sup>

## II. Guangzhou During The Maritime Phase

According to Tansen Sen, until about the mid-fifteenth century, four broad phases of trade between South Asia and China through Southeast Asia can be discerned from archaeological and textual sources.<sup>3</sup> The first phase, prior to the middle of the first millennium BC, involved the vast maritime networks of Austronesians as well as the trade in countries through Myanmar. The second phase was triggered by the emergence of urban centers in the Gangetic region of South Asia in the sixth century BC and subsequently fostered by the expansion of commercial activity on the Indian subcontinent. The emergence of the Funan polity in Southeast Asia, the establishment of Kuṣāṇa empire in South Asia, and the incorporation of southern China into the Chinese empire seems to have contributed to the formation of new networks of exchange after the first century AD, which constitutes a third phase. (My main focus is on this phase of trade and missionary). Even though Funan activities were predominantly Hindu during fifth to sixth century, Buddhist missionary activity had intensified due to strong followers. Finally, the naval raid by the South Indian Coḷa kingdom (c. 850-1279) on Śrīvijaya in

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<sup>2</sup> Lamotte (1958) pp.325ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Sen (2014) 35

1025 marked the beginning of a fourth phase that lasted until the Ming courts ban on foreign commerce in the mid-fifteenth century.

One key feature of the so-called ‘second urbanization’ phase (the first being in the Indus Valley), was the connection between urban development, the expansion of trade routes, and the spread of religious ideas (Thapar 2002: 139-173). The Jataka stories about the Buddha’s previous births and other literary works of the period reveal increased commercial activity in India and also networks of trade with a distance place called *Suvarṇabhūmī*, generically identified as Southeast Asia.

While Funan (centered in present-day Southern Vietnam and southern Cambodia)<sup>4</sup> was the key player in the maritime commerce between South Asia and China during the first half of the first millennium AD, Śrīvijaya (a poly-centric polity that included Palembang in southern Sumatra, Java, and extended to the Isthmus of Kra region) dominated the trading activity from about the seventh to eleventh century.

Even until the fifteen century Guangzhou still maintained its status as an important sea hub for merchants and missionaries: ‘In 1514, the Portuguese discovery of a sea route to southern China marked the genesis of a new age of Sino-Western relations. Commercial trade between China and Europe developed exponentially throughout the sixteenth century’ and according to Lake Coreth, his article ‘East-West Crossing: Cultural Exchange and the Jesuit Mission in China’, ‘with increased contact came heightened exposure to and curiosity of the enigmatic Middle Kingdom. Silk, tea, medicine, spices and jewels were not only the sole commodities transmitted to Europe from China. An exchange of knowledge and information accompanied these goods and moreover, revolutionized the intellectual arena of Europe.’<sup>5</sup> European Powers such as Spain and Portugal during the sixteen century, the dominant sea-faring nations at that time, had highly promoted Christian missionary activity along with territorial expansion. At that time, the monarchs of the Spain and Portugal provided both financial aid and passage for missionaries aboard their ships. To name a few of denomination, Dominican, Franciscans and Jesuits.<sup>6</sup>

In early times, according to several records like ‘The Answer of Outer Ridge’ (嶺外代答) written in 12 Century by Zhou Cufei (周去非) 《卷三《航海外夷》 several countries like Java (閩婆國), Arab (大食國)<sup>7</sup> and Srivijaya (三佛齊國; now Sumantara) were mentioned. Accordingly, among the three countries, Arab is understood as the richest,

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<sup>4</sup> Diana (1982) 41: ‘Funan, at the time of Paramārtha, had become a center of international trade, incorporating all of Cambodia, parts of Thailand, and the lower part of the Mekong delta in Vietnam.

<sup>5</sup> Coreth (2011) 20.

<sup>6</sup> Coreth (2011) 20: All Jesuits arriving in China during the sixteenth century operated under the Portuguese *Padroado*. Issued by Pope Alexander VI in 1493... Though the Portuguese authorities preferred to send their own abroad, the small size of the Portuguese nation limited their options. As a result, Italian Jesuits such as Michele Ruggieri, Matteo Ricci, Niccolo Longobardo etc. played salient roles in the early, Portuguese-mandated Jesuit mission in China. Cf. Standaer, *The Handbook of Christianity*, 309-330 and Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation*, 23-24.

<sup>7</sup> 《嶺外代答》卷三《航海外夷》諾蕃國之富盛多寶貨者，莫如大食國，其次閩婆國，其次三佛齊國，其次乃諸國耳。

Java country comes in as the second. However, most common sea route used is through Srivijaya.<sup>8</sup> It further mentioned that how long it takes to travel to Five Ridges area.<sup>9</sup>

### III. The Agent of Missionary Work

The term missionary carries the meaning of a person who has been sent to foreign country to teach their religion to the people who live there. The term ‘mission’ surely is borrowed from the Christian tradition. In Buddhism the term mission cannot be equally understood as it is in Christianity. Missions in Buddhism were geared toward the spreading of the Good Dharma, but not so much in the effort to convert or prohibit people from what they were practicing by the time they started to embrace Buddhism. One clear evidence is from the Aśoka’s inscription (circa 270-232 BCE) in his edicts indicating that ‘he sponsored Buddhist missions to various area including Greek-ruled areas and foreign countries. He maintained a special interest in the well-being and unity of the Buddhist Saṃgha, that he emphasized the importance of Buddhist texts which dealt with lay morality.’<sup>10</sup> The conversion process can be daunting and complicated and certainly had largely relied on the means of transport. Especially during ancient times, the means of transport were relatively scarce and dangerous. They were the land route and the maritime route. Like other religions, even Buddhism was successfully transmitted to foreign countries with missionary zeal but it was bound to go through either the road or sea route. The sea route and its historical impact is my focus point here.

Missionary activities to Guangzhou via the maritime route can be summed up by looking at two groups of people, one is the merchant and the other is the missionary monk.

#### III.i. Merchants

It is not difficult to imagine the great role which merchants had in missionary works via the sea route. Tansen Sen, in his article ‘Maritime Southeast Asia Between South Asia and China to the Sixteenth Century’ (Sen (2014) 44) observes that ‘The fact that these merchants also contributed to the transmission of Buddhist ideas can be discerned, for example, from the biography of the Sodgian monk Kang Senghui 康僧會 (280 AD). Kang’s ancestors reportedly lived in Tainzhu (天竺) and engaged in commercial activities. His father, a seafaring trader, migrated to Jiaozhi (交趾; present day northern Vietnam), the capital of the Wu kingdom, in AD 247. In China, Kang was closely

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<sup>8</sup> 《嶺外代答》卷三《航海外夷》三佛齊者，諸國海道往來之要衝也。三佛齊之來也，正北行，舟歷上下竺與交洋，乃至中國之境。其欲至廣者，入自屯門。欲至泉州者，入自甲子門。闍婆之來也，稍西北行，舟過十二子石而與三佛齊海道合於竺嶼之下。

<sup>9</sup> 《嶺外代答》卷三《航海外夷》大食國之來也，以小舟運而南行，至故臨國易大舟而東行，至三佛齊國乃復如三佛齊之入中國。其他占城、真臘之屬，皆近在交趾洋之南，遠不及三佛齊國、闍婆之半，而三佛齊、闍婆又不及大食國之半也。諸蕃國之入中國，一歲可以往返，唯大食必二年而後可。大抵蕃舶風便而行，一日千里，一遇朔風，為禍不測。幸泊於吾境，猶有保甲之法，苟泊外國，則人貨俱沒。若夫默伽國、勿斯里等國，其遠也，不知其幾萬里矣。

<sup>10</sup> Luis (2005) p.1100.

associated with the Wu ruler Sun Quan (孫權) (222-252 AD) and actively proselytized Buddhism in southern China<sup>11</sup>.’

Merchants, commonly were not learned ones but probably had many more chances to come to contact with the outside world or foreign countries. From the Brahminical tradition as depicted in Dharmaśāstras, Brahmins are forbidden to travel abroad or put it another way, “to leave the soil of Brahma.” Thus, the merchant caste was given a better position to go and seek wealth in the yonder lands. Many stories are told like those in the Jātaka and so forth that people in India searching for wealth would travel by sea to seek wealth. The successful returned with great gain but if ship wreckage happened all hopes went to nothing. Interestingly, there are numerous stories of monks’ fathers with ill fates changing from fortune to despair.

Beyond a doubt, merchants, in searching for wealth and good lives, would desire to learn new things for their own benefits. Buddhism, being a religion which values the wealth or fortune (*punṇa*) might work well with merchants’ mentality and surely the profound teaching of the Buddha might not be able to fully comprehended by them. Nevertheless it does not mean that the merchants by no mean of took part in missionary work at least from commoners’ perspective. Gathering information from objects, inscriptions and inscribed seals from India that related to religions, it is not hard to conclude that the real missions came after merchants.<sup>12</sup> In addition, some laymen had demonstrated their profound knowledge of Buddhism was evident in Fa Xian’s record. It was also very unlikely that the merchants possessed abundant of knowledge about Buddhism like Buddhagupta Mahānāvika.<sup>13</sup> However their efficiency as missionaries can no longer be excluded since they were not only wealthier than the commoners but also were good at persuasive skills.

### III.ii. Monastic Members

For a religion that has really strict rules in administration of the Saṃgha (community of monks in particular), and the application of the rules such as ordination, the establishment of Buddhism requires more than just two monks to implement missionary work. As Gombrich observes:

‘We must remember that in Buddhist estimation the Doctrine is only established where the Saṃgha is established, and, in turn, that is considered to be the case only when a monastic boundary has been duly established, for without such a boundary normal act of the Saṃgha, whether *prātimokṣa* or ordination ceremony, can take place. The

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<sup>11</sup> GSZh, 《高僧傳》卷 1 : 「康僧會。其先康居人。世居天竺。其父因商賈。移于交趾。」 (T50, no. 2059, p. 325, a13-14)

<sup>12</sup> Assavavirulhakarn (1990) 79. For further readings, please see his providing information on note 64. Higham (1989), pp. 251ff. Malleret (1959-1963) volum III; Mayuree Veeraprasert (1985) in RCESEA, pp. 168ff. and Veeraprajak (1985).

<sup>13</sup> An inscription found in West Borneo together with ‘*Ye dharmāḥ hetuprabhavāḥ, hetun teṣaṃ tathāgato hyavadat, teṣāṅca yo nirodho yu- evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ*’ in Sanskrit and the inscription of the Buddhagupta Mahānāvika.

establishment of a monastic boundary requires lay support: the land has to be given to the Saṃgha. Alternatively, Buddhism can be considered to have taken root somewhere only when a local recruit has been properly ordained there. These considerations would apply just as much to the spread of Buddhism within India as to its diffusion into foreign land.’

Further as Lal Mani Joshi says, ‘The word ‘Saṃgha’ does not mean merely ‘the order of monks... Saṃgha has to be understood to mean the entire community of those human beings who take refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṃgha. Saṃgha is the all-embracing universal society of humans wedded to the doctrine and method taught by the Sage of the Śākyas... In Buddhist words, bhikṣus, bhikṣuṇīs, upāsakas and upāsikās, all these four classes of Buddhists are members of the saṃgha.’<sup>14</sup> As Zucher points out too, the introduction of Buddhism into China ‘means not only the propagation of certain religious notions, but also the introduction of a new form of social organization: the monastic community, the Saṃgha. To the Chinese Buddhism has always remained a doctrine of monks. The forces and counter-forces which were evoked by the existence of the Buddhist Church in China, the attitudes of the *intelligentsia* and of the government, the social background and status of the clergy and the gradual integration of the monastic community into medieval Chinese society are social phenomena of fundamental importance which have played a decisive role in the formation of early Chinese Buddhism.’<sup>15</sup>

According to my observation, it was the Saṃgha in particular who did much of missionaries from the start when the new land did not have sufficient knowledge of Buddhism. Thus, the merchants who might have relatively enough knowledge and faith of Buddhism, formed a Saṃgha with the local *intelligentsia* to propagate Buddhist needs.

#### IV Foreign Missionary Monks in Five Ridges (LingNan; 嶺南)

There were quite a large number of foreign missionary monks who visited Guangzhou and some of them were not only doing their missionary works in Southern China but translated influential texts. Table below shows from 281 AD the foreign missionaries who started to implement their missionary ambition in the rich and powerful country through the maritime silk route. 外國傳道僧人也屬菁英型<sup>16</sup>僧人，其理由不外是都有自己的的一套學識和深厚佛法訓練，並且都把經文謹記在心。

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<sup>14</sup> Joshi (1987) p. 364.

<sup>15</sup> Zürcher (2007) p.1.

<sup>16</sup> 以 Zürcher 的看法，精英形式的佛教發生並不是很早，而且早期的佛典翻譯都是私辦（private enterprise）Cf. (1982) p.162；直至到公元四世紀翻譯的工作才慢慢地受到高層階級的贊助，贊助者除了士大夫之外也包括宮廷的全力支持，並且受其監督。無論是從地域性或社交群組性都可謂非常小的圈子。Cf. (1982) p.163；入藏的一些事宜落實菁英型的重視。Cf. (2007) p.163-162；這領域是有以下三者的結合體：(i)參與的精英型僧人，可是為數並不多；(ii) 皇室的贊助佔據了重要的角色，(iii) 少數且龐大兼富有的寺院集中辦理[佛典翻譯]活動。Cf. (1982) p. 164, para 2; 而且這些[外來]

Chronicle records of missionary monks during Six Dynasties (229-589AD) who visited Guangzhou

Years	Monastic monks	Birth places	Main activities
jìn tàikāng; 晉太康二年 (281 AD)	Kalarūci (彊梁婁至 <sup>17</sup> )	India	Translated the ‘Twelve sojourn Sūtra’ (十二遊經) fascicle in Guangzhou.
jìn lóngān nián jiān; 晉隆安年間 (397-401 AD)	Dharmayasas (曇摩耶舍 <sup>18</sup> or 法稱)	Kaśmir	Arrived at Guangzhou and established Wang Yuan Temple, and translated a sūtra named Kṣama (差摩經) of one fascicle.
liú mò cháo; 劉宋末朝 (420-479 AD)	Samghapāla (僧伽波羅 <sup>19</sup> or 僧養)	Funan	Arrived at Guangzhou but then went to Jianye to follow Guṇavarman. He commented Mahāprajñāpāramitā.
liú mò cháo yuánjiā; 劉宋元嘉四年 (427 AD)	Fazhan, DaoChun, Daoxi (法長, 道冲, 道儒 <sup>20</sup> )	China	They were sent to Java to request Guṇavarman present in China
sòng wǔdì yǒnchū; 宋武帝永初元年 (420 AD)	Gunavarman (求那跋摩 <sup>21</sup> )	Kaśmir	Via sea route reaching Guangzhou.
sòng yuánjiā twelfth nián; 宋元嘉十二年 (435 AD)	Gunabhadra (求那跋陀羅)	Madhyadeśa	Arrival at Guangxiao Temple (光孝寺). He then went to JianYe (於楊都譯) to do his translation such as 50

高僧 (Eminent Monks) 和名僧 (Illustrious Monks) 不僅與中國的僧團關係良好, 也都受到崇高的尊敬。陳然從人數來講他們還是少數的。Cf. (1982) p.164, para 3.

<sup>17</sup> GJYJDJ 《古今譯經圖紀》卷 2: 「沙門彊梁婁至者。此云真喜。西域人也。志情曠放弘化在懷。以晉武帝太康二年歲次辛丑。於廣州譯。十二遊經(一卷)。」(T55, no. 2151, p. 354, a26-28).

<sup>18</sup> GJYJDJ 《古今譯經圖紀》卷 3: 「以晉安帝隆安年中達于廣州。於白沙寺為清信女張普明譯差摩經(一卷)。」(T55, no. 2151, p. 358, c15-17).

<sup>19</sup> FZTJ 《佛祖統紀》卷 37: 「扶南國沙門僧伽波羅來。六年。御注大品般若經。詔光宅雲法師為百僚講說。」(T49, no. 2035, p. 349, a1-3).

<sup>20</sup> GSZh 《高僧傳》卷 3: 「以元嘉元年九月。面啟文帝。求迎請跋摩。帝即勅交州刺史令汎舶延致觀等。又遣沙門法長道冲道俊等往彼祈請。并致書於跋摩及闍婆王婆多加等。」(T50, no. 2059, p. 340, c2-5)

<sup>21</sup> FZTJ 《佛祖統紀》卷 36: 「初帝聞罽賓三藏求那跋摩名(此云功德鎧)詔交州遣沙門道敏。航海邀之。跋摩忻然。附舶至廣州。上遣使迎至金陵。命居祇洹寺。僕射何尚之等並師事之。請講華嚴(前覺賢譯六十卷者)以未通華言禱於觀音。」(T49, no. 2035, p. 344, b22-26).

			fascicles of Kṣudraka-āgama, Lankāvatara Sūtra etc <sup>22</sup> .
wèi jìn niánjiān; 魏晉年間	Fadu (法度)	India (天竺)	He was born in China but helping his teacher Dharmayasas in Guanzhou.
qí wǔ dì yǒng míng liù nián suì cì jǐ sì; 齊武帝永明六年歲次己巳 (446 AD)。	Samghabhadra (沙門僧伽跋陀羅; 眾賢)	India 西域人	He translated Vinaya text named Samantapāsādikā (善見毘婆沙律) <sup>23</sup> to Bamboo Temple (竹林寺) Guangzhou.
liúsòng mònián; 劉宋末年 (470-479 AD)	Bodidharma (菩提達摩)	South India	Legendary said he established HuaLing Temple (華林寺) at Guanzhou, And then stayed at Guanxiao Temple years before moving to JianYe (建業) and Kaoshang (嵩山).
qí gāo dì jiàn yuán sān nián suì cì xīn yǒu; 齊高帝建元三年歲次辛酉 (481 AD)	Dharmagathāyasas (沙門曇摩伽陀耶舍; 法生稱)	Indian	He translated ‘the immeasurable meanings Sūtra’ (無量義經) at CháoTíng temple 廣州朝亭寺) of Guangzhou in one fascicle。 <sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> GJYJDJ 《古今譯經圖紀》卷3：「雜阿含經(五十卷)。眾事分阿毘曇(十二卷)。楞伽阿跋多羅寶經(四卷)。央掘魔羅經(四卷)。過去現在因果經(四卷)。釋六十二見經(四卷)。大方廣寶篋經(二)(T55, no. 2151, p. 362, b6-9).

<sup>23</sup> FZTJ 《佛祖統紀》卷37：「隱士趙伯休。於廬山遇律師弘度。得眾聖點記云。佛滅後優波離結集律藏。以其年七月十五日自恣竟。於律藏子便下一點。年年如是。波離以後師師相付。至僧伽跋陀羅。將律藏至廣州。當齊永明七年庚午七月十五日自恣竟。即下一點。其年凡得九百七十五點。伯休問曰。永明七年後。云何不點。度曰。已前皆得道人。手自下點。吾徒凡夫。止可奉持耳。伯休因點記推至大同初。凡一千二十年。與傳記參合。世尊生滅之年皆不同。蓋其宗承有異也。」(T49, no. 2035, p. 350, c12-23)

<sup>24</sup> In the Introduction written by Xiaoqi (蕭齊：479-502 AD) 荊州 in Hubei (湖北) 隱士劉虬《無量義經序》卷1：「根異教殊，其階成七。先為波利等說五戒，所謂人天善根一也；次為拘隣等轉四諦，所謂授聲聞乘二也；次為中根演十二因緣，所謂授緣覺乘三也；次為上根舉六波羅蜜，所謂授以大乘四也。眾教宣融，群疑須導，次說無量義經。既稱得道差品，」(T09, no. 276, p. 383, b21-26) further in the text explains what is 無量義經《無量義經》卷1〈說法品2〉：「善男子！我起樹王，詣波羅奈鹿野園中，為阿若拘隣等五人轉四諦法輪時，亦說諸法本來空寂，代謝不住，念念生滅；中間於此、及以處處，為諸比丘并眾菩薩辯演宣說十二因緣、六波羅蜜，亦說諸法本來空寂，代謝不住，念念生滅。今復於此，演說大乘無量義經，亦說諸法本來空寂，代謝不住，念念生滅。善男子！是故，初說、中說、今說，文辭是一，而義差異。義異故，眾生解異。解異故，得法、得果、得道亦異。」(T09, no. 276, p. 386, b12-21).



liáng tiānjiān first nián; 梁天監元年 (502 AD)	Tripitaka Master ZhiYao (智藥三藏 <sup>25</sup> )	India	He took Bodhi tree from India and plant it at GuangXiao Temple.
liángwǔdì cháo; 梁武帝朝 (502-549 AD)	Mandra (曼陀羅 <sup>26</sup> )	Funan	It is said that he came to Guangzhou with a Buddha's coral statue. However, he was ordered to do the translation in the capital at that time.
chén yǒngdìng first nián; 陳永定元年 (557 AD)	Paramārtha (波羅末陀; 真諦)	Ujjian, India	Arrival at Guanxia Temple with Sanksrit palm leaves 200 folio. Translated Abhidharma, Mahāyāna texts such as Abhidharmakośa (俱舍論, Mahāyānasamgraha (攝大乘論) in different parts of China.
chén cháo; 陳朝 (557-589 AD)	Subhuti (須菩提 <sup>27</sup> )	Funan	Probably arrived at Guangzhou on sea route, however the translation of 'Mahāyāna Jeweled Cloud Sūtra (大乘寶雲經) at the Capital.

Mainly based on the Chinese Buddhist hagiological records, I will examine a few of the significant foreign missionary monks who spent a large amount of time in Guangzhou.

From the above table, we gather some information on the first sūtra which is about the biography of the Buddha was translated by Kalarūci in Guangzhou in 281 AD. It is highly probable that the now lost 'Twelve sojourn Sūtra' (十二遊經) with regards to content is the same as 'Buddha said Twelve Sojourn Sūtra' 《佛說十二遊經》

<sup>28</sup>translated by Guṇābhadrā. Even after 116 years, an aged monk Dharmayasas (曇摩耶舍), who arrived Guangzhou around 397 AD at the aged 85 translated a text probably rendered as Kṣama Sūtra (《差摩經》<sup>29</sup>) for a female devotee in order to explain the

<sup>25</sup> 《六祖大師法寶壇經》卷1：「梁天監元年，智藥三藏自西竺國航海而來，將彼土菩提樹一株植此壇畔，亦預誌曰：「後一百七十年，有肉身菩薩，於此樹下開演上乘度無量眾，真傳佛心印之法主也。」師至是祝髮受戒，及與四眾開示單傳之旨，一如昔讖(梁天監元年壬午歲，至唐儀鳳元年丙子，得一百七十五年)。」(T48, no. 2008, p. 362, c17-22).

<sup>26</sup> FZTJ 《佛祖統紀》卷37：「扶南國沙門曼陀羅來進珊瑚佛像。詔譯經於揚都」(T49, no. 2035, p. 348, c7-9); 《大周刊定眾經目錄》卷2：「文殊般若波羅蜜經一卷(或二卷又加說字二十四紙)右梁天監年沙門曼陀羅於揚州譯。出長房錄」(T55, no. 2153, p. 382, a19-21).

<sup>27</sup> XGXZh 《續高僧傳》卷1：「時又有扶南國僧須菩提。陳言善吉。於揚都城內至敬寺。為陳主譯大乘寶雲經八卷。」(T50, no. 2060, p. 431, a3-5).

<sup>28</sup> 《佛說十二遊經》東晉西域沙門迦留陀伽譯」(T04, no. 195, p. 146)

<sup>29</sup> LDSBJ 《歷代三寶紀》卷5：「差摩竭經一卷(一名菩薩生地經。見竺道祖吳錄)」(T49, no. 2034, p. 57, b20)

origination of the Buddha.<sup>30</sup> Both texts bear the same content which are chiefly explaining the life of the Buddha before his enlightenment and after His enlightenment. However, Dharmayasas later was well received in Chang-an, then the capital of China, translated in total 2 fascicles of Buddhist texts including Śāriputrābhidharma with Dharmagupta.<sup>31</sup> The Śāriputrābhidharma presumably belonged to Dharmaguptaka school,<sup>32</sup> not only served as the matrix of Abhidharma in the early form, but also delineated clearly the practical content with regards to enlightenment in a more systematic and sophisticated way.

Then, not long after the arrival of Dharmayasas, another important foreign monk called Guṇabhadra came to China. He translated mostly early Buddhism texts like Saṃyuktāgama, Sūtra nipāta, udāna<sup>33</sup>, some Āgama sūtras, Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma Prakaraṇa Śāstra<sup>34</sup> etc. and Abhidharma texts 38 years later than the arrival of Dharmayasas to Guangzho. According to the biography given by Sengyou of the the Collection of notes concerning the translation of the Tripiṭaka (出三藏記集), Guṇabhadra (求那跋陀羅 394-468) was born into a Brahmin family in North Central India (Madhyadeśa; 中天竺人). After coming across an Abhidharma text called Saṃyuktābhidharmahrdaya (阿毘曇雜心) he was fully moved and vowed to become a monk. Before arriving in Guangzhou 435 AD (元嘉十二年) he stayed in Sri Lanka and traveled to other countries by boat. It was prefectural governor Chelang (刺史車朗) reporting to the king WenDi of LiuSong dynasty (宋文帝) and soon after monks like Huiyan and Huiguan (勅名僧慧嚴、慧觀 (376-449)) were ordered to go to meet him and took him to Jetavana temple (Qihuan, 祇洹寺). The first text that he worked on after arriving in JianKang (the capital at that time) was the Saṃyuktāgama, one of the most important collections of Hīnayāna texts in the Buddhist canon.

Given that the information is scarce, I cannot say for sure whether any of the sophisticated texts were translated in Guangzhou, except for the biography of the Buddha which seemingly was clear that it was necessity for the beginning of the missionary work. In fact the text translated by Kalarūci had made quite an impact on the Chinese Buddhism understanding of the life of the Buddha.

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<sup>30</sup> 《新修科分六學僧傳》卷 2：「至廣州白沙寺。善誦毗婆沙律。時號大毗婆沙。年已八十五。弟子八十五人。有女子張氏字晉明。清淨自活。從耶舍咨授道要。乃為說佛生緣起。并譯出差摩經一卷。」(CBETA, X77, no. 1522, p. 78, c17-20 // Z 2B:6, p. 224, b10-13 // R133, p. 447, b10-13)

<sup>31</sup> There is legendary saying that Dharmayasas built a temple in Foshang (佛山) around 398 AD. I cannot find the further sources to support this event and it is quite doubtful that he stayed there for long time. Possibly his disciples did build a temple in Foshang.

<sup>32</sup> Potter (1996) 115; Yoshimoto (1996) 317: This text is one of the oldest Abhidharma texts in India... This text has some common contents and thought with Vibhūga and Prakaraṇapāda. Perhaps the root of this text may be the text of the Vibhajyavādins before it split into Theravāda, Kāśyapīya, Mahīśāsaka, and so on. But the dominant view about the school of this extant text is that it may have belonged to the Dharmaguptaka.

<sup>33</sup> LDSBJ 《歷代三寶紀》卷 15：「沙門求那跋陀羅 七十八部(一百六十一卷經集譬喻)」(T49, no. 2034, p. 124, a11)

<sup>34</sup> Kṣudraka-Abhidharma 《眾事分阿毘曇論》尊者世友造 宋天竺三藏求那跋陀羅共菩提耶舍譯 (T26, no. 1541, pp. 627).

It was not until 581 AD that a few Buddhist texts were translated in Guangzhou as well as in Yangzhou (揚州). Those monks like Dharmagathāyasas<sup>35</sup> (曇摩伽陀耶舍) translated by himself a sūtra a comprehensive emptiness concept, named ‘the immeasurable meanings Sūtra’ (無量義經) at Cháo Tíng temple (廣州朝亭寺) of Guangzhou<sup>36</sup> in one fascicle, but then according to the Chronicle of Triple Gems (Lidai Sanbao Ji, 歷代三寶紀) the text was past down to Śrāmaṇa Huibiao (沙門慧表) and then widely copied and delivered in YangDu in 486AD (梁朝齊武帝永明三年)<sup>37</sup>. Although it is hard to say why it was mentioned in such a way, one can only surmise that the text was note introduced in Guangzhou even it was translated at the temple in Guangzhou. Strangely, Śrāmaṇa Huibiao learned it from Dharmagathāyasas clearly at the temple in Guangzhou but brought it to JianKang of Yandu, the then capital, where it was widely copied and delivered.<sup>38</sup>

In the meantime, there were Guṇavarman of Kaśmir who was well versed on Āgama and other texts<sup>39</sup> who came to Guangzhou via maritime silk road in about 424 to 453 AD and Guṇabhadra in 435 AD. Guṇavarman probably stayed in Guangzhou temporarily before

<sup>35</sup> GJYJDJ《古今譯經圖紀》卷4：「沙門曇摩伽陀耶舍。此言法生稱。印度國人。悟物居情導利無捨。以齊高帝建元三年歲次辛酉。於廣州朝亭寺。譯無量義經(一卷)。沙門慧表筆受。」(T55, no. 2151, p. 363, b14-17).

<sup>36</sup> In the Introduction written by hermit liú qiú (隱士劉虬) to the ‘immeasurable meanings sūtra’ (《無量義經》) ca 479-502 AD (蕭齊) at Mountain of WuDan (《大唐內典錄》卷4：「荊州隱士劉虬在武當山。注之出經序。」(T55, no. 2149, p. 262, a25-26)) in Hubei (荊州; 今湖北) says, 「根異教殊，其階成七。先為波利等說五戒，所謂人天善根一也；次為拘隣等轉四諦，所謂授聲聞乘二也；次為中根演十二因緣，所謂授緣覺乘三也；次為上根舉六波羅蜜，所謂授以大乘四也。眾教宣融，群疑須導，次說無量義經。既稱得道差品，」(T09, no. 276, p. 383, b21-26) further, in the text explains what is 無量義經《無量義經》卷1〈說法品2〉：「善男子！我起樹王，詣波羅奈鹿野園中，為阿若拘隣等五人轉四諦法輪時，亦說諸法本來空寂，代謝不住，念念生滅；中間於此、及以處處，為諸比丘并眾菩薩辯演宣說十二因緣、六波羅蜜，亦說諸法本來空寂，代謝不住，念念生滅。今復於此，演說大乘無量義經，亦說諸法本來空寂，代謝不住，念念生滅。善男子！是故，初說、中說、今說，文辭是一，而義差異。義異故，眾生解異。解異故，得法、得果、得道亦異。」(T09, no. 276, p. 386, b12-21)

<sup>37</sup> ‘The Writing on Lotus Sūtra’ 《法華傳記》卷1：「於廣州朝亭寺。手自譯出。傳受人沙門慧表。永明三年。齋至揚都。」(T51, no. 2068, p. 52, b18-20)

<sup>38</sup> LDSBJ《歷代三寶紀》卷11：「無量義經一卷(見僧祐法上等錄)右一經一卷。高帝世。建元三年。天竺沙門曇摩伽陀耶舍。齊言法生稱。於廣州朝亭寺手自譯出。傳受人沙門慧表。永明三年齋至揚都繕寫流布。」(T49, no. 2034, p. 95, b9-13). 依比丘尼傳卷一載，西晉建興年(313~319)尼淨檢從西域沙門智山剃髮，受十戒，後東晉咸康年間(335~342)，僧建由月支國來，齋摩訶僧祇比丘尼戒本及羯磨，升平元年二月(357)請曇摩羯多立比丘尼戒壇，淨檢與同志三人共於壇上受具足戒。此為我國比丘尼之濫觴。又依大宋僧史略卷上「尼得戒由」條所載，淨檢僅就比丘一眾受戒，其受戒未盡如法，宋元嘉十一年(434)慧果、淨音等三百餘人，於建康南林寺戒壇從師子國尼鐵索羅等十人受具足戒，為我國比丘尼得戒之始。此後比丘尼增多，遂於宋太始二年(466)任比丘尼寶賢為尼僧正，法淨為京邑尼都維那。日本則自司馬達等之女善信尼從高麗僧惠便出家，為女子出家之始。

<sup>39</sup> FZLDTZ《佛祖歷代通載》卷8：「天竺三藏求那跋摩。初讓國出家。解四阿含。精貫三藏誦數百萬言。」(T49, no. 2036, p. 536, a1-2)

moved to jīn líng (金陵) and ordered to stay at Jetavana Temple (qí huán sì; 祇洹寺) of JiangKan. Then he was requested by Supervisor Hé Shàng-zhī (僕射何尚之<sup>40</sup>等 (382-460 AD) and so fort to teach Avatamsaka to the emperor and ministers.<sup>41</sup> It is also worth mentioning that Guṇavarman doubtlessly held very high authority in Vinaya<sup>42</sup> commenting ‘if no bhikṣunī is available still possibly to have bhikṣunī precepts. Given the case only after the Sri Lanka nun Tiě Suǒ Luó (鐵索羅) in total eleven comprehended Chinese (宋語) precepts were given by two sides bhikṣu and bhikṣunī.’<sup>43</sup> Probably he also had transmitted Vinaya to bhikṣu at the Dharma nature temple (Faxing; 法性寺)<sup>44</sup> at Nanhai. In other record, it mentioned that he raised two fingers to indicate he attain second fruit of Arahantship, Satkadagami.<sup>45</sup>

15 years later after Guṇavarman’s arrival in Guangzhou, another eminent monk Guṇabhadra arrived in Guangzhou through maritime silk route as well. He then almost immediately left for JianYe or present Nanjing. In Chinese history he translated many early Buddhist texts including Āgama, Abhidharma to Mahāyāna literature such as

<sup>40</sup> Cf. [http://www.zwbk.org/zh-tw/Lemma\\_Show/460515.aspx](http://www.zwbk.org/zh-tw/Lemma_Show/460515.aspx): 何尚之（382年—460年），字彥德。南朝宋廬江潛縣（今安徽霍山）人。南北朝時期劉宋大臣，官至侍中、左光祿大夫、開府儀同三司，兼領中書令。從劉裕征長安，以功賜爵都鄉侯。宋文帝時任尚書令。孝武帝時官至左光初、開府議同三司，元嘉二十二年（445年）造玄武湖，勸阻宋文帝在湖中建方文、蓬萊、瀛州三山，以免勞民傷財。曾立宅建康南城外，聚生徒講學，一時四方名士紛紛慕名而來，謂之“南學”。大明四年（460年）去世，享年七十九歲，以本官加贈司空。賜諡號簡穆。著有文集十卷行於世。... 元嘉之時，佛法日益興盛，塔寺與出家僧人日漸增多，隨之也引起了傳統觀念的疑難。為此，何尚之對佛教濟世之功進行了透辟的闡釋，平實了當。在於其所稱頌佛教在維繫世道人心、輔助現實政治中的巨大作用，言簡意賅，契理契機，在整個佛教發展史上產生了廣泛的影響，實開後世具有代表性的佛法輔政論之濫觴，是研究佛教文化與中國原有文化相融通全部過程中之重要一環。

<sup>41</sup> FZTJ《佛祖統紀》卷 51：「宋高祖設齋內殿。沙門道照陳詞。帝稱善○文帝率公卿。日集祇洹寺。聽求那跋摩講華嚴十地品○帝與侍中何尚之論佛理○帝聞生法師佛性義。詔求沙門述生法師頓悟義○孝武召猷法師內殿說法○四月八日內殿灌佛齋僧。」(T49, no. 2035, p. 450, c1-6). Also FZTJ《佛祖統紀》卷 36：「初帝聞罽賓三藏求那跋摩名(此云功德鎧)詔交州遣沙門道敏。杭海邀之。跋摩忻然。附舶至廣州。上遣使迎至金陵。命居祇洹寺。僕射何尚之等並師事之。請講華嚴(前覺賢譯六十卷者)以未通華言禱於觀音。夜夢力士易其首。旦起猶覺微疼。遂遍曉東語。」(T49, no. 2035, p. 344, b22-27).

<sup>42</sup> ChSZJJ《出三藏記集》卷 2：「菩薩善戒十卷(或云菩薩地十卷), 優婆塞五戒略論一卷(一名優婆塞五戒相), 三歸及優婆塞二十二戒一卷(或云優婆塞戒), 曇無德羯磨一卷(或云雜羯磨), 右四部。凡十三卷。宋文帝時。罽賓三藏法師求那跋摩。於京都譯出。」(T55, no. 2145, p. 12, b14-19).

<sup>43</sup> 《緇門警訓》卷 3：「求那跋摩(此翻功德鎧)聖者言。若無二眾但一眾受。如愛道之緣者得也。何以知然。及論本法止前方便。未有可成。還約僧中羯磨。方感後師子國鐵索羅等十一尼。學宋語通方二眾受。」(T48, no. 2023, p. 1057, a17-21).

<sup>44</sup> FZTJ《佛祖統紀》卷 29：「儀鳳元年至南海。[六祖慧能]遇印宗法師於法性寺。暮夜風颯剝。二僧對論。一云旛動。一云風動。師云非風旛動。心自動耳。印宗異之。請受禪要。因出信衣令眾瞻禮。印宗即為剃髮。請智光律師於本寺。臨壇授滿分戒。此壇是宋求那跋摩所造。嘗記云。後當有肉身菩薩來此受戒。梁真諦於壇側手植二菩提樹。」(T49, no. 2035, p. 292, b6-13).

<sup>45</sup> SGSZh《宋高僧傳》卷 29：「昔求那跋摩舉二指而滅。言已證二果歟。」(T50, no. 2061, p. 891, c1-2).

Kṣudraka-āgama, sixty-two wrong views sūtra, Angulimāla sūtra, Sarvāstivāda's Abhidharma Prakaraṇapāda Śāstra<sup>46</sup>, Lankāvataṛa Sūtra<sup>47</sup> etc<sup>48</sup>.

Samghabhadra<sup>49</sup>, another example of a Vanaya holder, came to Guangzhou in 446 AD. Probably for the purposes of observing raining retreat (*vassa*), working with another monk Sengyi (沙門僧猗) at Bambo Forest Temple he translated Samantapāsādikā of 18 fascicles in March.<sup>50</sup> According to the ‘Chronicle of the Founder Buddha’ (《佛祖統紀》), the Vinaya text Samantapāsādikā was originated from Arahat Upāli and passed down generation by generation to Samghabhadra.<sup>51</sup> Other than that there was nothing more mentioned about him.

One of the key figures in constructing and systematizing the Buddhist analysis of mind, Paramārtha was an Indian Buddhist monk who was the first to introduce and disseminate Yogācārin philosophical and religious tenets to China in both Guangdong and Guangxi provinces during the chaotic times of the Liang Dynasty. He was born in 499 AD. Probably a hundred and fifty years after the Yogācārin philosopher Vasubandhu who clearly was influential on Paramārtha. According to the Preface of ‘Arising of the Faith to Mahāyāna’ written by Zhikai (智愷), it was Emperor Liang who sent an entourage to North Central India to get hold of Dharma sūtras. It was where they met Tripiṭaka master Kulanatha<sup>52</sup> transliterated as Zendi (真諦; Paramārtha) who was well verse in all kinds of sūtras and particularly got deep understanding of Mahāyāna. In addition, ‘the Record of Śākya Teachings in Kaiyuan Reign Title [of Tan Dynasty]’ stating that it was the Rear Guard Chang Fan had accompanied the Funan ambassador to his own country and then

<sup>46</sup> Kṣudraka-Abhidharma 《眾事分阿毘曇論》尊者世友造, 宋天竺三藏求那跋陀羅共菩提耶舍譯 (T26, no. 1541, pp. 627).

<sup>47</sup> Lankāvataṛa sūtra 《楞伽阿跋多羅寶經》宋天竺三藏求那跋陀羅譯 (T16, no. 670, pp. 480).

<sup>48</sup> 《古今譯經圖記》卷 3：「雜阿含經(五十卷)。眾事分阿毘曇(十二卷)。楞伽阿跋多羅寶經(四卷)。央掘魔羅經(四卷)。過去現在因果經(四卷)。釋六十二見經(四卷)。大方廣寶篋經(二)(T55, no. 2151, p. 362, b6-9)。

<sup>49</sup> 沙門僧伽跋陀羅。此云眾賢。西域人。懷道放曠化惠無窮。以齊武帝永明六年歲次己巳。共沙門僧猗於廣州竹林寺。譯善見毘婆沙律一部(十八卷)。

<sup>50</sup> ChSZJJ 《出三藏記集》卷 11：「善見律毘婆沙記第十五, 出律前記, 齊永明十年歲次實沈三月十日。禪林比丘尼淨秀。聞僧伽跋陀羅法師於廣州共僧禪法師譯出梵本善見毘婆沙律一部十八卷。京師未有。渴仰欲見。僧伽跋陀其年五月還南。憑上寫來。以十一年歲次大梁四月十日。得律還都。頂禮執讀敬寫流布。仰惟世尊泥洹已來年載。至七月十五日受歲竟。於眾前謹下一點。年年如此。感慕心悲不覺流淚。」(T55, no. 2145, p. 82, a23-b2)。

<sup>51</sup> 《四分律名義標釋》卷 40：「天竺沙門僧伽跋陀羅者。師資相傳云。佛涅槃後。優波離結集律藏訖。即於其年七月十五日。受自恣竟。以香華供養律藏。便下一點。置律藏前。年年如是。優波欲涅槃時。付弟子陀寫俱。陀寫俱。付弟子須俱。須俱。付弟子悉伽婆。悉伽婆。付弟子目犍連子帝須。帝須。付弟子旃陀跋闍。如是師師相付。至今三藏法師。法師將律藏至廣州。臨上船。還本國。時以律藏付弟子僧伽跋陀羅。陀羅以永明六年。共沙門僧猗。於廣州竹林寺。譯出善見毗婆沙一部十八卷。即共安居。以七年庚午歲。七月十五日受自恣竟。如前師法。以香華供養律藏。即下一點。」(CBETA, X44, no. 744, p. 704, a19-b6 // Z 1:70, p. 500, c10-d3 // R70, p. 1000, a10-b3)。

<sup>52</sup> KYShJL 《開元釋教錄》卷 6：「沙門波羅末陀。梁言真諦。或云拘羅那他。此曰親依。並梵文之名字也。」(T55, no. 2154, p. 538, b17-18)。

went to Magadha.<sup>53</sup> Commissioned by the Funan king, Paramārtha was sent to China via sea route accompanying by some others with a rosewood Buddha as a gift to the Chinese emperor.<sup>54</sup>

Paramārtha arrived in Guangzhou on 25, September 546 AD 65 years later than the arrival of Dharmagathāyasa (沙門曇摩伽陀耶舍; 法生稱). He moved to JianYe after two years. Upon reaching the capital on 17, September 548 AD, the 85 years old Chinese Emperor Wu paid respect to him by prostrating in front of him, an act was extremely rare gesture for a Chinese emperor. After the Emperor Wu passed away two years later (June, 549 AD) he had to flee from city to city but ended up in remote area in the outskirts of Guangzhou. As noted in the Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks (XGSZh), Paramārtha probably due to travel toils and others factors, living in China at that time wasn't really easy for him: '... although Paramārtha transmitted sūtras and śāstras, the practice religion was deficient and he was depressed, for his original objective had not been realized. Furthermore, observing the vicissitudes of the times [for disseminating Buddhism], he desired to sail to Lankāsukha. Monks and laity earnestly begged him to promise to stay. He could not escape public pressure and so he stayed in the Southeastern regions [of China]. Together with his old friends from the preceding Liang Dynasty, he reviewed his translations. Whenever the words and the meaning conflicted, these would all be recast and organized in order to make them consistent throughout [the text], from beginning to end.'<sup>55</sup>也值得一提的是，真諦所翻譯的《攝大乘論》也被傳到北方，稱為攝論學派。本於菩提流支而始於道寵的流派，稱為「相州北道派」的地論宗和後來真諦三藏所傳攝論宗的持九識說，對中國佛教所產生唯心經論之影響深遠。

There he with some of his students to translate Yogacārabhūmi text (十七地論) which is now missing<sup>56</sup>. With more than twenty monks, he translated the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* in 552 AD at Zheng-guan Temple. He then translated Madyhāntavibhāga, 'Treatise on

<sup>53</sup> KYShJL《開元釋教錄》卷6：「梁武大同中勅直省張汜等。送扶南獻使返國。仍遣聘中天竺摩伽陀國。請名德三藏并求大乘諸論雜華經等。真諦遠聞行化儀軌聖賢。搜選名匠惠益氓品。彼國乃屈真諦并齎經論恭膺帝旨。既素蓄在心渙然聞命。以大同十二年八月十五日達于南海。」(T55, no. 2154, p. 538, b23-c1).

<sup>54</sup> 'Literature on Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna'《大乘起信論》卷1：「自昔已來久蘊西域，無傳東夏者。良以宣譯有時，故前梁武皇帝，遣聘中天竺摩伽陀國取經，并諸法師，遇值三藏拘蘭難陀，譯名真諦，其人少小博採備覽諸經，然於大乘偏洞深遠。時彼國王應即移遣，法師苦辭不免便就汎舟，與瞿曇及多侍從，并送蘇合佛像來朝。」(T32, no. 1666, p. 575, a16-22); Also Cf. Diana (1982) p. 49.

<sup>55</sup> XGSZh《續高僧傳》卷1：「真諦雖傳經論。道缺情離本意不申。更觀機壤。遂欲汎舶往楞伽修國。道俗虔請結誓留之。不免物議遂停南越。便與前梁舊齒。重覆所翻。其有文旨乖競者。皆鎔冶成範始末倫通。」(T50, no. 2060, p. 430, a3-7). I copy the whole translation from Diana (1982) p. 57.

<sup>56</sup> XGSZh《續高僧傳》卷1：「創奉問津將事傳譯。招延英秀沙門寶瓊等二十餘人。翻十七地論。適得五卷。而國難未靜。側附通傳。至天保三年。為侯景請。還在臺供養。」(T50, no. 2060, p. 429, c23-26)

Consciousness’, ‘Treatise on Transforming Consciousness’<sup>57</sup> and before he died at the age of 71, he translated Abhidharmakośa without the aids of his favorite student Huikai who passed away 5 months earlier than him.

## V. Centralization of Buddhism

It is quite obvious that the main research of the Buddhism during Six Dynasties was purposely centralized at the then capital. As mentioned above, at least from the surviving written sources, probably due to kings’ or elite group’s interests, most of the foreign monks who took part in the projections of translation were summoned to the capital to conduct their projects. Some of which, as I speculate were translation of the teachings while the others were transferring knowledge to Chinese monastic members and social elites.

Another case was the monk Mandra (曼陀羅) of Funan who offered Sanskrit texts to the Chinese emperor in 503 AD and was tasked by the emperor to translate the texts into Chinese the next year. With the help from Saṃghapāla, three texts the Jewel Cloud Sūtra (寶雲經) in seven fascicles, the Dharma-body Without Differentiation Sūtra (法界體性無分別經) in two fascicles and Manjuśrī Preaching Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra (文殊師利說般若波羅蜜經) in two fascicles were translated.<sup>58</sup> However Saṃghapāla translated 38 fascicles by himself at the same temple a year earlier in 502 AD.

Seemingly from 581 AD, a few Buddhist texts were translated in Guangzhou as well as in Yangzhou (揚州). The monks such as Dharmagathāyasa<sup>59</sup> (曇摩伽陀耶舍), Mahāyana and Saṃghabhadra<sup>60</sup> conducting the translation tasks in Guangzhou individually suggested that an organized group with expertise in translation that could be found in the then capital was probably non exist in Guangzhou and Yangzhou.

Another individual effort of translation could be found in the example of Dharmayasa (曇摩耶舍) who arrived Guangzhou around 397 AD. He translated Kṣama Sūtra (《差摩

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<sup>57</sup> KYShJL 《開元釋教錄》卷 7：「中邊分別論二卷(婆藪盤豆造或三卷於臨川郡出第一譯與唐譯辯中邊論同本) 顯識論一卷(內題云顯識品從無相論出題云真諦譯新附此) 轉識論一卷(即出前顯識論中題云真諦譯新附此)」(T55, no. 2154, p. 545, c2-4).

<sup>58</sup> GJYJDJ 《古今譯經圖紀》卷 4：「沙門曼陀羅。此言弱聲。亦云弘弱。扶南國人。神解超悟幽明畢觀。無憚夷險志存弘化。大齋梵本以梁武帝天監二年歲次癸未用以奉獻。帝令譯之。即以其年。共僧伽婆羅同於楊都。譯寶雲經(七卷)。法界體性無分別經(二卷)。文殊師利說般若波羅蜜經(二卷)。總三部合一十一卷。」(T55, no. 2151, p. 364, b14-20)

<sup>59</sup> GJYJDJ 《古今譯經圖紀》卷 4：「沙門曇摩伽陀耶舍。此言法生稱。印度國人。悟物居情導利無捨。以齊高帝建元三年歲次辛酉。於廣州朝亭寺。譯無量義經(一卷)。沙門慧表筆受。」(T55, no. 2151, p. 363, b14-17)

<sup>60</sup> 沙門僧伽跋陀羅。此云眾賢。西域人。懷道放曠化惠無窮。以齊武帝永明六年歲次己巳。共沙門僧猗於廣州竹林寺。譯善見毘婆沙律一部(十八卷)。

經》) for a female devotee<sup>61</sup>. It is quite probable that although the missionary monks were hoping to start their mission by preaching the story of the Buddha, however they were interrupted by summon of emperors. It is quite obvious that the texts of Vinaya were quite well translated in Guangzhou. Again as I speculate, this might be due to the local popularity of observing precepts and performing ritualistic services, otherwise almost all the sophisticated texts were translated and disseminated in the capital instead. Even during the Liang Dyanasty beginning from 501 AD, the translation of the literatures ranging from Abhidharma to Mahāyāna summoned by the emperors were conducted at shòuguāng diàn (楊都壽光殿) or diàn bǎoyún diàn (寶雲殿).

## VI Transmitting Cultural Concepts

The process of transmitting one cultural text to another different culture may be complicated, yet the process it can be summed up into four frameworks as suggested by Nicolas Standaert.<sup>62</sup> The first one is called (1) Transmission Framework (傳遞模式), to which the chief concern is how a message be delivered efficiently. As suggested by Jan Assmann, formulating one cultural text needs normative and formative expression, while the formal concerning of transmitting practical knowledge and point the way to right action, the latter helps us to define ourselves and establish our identity.<sup>63</sup> Hence it is not too far wrong to say that when a narration or an idea is given, a missionary monk transmits identity and helps to confirm this shared knowledge.

When foreign missionary monks arrived at Guangzhou, they faced the challenges of not only managing to understand the language spoken, but whether they were good enough to understand the culture for them to deliver messages. This stage of how efficient a messages is delivered is called (2) Reception Framework (接受模式) since the it is concerned with how the messages are accepted or received. It would be impossible job for missionary monks if no locales would extend their hands to help them to do both Transmission and Reception Framework as we can imagine. Reception Framework concerns itself with how the cultural texts are accepted. Some missionary monks like Paramārtha, might have a distinct knowledge to transmit, nevertheless, without consideration of how the knowledge accepted in Chinese culture both the Transmission and Reception Framework cannot be fulfilling.

When it comes to (3) Invention Framework (發明模式), the messages themselves become secondary. All things seemingly real to the missionaries begin to question whether the messages they were given might highly influence by the structure of

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<sup>61</sup> 《新修科分六學僧傳》卷2：「至廣州白沙寺。善誦毗婆沙律。時號大毗婆沙。年已八十五。弟子八十五人。有女子張氏字晉明。清淨自活。從耶舍咨授道要。乃為說佛生緣起。并譯出差摩經一卷。」(CBETA, X77, no. 1522, p. 78, c17-20 // Z 2B:6, p. 224, b10-13 // R133, p. 447, b10-13).

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Liu (2013) p. 32-33. Four of them are: Transmission Framework (傳遞模式), Reception Framework (接受模式), Invention Framework (發明模式) and Interaction and Communication Framework (相遇溝通模式).

<sup>63</sup> Assmann (2006) p.38.



language. It is clear in the case of all foreign missionary monks especially Chinese were their foreign languages. Most of the foreign monks possessed excellent skill in their own languages including the languages of Buddhism like Sanskrit, Prakrit, Pāli and so forth, a sense of superiority of languages become the objects of investigation. The sense of superiority of foreign monks in their own language and culture might limit their own willingness to deal with the Chinese language. For further break through of one's superiority to mingle with the locals or local culture, it is (4) Interaction and Communication Framework (相遇溝通模式) is needed. The final Framework would shift the attention of identities to another level of identity, since at this stage a missionary would giving up one's own identity as a foreign knowledge with great sense of superiority to the new culture, but a kind of dialogue or interaction takes greater part in their missionary works.

Furthermore, in what way a discourse delivered to impart better meanings and what kind of messages to the land comes around. For this framework, it requires not only times and deep understanding of the culture they lived and furthermore one's identity will turn to multiple in order to assimilate one's culture to another culture.

## Conclusion

Foreign missionary monks from the period of Six Dynasties (229-589 AD) risked their lives through the maritime silk road to Guangzhou or vicissitudes Five Ridges, their ambitions might not always be fulfilled. The hagiological records and other sources, implied that they were called to the Chinese capital by the order of emperors or *intelligentsia* willingly or unwillingly. Ding Bang You (丁邦友)<sup>64</sup> surmises that inhabitant monks at Five Ridges were not at all interested in study of the Buddha's teachings, and they only paid more interest in building temples and performed ritualistic services. It was the main reason why in the Five Ridges area was quite difficult to nurture the growth of Buddhist teachings. Probably one could lay the blame on the submission of emperors' summon of those elite foreign monks to the capitals. Or perhaps the condition had not materialized for foreign monks to transmit their understanding and practices.

Merchants surely take on a significant role in missionary work because they were in a better situation economically and had better contact Buddhist with foreign countries. However, quite a number of them might have only regarded Buddhism as a kind of protective icon for their safety and welfare during the journal as depicted in 'Travel Journal Written at Píng Zhōu' (《萍洲可谈》) around 1119 AD (宣和元年) by Zhū Yù (朱彧) stating 'many merchants paid great respect to foreign monks, because they could

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<sup>64</sup> Ding (2002) P. 61: 六朝时期岭南本土高僧兴趣不在佛教义理的探讨上, 而是在兴建寺院及一般的弘法活动上, 因而, 这就使得岭南本土没能产生出精于佛理的高僧。《广东通史》云: “尽管多有西土及本国岭北名僧到来译经传道, 而广东本地还是少出深研经典, 精通佛理的高僧”。广东如此, 六朝时岭南其他地区也大致如此。

help them to overcome dangers via sailing.<sup>65</sup> It is beyond doubt that it takes a long period of time to transmit one culture to another textually. Elite Buddhism certainly cannot not be regarded simply as ritualistic activities and beliefs, but as sincere dialogue between two cultures through Transmission Framework to Reception Framework. It was only during the Invention Framework and Interaction and Communication Framework that both the missionaries and recipients meet the requirement of being true Buddhist philosophers in the land in which they lived. This modest study thus offers us some preliminary insights on the complex relationship between the Guangzhou region and the propagation of elite Buddhism in relation to the maritime trade routes of the Sixth dynasties.

菁英型的佛教在中國是要借助皇室和士大夫的監督下才有所發揮，而廣州雖有經濟實力卻不一定能留住國外的精英僧。仗著廣州在海航的優勢，雖曾擁有精英僧和商人提供助力，恰恰菁英型佛教被定型為只由上層階級及士大夫接受之下才能推動，缺乏眾多精英人士的廣州，要完成四個階段的文化概念傳遞的傳教活動幾乎難於實現。

### **Abbreviation**

ChSZJJ, the Collection of notes concerning the translation of the Tripiṭaka (*Chu Sanzang Jiji*, 出三藏記集), T55, no. 2145. Compiled ca. 515 AD by Sengyou (僧祐: 435-518)

DTXYQfGSCh, the Biographies of Eminent Monks to the Western Land during Great Tang Dynasty, (*Datang Xiyu qiufa Gaoseng Chuan*; 大唐西域求法高僧傳), T51, no. 2066.

FZTJ, Chronicle of the Founder Buddha (*Fozu Tongji*; 佛祖統紀), T. 49, no.2035. Compiled ca 1269 by Zhiqing (志磬) of Song Dynasty.

FZLDTZ, The Record about Chronicle of the Founder Buddha (*Fozu Lidai Tongzai*; 佛祖歷代通載), T.49, no.2036. Compiled ca. 1341 by Nianchang of Yuan Dynasty (元代念常)

GSZh, the Biographies of Eminent Monks (*GaoSeng Zhuan*; 高僧傳), T50, no. 2059. Compiled ca. 530 AD by Huijiaiao (慧皎 :497-554).

GJYJDJ, the Ancient to Present Mapping of the Biographies of Translators (*GuJin YiJing Du ji*; 古今譯經圖紀), T55, no. 2151. Compiled ca. 648 AD.

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<sup>65</sup> ‘Travel Journal Written at Ping Zhōu’ 《萍洲可談》卷二：商人重番僧，云度海危難禱之，則見於空中，无不获济，至广州饭僧设供，谓之“罗汉斋”  
<http://www.guoxue123.com/zhibu/0401/00pzkt/003.htm>. Cf. Ding (2002) p. 64.

KYShJL, the Record of Śākya Teachings in Kaiyuan Reign Title [of Tan Dynasty] (*Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu*; 開元釋教錄), T55, no. 2154. Compiled ca. 730 AD by ZhiSheng (智昇)

LDSBJ, the Chronicle of Triple Gems (*Lidai Sanbao Ji*, 歷代三寶紀), T49, no. 2034. Compiled ca. in between 562 and 597 AD by Fei Chang Fang (費長房).

SGSZh, the Biographies of Eminent Monks compiled in Song Dynasty (*Song Gaoseng Zhuan*; 宋高僧傳), T50, no. 2061. Compiled ca. 982 AD by ZanNing of Song Dynasty (贊寧)

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